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A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

Insurrection

IN THE

ISLAND OF GRENADA,

Which took place in 1795.

BY JOHN HAY,

AN INHABITANT OF THE COLONY,
AND ONE OF THE PRISONERS TAKEN BY THE INSURGENTS.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

BY A MILITARY MAN,

Resident for nearly thirty Years in the West Indies.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. RIDGWAY, 170, PICCADILLY.

1823.

INTRODUCTION.

London, 4th April 1823.

THE proprietors of our West Indian colonies have for a long series of years been exposed to the continued attacks of adversaries from various quarters; among whom there are some distinguished by wealth, by education, by high attainments, and by legislative dignity and power. During the progress of the last memorable war, the colonists were nearly overwhelmed by the fierce spirit of the French revolution; but the evils and losses inflicted upon them by the open hostility of the National Convention, which they with difficulty struggled through, were less dangerous than are the specious but disguised proceedings of the sectarians in England; or than even the

rivalry of their opponents for trade, consolidated under the influence of the palace in Leadenhall Street. A set of men, hostile to the church of England,—of principles which betray the liberty and independence of their country, have modestly assumed to themselves to petition the House of Commons to abolish the system by which the West India colonies are cultivated: these self-sufficient people—these Quakers, are exercising their humanity free of expense, and distant from the dangers they are exciting, without the smallest concern for the probable destruction of the lives and property of the West India proprietors. Professions are a weak assurance of sincerity; nor can one help distrusting the motives of those who preach for reforms that in no way affect their own safety or property, though they be replete with destruction to another class. It is conceding too much, to grant to these zealots, that they are *not* set in motion by improper intentions.

Of all the descriptions of men which form the British empire, there is not one that more merits the good will of their countrymen, than

the West India planters. It is unfair and unjust to reproach the present generation with upholding slavery. This institution has descended to them from their ancestors, and they have found themselves under the most urgent necessity to continue the system they received. With what justice shall the British Legislature condemn a system sanctioned and established by itself? or with what equity can the people of England annihilate the property created under the protection and faith of English laws? Impossible, so long as justice is dispensed, unless upon the plan of indemnification. But the vast amount of the West Indian property, and the impoverished state of the finances of the empire, do not, and never can in our days, allow of the least hope of effecting it by this mode. To undertake it in any other way, would be to enter upon a warfare against the sacred right of property; which, if once begun with one class, may overturn every other.

The colonization of the West India colonies, and the cultivation of the soil in that country; the labours borne, and the dangers surmounted by the bold and enterprising men

who made the first settlements, and the energies continued by their persevering successors, form one of the most extraordinary histories of the power of human industry that the world has ever produced. The race of planters has had to contend against the effect of climate upon the European constitution, against hurricanes, earthquakes, a constant succession of wars, insurrections, and many minor, yet distressing calamities. No men have been so incessantly harassed as they have been; and none have braved or supported these formidable evils with more manliness, with more devotion to their country's cause, or with more loyalty to their sovereign. They have risen superior to all their misfortunes, with a perseverance that has been worthy of the character of the country which gave them birth. Their energies have created one of the main branches of the wealth and power of the British empire. The duties on their produce pour into the Treasury several millions a year; and add to this, the seamen raised in their ships form a large portion of our naval superiority: probably the glorious victories of the Nile and of Trafalgar would have

been unheard of, without the help of the thousands of sailors formed by the West India trade.

And all this is required to be obliterated from our memories, to comply with the notions of the *Quakers*—a sect who will not raise a single arm to defend or to save their country's independence. What are men worth as patriots who will not defend the soil of their birth from foreign enemies? If Englishmen were all *Quakers*, a single French brigade might take undisputed possession of our much-boasted little island. What have such men to do with any thing beyond the interior of their conventicles? Let them flatter themselves with their self-sufficient sanctity, and go to heaven in any way they can, or please; but let them not interfere with the rights of others—of those men who work and fight for their country, who maintain the honour, and support the resources of the Government. It is too much to see, or hear, lofty pretensions to religion and humanity from such pseudo saints.

Jesus did not adjudge the merit of sincerity to the exteriors of religion; he preached, or recommended, a different mode. Religion, every

man of sound sense will value as the noblest prerogative of his nature. It is the highest use to which his intellectual faculties can be applied. In the exercise of it, the creature bares his heart to his Creator; he pleads to his Almighty Judge, "before whom all hearts are open;" and therefore nothing can exceed the wickedness of an hypocrite, but his folly: thus the best thing perverted, becomes the worst; the narrow spirit of sectarianism vitiates the light of the soul,—“as heaven's blest beams turn vinegar more sour.” This nation is now too experienced to give ready credence to the sanctified exhibitions of Quakers or Methodists, or sectarians of any denomination. The Publican was preferred to the Pharisee by the Founder of Christianity; “Lord have mercy upon me, a sinner,” might be accepted, when the vaunted charities were an abomination. It has been often asked, where—in what part of Scripture, is slavery condemned? It is frequently spoken of, and alluded to. Paul expressly wrote to a brother, and sent back his slave, soliciting for his pardon; but without questioning the *civil* states of the respective parties—master and

slave. Throughout the New Testament the civil form of government in all its parts and principles, save idolatry, is ordered to be observed and obeyed; in this, slavery was clearly included. Let the Quakers prove the contrary; but if not, let them not erect themselves to be the hypocritics of the *Scriptures*. It is not that I would advocate slavery. Were I a member of Council to form a code for a *new* colony, I would never give my sanction to such a miserable system. It is the very worst form of government—the weakest—the most exposed to danger, and the most odious! I avow my belief of equality of liberty, as the natural right of all men of every colour.

But it is a very different thing to have to form a civil society, or to *receive* one long established and acted upon. Necessity, in this last case, leaves no option but ruin, and men must be governed by practical good, and not by theoretical. Under our circumstances, the change from bondage to freedom among the blacks ought to be the work of time, and of that tendency to gradual growth or variation inherent in all human institutions. There are

several causes working in the West Indies, which doubtless will effect emancipation hereafter. Slavery in our colonies will (if not anticipated) die a natural death.

Those who have resided long in the West Indies all agree (whether they be planters or military men), that the black would not work voluntarily. Indolence is engrafted in his nature; his wants are few, and cheaply procured, and these being satisfied, sleep and rest are all his enjoyment. The *blacks* (improperly called *Charibs*) at St. Vincent may fairly be referred to, as affording a true illustration of this indolent nature. These men were as free and independent as man can be. From the peace of 1763 to 1796 they possessed the *best* half of the island, and the richest land in the colonies; yet during a space of thirty-three years they never made or attempted any kind of advance in civilization. Although they had the example of the English and French before their eyes, they continued uniformly the same untamed and unreclaimed savages from the beginning to the end of the period; and they concluded their wretched

history by a horrible conspiracy against the English colonists, most of whom they treacherously murdered in *one night*, and then proceeded to burn all their estates, making that beautiful little colony one scene of horror and devastation.

And this, or such, would be, in all human probability, the dreadful result and catastrophe in which would terminate the philanthropy of the *Friends*, "*les Amis des Noirs*." The very rumour of the proposed abolition, when known in the colonies, will be pregnant with the most alarming mischief. But the measure itself, if it were undertaken, must inevitably convert those countries, whose beauty of cultivation is no where exceeded in the world, to the dreary condition of a wilderness. Let it be remembered also, that the English colonies possess constitutionally independent legislatures. On this very serious consideration, it is not necessary to enter farther than just to say, it is most important.

Being in possession of a very valuable and authentic manuscript, containing a faithful Narrative of the sufferings of the inhabitants of

Grenada during the years 1794, 1795, and 1796, when a most calamitous insurrection took place in that island, which Narrative it has appeared to me might be at this time very seasonably offered to the public, I have unpremeditatedly been led into the reflections that I have ventured to prefix to it. In this little work, which was written by a man who was an actor in the scenes which he related, may be viewed, truly drawn, a correct picture of what is preparing for all our possessions in that quarter, should we be so infatuated as to act upon the Petition of the Quakers. Five millions of national revenue—fifteen thousand seamen—two or three hundred thousand of planters, or proprietors, with their families—at least a hundred millions of property—cultivated countries to become deserts possessed by a few savages—a relapse from civilization to barbarism, will be the fruits of the error, and of sectarian movings of the Spirit.

But these versatile *Friends* will say (they have already said it, or it has been said), that it is the inherent evil of the system of slavery to be exposed to conspiracies and rebellions ;

and that their favourite measure of emancipation would operate as a specific to do away with the danger ; make the blacks all free, and there will be no insurrections plotted by them against the whites. In this I acquiesce, with the belief, that there would *not* exist, under the circumstances supposed, any whites to plot against ; for most assuredly, such of the whites as escaped the first effects of negro liberty, would abandon all further trial to hold property, and save their lives by flight from a devoted country. What would be the result, or the extent of the consequences, would indeed be fully known only from the experiment. If the advisers and supporters of the measure were the people in whose persons, and with whose property, the experiment were to be made, perhaps it might be conceded to them to have the highly prized honour of being self-devoted martyrs. But as these good people are quite unconcerned in the matter, except as their success in the triumph of their principles would feast the zeal of the elect, and as this hazardous and momentous change must be at the *risk* of the West Indian proprietors,

the most common notions of justice require that this panacea should not be administered by the prescription of *Quacks*. Enthusiasts, who work their minds up to the belief of their own righteousness, and who are urged on by their self-created inward lights and supposed movings of the inward man, are not safe people to be received as legislators. Their visions may administer to their own self-importance, and to the indulgence of their crude notions of sanctity; but they always have been, and ever will be, the fertile source of practical, and real, and extensive public mischief.

Of the present condition of St. Domingo, little seems to be known. But all do know of the floods of human blood shed during the times of insurrection; that under the last imperial black monarch labour was compelled. This favourite of the Puritans was indeed quite as despotic as any of his class *. Should any government favourable to rational liberty take root in that island, it will be an event highly favourable to the cause and race of the negroes. But some

* It may be justly doubted, whether the overbearing spirit of puritanical humility be consistent with real liberty; for one, I think decidedly that it is not.

lapse of time would be necessary to produce conviction on the minds of men, that they are capable of forming and maintaining such a civilized state of existence : and even in that case, it would make a moderate man shudder to see Jamaica reformed upon the St. Domingo model.

How the much-injured West India planters will weather the storm, I know not. The tempest is rising from the East and from the North. The effect of that may reduce them to pauperism; and of this, to a violent death.

The East Indians would snatch from under them the only plank that keeps them afloat ; and the Puritans would brand them with disgrace and infamy, and consign them finally to ruin and slaughter. They yet have a hope in the common sense and sound reason of the people of England, and in the protection of a wise and just Government. Should these fail them, the sooner they escape from their plantations the better, if they value life under such melancholy and desperate circumstances.

The Narrative does not continue the subject to the end of the story. The insurrection, which burst forth in Grenada in December

1794, was terminated about May 1796, by the surprise and assault of the bulwark of the rebels on Mount Quaco; which position had received, with the blessing of its chief, the glorious and appropriate name of *Camp de la Mort*. The mulatto general Fedon, with his men, mostly escaped by throwing themselves down the precipitous sides of the mountain, which were covered by thick wood. His fate was never certainly known; but it was believed that he perished at sea in a canoe, endeavouring to get to the South American Main. This man was educated in England. What credit he did to his tutors, each reader may decide for himself.

Grenada was not without comfort, if to have companions in misfortune be a source of support to the human mind. Her sister island, St. Vincent, was equally suffering under a like appalling visitation. St. Lucia was wasting under the same consuming progress of revolutionary energies; and all the other colonies were trembling with the expectation of being overwhelmed by the desolating principles of Negro and of French liberty.

The arrival of the famous, or infamous, Victor Hugues, the French Convention Commissary at Guadaloupe, with two frigates and seven hundred men, was the forerunner of the storm which burst like the hurricane of the climate, and which enveloped those beautiful colonies in one common scene of devastation. From the arrival of this delegate, armed with proclamations of negro liberty, and with all the mania of the Gallic revolution, until that of General Sir Ralph Abercromby, is comprised the period of time during which the sword, the flames, disease, and famine, left nothing to behold but the smoking ruins of the estates, and the dead mangled bodies of the murdered inhabitants. This was a space of about twenty months—the reign of horror and destruction—of wild and fanatic principles—of zeal in the hallowed cause of liberty run mad. The victims of all these insane and sanguinary attempts at liberty may surely, with no small claim upon the justice, the humanity, and the religion of their countrymen, to a patient hearing, beseech of the just, the virtuous, and the religious among mankind, to pause before they

rush precipitately into measures that shall or may once more renew the bloody drama exhibited upon the western theatre during the last war. Let them, let *each man* fairly, if he be able to exert so much impartiality, identify himself, his children, and his property, with the West Indies; let him believe, that his great possessions are not in Yorkshire, or in the funds, but are situated in that exposed and noble colony Jamaica; that all he has, including the independence and future provision for his family, may perish in one night by the infuriated violence of the blacks, stimulated to the work of destruction by the all-levelling torrent of their own visionary principles of liberty. Will such a man be so true an apostle to the cause, as stoically or religiously to yield to irretrievable ruin, without a struggle for existence, or a reproach to the fiends that doom himself and his family to want and to death? I know that the partizans for negro emancipation stand upon the vantage-ground with the honest minds of Englishmen; and this they also well know; and of this they avail themselves with a subtilty which would be unworthy of a

sound and good cause. But let not the worthy people of this happy land decide upon the abstract principle which no man will dispute. Let them rather inform themselves well what are the real merits of the question *, and then pronounce upon the basis of practical utility. On this foundation, on this plea, the freemen of England tolerate the long-established practice of pressing seamen in time of war. There cannot be a greater anomaly in our renowned and free constitution than is this extraordinary resource, sanctioned by the tacit approval of the nation. The proud, and justly proud sons of Britain, though providently jealous in the extreme of the least encroachment on liberty or property, have yet for ages suffered their bravest men to be seized, and forced into a service which is ruled by a discipline the most severe and arbitrary. Why? Because, in de-

* The reports of the evils of the system of bondage in the West India colonies have been grossly surcharged, and misrepresent the real state of things. If any man could be suddenly conveyed from England to the interior of a large West India estate, he would (if he were open to conviction) acknowledge, that such bondage was a far different thing from what he had judged it to be from the evidence prepared for the public.

fiance of Cicero's ethics, and all other theoretical principles, the public safety produces and pronounces upon the necessity which imperiously requires it. Thus did of old the stern republicans at Rome. When liberty or existence was at stake, they flew for safety under the ægis of despotism; then was heard the unrelenting fiat, "Videre, ne quid respublica
" detrimenti caperet."

But I must conclude, having already been insensibly led to say more than I intended; for the subject has taken me unawares—it has warmed and grown upon me. I will now leave it, with a passage from the works of an eminent man.

" Nobody will be at such an open defiance
" with common sense, as to profess that we
" should not endeavour to know and think of
" things as they are in themselves; and yet
" there is nothing more frequent than to do
" the contrary. And men are apt to excuse
" themselves, and think they have reason to do
" so, if they have but a pretence that it is for
" God, or a good cause; that is, in effect, for
" themselves, their own persuasion, or party;

“ for those in their turns the several sects of
 “ men, especially in matters of religion, entitle
 “ God and a good cause.”

A MILITARY MAN,

Nearly thirty Years resident in the
 West Indies.

NARRATIVE,

&c.

ABOUT nine o'clock on Monday night, the 2d of March 1795, I had a confused account from different persons, of an intended attack by the French on this island; that the free people of colour had a meeting some time before at Belvidere estate, and were most of them at that time from home. The town was uncommonly quiet, and many of their doors shut. I was called upon soon after by Mr. Robert Wilson, Mr. Richard Davis, and Mrs. O'Connor, who represented the conduct of the people of colour as very suspicious, but could give no information whatever from whom or from what source they derived their intelligence. A canoe had arrived from Trinidad that afternoon; a strange mulatto had been seen to land from her, with two others, natives of the island, called Loiseau and Clitander Clozier. Mr. Davis understood there was a meeting that night of the coloured people at Gubet Dumont's. I proposed going there in order to ascertain the

fact, and procure information; this he declined, as not having sufficient grounds for the assertion. As the danger was not considered to be so near at hand, and the night far advanced, such of us as were present, to the number of about eight or ten, agreed to return home to put our arms in complete order; determined carefully to inquire into, and, if possible, trace out the foundation of this alarm early the next morning. From what afterwards happened, prejudiced minds may perhaps blame me as commanding officer of the St. John's regiment, for imprudence or want of due precaution in not immediately ordering the regiment under arms. It might have been better, had the event been within the reach of human foresight; to me, it rather appears doubtful from the following reasons: the parish extends from Petit Havre to Duquesne Valley, a distance of at least ten miles, therefore many of the men would not have reached the parade at Guyave before next morning. The regiment consisted of only thirty-two of His Majesty's natural-born subjects, thirteen commissioned officers, forty-six adopted subjects, and eighty-six free people of colour, the two last privy to the plot, which had been long before concerted; unanimous and enthusiasts in the cause they had espoused, neither ignorant of our disproportionate numbers, nor the weak

state of the garrison at St. George's, and well prepared for active service. One of the coloured companies I had occasion to review myself not three weeks before, in obedience to circular orders from His Honour Governor Home, to have the militia in readiness to act at a moment's warning; and although they were taken at unawares, only one of their muskets missed fire.

About midnight, or very early next morning, I was awaked by a violent rapping in my back gallery and at my chamber door. It was moonlight; and upon opening it a little, I perceived a number of armed men in the gallery, without being able to distinguish who they were. I immediately shut the door, bolted it, took my pistols from the brackets on the partition, and jumped from the window into the street. I attempted to escape, but found myself surrounded with a number of coloured men armed with muskets, bayonets, and cutlasses, all of whom I knew by sight, but only recollect the names of Joseph Le Blanc, Pierre Labat, whites; Etienne Ventour, Pillage, Antoine Roy, Medar Chantimel, and Sylvain Dragon, coloured people. Sylvain Dragon made a thrust at me with his bayonet, by which I was slightly wounded in my wrist; he then cocked his piece and presented it to my breast, but was ordered not to fire by Etienne

Ventour, my next neighbour, whom they styled captain. Uncertain of their intentions, I called to him, if it was my life they sought for; to which he replied, No, and ordered me to surrender my arms. In the instant, my arms were pinioned by men behind me, whom I did not see, and my pistols wrested from my hands. Under such circumstances resistance would have been folly in the extreme, and to attempt an escape would have been attended with instant death; I therefore submitted, and inquired of Etienne Ventour the cause of such unprovoked violence; to which he answered, that the national troops had landed. I was confirmed in the report from observing French cockades in all their hats. They were very pressing to carry me immediately to their camp, and detained me a considerable time in the street in my shirt, notwithstanding every remonstrance I could make to be permitted to put on my clothes; in the mean time the French coloured women were enjoying the scene from their windows, seemingly with much satisfaction. At last I was suffered to retire, closely guarded by four men with fixed bayonets. When I got into the court-yard, and before they would suffer me to go up stairs, they called for Mr. Fotheringham (whom they knew to be in the house) immediately to surrender under pain of death, which I recom-

mended him to do, as resistance was then in vain. I then proceeded to my chamber, when I hastily dressed myself, while they were employed in securing my arms, ammunition*, and the colours of the St. John's regiment, without attempting to take any thing else. I begged to put some money I had by me under the charge of Ventour, which he refused to receive, and said he never took charge of money without first having it reckoned. A mulatto named Pillage desired me to put it in my pocket with my watch, which lay on the table, and to put on my boots. I had just time to throw some books and papers into an open trunk, when I was hurried down stairs, and remained for some time in the street with Mr. Fotheringham, waiting the other inhabitants of the town, whom they had also made prisoners. I was soon joined by Mr. Lussan. We requested to be permitted to ride, but were refused; then by Mr. M'Mahon, who being sick was permitted to return to his house; then by Mr. Muir, and some others. I offered my keys to Ventour, which he refused to accept of; but observed, that I should leave them with a woman belonging to me, who at that moment appeared at a little distance. I was only per-

* There was about a barrel of gunpowder in my cellar, 1500 ball-cartridges and eighteen muskets in the guard-house.

mitted to speak to her in their hearing; delivered her the keys, and desired she would open all the doors and desks, whenever thereto required by Ventour, and send me linen in the morning if she could discover where we were carried to. Of this none of them would give us any further information, than that we were to be sent to their camp. We then began our march with a guard of about twenty men, some white but mostly coloured, under the command of Antoine Roy. He behaved very civilly, and rested very frequently on the road. A negro we fell in with by accident, belonging to the Gubet family, was particularly attentive to me, and carried me on his back over all the rivers.

Before day we reached Belvidere, an estate near the middle of the island, belonging to a mulatto called Julien Fedon; we were lodged in a boucan among a parcel of coffee. Very early in the morning, a young mustee man from Guadaloupe, of the name of Michel, came up from Labay, where he pretended there had been about 400 men landed; that they had shot twelve men, and spared three; that a party had gone in quest of the Governor, to Paraclete; who no doubt, before then, had *suffered death** for the many crimes and enormities committed by him during his tyrannical

* "Il a déjà perdu le goût de son pain."

government. He then produced two printed declarations from Victor Hugues, addressed to the officers commanding the British forces by sea and land, threatening vengeance if their prisoners were not better treated, of whatever colour or description they were, and that two English officers should suffer death for one republican; also requiring all Frenchmen immediately to join their standard, under pain of death, and having their property confiscated.

