



THE
P R O C E E D I N G S

OF THE

Governor and Assembly of Jamaica,

IN REGARD TO THE

MAROON NEGROES:

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE ASSEMBLY.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

AN INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT,

CONTAINING,

OBSERVATIONS ON THE DISPOSITION, CHARACTER,
MANNERS, AND HABITS OF LIFE,

O F T H E M A R O O N S,

AND

A Detail of the Origin, Progress, and Termination

O F

THE LATE WAR BETWEEN THOSE PEOPLE
AND THE WHITE INHABITANTS.



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ADVERTISEMENT.

A COPY of the Proceedings of the Governor and Assembly of Jamaica, in the disposal of the Maroons (printed in that island by authority) having found its way to the press in London, I was prevailed on to promise an introductory discourse to be prefixed to the present edition, containing some account of the Maroon War; with such observations as occurred to me, during a long acquaintance with those people, concerning their situation, character, and manners. This account is now presented to the reader. It was written, and partly printed, previous to the late unexpected discussion in the House of Commons *. My principal inducement in compiling it was the

* 21st October.

gratification

gratification of the publick curiosity ; but I have now a much stronger motive for hastening its publication. The good Faith and Honour, the Humanity and Justice, of the Government of Jamaica, in the conduct of this affair, have been questioned by high authority *, before the Parliament of Great Britain. It is presumed that the following sheets will enable the reader to form a correct judgment on the whole proceedings. I am not conscious of having suppressed a single circumstance necessary to be known, or asserted any one fact which I do not believe to be true.

B. EDWARDS.

LONDON,
7th November 1796.

* Mr. Fox.

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

JAMAICA, as every one knows, was conquered from the Spaniards, during the protectorate of Cromwell, in the year 1655, by an armament under the command of Admiral Penn and General Venables. The Spanish inhabitants are said to have possessed, before the attack, about 1,500 enslaved Africans, most of whom, on the surrender of their masters, retreated to the mountains, from whence they made frequent excursions to harass the English. Major-general Sedgewick, one of the British officers, in a letter to Secretary Thurloe (1656) predicts, that these blacks would prove a thorn in the sides of the English. He adds, that they gave no quarter to his men, but destroyed them whenever they found opportunity; scarce a week passing without their murdering one or more of them; and as the soldiers became more confident and careless, the negroes grew more enterprising and bloody-minded. "Having no moral sense," continues he, "and not understanding what the laws and cus-

“ toms of civil nations mean, we know not
 “ how to capitulate or treat with any of them.
 “ But be assured, they must either be destroy-
 “ ed, or brought in, upon some terms or
 “ other; or else they will prove a great dif-
 “ couragement to the settling the country.”

What he foretold soon came to pass. At the
 latter part of the same year (1656) the army
 gained some trifling success against them; but
 this was immediately afterwards severely re-
 taliated by the slaughter of forty soldiers, cut
 off as they were carelessly rambling from
 their quarters. A detachment was immediately
 sent in pursuit of the enemy, which came
 up with and killed seven or eight of them;
 but they still found means means to hold
 out, until being hard pressed the year fol-
 lowing by Colonel D'Oyley, who, by his
 final overthrow of the Spaniards, had taken
 from them all hope of future succour from
 their ancient masters, they became very much
 streightened for want of provisions and am-
 munition. The main body, under the com-
 mand of a negro named *Juan de Bolas* (whose
 place of retreat in the parish of Clarendon still
 retains his name) at length solicited for peace,
 and surrendered to the English on terms of

pardon and freedom. A large party, however, (who had now acquired the name of Maroons *) remained in their retreats within the mountains; where they not only augmented their numbers by natural increase, but, after the island became thicker sown with plantations, they were frequently reinforced by fugitive slaves. At length they grew confident enough of their force to undertake descents upon the interior planters, many of whom they murdered, from time to time, without the least provocation; and by their barbarities and outrages intimidated the whites from venturing to any considerable distance from the sea coast.

In 1663 the Lieutenant-governor, Sir Charles Lyttelton, and his council, issued a

* The word signifies, among the Spanish Americans, according to Mr. Long, *Hog-hunters*: the woods abounding with the wild boar, and the pursuit of them constituting the chief employment of fugitive negroes. *Marrano* is the Spanish word for a young pig. The following is the derivation, however, given in the Encyclopédie, article *Maron*: "On appelle *marons*, dans les îles Françaises les nègres fugitifs. Ce terme vient du mot Espagnol *Simaran* qui signifie un Singe. Les Espagnols crurent ne devoir pas faire plus d'honneur à leurs malheureux esclaves fugitifs, que de les appeller *singes*, parcequ'ils se retiroient comme ces animaux aux fonds des bois et n'en sortoient que pour cueillir des fruits qui se trouvoient dans les lieux les plus voisins de leur retrait."

proclamation, offering a full pardon, twenty acres of land, and freedom from all manner of slavery, to each of them who should surrender. But I do not find that any of them were inclined to accept the terms offered, or quit their savage way of life. On the contrary, they were better pleased with the more ample range they possessed in the woods, where their hunting grounds were not yet encroached upon by settlements. They took effectual care, indeed, that no settlement should be established near them; for they butchered every white family that ventured to seat itself any considerable distance inland. When the Governor perceived that the proclamation wrought no effect, Juan de