Pierre Labat, on this occasion, acted with great duplicity: he was a retailer of dry goods in Guyave, and only permitted to remain, by the indulgence of the magistrates, to whom he had been strongly recommended; and, from his quiet and orderly deportment, had been appointed one of the constables for the parish, at the last general sessions. He appeared at first under arms in the character of a private sentinel; but on the road to Belvidere, he either was, or affected to be, taken sick, and gave up his musket to a negro; the bayonet he also disposed of before morning, and seemed to me as if he then wished only to be considered as a prisoner. Mr. Lussan and he went out early in the morning, to propose that they, as well as we, should remain prisoners of war on our parole, in the town of Guyave: they returned soon after, but gave us no hopes of obtaining our liberty on parole. Mr. Labat seemed then

perfectly recovered, and to have taken an active part in the revolution, as it was then termed.

About seven, a party came up from Labay under the command of Jean Pierre Lavallée, a mulatto and native of this island, having a lieutenant's commission, signed by Victor Hugues of Guadaloupe. They had in their charge Mr. George Rose of Labay, the two pilots, and a boy named Edward Johnston: as Mr. Rose was not then recovered from a severe fit of gout, he was allowed a horse. On their way to the camp he informed me, that a French priest, who resided at Balthazar, was ordered to be shot, which was instantly executed at the side of a precipice, over which he fell into a ravine: no reason whatever was assigned for this wanton piece of cruelty, nor did it even occasion a halt in their march. Mr. Rose expected at every moment to share the same fate, and was treated with the most humiliating insults and menaces during the rest of the way to the boucan, when he was lodged with the Guyave prisoners. Lavallée was a young man about twenty, dressed in nankeen, with gold epaulets, of a good appearance, but violent beyond description in his manner; threatening death to every Englishman, and making use of many personal invectives to myself, who had never seen him before, except once at a court of grand sessions, when he was indicted for an

assault. To his abuse I made no reply or took the least notice of him. A negro boy was disposing of coffee to the prisoners ; I requested he would bring me a cup ; he desired I would give him the money first, which I did : the coffee was sent with a bit of bread by Fedon's wife, and the money returned.

By this time several more prisoners were brought in from the neighbourhood of Guyave, and five negro sailors, the property of Messrs. M^cBurnie and Co. belonging to a sloop they had sunk off Guyave. A numerous crowd of coloured people, some on horseback but mostly on foot*, appeared on the road leading from Labay to Belvidere, with the national colours flying, led by Julien Fedon, whom they had elected General of their army. On his arrival, he viewed the prisoners in the boucan with much indifference, and addressing himself to Mr. M^cBurnie's negroes, he asked them if they would remain prisoners, or take a part with them ; after some hesitation they acceded to the latter proposal : he then took them by the shoulders, turned them out of doors, observing at the same time, they were as free as he was. He then ordered guards to be placed at the door and round the house ; none to be suffered to speak to us, nor to go out when nature re-

* They were mostly loaded with dry goods and blue blanketing.

quired without two sentinels. I despatched a boy, who attended me from Guyave, for some clothes, who soon returned with them, and brought with him also some biscuit and cheese; the more acceptable, as we were offered nothing to eat till late that afternoon.

A little before noon, one Condom, a white man from Guyave, came up express to announce the capture of the Governor, Alexander Campbell, and James Farquhar, off Guyave, on board Messrs. Kerr and Lepelley's sloop: the news was received with repeated shouts of *Vive la république!* which were redoubled about two o'clock, when they made their appearance under a strong escort of armed coloured people. By the Governor I was informed they had left St. George's the day before; slept that night at Paraclete; had heard, in part, what had happened at Labay that night, and early on the morning of the 3d set out to Santeur, in order to assemble the militia; they embarked on board the sloop by eight o'clock for St. George's; in passing Guyave they stood close in shore; he insisted on being landed, contrary to the opinion of Mr. Farquhar and the Captain; when they had got into the boat, they were fired at by a sloop and armed canoes, and obliged to surrender. The Governor considered it a point of duty to see me, and give such orders for calling out the militia as the present

exigency might require ; but at the time, had not the most distant idea of the insurrection having broken out there at the same time it did at Labay. The party by whom he was made prisoner was under the command of Jean Pierre Fedon, brother to the General. Their trunks and clothes were taken from them, and never restored, although often promised ; Mr. Farquhar's excepted. Mr. Campbell had resolution enough to destroy bills on Government to the amount of 3000*l.* sterling ; and the Governor, the last return of the garrison, which was then much reduced.

Etienne Ventour was dangerously wounded in the arm by one of my pistols accidentally going off in his pocket : I was ordered by Fedon to proceed immediately to Guyave, in order to dress the wound. While I was in conversation with him near the prison, he observed to me, I might have my liberty to walk about on my parole, if I could find security, and pointed out D'Arcueil as a person who would probably not refuse me. As he was then in the camp, I applied to him before Fedon, when he immediately consented, and offered with his neck to answer for the propriety of my behaviour, under every circumstance and on all occasions ; this Fedon promised to lay before the rest of his officers for their approbation, when they returned with their parties in the evening. A horse was then got ready for me, and four men mounted,

under the command of one Joseph, a free negro from Santeur, appointed to be my guard. Many delays and difficulties were thrown in my way by Lavallée; searching my pockets and even hat for papers, which he took, but restored them to me on my return; secret orders to the guard, passports, and cautions not to converse with any one, nor to be suffered out of their sight for a moment. His countenance and gestures plainly discovered his bloodthirsty disposition if at liberty to act from the impulse of his own inclinations: he was armed with a sabre, a pair of pistols in his belt, and a dagger.

We were at last suffered to proceed on our journey to Guyave. About half way we met the wounded man Ventour in a hammock; but as I was anxious to procure information, and see the town, I pressed the necessity of my going on, to furnish myself with instruments and dressings for the wounded man; to which they at last consented. We were met by numbers of negroes of both sexes, loaded with effects plundered from the several inhabitants, amongst which were a great many of my own*, carrying to the camp; their baskets were generally examined by my guard, and if they contained liquors, they helped themselves to what they wanted, offering me at the same time part.

* There was about a barrel of gunpowder in the cellar, 1500 ball-cartridges, and eighteen muskets in bad order.

Amongst the number was my principal servant John Charles, with a national cockade in his hat; he addressed himself to me, and said he had been pressed into the service as a drummer, which I doubted. On my arrival in Guyave, I found a woman he had a child by, very busy packing up and sending away the few articles of glass and earthenware which yet remained, without either speaking or taking the least notice of me. There was only one freed negro woman in the house belonging to me, who seized me by the hand and wept bitterly, but was not permitted to speak to me. All the glass windows and many of the doors were broke to pieces, the furniture and plate carried off or destroyed, books and papers scattered about the whole house, notwithstanding that Ventour had pledged himself that morning for the orderly behaviour of his people, and the security of whatever I left in my house. I was hurried away to dress Ventour, who was lodged at his friend Antoine Roy's house, about a mile from Belvidere: he observed to me, that my house must have been plundered by my own servants, because he had left it entire; notwithstanding, I was asked to drink a glass of my own Madeira, which I knew by the seal on the bottle, and they had spermaceti candles burning, which I had reason to believe came also from my cellar.

On my return to camp, the Governor informed me, he and Mr. Campbell had been ordered to be put in irons; but as they proved too small for their legs, they were set at liberty, and a mattress with two chairs allowed them by the General. At night, the orders given to the guard in our hearing were, to put us all to death in case of any noise, an attempt to escape, or being attacked by the enemy; which they seemed ready and disposed to do.

On Wednesday the 4th, they were joined by numbers of negroes, and parties were sent out in all directions to collect cattle, horses, and provisions of every kind; in short, a general plunder took place of all the English estates. A deputation was appointed to summon the forts at St. George's to surrender, and to offer honourable terms. The Governor was likewise required to give an order to that effect: he observed to them, that being their prisoner, deprived him of all power and authority he formerly possessed in the colony: he was then threatened with instant death, and all the prisoners, if the demand should be refused by the President. The deputation returned that night, and the same orders were repeated to the guards. We were twice served with boiled beef and plantains this day.

On Thursday the 5th, we continued not only to be very closely guarded, but grossly

insulted and threatened by our guards: we all considered our lives in imminent danger. About noon I was ordered to dress the wounded man by Nogues, who said they had others who could do it, but they chose to give me the preference, speaking in a very imperative tone, and turning round on his heel immediately after. The two Richares, brothers and white men, were ordered to be my guards: Lavallée told them they should answer for me with their heads. I attempted to enter into conversation with them on the road; but was given to understand their orders were, neither to speak to me themselves, nor allow any person whatever to have communication with me, either by speaking or writing. I arrived at the house, dressed the wound, and was offered some refreshment, which I accepted of with pleasure. Ventour thanked me for my attention, and begged I would attend him as often as was necessary, and engaged to procure me a permission so to do. I observed to my guards, that I must proceed to Guyave for dressings and bark, as there was some risk of a gangrene: to this they objected, having no orders to go farther.

On our return to camp two muskets were fired, seemingly towards Guyave. We were met by Lavallée, at full gallop, on Mr. Papin's horse, who inquired if we knew the cause;

to which being answered in the negative, he proceeded, ordering us to go on with all possible speed. He soon returned, and, passing us, ordered the guards to shoot that man, if he could not keep up, and to follow him immediately. My horse being equal to theirs in speed, enabled me to preserve my station, which was between the two, for it was death either to fall behind or be before. It proved, however, to be a false alarm.

This afternoon the Governor was again applied to by Fedon, Labat, and others, for an order to deliver up the island and its dependencies to the arms of the Republic, as the only means left to save our lives. The Governor observed, that he never would sign any order which would disgrace his memory; that his authority ceased at his captivity; that the defence of the island remained totally with the President and officer commanding His Majesty's forces; and as to our lives, they were at his mercy and discretion. He agreed, however, to write a letter, which was signed by all the prisoners, forty-three in number, and dictated by him as to the purport of it. After they had considered it for some time, Fedon returned accompanied by D'Arcueil, Pierre Labat, Charles Nogues, and Lavallée, the two last mulattoes, who desired him to read the commissions they bore, signed by Victor Hugues,

of Guadaloupe. D'Arceuil observed, that "we republicans dislike equivocation," that the letter was not satisfactory, and desired the Governor would be more explicit, and that without delay. It was promised to be ready in the morning. Fedon gave orders to Laval-lée, in case any of their posts were attacked, to put all the prisoners to death except myself. He asked the General, hastily, why I should be saved; to which he replied, "I have my reasons for it, which I shall communicate to you at another time." His fury appeared now to be wrought up to the highest pitch, his eyes sparkled fire, every feature, every gesture plainly denoted with what anxiety he panted to satiate his ferocious rage, by embruining his hands in the blood of innocent men. With one foot on the threshold of the prison door and the other out of it, a pistol in one hand and a dagger in the other, "I will," replied he, "and shall require no other weapons but those in my hands, to execute your orders." The guard at the same time was drawn up before the door with cocked firelocks and half-charged bayonets: many of the prisoners shrieked and called for mercy, conceiving the bloody order was to be immediately put in execution; the Governor gently reprimanded them, and begged they would behave like men. Our chiefs left us without a word of consolation. A night

spent under such awful and gloomy apprehensions can neither be easily imagined or described.

On Friday morning, the 6th, the letter *

* COPY OF THE LETTER.

*Camp at Belvidere, Grenada, Friday
Morning, the 6th of March 1795.*

GENTLEMEN,

General Julien Fedon, Commander of the French Republican troops (which are now of considerable number), did last night communicate to me the answer which he has received from the President and Council, to the declaration sent them by him; and the prisoners, who are forty-three in number, have requested that I would acquaint you with the said General Fedon's positive declaration made to me and the rest of the prisoners, which is briefly as follows: "That the instant an attack is made on the post where the prisoners are now confined, that instant every one of the prisoners shall be put to death." The same orders have also been regularly given to us every night since we have been prisoners. We therefore hope you will take this our representation into your most serious consideration, and not suffer, if possible, the lives of so many innocent persons to be sacrificed.

(Signed by forty-three Prisoners.)

His Honour the President
and Officer commanding
His Majesty's Troops,
Grenada. }

P. S. General Fedon is of opinion, that I have not sufficiently expressed his sentiments in that full manner he wishes should have been done, and requests me to add, "That he expects all the fortifications to be delivered up to him on an honourable capitulation."

was again brought back to be altered in one circumstance, that in place of the prisoners being put to death in case any of their posts should be attacked, it should be confined to the post where we then were. This alteration we considered as favourable to us, and the letter was copied over and signed as before by the Governor and prisoners, to the number of forty-three. Nogues observed, that a delay of two days would only be granted to deliver up the island. In the absence of our ambassadors it was natural that our deplorable situation should recur to our minds with redoubled horror, which of course became the subject of our most serious consideration: my own opinion, I confess, was favourable, from this circumstance, of there being two commissioned officers from Gaudaloupe amongst their number, when, so late as the month of February, a threatening declaration had been published relative to the treatment of French prisoners, addressed to the officers commanding His Britannic Majesty's forces by sea and land in the West Indies. Ourselves I considered as prisoners to the republic, therefore entitled to equal protection; but that they wished to try how far they could effect their ends by threats. The Governor and many others had their doubts, because we were then under the power of fellow-subjects in open rebellion against their

natural sovereign; and as a civil war was, of all others, the most savage, there was no knowing to what extremity the violence of a moment might drive them, while their passions continued heated by the enthusiasm of novelty and revolution; it appeared to us, also, in vain to propose terms, till their animosities had at least in part given way to the suggestions of cool reason; but at all events, if they were determined that we should fall victims to their fury, we proposed to request only one favour of their General, which was, that we should be shot, and not put to death by poignards and pikes. The messengers returned that night: Fedon had promised to show the Governor the President's answer *, but he never did; we were, however,

* COPY OF THE ANSWER.

The President and Council of Grenada, and the officer commanding His Majesty's garrison of Grenada, have received a letter, signed by several unfortunate gentlemen in the camp of Belvidere, purporting, "that the instant an attack is made on the post where they are confined, that instant every one of the prisoners shall be put to death." To a proposition so horrid, it is difficult to conceive that any, wearing even the form and semblance of human kind, should have acceded. It requires but one answer—that we are all equally willing to spill the last drop of our blood, rather than disgrace eternally ourselves and our country, by a concession to men capable of such a proposition. We disdain to avail ourselves of our power over the insignificant individuals that have borne this flag; but

upon the whole, rather better treated than before; we had some Madeira and rum allowed us at dinner, and a greater allowance of boiled plantains and beef; the Governor, at his own request, had his plantains roasted, and was indulged with a plate; but no knives or forks were permitted to any of us: our provisions were served up in a wooden tray. Their men were exercised twice a day before our prison door, and I believe on purpose. Nothing ever hurt my feelings more, than the impudent effrontery of two or three who were under some obligations to me for my indulgence, on their sacred promise to become good and faithful subjects, should they be permitted to remain on the island, where they expected protection from a nation ever and justly respected for their generosity. Two of that description, who composed part of our guard, without the least shame or remorse, came forward with the freedom of a friend and offered to shake hands, telling me, *Courage*, I might always depend on them as friends. At the time I was of a different opinion.

desire that no further communication of the same nature may be attempted.

(Signed) JOSEPH BUTE.

By order of the President
and Commandant of His
Majesty's Troops. }

Numbers of negroes, principally French, belonging to estates in the neighbourhood, were continually coming in, and were generally armed with pikes, some mounted with iron, others of hard wood, burnt and pointed, about eight feet long. They were commonly employed in foraging parties, from sixty to one hundred, under the command of a Captain of their own colour, to bring in cattle and plantains, and in plundering houses and plantations; but at night their yells and war-songs were so dreadful, added to the almost perpetual challenges of the sentries, "Sentinel, prenez Guadaloupe*," that to sleep was almost impossible, particularly in a situation so excessively cold, without either mattress or covering of any sort.

Saturday the 7th. All the free coloured people of the four parishes of St. John's, St. Patrick's, St. Andrew's, and St. David, had joined them: by our computation they did not amount to above two hundred, and indifferently armed. This morning a report prevailed of a skirmish having taken place, at Guyave plantation, between a party of the regulars and militia and a detachment of coloured people, headed by the General in person. I was ordered to examine some of the wounded with Doctor

* "Sentinel, prenez garde à vous," was the challenge which the negroes mistook.

Magnival, who was also attending, amongst whom I found Cadet Munie, who had a ball through the joint of his knee and opposite thigh. François —, a distiller on Mr. Clozier's estate, had the tibia fractured by a musket-ball, and died in two days after. They acknowledged to have had three killed, amongst whom was Sylvain Dragon, and seven negroes wounded.

All the French planters and other French inhabitants of the four parishes had by this time joined the camp; about twenty were employed as troopers, and appeared very zealous in the service; the others seemed not particularly employed, but had all mounted the national cockade, and were armed with swords and pistols: they were also very forward and anxious to inform me of the total reduction of St. Vincent, and that General Lyndsay, as they said, only escaped with his life. St. Lucia was also taken, and, according to their information, the conquest of all the other English colonies must inevitably follow; they could, therefore, not help expressing their surprise at the obstinacy of the President and the commanding officer of the garrison at St. George's refusing to surrender while honourable terms could be obtained. Clozier d'Arcueil seemed to take a very active part, had a uniform, blue coat turned up with red, was always consulted on every emergency; but his particular de-

partment was as commissary of stores and provisions, with Mr. Lussan under him. Pierre Labat was also a great confidant, and at the head of all their councils, as well as Mr. Ollivier, of Grand Roy: he was indefatigable, and was mostly employed in the war department, organizing the army, forming magazines, plans of offence and defence, procuring arms, ammunition, and information, where he could. He was particularly solicitous to procure an exact return of the garrison; he had seen one not above two months before, when their numbers did not exceed three hundred; doubted if they could be then so strong; to all which I answered generally, that he was very much mistaken in the strength of the garrison. They had, by dint of incredible exertion, dragged up two six-pounders with their carriages from Guyave, through roads which to the eye would appear absolutely impassable, to a steep hill at some distance from Belvidere House. They seemed in excessive high spirits, roaring out, *Vive la république!* every two or three hours. The weather being very dry, facilitated much their different operations.

Our confinement continued to be as close as ever, exposed to the continual and repeated insults of our guards, which we were now become more accustomed to, and therefore bore them with more indifference. Some followers

of the camp began to sell coffee in the mornings, very grateful to most of us, who had not been used to breakfast on boiled plantains and beef; but this was soon forbid, under pain of death, by Captain Nogues, because it affected the honour of the republic to suffer prisoners to be at any expense whatever for their subsistence; he therefore ordered us tea of orange-leaves every morning, sweetened with sugar. His bounty, however, was of very short duration. I was informed out of doors, that a French planter of the name of Solier, of the parish of St. John, had some words with a coloured captain of the name of Ragon*: he, with one or two strokes of a cutlass, nearly severed Solier's head from his body: he fell dead at his feet. Lavallée, in attempting to interfere, shared the same fate; the man was instantly shot on the spot. This, and other acts of violence committed amongst themselves, were carefully concealed from the prisoners. This man had been guilty of many other outrages, even on French estates, and had caused several of his company to be shot for not immediately executing his orders.

About nine at night, the Governor, Mr. Campbell, and Mr. Farquhar, were sent for by a guard to attend the General in his camp, on

* I have since heard that his name was St. Bernard.

an eminence at a considerable distance from our prison. So sudden and unexpected an order was considered by us as the immediate forerunner of their execution; to our great joy, they all returned early next morning. They had got wet going up, and during their stay had nothing either to lie down or sit upon. No reason was assigned by Fedon for this sudden call, he rather affected surprise on seeing them at so late an hour, but seemed very indifferent about their uncomfortable situation. Mr. Campbell took the liberty of resting himself for a moment in a hammock which was near him; a negro desired him to get up, that it was his. The General seemed to have great pleasure in showing the strength of his position and the numerous army he commanded. They were dismissed without any apology. This forenoon he continued to threaten the colony as well as the prisoners with the full extent of his vengeance, if it was not surrendered to him in a very few days; that resistance was the height of folly, for eventually it must fall. What he had undertaken he would only give up with his last breath, and all those who were of his party were equally resolute; they were perfectly acquainted with the mode of making war in the woods, and that any European force brought against them would fail of success. "The island," addressing himself to

the Governor and Mr. Campbell, "was theirs by right; and you," says he, "are only intruders; you came from England, that is your country, where you ought to have remained."

Sunday the 8th. Great numbers of men, women, and children, joined them this day, and enjoyed themselves in feasting, dancing, and singing. In the afternoon a strong detachment was marched before our prison door, with fiddles playing and the national flag carried in great pomp by a black citizen, the English union by a man, who, from his hideous figure and ludicrous dress, we supposed personated their guillotine-man, or the avenger of the rights of man. The party was commanded by Nogues and Besson, two mulattoes commanding companies. A sort of circle was formed, a fire lighted, and the union carefully burnt by the hangman, beginning with one corner, and holding it up till the whole was consumed; they then sung a hymn, both officers and men. The ceremony ended in a dance, led up by Captain Nogues without either shoes or stockings: they were then marched off the ground with drums beating and fiddles playing a French march. The Governor and Mr. Campbell had been allowed their servants: they continued in the prison for some days; but, either through fear or choice, joined the insurgents, and were enrolled in the company

which appeared destined to be our perpetual guards.

On Monday the 9th, when in conversation with Fedon before our prison door, he observed to me, "You are not to be alarmed when the prisoners are searched; it is common, and we have occasion for an immediate supply of money." I offered him mine and my watch, which he refused to accept, alleging that my situation differed materially from theirs, from the services I had already rendered to the unfortunate in the line of my profession, and what were still expected of me in cases of necessity. I was, however, put on my guard not to disclose his intentions to the other prisoners, under pain of incurring his highest displeasure. A short time after he entered the prison, attended by a part of the guard, and ordered the prisoners to deliver their money and watches, beginning with the Governor and Mr. Campbell, and the others according to their rank in the militia; but neither searched their pockets himself, nor caused it to be done. He appeared the whole time to be in very good humour. To the Governor and Mr. Campbell he returned a joe, to the others in proportion to what they had in their pockets, and to those who had nothing he gave a few bitts. Mr. Muir's watch was returned, as being of little value. He collected about 200*l.* currency and twenty

watches, which were distributed amongst the guards and others as rewards to merit. We continued to be treated with less severity, and the guard became daily more civil, a few excepted, who were principally field negroes. Our provisions were better dressed, two or three plates were allowed us, and sometimes we were indulged with a dobe besides our boiled beef.

Nothing of consequence happened for several days, till Mr. Campbell was called out one day by the General. He observed to him, that he must be possessed of very considerable sums of money, and proposed borrowing eleven hundred joes, to be repaid by a draft on the National Convention of France. To this he replied, that planters never kept money by them, and was rather surprised who could give him such information. He had it, he said, from Nogues, whose authority was Ollivier. Mr. Farquhar and myself thought this hint might be improved to our general advantage by proper management, and supposed it a favourable opening to offer a ransom for our liberty, which their necessities might either induce or compel them to listen to. The greatest difficulty was, how the application was to be made with proper delicacy. Mr. Farquhar observed, it could but be done by me when called upon to visit the wounded men. To

this I consented, and proposed to sound Ollivier, who first suggested the measure, how such a proposal on our part would be received, and if approved of, that two of their number and two of ours should immediately proceed to St. George's* in order to raise the money, and that the prisoners should be delivered in Guyave on its being punctually paid. The scheme was communicated to Mr. Campbell, who rejected it in toto, as pregnant with the most imminent danger, and therefore ought not to be adopted. All arguments on our parts were unavailing; nor do I believe, if the application had been made, it would have been attended with success. However, in our situation, I thought every thing should be attempted when there was the smallest prospect or probability of being the means of obtaining our freedom, and relieving us from a confinement so pregnant with danger from the savage ferocity of our guards and enemies. Our hopes barely kept alive, by the expectation of a force soon arriving from England to effect our deliverance, bore no proportion to our increasing fears and apprehensions, which became every day more gloomy, lest some accident had happened to the convoy, so long expected, on their voyage out. From the French citizens we had

* We expected no difficulty in obtaining leave for a flag of truce.

frequent accounts of their being taken and dispersed by a superior fleet.

On the 13th, William Kerr was sent to our prison ; he had been, some days before, with the French white people in Fedon's dwelling-house, where he said there was not room, and that he preferred being with us. We considered him as a spy sent to watch our private conversation, we were therefore much on our guard for the first two or three days. A similar attempt had been made before to impose upon us, by a fair mustee from Megrin, who was sent in as a prisoner ; but we very soon discovered his intentions, principally by his dress. Although he pretended to be much afflicted, and cried at his entrance amongst us, towards evening he left us abruptly with a loud laugh.

Matters continued nearly on the same footing till Sunday the 15th. In the afternoon two companies were brought before our prison door to be exercised, under the command of Stanislaus Besson from Labay, and Etienne Labartide a white man married to a mustee woman in Guyave. The prisoners, on these occasions, were remarkably quiet, and never even attempted to look at them from the windows ; a rule which was agreed upon amongst ourselves, in order not to give offence. A few minutes after they had been marched off the ground, a company returned with Besson at their head,

and halted before the prison door; they were ordered to form two deep and face inwards: that instant the Captain gave the order, "*Prisonniers sorte tout suite*," which was very expeditiously complied with. We were marched through their whole army, then in quarters, which appeared to us to consist of nearly 200 men, very well armed, many of them in uniforms, blue and green turned up with red, which they had made in camp, out of negro clothing taken in Labay and on different estates; all the white Frenchmen and a vast concourse of men, women, and children, of different colours and descriptions, were also present, enjoying the scene. We were lodged in a shade covered with plantain-leaves, neither wind nor water tight. Early next morning I went down, in order to apply to be removed to our former prison, or have the one we were then in repaired. Upon my entering the gate, five runaways were pointed out to me, then surrendering themselves, three men and two women, making part of thirty who had already come in: the three men were armed with muskets in very good order, one of them their chief.

I was soon joined by Dr. Magnival, and with him visited the wounded. He being a reasonable and well-informed man, I entered into conversation with him, and observed, that such numbers must require great quantities of

provisions, and there must soon be a scarcity ; to this he made answer, that hitherto they had been supplied from a distance by foraging parties, and had not then touched a large plantain-walk of ten or eleven quarreys, situated between their camp and Madame Peschier's, then in full bearing, having been planted near eighteen months before, for the express purpose of the present revolution ; “ from which it is evident,” said he, “ that the present measures have not been entered into, without being first maturely considered, and their plans deeply laid.” He lamented the fate that threatened the colony, owing to the persevering obstinacy of the officer commanding the garrison, refusing to deliver up the island ; but that he hoped he would when the army arrived from Guadeloupe to reduce it by force, which would save his honour. I observed to him, that a respectable reinforcement was also on its way from home, and that the contest would soon be at issue. “ So much the worse,” he replied, “ because these people are determined never to surrender, and the consequences are much to be dreaded ;” but in the mean time, a very prudent proclamation had been issued, forbidding plunder, murder, and burning of estates, either by his own parties or the negroes belonging to them, under pain of death. A party of soldiers, he said, had been landed at Guyave, which he imagined

had been sent up for the purpose of protecting some sugar, which still remained to be shipped on the different estates; as he supposed no force could be spared from the garrison in St. George's equal to oppose them. At last the General appeared; gave orders for the prisoners to be returned to the boucan, upon my representation, and offered me a pass to entitle me to the privileges of a prisoner at large on parole, which, however, I never got: he had nobody by him at the time who could write. Before noon the prisoners were again conducted to the boucan, under a strong guard, and were lodged in the second story.

On Tuesday the 17th, the swivel was removed from before our prison door, and placed, as we understood, at Jean Fedon's house, a mile or more nearer Guyave. Some firing was heard early in the morning, and during the forenoon. About four o'clock we were ordered out, and to leave the little baggage we had behind, which some did; others had the precaution to carry their clothes with them. We were marched along the Pasture, and from thence could see a party of King's troops had possessed themselves of Jean Fedon's hill, and three men on horseback were reconnoitring, advanced a considerable way before them. It did not appear to us, that they observed a large detachment of the insurgents, drawn up along

the skirts of a wood in their front. When we got under Fedon's camp, in a narrow road leading to it, in sight of both armies, we were ordered to halt, in front of the English troops. The men alighted, the English troops were drawn up, and a smart fire soon commenced on both sides. A reinforcement of Besson's company was immediately ordered from Fedon's camp ; from whence a pretty constant cannonade was kept up, from two six-pounders.

Soon after they passed us, Michel, a mustee, who had the rank of Major in their army, appeared to the right of our guard and published the General's orders to put us all to death ; " but," says he, " notwithstanding the English are the common enemies to liberty and mankind, more especially to those of our colour (showing, at the same time, his naked arm), whom they have tyrannized over for many years, and treated with a cruelty hitherto without example ; yet we will convince you and the world besides, that republicans can conquer and be generous at the same time ; and, notwithstanding the positive orders of the General, I take upon myself to spare your lives." When he first declared his orders, many of the coloured people seemed eager to carry them into immediate execution, cocked, and some presented their muskets*. A white man in black,

* A negro, named Jacque Verdet, belonging to the

whose name I forget*, lamented that he could not have the pleasure of cutting off all our heads, or the heads of the whole nation at a blow.

The action continued till sunset, when the English troops retreated in regular order to their post; but it appeared to us, that the insurgents had the advantage, as they kept possession of the ground. We were then marched up a steep hill, which we could only ascend by the assistance of roots and branches of trees, and with infinite labour and difficulty at last reached the General's camp; it was fortified with two six-pounders from Guyave, and two swivels. The General pretended great surprise at seeing us, and talked of sending us back to our former quarters, which I strongly urged; however, he was so undetermined in his mind, that at last he said, it was too late to be removed that night. A difficulty then arose, where we were to be lodged that night; we were too numerous for any of their huts: nothing better could be thought of, than tying us two and two together with ropes, which were called for, and brought out for the purpose,

Grand Pauvre coloured company of militia, was amongst the most forward: he was posted to the right, and near the Governor and Mr. Campbell.

* I have since learned, from Mr. M^cMahon, his name was François Mary, from about Petit Havre, a mustee.

and to remain all night on the open battery. We prevailed in dissuading him from his purpose, upon the guard promising to answer for us. A small place, about ten feet square, was covered with the floor-cloth from Revolution Hall estate, which they made use of as their powder magazine; this was cleared out, and as many as could squeeze themselves into it did, the rest were out of doors; we amounted at that time to forty-seven, and as the night was excessively cold and rainy, we passed it very badly.

Next morning, the 18th, at daylight, we were removed to a rising ground a little above the battery, adjoining the General's quarters, where we continued the whole day, exposed to the sun and weather, notwithstanding repeated applications to be removed to some place of shelter; the last effort was made by myself, about sunset, at the instance of the Governor and Mr. Campbell: his answer was, "*Fortune de la guerre*," with a shrug of his shoulders; that we must rest satisfied where we were, as he had no other lodging to spare. The situation was not only high, but bleak and exposed, and the night overcast and cloudy. I did not return to communicate the unpleasant tidings to the Governor, but laid myself down behind a tree at some distance from him. By this we could plainly see our fate was fixed for that night;

and the rest prepared to keep themselves warm by lying as close together as they could.

About ten o'clock a heavy rain began to fall, and soon after a sergeant was sent to order me into head-quarters, where I was received with much civility, and had two or three glasses of Madeira. No notice whatever was taken of the rest. I began by observing to the General, rank was no recommendation to men of their equalizing principles; that from time immemorial, in peace and war, great respect had always been paid to age, and generosity to prisoners was one of the most shining virtues in a conqueror; I therefore earnestly prayed he would extend his clemency to the unfortunate, who were out of doors, and whose health, if not lives, were in danger by remaining exposed to such weather. He replied, with great indifference, that he had not the means of relieving them, but ordered them a little rum. Some of the most feeling amongst the coloured people gave the Governor, and a few others, shelter in their huts, where they had barely room to sit up, but not to lie down; the rest continued the whole night without covering, many without coats, exposed to torrents of rain, and repeated heavy gusts of wind. In Fedon's house, besides coloured people, were Ollivier, Verdet, and Clozier. Ollivier was employed writing a letter of advice to Mr. Louard of

London, informing him of a bill for 750*l.* sterling, to be drawn by Clozier d'Arcueil to the order of Julien Lussan, which he hoped would be favourably received, and punctually paid when it became due. He and the General had some conversation about their strong position, besides others, at no great distance, they could retreat to in case of a check ; of rewarding a negro called Agouti or Antoine, and Charles Castel, with silver epaulets in the mean time, until they got others from Guadaloupe, and the command of fifteen or twenty men each, for their bravery and services rendered the French republic on several occasions, particularly at Grand Roy and Palmiste.

On Thursday morning, the 19th, Mr. D'Arcueil appeared very early, accompanied by Mr. De Salase and Mr. Lussan ; the bills were then signed by D'Arcueil, and a considerable sum of money counted out on the table. Before I quitted head-quarters I had the assurance of a house being prepared for us before night, and that the negroes then passing, to the number of 150, were ordered to complete it. We remained on the hill as before, exposed to the vicissitudes of the weather till night, when we were removed to a shade at a small distance, half finished, and not large enough to contain the whole of us ; we were, however, much more

comfortable, having plenty of leaves of different kinds to sleep on.

Friday the 20th, we continued in the same shade, which was nearly finished before night ; but were given to understand, a prison was preparing on the summit of a high mountain, where we were to be removed to, and probably confined there for some time : they recommended us to be careful of our gloves and great coats, as we should there have occasion for them.

Saturday the 21st. We were served our boiled plantains and beef very sparingly, about two and five in the afternoon, ever since our removal from Belvidere. In the afternoon we were visited by the General: he laughed at the President's proclamation offering rewards for their heads ; that he would not give more than a bitt for his, and that he had many then in his power, which would cost him nothing. He said, Mr. Ought, though a prisoner, was also implicated in their crimes, as having communicated intelligence to them in Grenada, from Guadaloupe, where his business had frequently called him before and since the war. His conversation was delivered in a vein of so much pleasantry, that we drew from it the most favourable conclusions, and he took leave of us all in great good-humour.

On Sunday morning the 22d, after a very

heavy rain all night, which still continued with little intermission, we were ordered to proceed immediately to the place of our destination. As no delay could be obtained till the weather became more favourable, we began our march through defiles of standing wood up a precipice which appeared of still more difficult access than the former, every step above the ankles in mud and clay: we were obliged to rest every ten or fifteen minutes, although threatened to be pushed forward by the bayonet, with many threats and degrading expressions. We arrived at last at the summit. The Governor and Mr. Campbell could with difficulty reach a small hut, when they fell down quite exhausted and breathless: a negro woman, with great humanity, got them a little warm toddy, which revived them much. Mr. Rose, who was only recovering from the gout, never could have accomplished such a journey, had it not been for the assistance of Mr. Cumming. In a few minutes we proceeded on to the prison, not above twenty yards distant: it was twenty-two feet long and thirteen feet wide; within was a platform raised in the middle, with stocks on each side, and a passage round of two feet. We were then forty-seven in number, and as only two had hammocks, there was not room for more than twenty-eight; the rest were either obliged to stand or sleep on the wet ground be-

neath. We were all very wet from the heavy rain, and few had dry clothes to shift; however, we were indulged with the liberty of making fire out of doors to dry ourselves, about five or six at a time, and were much refreshed by a large jug of warm toddy sent to us by Capt. Foncet's wife; she was a native of the Cape de Verd Islands, and seemed to feel much for our unfortunate situation. A free negro, named Joacynth, of my acquaintance, came running to me with about two quarts of very good rum, sugar, oatmeal, also some roasted plantains and salt fish; offering his services on all occasions, when he could with prudence and secrecy. This proved a very seasonable supply, as we were still shivering with cold, and had not been allowed any rum from the republicans for some time before. After sincerely and thankfully acknowledging the obligation, I shared it with my fellow-sufferers; who derived the greatest benefit from it. I am persuaded, by that means, their healths were in a great measure preserved from the bad effects of obstructed perspiration. I should have observed before, that during the three days we were lodged near head-quarters, we suffered the greatest hardships for want of water, and even when we got any, had nothing to drink out of but the demijean it was brought in: there was none nearer than the ravine at the foot of the

mountain. A free woman generously gave us a three-quart tin pot, although I offered her any money she chose to ask.

About three o'clock in the afternoon our boiled plantains and beef, for breakfast and dinner, were brought to us at once; the reason they assigned was, that the distance from the camp below, where they were dressed, was too great to make two journeys of a day; and a white man of the name of Vincent De Loux, who had hitherto attended us as a steward, and behaved with great civility to the prisoners, was employed on one of the batteries below, which we regretted much. The stocks on each side the platform contributed not a little to our uneasiness: to put the most favourable construction on that, we concluded that they would only be used in case of attack, for our more perfect security. We passed the night without sleep, as may easily be conceived, from cold and want of room to lie down. To add to our misery, a heavy rain falling, we found the house leaked all over the roof, which was only thatched very thin with green leaves and branches of trees.

About this time we learned from our guard's conversation that two deputies, Sabazan and Rapier, mulattoes, had arrived from Guadeloupe. They brought a letter from Victor Hugues to Fedon, and, as I was informed by

Parson M^cMahon, it concluded in the following terms: "Strike hard; exterminate the English; they are the common enemies of liberty and the rights of man."

On Monday morning the 23d, a blustering negro fellow, one of our guard, entered the prison with a hammer in his hand, and first ordered the Governor, and then seven others, according to their rank in the militia, to put their feet in the stocks, in which number I was included: there was only room for eight at that time completed. He seemed to execute the order with great satisfaction, making some remark on every one as they were put in. When Mr. Fotheringham was confined, he observed to his comrade who was standing by, "We must take care of him; he is a little old, but has more courage than any of the rest*." As I had been indisposed for some days before, from a bowel complaint, I took upon me to write the General in the afternoon, to the following purport: "Citizen General, the complaint I have laboured under for some days still continues, which renders my present confinement very inconvenient; I therefore beg you will order my enlargement, and I hope, at the same time, you will be pleased to extend your clemency to the rest of my fellow-prisoners."—

* "Il est un peu vieux, mais il est plus brave que tous les autres."

The messenger returned with an order to release me, but no notice whatever was taken of the request in behalf of the others; but, as the Governor had suffered much for many days from costiveness, I was determined to make a second application, in order that he might be released from confinement only for the space of twenty-four hours, for the purpose of taking medicine; which was peremptorily refused, and a verbal message returned, that he had done enough for me, and therefore it would be only wasting paper to trouble him again. We were all very much shocked at his refusing a request which appeared to us so reasonable; it only served to convince us, if more proofs had been wanting, what little dependence there was to be placed in his generosity. In a few days we were reduced to three small plantains and about two ounces of fresh beef, half boiled, without salt, served to us only once a day; and, although there was a spring at no great distance from the prison, it was only by the most supplicating entreaties we could prevail on our guard to bring us water. The prison door was always locked at sunset; so hardened were they, and deaf to every human feeling, that they could hardly be prevailed on to open the door afterwards if the calls of nature required a prisoner to go out. Capt. Lepelley was particularly to be pitied, who had laboured under a

diarrhœa from the first of his confinement : they often proposed to shoot him, to rid them of the trouble of opening the door so often at night.

The woman, Foncet's wife, was threatened to be shot for her attention to the prisoners, and Joacynth very much suspected. Our guard offered their services to procure us refreshments for money, by which they no doubt put something in their own pockets, which made them jealous of any other person interfering; but the faithful Joacynth, although at a great risk, never forgot us : we had to thank him again for a second supply of rum out of his own stock ; he procured me also small money for a joe, which was remarkably scarce, and hardly to be come at, a considerable quantity of oatmeal, which had been served out as rations to the guard, and a quantity of sugar sufficient to last us several days, but above all a large pot, without which we could not have dressed our gruel, of which we allowed ourselves nearly a pint each, with a little rum, every morning. We were visited by Deputy Rapier, and at another time by Le Riche, the Secretary, who both faithfully promised to have our situation ameliorated by enlarging the prison and having it new-thatched.

After remaining in that uncomfortable state till the 2d of April, I proposed writing Fedon to the following effect : " The prisoners take

the liberty of addressing citizen General Fedon, and beg he will return an answer, through his secretary, to the following requests: 1st. That the prison may be enlarged and new-thatched. 2d. That we may be allowed a fire in it during the night, as it is very damp, and many of the prisoners already afflicted with severe colds. 3d. Their allowance, which for some time has been reduced to three plantains a day and not more than two ounces of beef, they submit to him whether circumstances will permit it to be increased*. 4th. That they may have a black citizen to dress their provisions at their quarters, as they are seldom served before four or five o'clock in the afternoon. 5th. They are sometimes allowed three bottles of rum; four would be nearly a small glass to each, their number now being fifty-one: as their situation requires it, this they hope will meet the General's approbation. 6th. That they may have liberty to go out, under a guard (which has been frequently denied them), by night or by day, as often as the calls of nature may require. 7th. That a person may be appointed to bring

* Salt was an article which by this time had become very scarce; indeed, there was hardly any to be got. Negro pepper served us in place of it when it could be procured, and in order that both might go farther, we generally mixed them together; neither was there any other means of preserving it but in our breeches pockets, such was the moisture of the situation.

water, as the guard consider it as no part of their duty." This was opposed by Mr. Campbell, but as it met the approbation of the other prisoners, it was agreed that his dissent should be mentioned in a postscript; however, before it was sent, he changed his opinion. It was presented to the Secretary in the absence of the General, who promised to lay it before him and obtain his answer. Two days elapsed, and no answer came: we ventured to write another note, stating, that from the multiplicity of business, it might have escaped his memory; this met with the same fate. I proposed to the Captain to permit the guard to new-thatch the house on being paid for it; this, he said, could not be allowed, nor even the piqueurs (slaves), at their noons, without the previous consent of the General. The only favour that could be obtained from him was, to let the prisoners out of stocks for a forenoon occasionally, to dry their clothes; this he would take upon himself if I would be their security; but if any attempted to make their escape, his orders were to put the whole to death. It was observed to him, that the prisoners owed many obligations to him and his guard for their attention and civil treatment hitherto, which they would not fail to reward when peace and tranquillity were restored. The number confined in the stocks, for some days before this, amounted to nine-

teen, and carpenters then employed making more.

The prisoners gradually lost that respect due by the lower ranks of men to their superiors, and many behaved with unbecoming rudeness; forgetting their present situation, the natural sympathy which ought to have moved their feelings for one another, and regardless of the dangerous consequences which might ensue from their turbulent and clamorous deportment. With difficulty they could be retained within the common bounds of discretion. The Governor never assumed any authority, but sometimes rebuked them with mildness, and recommended union and tenderness as the only solace for accumulating misery. By general consent all matters of controversy were referred to myself. What was most complained of by the guards, was the prisoners going too frequently out of doors and remaining too long; and for which, as a punishment, we were threatened to be shut up by day as well as by night. To remedy this evil, we determined to appoint one of our number as a guard at the inside of the door every day, with orders not to suffer more than two to go out at a time, which was continued while we remained together.

At first, when provisions were plenty, every one ate as he pleased; but it soon became

necessary to divide into messes of four, and six of our number by turns served them out; but since our removal to this high situation, the six stewards were all in confinement except myself. I was obliged with Anthony Kerr, whom I took to my assistance, to serve every day myself, an office attended with more trouble and less satisfaction than any I had ever been employed in. So scrupulously exact were we, that a small plantain was sometimes divided into four parts, to give a quarter to each mess. One day we had no provisions at all sent, and another beef without plantains.

Mr. Ollivier complained loudly of his negro-driver, André, a man whom, during a tedious and dangerous disease, with which he had been afflicted the year before, he nursed in the most tender and careful manner, fed him from his table, and helped him before he did himself; notwithstanding which he had behaved in the most ungrateful manner. Through his persuasion most of Grand Roy negroes, particularly those formerly the property of Mr. Barry, had been seduced from their obedience to him, and absolutely refused to join the camp, and that by his address many of the Palmiste negroes had been also prevented from coming in.

Mr. Ollivier made a long comment on the many strong positions which could be occupied

by their troops between their camp and Grand Roy, and that with 15,000 men he could defend himself against any European army, however numerous, and defied them to advance without the hazard of being cut to pieces. Le Riche recommended cannon to be mounted on the most inaccessible ridges, to be loaded with langrage, and after the first discharge instantly to fall on the enemy with pikes, not less than eight feet long, which all the negroes ought to have who were not armed with muskets, which would certainly throw them into confusion, and they of course fall an easy sacrifice to the superior courage and fortitude of a republican army. Those with muskets could then use them with certainty and success against a broken enemy flying in all directions, and he strongly recommended no quarter to be given.

Upon the 4th of April I had an order from Le Riche to attend a negro who had his leg shattered by a cannon-ball at Belvidere barrier gate. It was amputated by Magnival and Philip before my arrival. He died before next morning. I went back, accompanied by Dr. Magnival, to the middle camp, where I found supper and a bed had been ordered for me. I felt myself so weak I could have hardly gone farther that night. Mr. Verdet and Mr. Clozier, who lived together in a hut, offered me some wine. The

latter complained loudly of his house being plundered by the crew of an English frigate. The General, his Secretary, Le Riche, Deputy Rapier, and myself, sat down to supper. Before we had done we were joined by Ollivier and Marucheau. They had come from Grand Roy that afternoon. Ollivier brought some canes and a bottle of liqueur, a present from his wife to the General. He talked with great affection of his child, who, although only nine months old, seemed to know him and almost leap from the nurse's arms into his. "I only mention this to you," says he, "as father of a family, whose affectionate regard and love for his children can best enable him to judge of the feelings and tender emotions of a parent on so trying an occasion." Mr. Marucheau lamented, also, his being obliged to leave his mother bad of a fever in a watch-house, and uttered many bitter execrations against the English nation. The General inquired of Magnival after the health of all the ladies at Good Chance. He replied, they were anxiously and impatiently expecting the arrival of the Sans Culottes from Guadaloupe, and prepared to entertain them in the best manner they could. I was addressed by the name of *citoyen*, and told I might lie down when I pleased. Le Riche made answer, I was not entitled to the honour of that name, and an

apology was made. A mattress was allotted for three of us, Mr. Ollivier, a mulatto, and myself. The Secretary and Deputy Rapiere had another alongside of us*.

Le Riche began by observing, that the English had poisoned all the rum in the island, and that the prisoners ought to be obliged to drink it as a proof whether it was so or not. Mr. Ollivier said, "Then it must be the black prisoners, as the others could have no knowledge of it."—"Then, to revenge ourselves," replied Le Riche, "we ought to poison all the rivers, and, by every means in our power, endeavour to extirpate from the face of the earth such a race of monsters. Formerly the office of hangman was a disgrace; it is now not only an office of credit but of honour—the public avenger of the rights of man: with what pleasure would I accept of it, and glory in shedding the blood of the last Englishman alive, except Doctor Rappier! Liberty can never be confined solely to the dominions of

* Fedon was first in bed, or rather a hammock, which he always made use of. He slept in his clothes, with his pistols and musket alongside of him, attended by two of his own negroes armed, who followed him wherever he went. He had two others in waiting as orderly men; one a free mulatto, from Guyave, called Louis St. Hilaire; the other a slave, called André, belonging to Madame Desmarais.

France; but must gradually extend to every corner of the globe, when it will become the interest of mankind to unite and totally exterminate that perfidious race. As to myself, I shall certainly lay my grievances before the commissioners when they arrive from Guadaloupe, and expose to them my sufferings in the cause of liberty during the tyrannical government of Home, and doubt not but speedy justice will be executed upon him. He cannot be permitted to escape, nor M'Kenzie. Our all is at stake: our cause is that of liberty and justice. Victory must be our reward!" He spoke in French, but none joined him in this extraordinary soliloquy.

A guard was provided very early next morning (before I had an opportunity of conversing with Fedon), to conduct me back to prison. About this time we had some imperfect account of a reinforcement being arrived. A mulatto woman unguardedly said, she had seen Mr. Webster and Mr. Herbert before Mr. M'Mahon, who then lodged in Touchet's hut; but was soon after ordered into prison with the others.

It was either upon the 6th or 7th, that a coil or piece of white rope was sent up. The guard were employed opening and stretching it all the afternoon. We never learnt with certainty what it was intended for. We con-
 jec-

tured it was to secure those who had not room in the stocks.

On the afternoon of the 7th of April a cannonading was heard which lasted near an hour. This confirmed us more in the truth of the report. About daylight next morning a few guns were heard. The prisoners, who had been let out of stocks, were immediately ordered in, the door locked, and the whole guard put under arms. Soon after the attack became more general, a voice was heard, saying, "The prisoners are to be shot." Some, who did not perfectly understand French, asked me if it was not so. To which I made no reply. Another said, it would not take place till the General came up himself, during which time the door was frequently opened and as frequently shut with great violence. The guard was drawn up very near the prison, at the distance of not more than four or five paces. They appeared very much agitated, trembling with impatience, and some seemed to have their guns cocked. A few prisoners called out, Mercy! No reply was made. Others, who were not in stocks, were on their knees praying. Not a word was exchanged amongst us; we all knew an attack from that quarter must fail of success, which would not only prolong our misery, but endanger our lives. The door was opened; two men appeared with hammers to

take the prisoners out of stocks. Those who were not in confinement were ordered to go out. I was near the door, and immediately obeyed. The General was on a battery about twenty yards distant. He called to me to come up*. I heard a musket go off before I reached him; upon looking behind me, I saw Peter Thompson make nearly two steps forward, and then drop down seemingly motionless. I flew to Fedon, in order to try if I could prevail on him to have mercy on the innocent. "They have none on our people below," replied he.

At this time the English troops were mixed with the coloured people amongst the Belvidere houses. I then applied to Verdet, Clozier, and Papin, who said they had no influence whatever over him, and then to Ollivier, who earnestly prayed him to have mercy on the prisoners, or, if their doom was fixed, to have them shot on a future day. He was inexorable. He began the bloody massacre in presence of his wife and daughters, who remained there, unfeeling spectators of his horrid barbarity. He gave the word *Feu* himself to every man as soon as he came out; and, of fifty-one prisoners, only Parson M'Mahon, Mr. Kerr, and myself, were saved. They all bore their fate

* Joseph, a negro man who commanded the guard, desired me to advance, at the same time saying who I was.

like men and Christians, and, except a young boy of twelve years of age, I did not hear a word from one of them. Doctor Carruthers attempted to run, and was shot at about fifty yards distance from the prison. I think it is probable he counted them as they came out, because when the last was shot he lighted his segar and walked with great indifference backwards and forwards on the battery. Addressing himself to me, he said, "You need be under no apprehension for your safety as long as I live; but you may be obliged sometimes to shift your quarters. As soon as that *saloperie* is removed (meaning the prisoners shot) you shall be lodged for to-night in the same prison." A man came up and observed to him, that some of the prisoners were not quite dead. He desired they might be despatched with cutlasses and bayonets. Vincent, alias Jean Baptiste Cotton, of Guyave, with some others, immediately executed their horrid orders with cutlasses and pikes, while the prisoners lay in a pile before the prison door writhing over one another in the agonies of death. A negro came up who had his arm fractured by a musket-ball. Bob, a mulatto man, belonging to Revolution estate, was attempting to extract it. I was desired to assist him, which I did. Bob, or Robert, stepping over the dead bodies, went to bring a hammock from the

prison to carry another wounded man below: the track was so excessively steep and slippery, that he could not effect it. I told him the hammock was mine, and desired he would return it, which he did; and about the same time stript Mr. Barlow of his great coat, and put it on. He was one of the overseers belonging to Revolution Hall. He showed not the least surprise at so shocking a spectacle, nor concern for their fate.

Fedon ordered a man to count the killed and wounded of the English troops: when he returned, he said they amounted to sixty-seven. Another messenger made them out one hundred. A mulatto woman, the wife of Jean Pierre Fedon, his brother, appeared weeping bitterly; he desired her to be comforted, that her husband was dead before he quitted the middle camp; that she might look out for another, the Republic would take care of her children. He called this the Camp of Death, the one below it the Camp of Equality, and Belvidere Buildings the Camp of Liberty. He then left us*.

* He (Fedon) observed to me, that the English troops employed against them were raw, undisciplined country people, who had never seen service, or perhaps fired a musket before, and mostly pressed from their wives and families; for the truth of which he appealed to me, if it was not customary in England, in time of war: that many

Mr. Ollivier, during this awful scene, was principally employed in pointing a six-pounder, which was fired twelve times with langrage and twice with round shot, having no more of the former left. We were left under the charge of two sentries, and remained there till near four o'clock without any thing either to eat or drink. In the mean time a hole was dug on the side of a declivity near the prison door, and the dead thrown into it. Mr. M'Mahon, Mr. Kerr, and myself, were then ordered down to the middle camp, where we met Mr. Ollivier. He said the General was asleep, wished us well, and said he believed we were to be embarked. We halted under a shade at the battery, where one Drost, a white man, served as principal gunner of the soldiers, when led on to the attack below, threw down their arms and ran away, which were immediately seized by the negroes. I observed myself something of this; and it appeared to me, if their precipitate retreat had not been covered by a party in reserve below Belvidere houses, they must have been cut to pieces, or made prisoners. Ollivier, who had returned to the camp (Equality), sent two expresses to congratulate the General on the arrival of Bayonne, in a French schooner, from Guadaloupe, with supplies and a promise of more, and also a reinforcement of men. A party was ordered to seize the tents on Chadau's Hill. The detachment marched off seemingly in high spirits to execute this order; but they never appeared on the opposite side, and the soldiers very deliberately struck their tents, which they carried away.

ner. He affected great grief at what had happened, and offered us some refreshment. Jean Pierre Fedon was stretched out there. His wife, observing that I had lost most of my clothes, pressed me to accept of a shirt and a pair of stockings, which I did; for, notwithstanding Mr. Ollivier assured me Major Deseize had ordered a guard over the prison after the massacre, to prevent pilferage, yet a general plunder took place, not only there, but in all the huts which had been evacuated during the attack.

We then proceeded to Madame Peschier's under an escort of four field negroes, two of whom belonged to Marass. They were exceedingly insolent and rude. On my way down the steep hill I counted ten men killed, most of them striped and hacked with cutlasses, and a drummer in green regimentals. Two or three were within pistol-shot of their battery.

In our way to Madame Peschier's we passed through the plantain-walk, which seemed to be untouched and in full bearing; tanniers were thick planted amongst the plantain-trees. We arrived at Madame Peschier's a little after dark; a number of ladies appeared at the windows to look at us. I was accosted by a mulatto man, who asked if I knew him. On bringing a candle, I told him I did. His name was La Grange, appointed Commissary Repre-

sentative for this island by Hugues. He inquired for Mr. Mays, Mr. Ollivier, and Mr. Lussan, and said he would hang them up immediately, if he found them in camp, for the crimes they had already committed. "I have known you," says he to me, "for many years, but nothing bad of you, and so much the better for you. I am come to take the chief command. Had I arrived sooner, what you have witnessed to-day should not have happened. You are to be sent to Guadaloupe, where you will be well treated. I shall take care to mention you to Victor Hugues in my despatches. He is a little rough in his manner, and passionate, which is soon over; but upon the whole I hope you will have no reason to complain of his treatment. You may be in want of money; I therefore beg you will, without ceremony, accept of these two joes." We were then mounted on mules, or horses, and proceeded under a guard with La Grange, halted at Balthazar, where there was a strong party, and slept at Chantilly, where there was another. We got there about ten o'clock at night; and as we had eaten nothing for the day, except two plantains given us by a woman in the camp, he ordered some broiled salt fish and eggs for supper, and Madeira wine. Michaud, a brother of Fedon's by the mother's

side, appeared to have the chief command. He had lost an arm by the bursting of a blunderbuss going after runaways, and then had a pension of 20*l.* currency per annum allowed him. He pretended to have nothing to give us till peremptorily ordered, in a very menacing manner, by La Grange.

The next day we were marched to Marquis under a guard of at least fifty men, commanded by a free negro called Baptiste, who was armed with my fusil and accoutrements. A negro named Dublin, belonging to Tufton Hall, and another, André, to Florida, were of the party. At Marquis we had coffee and biscuit for breakfast, were embarked on board the Republican schooner *Pescherie* (formerly the *Delight*, of this island), Captain Liebbe, and sailed three days after, on the 12th of April, about noon, for Guadaloupe. The Captain and men were exceedingly attentive and civil to all of us, and so guarded in their expressions, that I do not recollect a word falling from them to the disgrace or reproach of the English nation. During their stay at Marquis they were generally ashore the whole day, and only returned at night.

*List of Prisoners shot by Order of Julien Fedon,
April 8, 1795.*

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Governor Home. | 28. Edward Mathew. |
| 2. Alex. Campbell. | 29. Joseph Mercer. |
| 3. James Farquhar. | 30. John Thornton. |
| 4. George Rose. | 31. Joseph Guy. |
| 5. Pat. Fothringham. | 32. John Wise. |
| 6. Samuel Ought. | 33. — M ^c Dowgal, pilot. |
| 7. George Walker. | 34. Edward Johnson. |
| 8. William Muir. | 35. — Banister. |
| 9. Pat. Cumming. | 36. James Beatron, sub-
pilot. |
| 10. Thomas Johnson. | 37. John Reid, a sailor. |
| 11. William Kennard. | 38. William Eames. |
| 12. Robert Webster. | 39. Hugh M ^c Caull. |
| 13. John Morris. | 40. Joseph Barlow. |
| 14. William Bell. | 41. Francis D. Carruthers. |
| 15. Peter Thompson. | 42. John Jackson. |
| 16. Richard Davis. | 43. — Hawks. |
| 17. William Gilchrist. | 44. Philip Lepelley. |
| 18. Michael M ^c Carty. | 45. James R. Linton. |
| 19. Christopher M ^c Carthy. | 46. Gilbert Kerr. |
| 20. John Livingston. | 47. Thomas Brae. |
| 21. Neil Campbell. | 48. Benj. Johnson. |
| 22. Anthony Kerr. | |
| 23. Jenkin Rice. | |
| 24. Joseph Shae. | |
| 25. John Tod. | |
| 26. Matthew Atkinson, 12
years of age. | |
| 27. James Cuthbert. | |
- Reserved.*
- | | |
|--|---|
| | 1. Francis M ^c Mahon. |
| | 2. William Kerr. |
| | 3. John Hay, the Author
of this Narrative. |

List of the Guard who shot the Prisoners.

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|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Joseph, Captain ... B. | 18. Baptiste Stanislaus B. |
| 2. S. Morris, Lieut. M. | 19. Alexandre Jacque . M. |
| 3. William Burke M. | 20. Julien Boudon M. |
| 4. Midar Chantimel .. M. | 21. Oronoke M. |
| 5. Clovis Chantimel. M. | 22. Sedislas B. |
| 6. François Ferdinand B. | 23. Jean Charles de |
| 7. Antoine Cotteau ... B. | Cotteau M. |
| 8. Charles Cotteau ... B. | 24. Venis de Cotteau ... M. |
| 9. François Paraclete B. | 25. François de Cotteau M. |
| 10. François Tivoli ... M. | 26. Euben de Cotteau M. |
| 11. Regis Hery M. | 27. Matt. de Cotteau .. M. |
| 12. Regis — M. | 28. Jean Baptiste Ve- |
| 13. Sincere de Coin .. M. | ronique B. |
| 14. Celestin B. | 29. Chas. Barbarousse M. |
| 15. Jean Pierre Leonard B. | 30. Jacque Barbarousse M. |
| 16. Chs. Veronique, Caffre. | 31. Baptiste B. |
| 17. George Robertson . M. | 32. Jean Pierre Nagon. |

On our march from Chantilly to Marquis we could perceive a frigate, or sloop of war, cruising to windward of Labay, and a schooner between that and Marquis harbour. La Grange, Nogues, and some other officers, followed us at a little distance (we were allowed horses), but stopped for a considerable time at their camp on Pilot Hill; but before we were embarked La Grange came in, and ordered some biscuit from the schooner for breakfast. He inquired for two mustee children and their mother Portia: I told him their mother was dead, and they were in Guyave when I was made pri-

soner, but that if he would give me leave to write and engage to forward the letter, I would recommend them to the care of a friend; to which he consented, saying, "I shall have occasion, before long, to send a summons and proposals of surrender to St. George's, and you may depend on its being taken care of." It occurred to me, that this was the most plausible pretext, and most likely to gain his permission to inform our friends of our destination. Mr. M^cMahon and Mr. Kerr also wrote, and the letters were handed to him open, but were never received.

On the 10th, a sailor belonging to the Resource frigate, called Michael Troy, was sent down, under a guard, from the camp, and put on board; he there heard of the prisoners being shot, but no notice was taken of it on board, except by a negro man, who pretended he was sent by D'Arcueil to attend me on the passage: says he, "We have put all the prisoners to death, but those three on board, and they deserved it; we know very well how to distinguish the good from the bad." A white man, one of the crew, replied hastily, "You have done very wrong; hold your tongue." He then contented himself with reciting the particulars of the affair of the 8th, and showing what a small portion of the island remained in possession of the English. Joseph, Captain of the prisoners' guard, was

also on board, going to Guadaloupe, as I conceived, ambassador from the insurgents to Victor Hugues. Capt. Liebbe was mostly on shore, and appeared to have a great deal of business with La Grange and the other officers. He had landed his cargo on the night of the 7th; it consisted of forty thousand ball-cartridges, four barrels of gunpowder, about five hundred stand of fire-arms, and as many pikes.

During the three days we were at anchor, the Captain was visited by a young man about seventeen from the camp on Pilot Hill, who sent off a young bull from a neighbouring estate for our sea store; they had already been plentifully supplied with sugar and rum. He was also frequently visited by a Mr. Charpentier, and one of the Du Parquets, a trooper*. Although the cruising schooner was off the harbour two or three times every day, yet the Captain appeared under no more apprehension of danger, than if he had been at anchor in a neutral port: says he, "When they are tired sailing backwards and forwards, they will go away."

On the 11th, a soldier of the 25th, Abraham Wriglesworth, was brought down under a guard and put on board, and that afternoon two mulattoes came off as pilots; about sundown they began to warp out, and by eight o'clock were

* Pegasus.

nearly in the narrow pass. They conducted the business very badly, and much to the dissatisfaction of Le Brun, the pilot belonging to the schooner: says he, "If we are not taken by the English to-night, it is because they do not choose it." He seemed very well acquainted with the place; had been an old trader or smuggler in every port of the island. The Lieutenant's name was Debruil; it was from him I got an account of the cargo they brought. He was related, he said, to a noble family in France (Bougainville); had been an emigrant for some time in Guernsey; pretended to be tired of the service, and wished to make his escape, or to be taken; with many other secrets in whispers, which I did by no means encourage. He recommended me to be guarded in our conversation before the Captain; that he understood English, although he pretended he did not. In the course of that evening, the Captain frequently complained of his inattention and misconduct, and at last threatened to confine him in irons. The Lieutenant took an opportunity of telling me, that the Captain's anger arose from seeing him so often in private conversation with me: to which I replied, "It was his own fault, and not mine." The conversations he alluded to, were never of my seeking; indeed, I was as careful of what I said to or before him, as before the Captain. The

wind not favouring them, and the sea running high, they made fast the warp to an anchor, and brought up again in their former ground for the night.

On the 12th, about noon, the sea still high and weather squally, they warped out, and I thought were several times in imminent danger of being wrecked on the reefs. The cruising schooner, as usual, had looked into the harbour that morning, but was not then in sight from the deck. Once clear of the shoals, they set every sail they could carry, and run due south for six hours; the island was not then to be seen; before dark they put about and stood north half east, till they made land on the 11th early in the morning, which was Guadeloupe. We had no hopes of being retaken after our departure, but happy were we to be thus removed from our miserable confinement, and the scene of horror which was still fresh in our minds. A sail was seen between Montserrat and Guadeloupe, which proved to be an American. By daylight we were under the land, and anchored in Basseterre Road on the morning of the 16th of April. The Captain saluted with fourteen guns before he went ashore: there were eight sail of large ships, frigates, and vessels armed *en flute*, in the Road.

As soon as the Captain left us, the carpenter belonging to the schooner began to

search our pockets, and stripped us of every thing except the shirts we had on. When he demanded my watch and money, I observed to him I had only the two joes which he knew were given me by La Grange: "That signifies nothing," replied he; "I was taken by the English myself in Martinique, and after being stripped of every thing, was sometimes threatened to be hanged. I do not know for what reason you did not suffer with the rest." He left me, but returned almost immediately, and searching me again more strictly than before, discovered a gold repeating watch belonging to Mrs. Home, which had been given me by the Lieut.-Governor at Belvidere boucan, with a tear of affectionate regard for the memory of a kind and loving wife, whom he had lately lost, to be sent to his brother in Edinburgh. I was then turned over to a boy to be further examined, but had the good luck after all to save four joes, which I had in a purse concealed in the top of my boot, by dropping them unperceived into Mr. Kerr's hand, who had been searched before.

The Captain soon returned, and we were ordered into the boat with the colours of the St. John's* and St. David's regiments of militia,

* The colours of the St. John's regiment were taken in my chamber on the night of the 2d of March, when I was made prisoner.

which they had brought from Grenada. I told the Captain we had been plundered of the few shirts we had remaining—only five amongst three of us, which I hoped he would have the goodness to order to be restored, and give me an opportunity of speaking to him apart when we landed. He promised he would, and desired the carpenter to hand our bundle into the boat. We landed on the public wharf, which was crowded with people of all colours and descriptions: the Captain immediately disappeared. We were marched between two lines of black and yellow troops, with the colours of the two regiments carried before us, amidst the huzzas and shouts of a mixed multitude, exposed to the scorn and reproaches of the meanest negro boy in the street; they all seemed confident that Grenada was in possession of the French. The colours were carried to the National House and we to gaol; where we were served with six ounces of raw pork and a pound of bread each. We were gazed at by the prisoners, consisting of French and coloured people, as men risen from the dead. A negro observed, that he believed I was a priest, and had seen me before; it was not a profession then in demand there: but I imagined it would cost me little trouble to prove the contrary, if required. The walls of the prison were from twenty to thirty feet high,

with dungeons beneath, arched over; the courtyard paved, and a run of water constantly through it. We were ordered up stairs into a tiled room amongst a number of negroes, as our place of confinement.

We had very little conversation with the sailor or soldier coming over: by the former we were informed of Alexandre's being hanged, before the attack of the 8th of April. A wag in the camp had fastened a piece of red and blue cloth to the soldier's hat, which induced us to believe he had enlisted; it was without his knowledge, nor was he undeceived till his arrival in Basse-terre Road, when he pulled it out and threw it away. He informed us of his being conducted, by Fedon's order, blindfolded to the Camp of Death, and then desired to look at the place where the prisoners had been shot and buried. He declared he never had such a fright in his life; he expected to be shot, he said, for certain.

When night came we began by securing a birth for ourselves on the tiled floor amongst the negroes, and were frequently interrupted by their complaining of our having taken their places, and obliged to shift. The turnkey came in before he locked the doors, and ordered us into a small floored room, where several French prisoners were confined, much against their will, as they complained of the room being already too much crowded. A Frenchman,

called Fortmaison, bred to the bar, and formerly editor of the *Courier d'Antilles* at St. Vincent, was very civil, and showed a great desire to serve us. At first we were rather reserved and guarded in our answers to the many questions he put to us: he gave us a short account of the many enormities exercised by Victor Hugues, since the evacuation of the island by the English; at least two thousand, he said, had either been shot or guillotined, accused of aristocracy, or having taken the oath of allegiance to His Britannic Majesty: emigration, or having worn a black cockade, were also crimes punished with death. The tribunal consisted of three white and two coloured people; the questions commonly asked were, their age, place of nativity, if they had borne arms against the republic, or emigrated since the disturbances, or if they could prove any services they had rendered their country. The trial ordinarily lasted a few minutes; and as the hangman presided, the sentence was carried into immediate execution.

The day after the evacuation, he ordered the municipality to attend at the planting of the tree of liberty, by eight in the morning: he happened to be there by seven himself, and so incensed was he at their not being present, that he ordered them all to be put in gaol, but released them again in about four hours. The tree of

liberty is a palmiste, planted by the fountain at the head of a long avenue of tamarind-trees in the middle of the town, called La Cour, built round with a wall of broken bombshells, about three feet high ; at the other end of the walk, at the distance of about 400 yards, a monument was built to the memory of those who had fallen in the service of their country, after a siege of six months and five days *. All the women were ordered to attend in church by ten o'clock, under pain of death, which they punctually obeyed ; the hangman, or avenger of public justice, was placed at the altar. "Hear," says he, "truth for the first time, from the mouth of this man: we have been too long the dupes of priests, and deceived by their false doctrine ; but there is now an end to it." The women he abused in the grossest terms, and accused them of partiality to the English, and many other indecent expressions : he then ordered them out, and the doors to be shut, with this inscription on them, "*Ci-devant maison de Dieu.*" Fortmaison was sentenced to be imprisoned till the peace : his head was only saved by the evidence of a woman who proved his having rendered some services to the patriots. When a suspected person is denounced, whether by a white person or a negro, the *onus probandi* lies with the accused, and

* Alluding to the siege of Guadaloupe.

if he cannot produce sufficient evidence of his innocence, execution immediately follows. There were six ladies, of reputable characters and families, confined in a room next to us. Three were sentenced to be imprisoned till the peace, the other three had not been tried. One of them, a very respectable well-bred woman, of about sixty-three years of age, told me the only crime she had been guilty of was emigrating to St. Kitts, where she remained about six months, and was treated there with the greatest hospitality. She possessed a magnanimity and firmness of mind beyond what is commonly met with in her sex: with a smile of contempt she reprobated Hugues's ridiculous proceedings, and braved the approach of death, should that be her fate. A lady at least ten or twelve years older than herself, she said had been shot, because she persisted to believe in God and his holy doctrine, regardless of all his threats.

I inquired of Fortmaison if the extraordinary decree respecting General Dundas had been carried into effect. He assured me it was, that the coffin was dug up and dragged from Fort Matilda to the extremity of Basseterre, a distance of nearly two miles, then broke open and the limbs strewed about in the air, after being buried above six months. The printed

decree was still to be seen in the church, now called la Maison de Commun.

I found at last that Fortmaison was sincerely disposed to serve us in any little matters within his reach, and that he possessed more of the milk of human nature than any of the same nation now to be met with. "I have no money," says he, "but can give each of you a shirt. I have six servants, who formerly belonged to me; they are now my masters. Charlotte is still grateful, calls twice a day with my breakfast and dinner; give her your rations, and she shall do the same for you. She is not of a mercenary turn; but knows your situation, and will not expect retribution, as you have not the means. Husband the little money you have saved, as you may find it difficult to raise more." Every day confirmed us more strongly in the good opinion we had conceived of him; and his extraordinary civility and attention shall never be forgot by me as long as I exist. I communicated to Fortmaison how I had been plundered by the carpenter on board the schooner. He recommended me to apply for redress to the Commissary Representatives, that such proceedings were not allowed, but considered as a disgrace to the Republic. Two or three days after my confinement the Captain came on a visit to a friend. I applied to him, before Fortmaison, to have the effects taken

from me restored. He desired me to say no more, he would inquire into it. After his departure, Fortmaison came to me. "Don't depend on that man," says he; "I overheard him, going out, say to the gaol-keeper, that I (Fortmaison) had been advising you to apply for restitution of what was taken from you, observing, at the same time, that it was *fortune de la guerre*, that I had nothing to do with it. When you are called before Hugues," says he, "which will be as soon as he returns from Point Petre, inform him of what passed." This happened in three days after. His aid-de-camp came to the prison, desired my name to be called out, and ordered me to follow him. I found Hugues alone, walking backwards and forwards in a long and well-furnished parlour: before he spoke to me he desired I would put on my hat, and made no return to my salute. He then began a speech of some length, and with great asperity, to the following purport:—"Before the revolution in America," says he, "the English were considered as a civilized nation; since that they have become perfect cannibals, and deserve to be treated as such. There is not an officer amongst them but studies plunder more than the art of war: the men are good soldiers, but they have not a General possesses talents to be a Sergeant. We have had sufficient proof of that in this island. I landed

here with only 800 men to oppose 5000, and succeeded to the surprise of all the world. Had I found Grey and Jervis here, I would have hanged both of them, as well as Prince Edward. He deserved it (he said) for robbing a Frenchman of his horse, though a royalist, on pretence that he was not." He then made a ludicrous comment on the pretended blockade by the English fleet. He said the English carried on the war very badly by land, but worse by sea; that he would do more, and had already done more, by his small cruisers, than they had with thirty sail of men of war, only with the loss of three of them in six months; the islands must certainly fall, one and all of them, except Barbadoes: that on the continent the allied army had lost every thing, and the Allies must soon submit to a peace on any terms. Then addressing himself to me, "I shall send you back in a flag of truce, not to Grenada, but to the Saints." I thanked him, and begged the others might be sent also, Mr. M'Mahon and Mr. Kerr; which he refused. As he appeared then much calmer, I mentioned how I had been treated on board the schooner by the carpenter. He ordered his aide-de-camp to inquire into it, who returned with me to gaol. On our way thither he made himself known to me. "My name is Rysville," says he. I immediately recollected his staying at Revo-

lution Hall for four or five months in the year 1790 or 1791, where we were often together, and very intimate. I congratulated myself on being so fortunate as to fall in with a friend in an enemy's country, and freely told him I should consider him as such. He inquired after some of his friends in Grenada, saw me safe back to gaol, and then went in search of the carpenter belonging to the schooner. He returned in about an hour with my watch, sleeve-buttons, and lancet-case. I observed to him that I had taken from me besides a gold repeating watch, which I passed as belonging to Mr. M'Mahon, but was at that time by accident in my pocket, while he was dressing; and if he could get her restored, with my coat and money, I should consider myself as under many obligations to him. He replied, "The vessel is just weighing anchor; if she is not gone before I reach the wharf, they shall be sent to you;" but I never saw or heard from him afterwards.

A Monsieur Torteau, an inhabitant of Grenada, where he had a wife and family, visited the prison, I suppose from curiosity. He was dressed in a national uniform, blue turned up with red, and an anchor on his buttons. Of me he took not the smallest notice, although personally known to him; but appeared very attentive to Mr. Kerr, offered and promised

him both his interest and assistance, giving him great hopes of good treatment and a speedy release. I had only seen him once or twice in the insurgents' camp in Grenada during the two first weeks.

On Friday the 18th of April, two deserters from the 68th, Dailey a tailor, and Welsh a barber, were sent to gaol: they were treated as common prisoners, to their great disappointment. I was given to understand deserters never were employed in their service. On Monday the 20th, three prisoners came in, George Wilson, Captain of an American brig, from Baltimore, James Thorborn, and Joseph Kittoe, passengers bound from Martinique to Antigua: they had been taken on the 12th of April by the schooner Thenien, Captain Parsall, fitted out from Baltimore. The brig was condemned in consequence of her having sold her cargo of flour to Government in Martinique, and letters found on board of her, to the store-keeper and different merchants in Antigua, recommending the Captain to them for the sale of the remaining part of his cargo, consisting of corn. They had remained on board the Commodore from the 12th till the 20th, when the fate of the brig was determined. The Captain and Mr. Thorborn claimed protection as being naturalized Americans; but as their certificates were subsequent to the 14th of

July 1789, Hugues considered them as British subjects. All the Americans then in Basse-terre interested themselves by petition, remonstrance, and threats, to no purpose. Mr. Stark, a native of America, and to whom the brig belonged, at last prayed that Mr. Thornborn might be examined by a physician as to his state of health ; he had been attacked by a fever and cough in America, which threatened his lungs, and was advised by the medical gentlemen there to pass a few months in the West Indies for the benefit of his health: to this no attention was paid; on the contrary, Hugues replied, the gaol would be of service to him. As I had heard no further accounts of my departure in a flag of truce, I wrote to my friend Rysville, to request he would inform me when it was likely to sail: to this he made no answer. The prisoners assured me that Hugues always kept his word, and that I might rely on being exchanged, as soon as the multiplicity of other business would allow him time to think of it.

The prisoners were visited every day by a physician and a surgeon, the latter sometimes a white man and at other times a mulatto; the physician's name was Caudé: he inquired of me after some people in Grenada, where he had passed a few months last war, after the capture by D'Estaing: he was very much disposed to talk of politics, which I as carefully avoided.

After some illiberal remarks on the English nation, he concluded by observing, that from the conquest of Holland, the rapid progress and success of the French arms in every part of the globe, there must soon be a general peace except with England; "one of the two nations," says he, "must fall, and it requires little penetration to foresee which must be crushed. England derives her principal resources from trade; now that she must be soon stript of her colonies, she will have no longer the means of carrying on the war."

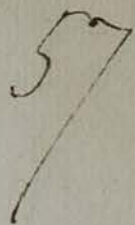
On the 30th of April, about noon, an order came for all the English prisoners to be embarked immediately for Point Petre except two, which proved to be Mr. Kittoe and myself: I concluded we were reserved to be sent away in a flag of truce, and gave Mr. McMahon and Mr. Kerr all the money I had in my pocket except three dollars. Mr. Thorborn wrote me from on board the vessel to take charge of his trunks, and make use of any part of his clothes I had occasion for: the Americans had only been plundered of part of their money and clothes by the privateer's crew. At first the trunks were ordered to be delivered to me, but on pretence that the note was written with a pencil and might be defaced, they were afterwards taken from me, until I could procure a proper order from

Mr. Thorborn. I wrote him at Point Petre; the letter, I understood afterwards, he received; but his answer was suppressed at the National House; the trunks were therefore delivered to the municipality. Another objection was made to Mr. Thorborn's note, that it was in English, and ought to have been in French; it was translated by myself, and shown to one of Hugues' secretaries, who approved of the translation; it was then the objection was made to its being written with a pencil, which could be easily defaced. At the request of the Representative Lebas, I was desired to have a letter to Mr. Thorborn at Point Petre, with directions how to give the order, which, however, I never received. I had shown an inventory of the effects contained in the two trunks, which perhaps might appear too valuable to be given up.

On the afternoon of the 1st of May, Mr. Kittoe and myself were ordered to attend the Commissary Representatives. We were introduced by an officer to Mr. Lebas, at the National House; "You are," says he, "to have the town for prison;" and addressing himself to me, "We know something about you, and have no doubt of your conducting yourself with propriety." Then turning to Mr. Kittoe, "The Republic," says he, "knows when to be

generous and to whom, but we will not suffer ourselves to be imposed upon; you have already been guilty of such prevarication, in giving an account of yourself, that much will depend on your future conduct, how long you may enjoy the indulgence now granted you." An order was given us to receive rations, the same we were allowed in gaol, from the Republican magazine. We were then conducted to the municipality, who furnished us with lodgings, and desired us to present ourselves there twice every day: in the house we found two Mr. Hodges, father and son, from St. Martin; they had been sent there a few hours before, and informed us, that although the island made no defence when summoned to surrender, terms were agreed upon, property was to be preserved, and no enfranchisement of negroes; however, in a few days, the merchants were thrown into gaol, and their goods confiscated; the estates belonging to British subjects were sequestered, and French managers put on them; all the produce of the island was put in requisition, and the planters were not permitted to sell a hogshead on their own account. All the produce in Guadaloupe was also in requisition: to sell or exchange a hogshead with the Americans for provisions, was punished with imprisonment and confiscation of the vessel.

Goods of every kind brought to the island in neutral bottoms, were bought by the Commissary Representatives, and paid for in produce; once in ten or twelve days a sale was published at the National Stores Agence by beat of drum, and permission granted by the Commissary Representatives to the inhabitants to purchase in such limited quantities as they thought proper, which was always paid for in ready money, and the prices taxed for those who bought to retail again. Cattle were killed every day, but none were allowed to purchase who were not confined by severe sickness to their beds, and then it must be by an order from Hugues. Fowls sold from nine to twelve shillings, but were seldom to be met with; fresh fish was also very scarce. They abounded in vegetables of every kind, on which the inhabitants seemed principally to subsist; they were also dear, and only to be had from five to seven in the morning. Such was the general want of salt as well as fresh provisions, that we could sell our rations of salt fish at the rate of above a shilling per pound. The town seemed very thinly inhabited, and many of the houses not occupied, although about 300 were burnt by the Patriots, before the surrender to the English; 162 were confiscated after the recapture by Hugues, together with 368 sugar and coffee estates,



on which were 32,500 working negroes, under the immediate direction of the Commissary Representatives.

About the 24th of May, Captain Shipley, his wife, two daughters, one about eleven, the other five years of age, and two female black servants, with several officers, taken on board the Woodley by the French corvette la Perdrix, were landed from on board two small privateers at Basseterre; they were all sent to the common gaol; but Hugues, having some compassion for Captain Shipley and his family, in a few hours sent for them to the National House, where they were entertained with much seeming hospitality, the liberty of the town granted them, and lodgings ordered for them in the same house where we were; he even condescended to lend them two small mattresses and two straw-bottomed chairs; so much his feelings were affected at their unhappy situation, that he gave them every reason to expect a speedy exchange, to be effected through the medium of the Governor of St. Bartholomew, as no cartel had been yet established in the West Indies. They were first carried into that island, and claimed protection according to the subsisting treaty between England and Sweden; the Governor demanded them, and threatened to fire on the ship if his orders were refused; but the Captain re-

plied, he could not be answerable of himself to land the prisoners, but if he was fired upon, he would expose them on the deck. Three days afterwards, Ensign Williams, of the 61st regiment of foot, taken with them, had his parole also; he complained to Victor Hugues of being in a bad state of health, who granted his request without hesitation: the rest were sent on board the prison-ships at Point Petre.

A military tribunal, consisting of five whites and blacks, made a tour of Guadaloupe once a month, in order to try and punish such negroes as had refused or neglected their work. They were condemned to be chained by the middle and ankle for five to fifteen years; the more refractory were shot, which very frequently happened. Punishment by the cart-whip, as it is commonly called, was totally abolished. Stealing was considered a great crime, and said to be punished with death; notwithstanding which I never saw greater thieves in any country even in gaol; and we were frequently put on our guard by the white people not carelessly to expose any of our clothes or provisions, particularly at night, otherwise we might depend on losing them.

It did not appear that any regular return of the number of negroes on each estate, or the quantity of produce made on the island, had been taken for some years back: military

arrangements, and organizing of black corps, seemed to engross their whole attention. Few of them were in uniforms, and many of them, even when on duty and standing sentry before the National House, had only a ragged check or Osnaburgh shirt to cover them. A battalion of chasseurs of all colours, consisting of prisoners shipped from Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucia, after the capture by the English, had been embodied in France, and sent out with the last reinforcement. They were neatly dressed in a short deep-green uniform turned up with red, rough caps, and armed with carbines. The officers wore very long swords, or rather sabres, which they trailed by their sides. There were not then, by report, three hundred regular white troops in the island.

The municipality, consisting of one white and one coloured person, with their secretaries, sat by rotation weekly, from six in the morning till six at night. All matters relative to the police of the town, and disputes between the inhabitants, whether for debt or a breach of the peace, came before them; and although they attended punctually, they seemed to have no time to spare. In the course of a few weeks, through the indulgence of a black member, our attendance was remitted to once a day; but we were soon obliged to give the same attendance at the commissary of war's

office. His name was Anquetille, originally from Martinique, where he left some property, and where his wife then remained *. Affected, vain, and mysterious, full of self-consequence, and mighty in office, apparently possessing the confidence of Hugues, where he constantly dined and supped, but more afraid of him than a boy of his schoolmaster, and was anxiously solicitous to impress the minds of the prisoners with the extent of his power and terror of his vengeance, should they be found delinquent in word or deed; recommended to them, as a friend, to be seen seldom in the streets, and not more than two together. We were all threatened with imprisonment for one of us refusing to have any communication in words with some deserters from St. Lucia, who spoke to him first, and were very properly answered, that they disgraced their country, and did not deserve the name of Englishmen. This high misdemeanor was got over by a severe reprimand from one of the representatives, which

* He inquired one day particularly for the Gubets, first Dumont, and if they were not in the camp with the insurgents; observing at the same time, that although they were born under an English government, they were originally French. He also inquired for Deseize and his family, and would have entered more particularly into a conversation respecting the French inhabitants of Grenada, had he not been called away on other business.

he considered as a strong proof of his extraordinary clemency, and recommended strongly to Capt. Shipley and myself immediately to make our apology, as we might be implicated in the same heinous crime; which, however, we did not think proper to do. I very early saw his insignificance, and observed to Capt. Shipley not to confide in the many flattering promises he made to effect his release through his personal interest; and that they might be held in still higher estimation, every word was to be kept a profound secret. His real character was so transparent, that it required little penetration to see through it; and I believe, upon the whole, Capt. Shipley benefited very little, if any thing, by the many fine promises he made. I had greater hopes, as well as he, from the interposition of the Governor of St. Bartholomew's aid-de-camp, who was ostensibly sent to Guadaloupe on that and other business relating to captures. He appeared to be a very well informed man, spoke four or five different languages and all correctly, and I hope was sincerely disposed to serve him; however, his negotiations terminated all in promises, which never were, or perhaps never intended to be, kept.

Some blame certainly attaches to Mr. Byam, President of Antigua, for not acknowledging the receipt of Hugues' despatches, and for-

warding them to the commanding officer at Martinique: they were sent by an American vessel, but did not arrive in Martinique for upwards of six weeks. A few days after Mrs. Shipley's exchange, Hugues felt his consequence not a little hurt at this seeming neglect on the part of Mr. Byam, and could not refrain from expressing at times, with some asperity, his displeasure. News of the evacuation of St. Lucia was brought over by a Danish vessel on the of June. A salute of twenty-two guns was immediately fired on board the brig then in the road: she was of an uncommon construction, carried four very large guns, intended to be loaded in case of action with red-hot balls, or rather a composition which water would hardly extinguish, to be thrown into vessels in order to set them on fire. She seldom was at sea, and I think it doubtful whether the experiment was ever tried. An American clergyman had the honour of the invention, who presented it to the Convention soon after the declaration of war against England.

Their success in St. Lucia I hoped would put Hugues in good humour; I therefore ventured to request he would fulfil his promise, and return me to the Saints in a flag of truce, or suffer me to depart the island in a neutral vessel; and, as he was not at all times visible, I

had the purport of my prayer written, in order to be sent up to him should that be the case. I was much disappointed, and met with a very ungracious reception. As I conjectured, he was not to be seen that day; but the orderly sergeant, at my request, ventured to present him my short petition, conceived in terms as nearly republican as I could. The moment he had read it, I could hear him tear it to pieces, stamping with his feet in a transport of rage: he exclaimed, "Am I to be perpetually troubled with these Englishmen? If they are not satisfied with their present condition, I will send them back to prison, particularly him who abused the deserters, where he shall lie till he rots; and I desire that Shipley troubles me no more with his importunities—I am weary of them." I hardly waited the return of the orderly man, but walked off, lest he should come down stairs and load me with a torrent of abuse. My reception was the means of preventing some of the other prisoners applying for favours; nor could we divine the cause of his anger at the moment that success had crowned his highest expectations. The cause was soon explained: Lebas had just returned from a tour to Grenada and St. Vincent, where, through the vigilance of the cruisers, he had not been able to land, nor have any communication with the insurgents on shore. At Gre-

nada he had landed some men on Green Island to make signals, none of which were answered. They were taken off next day, when the vessel only escaped capture by the captain's knowledge of the coast, passing to windward of Carriacou, where the pursuing vessels could not follow him. His name was Joseph, a Turk. He could neither read nor write, but was a man in whom great confidence was put by Hugues. He had been formerly a cotton-planter at Canovan, as I was informed. At Dominique the landing from Guadaloupe and Marigalante had been unsuccessful, of which he had received intelligence only the night before. These combined had occasioned a very serious dispute between Hugues and Lebas, with many threats and accusations on both sides. According to my information, Hugues had been in a most violent rage the whole night, which had not then subsided.

Much about this time a misunderstanding had arisen between him and the commander in chief of the troops, General Pillardy, whom he suspended without any form of trial, and sent him to France in a vessel which sailed soon after. I was given to understand, that all officers, who had not commissions from the National Convention, but from himself, he could remove at pleasure without assigning a cause. The General had incurred Hugues'

displeasure some time before, in consequence of a remonstrance, stating that he could not be answerable for the defence of the island in case of an attack, should he continue to weaken the force then on the island to support the several expeditions he had undertaken. Grenada, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia, were actually in rebellion; nor did he conceal his intentions of making a descent on Martinique, where he was using every effort in his power to increase the number of the malcontents, already very considerable, who waited only a favourable moment to join his standard as soon as a landing could be effected. Above a hundred principal planters, he said, had offered their services, on condition of pardon for having taken up arms for the English: he even did not hesitate to mention several of their names.

Although he had failed in the first attempt on Dominique, he was not without hopes of succeeding in the end. He had embarked a very considerable force to St. Eustatia, determined to seize the first opportunity to invade St. Kitt's. At St. Martin's he had an army, equal in his opinion to the reduction of Anguilla, distant only a few leagues from one another; and notwithstanding the danger of the navigation round Antigua from rocks and shoals, he flattered himself with the conquest

of that island before the hurricane months were over.

I by accident one day fell in with François, a white sailor belonging to the republican schooner *Pescherie*, in which we came over from Grenada. He was a plain, open, and well-behaved man, had been a prisoner with the English for some months during the American war, and spoke highly of their treatment. I thought him a proper person to procure me some information about Mrs. Home's watch, which was taken from me on board the schooner. Upon my first application, he seemed disposed to give me all the intelligence he could respecting it, and reprobated in the severest terms, the manner I had been deprived of it and my other effects, saying, it was a disgrace to the nation, and he held their conduct in such detestation, that he had quitted the vessel. "The Captain's cruise will soon be out," says he; "when he returns, I will let you know in what manner you may apply for restitution of your watch."

A few days after I met the Captain in the Cour, walking with some other officers. He addressed me in a very friendly manner, inquired after my health and the two gentlemen who came over with me, which gave me an opportunity to bring on a conversation about the watch. "She is not yet disposed of," says

he; "I could have had her myself, at the value put on her, for the benefit of the crew, twenty-five joes, but thought her too dear. She is still at the National House, and I dare say may be had for that money, on application to Lebas or Cavée*." I inquired of the latter next day, and gave him a short detail of the circumstance, which he seemed to be acquainted with, and said, the watch in question he believed was in Citizen Lebas's bureau, who was from home. I observed to him, that there was some prospect of my being soon exchanged; and should I be so fortunate, I proposed that the watch should be given to the officer commanding the cartel, to whom I would pay the amount on my arrival at Martinique. To this he seemed to agree; but when the long-wished-for day of my exchange did come, so many difficulties were started by one and all of them, I could easily perceive they had no serious intention to restore her even for her full value.

On the 25th of June, an express arrived at the municipality by a dragoon, when some of the other prisoners and myself were present, giving an account of the three frigates, the *Hercule*, *Concorde*, and *Thetis*, having fallen in with and

* Victor Hugues, Lebas, and Guarand, were the three Commissary Representatives appointed from France; Cavée was named in the room of the latter, who was then in St. Lucia, at the head of affairs there.

captured a great part of an English outward-bound convoy. The messenger was instantly ordered to proceed and give the happy tidings to the National Representatives, with their compliments of congratulation; while we returned pensive and dejected to our melancholy abode. It was not many days before the unpleasant news was confirmed; for, on the 28th of June, the prizes were seen off very early in the morning*. That afternoon we had a very unexpected visit from Victor Hugues, accompanied by his secretary, at our lodgings. He addressed himself first to me, being at the parlour-door below stairs, saying, he had come to examine the house, in order to know if there was sufficient convenience for a number of prisoners, men, women, and children, who were to be landed that evening †. Going up stairs,

* Eleven ships were said to have been taken: the names of the following seven were given me by Mr. Reilly, one of the passengers:—Blenheim, Philippa Arbour, Levant, Aurora, Henbury; Betsey, scuttled at sea and sunk; and the Montserrat Packet, carried into St. Eustatia.

† *List of English Prisoners on Parole before their Arrival.*

1. Major Shipley.
2. Mrs. Shipley. 3 and 4. Misses Jane and Augusta, their children.
- 5 and 6. Merope and Diana, their coloured servants.
7. Lieutenant Williams, of the 61st regiment.
8. Mr. Kittoe, from London, last from Cork, by Martinique.

he made the same observation to Mrs. Shipley; and, after going through every room, he ordered the gentlemen who then occupied several rooms, to find lodgings for themselves elsewhere, as the ladies must be first accommo-

9 and 10. Messrs. Hodges, father and son, from St. Martin.

11 and 12. William Plant, of St. Lucia—and John Hay.

List of Prisoners taken on board the above Ships, who had their Parole.

1. Mr. Warner, from London.
2. Mrs. Warner. 3, 4, 5. Their children, Jane, Louisa, and Charlotte.
6. Betty, nurse to Mr. Warner's youngest child.
7. Roger, Mr. Warner's black servant.
8. Miss Ottley, sister to Mrs. Warner.
- 9 and 10. Mrs. Honey, and her daughter Charlotte.
- 11 and 12. Mr. Rutley, a merchant; Mr. M^cDemott, planter, Jamaica.
- 13 and 14. Mr. Mead, of Montserrat; Mr. Cox, of Jamaica.
- 15 and 16. Mrs. Cox, Mr. Cox's mother; Mrs. Cox, his aunt.
- 17 and 18. Mrs. Greenland, and Mrs. Richardson, of Jamaica.
19. Miss Orgill.

Coloured Servants and Children.

1. John, belonging to Mr. Reilly.
 2. Princesse, a negro woman,
 3. Sally, a mulatto,
 4. Jeanie, a negro woman,
 5. Alice, a mulatto ditto,
 6. Mary, Sally's child, six months old,
 7. Sally, daughter to Alice, ditto,
 8. Castalio, servant to Messrs. Hodges, of St. Martin's.
- } Jamaica.

dated. He appeared to be in much better humour than usual; gave a detail of the number and value of the captured ships; and that amongst the passengers there was a Governor for St. Lucia, who had arrived, he said, rather too late*. The women and children he proposed in a few days to send by a flag to Martinique; at the same time observing to his secretary, that I was a prisoner from Grenada, to whom he had promised a flag of truce on his arrival, which business of greater importance had hitherto prevented. This conversation gave me fresh hopes, although I had not sufficient courage at that time to request he would include me in the number of those he meant to send by the cartel. The next day we had a second visit from him, with Lessique, their Admiral commanding the *Hercule*, and another officer. The prisoners were only then landed. He entered into a long conversation with Mr. Warner on the political state of Europe, but more particularly on the precarious state of Great Britain; and appeared to be in a remarkably good humour. I was present all the time; and before he left us, turning to me, and addressing himself to Lessique, "This is," says he, "a prisoner from Grenada; he is a very good man; he does not think as we do; if he did, I would

* He was mistaken in a Governor for St. Lucia; no such person was on board the fleet.

despise him." I embraced that favourable opportunity, and begged leave to put him in mind of his promise, and hoped he would not forget me when the truce was sent to Martinique with the ladies and soldiers' wives; to which he replied, "No, I will not forget you."

There were 500 prisoners landed from the different ships that day, including sailors, who were lodged in the church, as the gaol was not large enough. The greater part of the troops were sent by land next morning to Point Petre, distant about thirty miles, under a strong escort. The captains and several passengers were left behind; but none of the prisoners at large were suffered to have any communication with them. A malignant fever had raged on board the *Hercule* for some time, which had already affected the prisoners who were confined there; four died the day they were landed, and several others were taken ill, as I was informed by Doctor Amie, who attended the hospital; and it may with reason be supposed, so long a march would endanger the lives of many more. The baggage belonging to the prisoners was not allowed to be touched while they remained on board, but a great many articles of value were found missing on their being landed, particularly a chest of silver plate belonging to Mr. Mead, which an officer on board the frigate, knowing its value, begged to be intrusted with,

and promised it should be carefully sent to him by a safe conveyance ; but when he applied for it, he only met with evasive answers, which induced him to have recourse to Victor Hugues, in order to have it restored ; but he was so ungraciously received, that he gave it up as lost.

The 6th of July was the day fixed on to send the women prisoners to Martinique, of which we had official notice from the Commissary of War. He also informed us there were from sixty to seventy soldiers' wives to accompany the ladies, in two small schooners. I had the mortification to find my name was not amongst the number, which I had every reason to expect. It was on the 5th the notice was given ; I immediately proceeded to the National House, with a view of procuring an audience of Victor Hugues, if he was to be seen. It happened to be one of his busy days, and he had given strict orders not to be interrupted ; I however communicated my business to the orderly sergeant, who gave me some hopes of seeing him about nine or ten o'clock, when he went to breakfast. I attended punctually at the hour, and had put down my business in writing, lest I should not be able to procure a personal interview : all to no purpose, because the orderly sergeant could neither take upon himself to speak to him, nor deliver the note.

Determined not to give up the pursuit of an

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object on which my liberty depended, I went very early next morning to the National House, in hopes of being more fortunate. The first person I saw was my old acquaintance Mr. Rysville, walking in the court-yard with another officer. He took no notice of me, which gave me no encouragement to apply to him for his interest. He went up stairs to the office, and in a few minutes desired the sergeant to inquire if I was not such a person, and soon after came down stairs: he informed me I was to be embarked with the women in the flag of truce for Martinique, and to be ready in about an hour after. I had hardly time to inquire if a congé was not necessary, and if he was not the officer intended to accompany us, when he was called up stairs. I remained in suspense for upwards of an hour in the court, when, by chance, Victor Hugues came down in his jacket, with a segar in his mouth, and passing close by me desired me to go along about my business, there was no occasion for a congé. I bowed without making him any other reply.

In my way home I met the Commissary of War, who still insisted that I could not go if my name was not added to his list. I determined, however, to stick close by Mr. Rysville at the time of embarkation, should he prove to be the officer sent on that service. Although there was no promise to that effect, yet it could

hardly be supposed he would separate the gentlemen from their wives and families. In order to make a fair trial, Mrs. Shipley wrote a letter, conceived in the strongest terms, in behalf of her husband; and to give it more weight, she was herself the bearer of it, accompanied by Madame Amie, a lady in the neighbourhood; but, strange to tell, so hardened were his feelings, and deaf to the afflicting entreaties of an affectionate wife, that he ordered them from his presence, with a threat of close confinement, should they again attempt to interrupt him; nor do I believe he even deigned to read over the letter, although it was translated into French for his perusal. This effectually put a stop to any further application from the other gentlemen. The ladies now prepared to embark. The taking leave, at parting from their husbands in an enemy's country, is not easy to be described, particularly if their complexion is to be considered. I found Mr. Rysville was to be the officer, and that every obstacle and difficulty in my way was removed. We were put on board the *Bonnet Rouge*, and the soldiers' wives on board the *Guillotine*.

About noon on the 6th of July, we set sail from Basseterre Road for Martinique, where we arrived early next morning. During the passage, Mr. Rysville never took the smallest notice of the ladies or myself. He must have

had some private or political reasons for it, which I never could discover; because, to my own knowledge, he was naturally of a free, open, and affable disposition, modest deportment, and in every respect the gentleman, improved by a liberal education. Admiral Sir John Laforey then commanded on the station, who immediately on the flags of truce coming to anchor, sent his barge with an officer, for the ladies and their servants, but he said he had no orders to receive any of the other prisoners; who, he said, would be landed in the course of the day. I pressed him at least to procure me leave to go ashore, having business of importance to transact for the unfortunate prisoners left behind in Guadaloupe, before the flags of truce returned; which in the course of three hours was granted. Somehow or other, I never could consider myself as fairly at liberty till I landed, and my feelings on that occasion made so deep, and at the same time so pleasing an impression on my mind, that time alone can obliterate with my existence. My health was materially impaired by long confinement, and an ulcer which broke out on one of my ancles, in Guadaloupe. I had also laboured under a very violent periodical headache for several weeks, by which I was very much reduced; and if, added to this, the dress of a prisoner is considered, it is not to be wondered

at, if my appearance did not recommend me to the civility or attention of strangers. I was, however, soon recognised by many of my former acquaintances in Grenada, who vied with one another in supplying me with money and every necessary I was in want of, to whom I owe many and essential obligations, which I can only repay with gratitude. A passage for Grenada was procured me, on board the Montague, of 74 guns, Capt. Fowkes, who sailed from St. Pierre on the 17th of July, and arrived at Grenada on the 22d, after calling at St. Vincent, to bring down the trade from that island.

Various were the reports respecting Grenada, communicated to me in an indirect manner during my confinement in Guadaloupe. When unfortunate, I was disposed to consider them as exaggerated; and when favourable, to give credit to them beyond their full extent. Where there is self-interest, it is natural to give way to credulity, and while a shadow of hope remains, never to encourage a desponding thought. As a prisoner, it would have been imprudence in the extreme even to have appeared anxious for information, where despotism, not justice, led the way to immediate punishment. It was Cadet Destais, a Frenchman, who traded between Trinidad and Guadaloupe, in a Danish vessel, who gave us the intelligence: in his way he generally called at

Grenada, but complained of being suspected the last time he had been there, and not suffered to remain ashore above an hour. It was in the month of June, when he said the insurgents were totally confined to the interior of the island, possessed no part of the sea-coast, and were much in want of every necessary of life. I was convinced no supply of provisions or reinforcement had been sent them from Guadaloupe, because Joseph and the other negro sent over with us in the Republican schooner *Pescherie*, were still there, who I considered were meant to act as pilots to any vessels that might be despatched for Grenada. The murder of the prisoners was never openly talked of, from which I concluded, it was an action held in such horror and detestation by Hugues, that he had abandoned the insurgents to their fate, and determined to send them no relief, lest he should be considered an accomplice in their crimes.

The description I heard of Grenada, in Martinique, differed widely from the flattering opinion I had formed of its situation; but its appearance in running down the leeward side of the island exceeds all description: what a melancholy prospect! what change and devastation in the short space of five months! fields of luxuriant canes in the highest state of cul-

tivation, sugar-works, dwelling-houses, all reduced to ashes by fire; here and there a stone wall or brick chimney remained, a solitary monument, and served to point out to the wandering eye, the site of some commodious and expensive building: no human creature or animal of any kind was to be seen all along the coast, the whole appeared one vast extended waste, over-run with brush and high weeds. A number of small huts we discovered at a great distance along the skirts of the woods, to all appearance inaccessible, where these inhuman wretches had retired to. They had not been molested, or any attempt made to reduce them, since the unfortunate 8th of April, so that they had quiet possession of the whole island, a few posts along the sea-coast excepted. A large encampment was to be seen from the principal fortification on a hill called Achés, at only a few miles distance; but no hostile movement had been made on either side, or intended on ours without further assistance: the garrison, under the command of Brigadier-general Nicolls, acted strictly on the defensive, a measure strongly recommended by Lieutenant-general Irving, then commanding in chief at Martinique, after the death of General Vaughan: what struck me most forcibly, was the apathy and seeming indifference of the inhabitants, with an enemy

at their door, who had already been guilty of such barbarous atrocities; it strongly marks the force of habit, and that it cannot be removed even by imminent danger.

My return astonished many, but more particularly the negroes; to escape from such perils and risks, they considered as owing to the immediate interference of Divine Providence; or, to use their own expression, "that God Almighty was strong for true." A negro of my own, at first seeing me, laid hold of my hand with both his, and after looking steadfastly in my face, burst into a flood of tears, and retired without uttering a syllable; nothing could be more expressive of his feelings, or more sensibly affect mine.

In the course of a few days I proceeded to Guyave by water, where I had spent the greatest part of my life happily amongst my friends. The scene which was presented to my view there instantly struck me with a deep melancholy, and required my utmost exertions and fortitude to conceal it from the numerous band of negroes, ready to receive me on landing; their fervent prayers and ejaculations to God for my deliverance from the barbarous hands of savages, so far overcame me, that I remained for a considerable time in the midst of the crowd, before I could open my mouth to return thanks for their friendly and affec-

tionate welcome. A vast number of negroes from the neighbouring estates (which were all burnt to the ground) had taken shelter in this town, yet, from their natural indolence, they had suffered the town to be overgrown with high weeds, and seemed to employ the whole of their time in sleep and chewing canes, which lay in heaps before their doors. A moment's reflection brought fresh to my mind the horrid scene of the 3d of March and its dreadful consequences; in short, nothing appeared but misery and devastation in every direction, as far as the eye could reach, shocking to be seen, and too painful to relate.

A detachment from the 29th and 68th regiments, under the command of Major M^cChan of the 68th, composed the garrison, which might be said to be under a constant state of blockade on the land side; they never quitted the post but in force, and seldom went further than a few miles along the coast. The brigands or insurgents were to be seen from it in great numbers every day, but had never attempted the post, which was considered second only in consequence to that of St. George's, and therefore required every assistance that prudence and caution could suggest to strengthen it. Blockhouses had been built at some of the bays; it was proposed that one should be erected here, to be advanced as

far up the valley as circumstances would permit, in order the more effectually to annoy the enemy, and cut off their communication with the next parish (Grand Pauvre), from whence they drew their principal supply of provisions: there could be no reasonable objections made to a plan so obviously calculated for the general good of the colony by distressing our enemies; it was therefore eagerly embraced by General Nicolls, if a sufficient force could be raised to defend it. Mr. Webster and myself engaged to embody sixty trusty negroes, which, with the remains of the St. John's regiment of militia, amounting only to ten men, were considered as equal to the service; the blockhouse was instantly set about, and finished in the course of a month; but when it was landed at Guyave, the General could not spare a protecting party from the garrison while it was erecting; the measure was therefore laid aside for the present, and the frame stored, notwithstanding the black company, amounting to sixty rank and file, was raised about the beginning of September, and at nearly the same time the remainder of the 68th arrived from Martinique, which were stationed at Guyave; the command then devolved on Colonel Schaw, of that regiment.

A reinforcement of 4000 men was momentarily expected from England, one half for

St. Vincent and the other for Grenada. As the Boulam fever had raged with great mortality amongst the regulars and militia in St. George's and Labay, Guyave was the place fixed on for their debarkation. Orders were issued by Brigadier-general Nicolls to prepare for their reception, negroes to attend the army, mules, crooks, &c. From thence our military operations were intended to commence. As Guyave hitherto had been remarkably healthy, the men newly arrived would not be so immediately exposed to the ravages of this alarming fever, which threatened to depopulate the country. A general hospital was also established for the reception of convalescents from the out-posts; but, to our great mortification and disappointment, the same disease soon made its appearance after the arrival of the 68th from Martinique, and spread with incredible rapidity; and so strongly was it marked with the symptoms of contagion, that of four men who had occasional intercourse with a woman who first died of this epidemic, none of them survived her eight days. Every necessary precaution was taken to avoid infection, without effect; few were taken down who did not fall a sacrifice; and in little more than fourteen days three officers and a number of privates were buried. Those who escaped recovered their strength so slowly, that little service

could be expected from them for a considerable time.

Mr. Webster and myself had taken up our residence in Guyave from the beginning of September, and were alternately on guard with half the militia and the new-raised black company in the town of Guyave, who behaved themselves uncommonly well, and soon made considerable progress in the military exercise, under the direction of a drill sergeant from the 68th.

About the 1st of October our long-expected reinforcement arrived at Martinique, amounting only to 2000 men, in place of four; and, to add to our mortification, only between 2 and 300 men, drafts from other regiments at Martinique, were sent to reinforce the garrison at St. George's: the greater part of the force was landed at St. Vincent, who immediately attacked the enemy strongly posted on a hill called the Vigie, which was evacuated after the retreat of our troops. The 54th regiment was re-embarked for Grenada, but countermanded by orders from Martinique; therefore we could only continue to act, as before, on the defensive.

On the 9th of October, two sail, a brig and ship, were seen from Carriacou at a considerable distance; the Mermaid frigate was then at anchor there; she sailed early next

morning in quest of them, and on the same day came up with, and captured the brig Brutus, at anchor in Crochou; she was then landing the last of her men, who were fired upon from the frigate, and several were said to be killed or drowned in landing. The ship, on the approach of the frigate, made her escape, and left the brig aground; she had landed all her men except one: another skulled off in the boat, and surrendered a prisoner of war: she was got off with little or no damage, and carried into St. George's. On the 13th at night, the Mermaid anchored in Guyave road to water, and early next morning a ship was seen to leeward, distant three or four leagues, standing to the northward; the Mermaid weighed instantly, and gave chase with a fine breeze from the shore: the ship was thought to be the Zebra sloop of war, then stationed off Grenada; but from her bearing away on perceiving the Mermaid in chase, was soon known to be an enemy: three days after she was brought into St. George's, and proved to be the Republican, of 22 guns and 270 men; she made a short defence, and had several of her crew killed and wounded: she had landed part of her men before she was driven off the coast by the Mermaid. This reinforcement, however small in itself, we considered would give fresh courage to the

insurgents, and in Guyave our whole force were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for an immediate attack. It was generally believed their first attempt would be against that post the moment they were prepared: the event soon justified our apprehensions.

On the 15th of October, a negro belonging to Mr. Webster, a creole of Barbadoes, came in from the camp about noon: he assured us that the hill would have been attacked the night before, had it not been for the heavy fall of rain, which prevented their approach; but that they were fully determined to make the attempt that night. Their force consisted in seven companies, from sixty to eighty each, besides the men newly arrived from Guadeloupe, whose numbers he could not ascertain; they were all then, he said, at no great distance, and offered to conduct a reconnoitring party within a reasonable distance to prove what he advanced. Captain Augier, with a detachment from his company of Black Rangers, undertook this service without him, and from an eminence could plainly perceive the enemy assembling in great numbers at Mount Felix, an estate half-way between their camp and Guyave, distant about two miles. He gave a particular account of the manner in which they intended to make their attack. It was to take place at the first cock-crow by

surprising or bayoneting the sentries at the out-piquets, and instantly possessing themselves of the stone mill-house immediately below our post, in order to prevent the junction of our corps with the troops on the hill. Another party was to take post to the southward of Guyave towards the river, to prevent a possibility of our retreating towards St. George's; while the centre column, composed of their best men, were to storm our principal redoubt on the hill.

Although this story was so well connected, and carried with it every appearance of truth, yet we still entertained doubts in our mind of some intended deceit. The fellow being in chains, we could not comprehend how he came to be so intimately acquainted with the exact plan of their intended operations, and therefore concluded he might have been sent in as a spy with this plausible tale, the better to cover his real intentions. After we had got from him all the information he could give, he was secured in the cage. Colonel Schaw despatched an express to Brigadier-general Nicolls with the intelligence, and immediately began to concert the best possible means of defence with the other field-officers then present. Our force consisted of 100 effective of the 68th, besides convalescents, 55 of Captain Augier's Black Rangers, and 83 of the St. John's militia, includ-

ing the black corps. Sixty of the 68th were to be stationed at the upper battery (our principal post), a piquet of 15, with an officer, on the saddle of the hill immediately below it, where there was a six-pounder. Colonel Schaw with the reserve remained at the dwelling-house a little above the works, where there were one French fourteen-pounder and two sixes: the brass field-piece, a six-pounder, was removed to the upper battery. Augier's company took post in the mill-house. Twenty of our men were stationed as a piquet at the north end of the town, with orders to make a defence from behind some stone walls which remained there; but not to run any risk of being cut off from the main body. A piquet of six men was placed at the south end of Guyave, with orders to fire, and retreat immediately, in case of being attacked. The rest of the corps occupied Mr. Lussan's house and the cage, and were to draw up in the market-place, and there wait for orders in case of an attack.

About midnight, during a heavy squall of wind and rain, a firing of small arms began at the upper battery, but soon ceased. Our men were immediately mustered, and an officer despatched to Colonel Schaw for orders. We distinctly heard the cry of *Vive la République!* from the upper battery, and waited with great impatience for nearly half an hour for the re-

turn of the officer, and at last determined to move on, with the principal part of our force, to Guyave works, in order to gain certain intelligence of our situation. Captain Augier assured us that the hill was in possession of the enemy. Mr. Webster immediately proceeded to head-quarters to know from Colonel Schaw his final determination, whether he meant to attempt to regain the post, or retreat. All the officers on the hill were of opinion, that the moment was lost, the road was steep and rendered very slippery by the heavy rain, and their force not equal to retake the redoubt by storm. The number of the enemy being uncertain, and the night very dark, it was therefore unanimously resolved to retreat to St. George's, and our company appointed to lead, while the 68th brought up the rear. Every where was consternation and despair. Most of the French ladies had got on board the transport the night before, and we conceived the English ladies had been equally fortunate, as the Captain promised us to give them every assistance in his power.

After crossing the river to the southward of Guyave, our advanced guard imagined they saw an enemy in front; they challenged and immediately fired, at which time two of my negroes were dangerously wounded, whether from our fire, or that of the transport, is un-

certain ; but the alarm proved to be false. One of my negroes was obliged to be left behind, and was taken up the same day by one of the cruisers, floating on a board: he died next day, after suffering amputation. We marched on slowly, in order to give protection to a crowd of followers who were obliged to evacuate Guyave, and arrived in St. George's about eight o'clock on the morning of the 16th of October, without meeting any other accident; we were then informed of all the English ladies being left behind, except one, and that a number of people had been overset in a canoe attempting to go off on board the transport, and were all of them drowned: amongst the number were Doctor Richard Muir and Isaac Page.

Two days after, the 18th, the ladies and their families, amounting to ten in number, came in from Guyave; they had a passport from the commanding officer, but were obliged to walk the whole way; they were permitted an escort, who conducted them within three or four miles of town. The treatment they met with from the mulattoes and negroes of the island was, as might be expected, savage to a degree, and might have been worse, had it not been for the interposition of the men from Guadaloupe in their behalf, who strongly recommended moderation and humane treatment to prisoners;

to them alone all who were left in Guyave owe their lives. The insurgents had determined to spare neither age nor sex of any colour; they offered a considerable reward to any person who would deliver me up, or discover where I could be found, giving as a reason, my being active in raising a company of negroes to harass them; whereas, from the lenity shown me in sparing my life on the 8th of April, they never expected I would again take up arms against them; and desired I might be informed they were determined to have me, could I even get into a rat-hole.

The loss sustained on the hill in killed and wounded is uncertain; they were obliged to be left behind. Lieutenant Carr was dangerously wounded with a bayonet, but got on board the transport. Some sick and convalescents were shot by the insurgents, attempting to follow us to St. George's. What was most to be lamented was the number of sick who had been sent to the general hospital at Guyave, a few days before, from Sauteur and Labay; they amounted to nearly 100 men, and were all abandoned to the fury of these unfeeling savages, and would without doubt every one have been put to death, had it not been for the interference of the white people from Guadeloupe.

From several negroes, who continued to

come in during the day, we were informed, that our retreat was conducted with so little noise, favoured by the darkness of the night, that the post was not known to be evacuated till after daylight, nor had one of the enemy attempted to go down to town. There were in store provisions for a month for 500 men, which were all devoured in the course of a few days by the starved republicans: there was also a considerable quantity of ammunition in store. The subaltern officers of the 68th accused Colonel Schaw of misconduct, and threatened to apply for a Court of Inquiry to be held on him, as they considered the honour of the regiment interested; this, however, did not take place. Capt. Hamilton, who commanded at the post, insisted it was no surprise; that the men were exceedingly alert, and made as good a defence as could be expected from their numbers; that in place of sixty men, which had been proposed to be sent there, he had only thirty-five, thirteen of whom were sentries at some distance: be this as it may, the first notice they had of the enemy's approach was Lieut. Carr's being wounded by a bayonet, who must have been killed, had not Capt. Hamilton instantly shot the man with his musket. The redoubt was surrounded with puncheons filled with earth, on the outside of which there was a small intrenchment. The assailants conducted them-

selves with such secrecy, that they had removed one of the casks, and pushed forward into the redoubt, before they were perceived. I had this information from one of the officers who commanded at the post, but I am rather inclined to believe it was done in the afternoon, by our own guard, in order to haul in the six-pounder, and had not been again replaced.

The easy conquest of Guyave was an acquisition of the first importance to our enemies. The attempt made to throw in succours, convinced them that they were not abandoned by their friends, dispelled the gloom of despair, and revived their desponding spirits. The possession of this safe and commodious harbour, surrounded with hills, could easily be maintained by cannon against any attack by sea, and laid open to their view the almost certain prospect of being regularly supplied with provisions from Guadaloupe and St. Lucia, in defiance of our cruisers.

After Mr. Webster and myself took up our residence in Guyave, many negroes came in from the woods, and several from the enemy's camp, on assurance of protection and the near approach of a conquering army; which would soon put an end to the existing troubles, by restoring peace and tranquillity to the island. Many who were before wavering, uncertain what side to take, seeing the country totally desolated,

without the means of subsisting the numbers who still adhered to the delusive but flattering promises of liberty and equality, so long held out to them, eagerly embraced the offer; and had a sufficient force been landed, I think there was the strongest reason to believe that most of the negroes would have surrendered. But during all this time, although several of the white inhabitants had come in from the camp before the passing of the bill of attainder in August, yet not one of the coloured people had ever surrendered. The sudden and unexpected evacuation of Guyave, and the enterprising spirit of our enemies, occasioned numbers who had come over to forsake us, and others, who were till then wavering, to take a decided part against us. One half of the negroes, at least, were left or voluntarily remained behind, exposed to the jeers and ridicule of a too successful enemy: the English were described as slaves and cowards, unable to resist the impetuous attacks of true republicans; and still further to increase their fears, they assured the negroes that in a very few days they would be in possession of St. George's. These arguments, added to the disappointment of the promised reinforcement, could not fail to produce the effect they wished on the fluctuating minds of the negroes; and no attempt being made to retake

the post, was still a more marked proof of our weakness.

The insurgents immediately began by fortifying the hill, and rendering it proof against a *coup de main*. The negroes were forced to work, although half starving. Guards were placed at the different roads leading to town, to prevent those coming in who were so disposed. A few got round by way of Sautour, but were too closely watched to make their escape by way of Palmiste; where numbers were hiding amongst the abandoned canes. An armed sloop was sent to Grand Pauvre, to give protection to such as were disposed to come off. About forty only were brought down; many were at too great a distance from the shore to benefit by the opportunity.

This disaster was communicated by express to General Leigh, the Commander-in-Chief in Martinique, and to Admiral Sir John Laforey, by letters from Brigadier-general Niccolls, and a committee of the Council and Assembly, requesting immediate assistance; at the same time observing, that we had not received our contingent of the protecting force promised us already arrived. The General sent for answer, that he could not spare a man from the garrison in Martinique, and to withdraw any of the men from St. Vincent would be folly in the extreme, by exposing our weakness to the enemy, and

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the island to imminent danger: assuring us he had the interest of the colony much at heart, and hoped that the period was at no great distance, when we should all be restored to peace and tranquillity by the domineering force momentarily expected from Europe. The Admiral excused himself from detaching another ship of war from his fleet to our assistance; the division he had already made of his force, and the number of islands he had to protect, did not permit him to make the smallest alteration. Thus were we abandoned to our fate, with only flattering promises to console us, in which we had been so often disappointed; exposed to the attacks of an enterprising and savage enemy, whose superior force we were unequal to; the militia, worn out by fatigue and watching, were reduced to one half their numbers by death, disease, and emigration; besides, many were still preparing to quit the island; the regular troops did no duty without the fortifications; they had been even reinforced by the addition of a coloured company from the militia (Louis la Grenades). A battalion of loyal black rangers was voted by the Legislature, composed of eight companies, consisting of sixty-six men each, besides two additional companies of the same number; one attached to the light cavalry under the command of Major Kerr, the other to the loyal associated cavalry, under the

command of Col. Gahagan. The proprietors of negroes, who voluntarily enter into these corps, are allowed at the rate of two shillings currency per day, for each, and insured: the commissioned and non-commissioned officers are taken from amongst the militia, and allowed the same pay as His Majesty's regular troops. Our company was raised after the House of Assembly had adjourned, and can only be entitled to pay by a subsequent vote of that House. They are distinguished by the name of Guyave volunteers, attached to the St. John's regiment of militia, and since our retreat to St. George's were permitted to be increased to any number.

Since the present insurrection, that part of the town of St. George's called Montserrat has been pallisaded from the Carenage to the fortifications on the Hospital Hill, immediately above it. The lower and upper barriers, and upper fleche, have been made musket-ball proof. The saddle to the westward of the Hospital Hill, immediately above the town, has also been pallisaded, and a deep intrenchment dug from thence to join the fortifications at that end, with a stone blockhouse, situated in a direction to rake it in case of being possessed by the enemy. The town barrier towards the river is likewise musket-ball proof, and defended by six swivels and a nine-pound carronade. These precautions were judged necessary to preserve

the town from insult, and prevent the sudden irruption of the brigands into town, who might set it on fire, and profit by the confusion which naturally would ensue amongst the inhabitants. The force destined for the defence of these different posts was distributed in the following order: the remains of the St. John's and St. Andrew's militia, about twelve effective, with the Guyave volunteer black corps, now increased to ninety rank and file (Jan. 12, 1796), were stationed at the Montserrat barriers, and furnished forty men every night as a guard for them and the upper and lower fleche. The saddle to the westward of the Hospital Hill had a guard of twenty-six men, furnished by the black corps attached to the troop of light cavalry. The St. George's militia furnished the main guard held at the courthouse and bay barrier, consisting of about thirty men each. Part of the troop, and a small number of gentlemen who by the laws of the island were exempt from militia duty, patrolled the streets, and visited the posts every two hours. A field-officer in rotation also visited the different posts two or three times every night, who was vested with the command of the militia in case of alarm, so that there were generally from 130 to 150 men doing duty every night within the barrier; besides, the company of Black Rangers attached to the loyal associated cavalry, were stationed at Madame Lequoy's,

without the barrier, and immediately under the east end of the Hospital Hill, furnished a piquet of twenty-six men every night, with orders to give the alarm in case of the approach of an enemy, and retreat to the Hospital Hill. A proclamation was issued by General Nicolls, to prevent as much as possible the supplying of the enemy with provisions.

On the 21st of October the Favourite sloop arrived convoy to two transports, having on board 270 men of the 17th light dragoons, and 40th regiment of foot; part of the latter were sent to Sauteur and Labay to reinforce those posts: the rest were distributed in the garrison; all the black corps, except those already mentioned to be doing duty in St. George's, were attached to the different out-posts of Sauteur, Labay, and Megrin. The same day a schooner belonging to Messrs. M^cBurnie, loaded with provisions and Madeira wine, from Martinique, was taken by armed canoes fitted out from Guyave, and carried into that harbour: an early proof how much our coasting vessels can be incommoded by the insurgents being possessed of that port. An attempt was made by the man of war's boat to cut her out in the night, which failed.

On the 4th of November a flag of truce was sent in from Guyave, announcing the arrival of the reinforcement from Guadaloupe, signed by

Jossey their captain, and one Shouk, styling himself Administrator-general of Grenada. They reprobated the manner in which the war in Grenada had been conducted; and declared their intentions of treating prisoners with humanity, and carrying it on in a more civilized manner. There was also a proclamation relating to the negroes, signed by Fedon; but General Niccolls only replied to the former. The flag was escorted as far as Beauséjour, about four miles from town, by a detachment of about sixty men from the troop of light cavalry, and the 17th light dragoons. On the 26th another flag was sent in with no other object in view but to inquire whether some of their prisoners had not been condemned and hanged: most people agreed in opinion that they had something more in contemplation by these flags than we could penetrate. The officer who bore the flag was called Plessy, and had been lieutenant on board the French brig Brutus, lately taken: his behaviour was uncommonly pert and forward, bordering on insolence. When his answer was returned to him by the General, he refused to depart, unless it was immediately handed to him: Captain Black, of the 17th dragoons, who commanded the escort and was charged with the General's answer, assured him that he had it, and that it should be delivered to him before they separated, and ordered him to proceed, which he at last did

with reluctance. He was not permitted to come within the barrier, but was detained at a house near it under a guard, and furnished with every necessary refreshment. It should have been observed before, that on the approach of the first flag near town, it was met by a small party of the black corps attached to the troop of light cavalry; they had no officer with them, and from their total ignorance of form had nearly committed an outrage on their persons, and were with difficulty dissuaded from their purpose by one of the French officers. They at all events insisted on blindfolding them before they came in sight of the fortifications, and would on no consideration suffer the trumpeter to sound his trumpet; they imagined it was intended to give the alarm to a party they might have at no great distance: their behaviour on the occasion was very meritorious, and deserved praise.

A more daring attempt was made at midnight on the 29th of November, to cut out the schooner *Pegasus*, carrying four carriage-guns, at anchor under the fort. It was conducted by Plessy, who had come in with the last flag. He had two armed canoes and fifteen men, partly from Guadaloupe, and mulattoes belonging to the island; and although it was clear moonlight, he succeeded in surprising the crew on board, and immediately got the vessel under weigh. One of the negroes on board swam ashore, and

gave the alarm; the fort began firing at the schooner without effect; he returned the fire two or three times from the Pegasus, and had there been wind would in all probability have succeeded in his purpose. The armed brig Brutus and Hostess Quickly got under weigh, and brought him in with another early next morning; the rest escaped in their canoes, and carried the captain with them.

Plessy was a young man of middle stature, quick penetrating eyes, daring, and insolent; braved all danger, and ready to undertake the most hazardous enterprises. He was so exasperated at the crowd who surrounded him on landing, that he could hardly contain himself, though a prisoner: indeed, he seemed by no means aware of his situation; he gloried in the attempt he had made, though not attended with success; accused those who were under his command of cowardice, observing at the same time, he would rather be a prisoner to the English, than live amongst such poltroons. As there was no place of security in town, he was put on board the Mermaid frigate; and a few days after fell from the yard-arm, and died in consequence soon after. He had always the appearance of a man in liquor, but it is more probable he was not sound in his judgment.

On the 30th, one of our cruisers, a schooner, was taken by the armed canoes, and carried into

Guyave. On the 5th of December a very unlucky accident happened at Megrim blockhouse: in scaling their guns, some loose cartridges caught fire, by which the roof was in part blown off. Captain Colman, who commanded at the post, was so miserably scorched, that he became delirious, and died in a few days. Some of the black corps, who composed part of the garrison, also lost their lives.

On the 16th of December Mr. Mitchell was sworn in President, Mr. Mackenzie having resigned, and quitted the island a few days before.

On the 18th, the blockhouse at Labay was attacked by a numerous body of insurgents; the siege lasted for twelve days without making any impression, so as to endanger the post; but during that time we had the surgeon Mr. Fergusson, Ensign Groundler, and eight of the black corps, killed; seventeen were wounded, four of whom died of their wounds. They brought down two carriage-guns, a nine and six pounder, to Telescope Point, which opened upon a transport then in Labay harbour, and obliged her to change her station; they were taken and destroyed one after the other in a sortie from the blockhouse, aided by a party of seamen from the Mermaid. The enemy, after sustaining considerable loss, retired to a hill commanding the port of Marquis, where they immediately began

to intrench and fortify the post, carrying with them the gun with which they had attacked the blockhouse from an adjoining hill, called Chaupins. The garrison consisted of between 2 and 300 men, principally blacks, under the command of Major Wright, of the 25th, at the commencement of the attack; and after it began, they were reinforced in a few days by a detachment of fifty soldiers and seamen. Major O'Mara, of the 68th, was under orders from Sauteur with 150 of the garrison there to embark for Labay, but from tempestuous weather and a high surf did not arrive in time to give any assistance; and from the strong ground the enemy occupied it was not thought prudent to hazard an attack even with this additional force. After remaining some days the detachment retired to Sauteur.

On the 29th of December, seventeen of the light cavalry under the command of Captain M^cBurnie, with a detachment from their own, and Colonel Gahagan's black corps, went out early to reconnoitre. At Beauséjour, about five miles from town, they were fired upon from a height covered with brush and small wood; one of the black corps was killed on the spot; Captain M^cBurnie's brother wounded in the cheek, Mr. Ireland, an officer in Colonel Gahagan's black corps, in the wrist: Mr. Armstrong's horse received also a shot. The enemy were so

strongly posted, and the situation so favourable to them, that no attempt could be made to dislodge them, nor would it have been attended with any real advantage to the service. On the afternoon of the same day they returned to the same place, reinforced with sixty men and an officer from Colonel Webster's black corps, but no enemy was to be seen. Captain M^cBurnie proposed to proceed as far as Achés, where they had a strong camp entrenched round; but, unfortunately, in attempting to cross a ditch of a greater depth than was expected, his horse fell in, and, notwithstanding every effort, was obliged to be left behind: it was reported afterwards that the brigands dug him out and saved him.

In the beginning of February, the Alarm frigate arrived from Martinique, and in a few days sailed with her tender and the Zebra sloop of war to cruise on the coast of Trinidad, where there were numbers of small privateers, by which the insurgents were principally supplied with provisions and other necessaries. They fell in with the Favourite sloop of war, Captain Wood, who had been also cruising on that coast, who was despatched with the prizes. On Wednesday the 17th of February, she appeared off with a privateer schooner called the General Renard, mounting four carriage-guns and six swivels, with forty-five men: in working into the bay of St. George's she was unfortunately lost on a reef

off Point Saline; her masts and rigging were saved: they also retook the schooners Hind and Flora, and destroyed three other privateers on the coast of Trinidad.

Before day, on the morning of the 18th, two armed boats attacked the Hostess Quickly armed sloop, then at anchor in the inner pass at Labay, and carried her with little opposition. The guard on deck were all asleep, except one, who did not perceive the boats till they were close alongside; he immediately gave the alarm, and the master instantly jumped upon deck, and fired such of the great guns and swivels as bore upon the boats, which obliged them, at first, to fall under the stern of the sloop. The boy was unfortunately shot in going down to the cabin for more ammunition: this gave them an opportunity of coming again alongside, and under a discharge of small arms boarded the sloop. Captain Caton, who commanded her, bravely defended himself with a pike, and had already killed two before he was mortally wounded in the neck with a musket-ball: the body floated ashore next day. The crew consisted of sixteen negroes, the Captain, and Mr. Conway the acting Commissary. Eight of the negroes made their escape by swimming: one of the most intelligent gave this account. By a negro who effected his escape from Guyave it was reported, that Mr. Conway had been dangerously wound-

ed with a bayonet, and was conveyed through the woods to Guyave, where he died shortly after. The brigands thus master of one of the fastest sailing sloops perhaps in the West Indies, towed her out of Labay, notwithstanding several shots were fired at her from Pilot Hill, and brought her safely to anchor in the port of Marquis the same day. This capture was to them an acquisition of the first importance; the sloop, besides swivels, carried four carriage-guns, two of them double fortified sixes, had several others in her hold for ballast, and a great quantity of ammunition.

The garrison of Pilot Hill consisted at this time of about three hundred men, thirty of whom were regulars, the rest Loyal Black Rangers: they had barely water and provisions for fourteen days, but not a sufficiency of ammunition. An express was sent by a canoe to the post at Sauteur, giving an account of this disaster, and from thence communicated to General Niccolls in town; likewise to Captain Otway, of the Mermaid, then at Carriacou. It was not to be supposed an enemy so full of enterprise would remain long quiet, now possessed of a train of artillery which chance or their own good fortune had thrown into their hands. They with great industry and expedition got round two guns to Telescope Point, which commands the entrance and harbour of Labay; and

could also bear upon the blockhouse. They opened very early on the morning of the 20th, and the same day another from Chaupin's Hill, from whence they made their first attack.

On the 22d, the Mermaid frigate attempted to silence their guns, and throw in a supply of ammunition to the garrison. One of the boats, in which was a quantity of ball-cartridges, was sunk, and a man dangerously wounded, who afterwards had his leg cut off; the rest got on board. A detachment of forty men was sent from the blockhouse to protect the landing of the boats: they were so vigorously attacked by superior numbers who lay concealed in the lower town and under the hill, that they were obliged to retreat closely pursued by the enemy, who attempted to enter the blockhouse with them, but were repulsed and mowed down in great numbers with grape-shot and the well-directed fire of the garrison. In their precipitate retreat they set fire to the hospital and barracks, in which many of our people were burnt to death: the number was never exactly ascertained.

On the 23d, the Mermaid returned; Captain Otway immediately waited on the General, in order to consult with him on the most prompt and effectual means to relieve the garrison at Pilot Hill, who were then considered to be in imminent danger. On the same day accounts

were received of the tender schooner belonging to the Alarm frigate, having overset on the coast of Trinidad, with twenty-three men on board, every one of whom perished. Next morning, the 24th, the Mermaid sailed for her station off Labay; the sloop Mary was with all expedition fitted out as a gun-boat, with two eighteen pounders on her bows; she sailed about midnight under convoy of the brig Warre.

On the 25th, orders were issued for the troop of light cavalry to be in readiness at a moment's warning, with fifty rounds of ball-cartridges and three days' provisions each. The same night the sloop Jack, fitted as a gun-boat with one eighteen-pounder, sailed for the relief of Labay. On the 26th the frigate l'Aimable came in from Martinique, destined to cruise on the coast of Curassoa, where the French of late had sent many of their prizes.

About nine at night, being fine weather and moonlight, thirty-seven of the troop of light cavalry, including volunteers, thirty-four of the 17th light dragoons, mounted, and two companies of Black Rangers, amounting in all to about two hundred, marched from the court-house, by way of Megrim, to Grand Bacolet, where they arrived without opposition early next morning. The detachment was under the command of Brigadier-general Campbell, of the 25th, who drew them up on a hill in sight of the

enemy's camp on Port Royal Hill, between them and the blockhouse. A company of the enemy marched down and drew up at Madame Houe's estate immediately below, but without reach of shot from our men: this manœuvre of theirs was considered as a decoy, to draw our men from the strong ground they occupied, and bring them near enough to be attacked with effect from their camp. This show of relief gave fresh spirits to our brave little garrison on Pilot Hill, who kept up a constant and heavy fire of cannon, shells, and musquetry, on the besiegers. Brigadier-general ——, after remaining a few hours, and reconnoitring the enemy's camp, ordered the detachment to retreat without firing a musquet, to the great mortification and disappointment of all of them, who were eager and anxious to be led on to the attack, and by their united efforts give an opportunity of throwing in succour to the blockhouse, and to the crews of the Mermaid and Favourite to destroy or carry off their guns: they all returned to town on the evening of the 27th.

In the course of this day an attempt was made to destroy the sloop Hostess Quickly, and a privateer schooner, which were still at anchor in the port of Marquis; for that purpose the Jack gun-boat, with twenty men, whites and blacks, sailed into the harbour, but dropping their bow anchor first, she tailed round, so that

the gun on her bow could not bear on the enemy. They were instantly attacked with musquetry from a little island situated to the northward of the harbour. In their unfortunate situation they could make no defence; the master and one of the men were wounded, and seeing some boats pushing off from the shore full of armed men, they took to their boats and abandoned the Jack to the enemy. They got all safe on board the Favourite sloop of war.

On the 29th, the Mary gun-boat returned without attempting any thing to relieve the post. Orders were sent to the commanding officers at Sauteur and Megrin to evacuate their posts as soon as they heard of the surrender of Pilot Hill: the latter was to fall back to Caliviny, for the former vessels were sent round to Sauteur: thus the brave little garrison at Labay were abandoned to their fate, with hardly a probability of effecting a retreat. Every mind was touched with the most sensible apprehensions for their danger, and every countenance clouded with dismay and despondency. To surrender prisoners, no terms could be expected from savages; death only stared them in the face in every form refined cruelty could invent. At a very respectable meeting of the inhabitants a letter was agreed upon and forwarded by express on the 1st day of March, to Dr. Gahagan, the resident delegate at Barbadoes, to be presented

by him to His Excellency General Leigh, the commander in chief for the time being.

On the morning of the 2d of March the Favourite sloop of war, the Sally armed transport, with several small vessels, appeared off Molle-
nier's Point, full of men: a melancholy sight! —the well-known signal that Labay had fallen. All was anxiety for the fate of the brave and gallant garrison; yet none, or at least few, ventured to hazard a conjecture what it might be. What ecstasy, what joy to every feeling and humane heart was it, when the pleasing, the unexpected tidings of their being all on board this little fleet was known! The news of so wonderful an escape flew like wildfire from one end of the town to the other, and, like a charm, removed in an instant the melancholy gloom that overspread every countenance. Major Wright, after sustaining a constant cannonade, both night and day, from the enemy, for the space of ten days, reduced to the last cask of water, and very little provision or ammunition remaining, and without any prospect of succour, on Monday night, the 29th of February, determined to cut his way through the enemy, and retreat to the post at Sauteur, under the command of Major O'Mara, of the 68th. About nine o'clock the whole garrison, to the number of about 300 men, marched from the blockhouse with great silence, leaving a slow match in a

shell, and passed their sentries unperceived: only a few scattering shots were fired from an out-piquet on their crossing the great river. They were already at some distance before they heard the explosion of the shell, which so effectually deceived the enemy, that they continued their fire on the blockhouse for some time after. Before day they arrived near the post at Sauteur, and sent in an officer with a few men to give notice of their approach as soon as day appeared; during the attack they had ten men killed and seven wounded. Major O'Mara, in obedience to orders received from General Nicolls, immediately prepared to evacuate the post; the artillery was first destroyed, and the men all embarked without molestation before sunset. On their debarkation in St. George's, the following address, signed by 162 of the inhabitants, was presented to Major Wright and the officers and men under his command.

“ Grenada, March 2d, 1796.

“ The inhabitants of this island congratulate Major Wright and his gallant little garrison of Pilot Hill, on their safe arrival in St. George's; and assure him that it was with the most lively sensations of joy they beheld the landing of a handful of brave men, whom but a few hours before they had considered as devoted to the re-

lentless cruelty of a savage and ferocious enemy; and impressed with a high sense of their meritorious exertions in the defence of that post, and the well-conducted retreat upon the evacuation of it under the most desperate circumstances, request his and their acceptance of this tribute of their approbation and thanks so justly due to such bravery and conduct."

" *March 13th, 1796.*

" The Commander in Chief has been pleased to signify to Brigadier-general Niccolls the highest satisfaction at the conduct of Major Wright and the officers and men under his command during the siege of Pilot Hill, and to desire that his approbation thereof should be made known in the most public manner to the army under his command, which Brigadier-general Niccolls is very happy to have this opportunity of doing.

(Signed) " J. G. DREW,

" M. Brigade."

On the 3d of March, the ship Expedition, with five small vessels, arrived, having on board the 5th brigade of the army, under the command of Brigadier-general Mackenzie*, con-

* " *Richmond Hill, 22d March 1796.*

" G. O.

" The light troop and their black company, the Loyal Black Rangers, Captain Grenade's, Captain Davis's companies, and the volunteers of St. Patrick under Captain

sisting of part of the 10th, 25th, and 88th regiments: they had been intended to relieve Pilot Hill; but by a long passage, and some unaccountable delay of the officer who carried the despatches to Barbadoes after he arrived, they were too late for that purpose.

A few days after the evacuation of Pilot Hill and Sauter, a general warrant was issued by the Rev. Mr. May and Mr. Rush, two justices of the peace, to apprehend all suspected per-

Mackenzie, are all to have three days' provisions, ready dressed, to carry with them, and to be ready to march this evening at retreat beating. The commanding officers of these corps will take care that the rum is issued daily to their men; they should march with as little baggage as possible. The soldiers of the regulars are to carry but a blanket, and a spare pair of shoes, and a flannel shirt. A proportion of mules, with crooks and drivers, are to be ready to-day by twelve o'clock, to be delivered by Lieutenant Walton, Asst. to the Q. M. General, to the order of the commanding officers of corps, agreeable to a list sent him. The St. George's regiment, the St. David's, St. Andrew's, and St. John's, and a part of the St. Patrick's regiments, and Colonel Webster's black corps, are allotted for the present duty in and about St. George's.

“ B. G. Mackenzie, during the absence of B. G. Niccolls, will command in this district, and all orders given by him are to be obeyed.

“ Sir, you will please to make the above orders known as soon as possible.

(Signed)

“ O. NICCOLLS,
“ B. G.”

“ To Col. Wise, A. G. Militia.”

sons ; which was executed with such rigour, that in the course of twenty-four hours thirty-eight French men and women were taken into custody. The general conversation was, that our enemies within the barriers were more to be dreaded than those in open arms against us. Every Frenchman was naturally considered of that class. It was said a conspiracy was on foot to massacre all the English inhabitants in town : although this extraordinary report stood unsupported by evidence, yet, strange as it may appear, it was almost universally believed ; and the measure much approved of as the only means of rescuing the few remaining English inhabitants from certain death. Notices were stuck up, inviting those who could give evidence to come forward and accuse all or any of the prisoners then confined in the main guard ; none, however, appearing, in the course of a week they were all, except those sent on board a prison-ship, after remaining nearly a month, released one after the other by order or with the consent of the magistrates who committed them.

On Wednesday the 9th of March, a party of the enemy showed themselves on Morne St. Eloy, within gun-shot of Richmond Hill. They were soon dislodged, or rather driven away, by a few shot and shells from Richmond Hill, and the post taken possession of by a detachment of our men without opposition ; they however did

not retire far, but occupied a high hill, De Brul-
lon's, out of gun-shot, immediately opposite to
our post, where they planted their colours, and
began to build huts.

On Saturday the 12th, another reinforce-
ment of about 800 men arrived at Isle Ronde,
about three leagues distant from Sauteur. The
Alarm frigate and Zebra sloop of war, stationed
off Trinidad, from whence the insurgents draw
their principal supplies, continue to render the
most essential services to this colony by their
activity and united exertions.

On the 13th, the Hostess Quickly, cut out of
Labay, appeared off here under republican co-
lours, a prize to these men of war. She was
captured on the coast of Trinidad, but so near
the shore, that the captain with twenty men
made their escape; five were taken, one an
Irishman, supposed to have deserted from the
34th regiment; another a mustee boy, a valet
to the unfortunate Mr. Farquhar, who was shot
in their camp; and the rest were not known.

By several negroes who now and then con-
trived to effect their escape from Guyave, we have
had intelligence of their having erected a guillo-
tine there. A boy who came in a day or two
ago confirms it; and moreover adds, that eight
negroes were guillotined in one day for eating
mules — no doubt for want of better food.
The Hostess Quickly remained, fortunately, in

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the same state she was in when captured, with the addition of two more swivels; the guns in her hold were under the ballast, which had never been moved. The Zebra also destroyed the privateer schooner Voltigeur, commanded by the famous Modest: she mounted two six-pounders and six swivels, with twenty-six men: this was his fiftieth voyage. As it fell calm, the Zebra could not come up, and sent a fly-boat to take possession of her; the crew made to the shore, some in their boat, others by swimming, and immediately commenced a fire from the bushes on our men, which was soon silenced by the Zebra when she came up. The boatswain of the privateer was mortally wounded, and was buried next day at Port d'Espagne with great pomp; the republican colours were displayed, and every mark of military honour paid to his remains.

On the 19th, an express arrived from Barbadoes with accounts of the safe arrival of the January packet, long looked for. We have had no letters from Europe later than the 3d of December; she also brought the pleasing accounts of the whole army at Barbadoes being under orders to sail for St. Vincent's and this island; but this agreeable news proved premature; the General's intentions were kept a profound secret; and although the received opinion was,

that something would be done, yet every one was left to form his own conjectures what that would be: some supposed Guyave or Labay, while others thought nothing would be attempted without a sufficient force to attack the enemy at all points. On the 20th of January, a requisition was made to the Legislature for 300 pioneers, including artificers, with forty mules, to be got as soon as possible; they were immediately voted and delivered to the quarter-master on the forenoon of the 22d.

About eight o'clock that evening the General left St. George's at the head of 1300 men, regulars, militia, and black rangers, with field-pieces, howitzers, &c.; and took a direction from this town through the parish of Megrin to Labay. Provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries had been previously shipped on board of small vessels. They arrived at Madam Hook's estate within sight of the enemy's works next forenoon; and on Thursday the 24th were joined by the troops on board the transports from Isle Ronde. The enemy appearing in force upon the heights, were immediately attacked; and after an obstinate resistance on their part, were driven back; measures were then taken to invest their camp on Port Royal Hill, covering the harbour of Marquis, by nature very strong, fortified in a manner that could hardly be ex-

pected, with five pieces of cannon of different calibres. On Friday the 25th they appeared again in great numbers on the heights, and were attacked by a detachment of regulars and part of the black rangers, while a brisk cannonade on their camp was kept up from our lines.

While these operations were going forward, two schooners full of men ran into the harbour of Marquis, before they observed our ships at Madam Hook's Bay, and immediately began to land; this determined the General to attempt the port by assault without loss of time, and the necessary orders were instantly given. Brigadier-general Campbell led the storming party*, marched up the hill through showers of grape and musquetry to a position where the men were in part under cover, when he halted for a moment to give them breath: he then with three waves of his hat, answered by as many cheers, pushed forward to the embrasures of the enemy's works, which they entered with fixed bayonets; they instantly fled in all directions, and threw

* At the time the storming party were gaining the height, an accident of a shell falling to windward of the enemy's camp, was much in our favour: it set fire to the grass and brush around it, by the smoke of which they were prevented from seeing our men, and from taking their aim with the precision they otherwise could have done: their flag still flying was a sufficient direction for our ordnance.

themselves from the summit of the hill, almost a precipice, in expectation of saving themselves by the road to Pilot Hill, at about two miles distance. The General, however, had taken such precaution, that their retreat was completely cut off by the 17th light dragoons and the island cavalry, amounting in all to about eighty men. It was about three o'clock in the afternoon, and although galled in some measure by grape-shot from the privateers, they executed this service greatly to their honour. The slaughter was dreadful; every blow from the sabres of the 17th was certain death. Only one boat-load of men from the schooners were landed, who were instantly cut in pieces. Seeing there was no possibility of giving effectual support to their friends, they weighed, and stood to sea, through the fire of our ships the *Mermaid*, *Favourite*, and *Ponsonby* Indiaman. They were pursued by the *Favourite*, who unfortunately carried away her foretopgallant-mast, and was obliged to give up the chase when nearly within reach of them. Captain Otway, of the *Mermaid*, happened to be on shore with the General, and did not get on board in time to follow. By the prisoners' account the Commissary Representative Goyrand from St. Lucia was on board.

At Pilot Hill the enemy seeing their affairs

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desperate, scuttled the New Jack gun-boat in Labay harbour, set the blockhouse on Pilot Hill on fire, and fled to the woods with great precipitation, without being able to carry an article either of ammunition or guns with them. Their loss in killed, at a moderate computation, could not amount to fewer than 200, mostly picked men, belonging to the island and from Guadaloupe: three white men, a major, a captain, and a trumpeter, with a negro from that island, were made prisoners. The major was soon recognised by Captain Phiddis of the Engineers to be one of the garrison of Fort Bourbon, in Martinique, who, by capitulation, were not to serve against His Britannic Majesty or his allies during the war;—it was he who commanded at Morne de Brullon, where they had taken post in sight of Richmond Hill with three companies, amounting to above 300 men. They had orders to evacuate the post on the night before the attack, and reached Labay early next morning. Derbat, born in Carriacou in the year 1766, was also brought in a prisoner; from him we learnt that Fedon himself had been slightly wounded by the bursting of a shell near him. Our loss in this affair was nineteen rank and file killed, and eighty wounded; of the Black Rangers twenty-nine were wounded, the number of killed I have not yet learned. Cap-

tains Noel and Forbes of their corps were killed; Lieutenant M'Kay accidentally by one of his own men. The Buffs suffered most. Of the light infantry, eleven were killed, including two officers, and forty-eight wounded. According to Captain John Robertson's report of the Royal Black Rangers, seventeen were killed; and on the 15th of April the whole number of the enemy buried by the pioneers amounted to three hundred and seventeen. About this time it blew very fresh, and very unfortunately the Ponsonby was driven from her anchors, and totally lost. Three days afterwards a sloop working out shared the same fate. The insurgents retired from the sea-coast; and by late intelligence from Guyave are making every preparation for an attack, and mean to make a desperate stand. It is not probable they will again take post in the woods at the hazard of being confined there during the approaching rainy months.

Five ships from London arrived on the 5th of April at Carriacou and this island*. They left Barbadoes on the 3d, when the Hostess Quckly, despatched eight days before by General Nicolls to the Commander in Chief with the accounts of our success against Labay, had not arrived, where the General still remains till

* Lieutenant-governor Houstoun came with them in the Lapwing frigate.

further orders with the army encamped on different heights. The Hostess Quickly arrived at Barbadoes the day after the convoy left it for Grenada.

THE END.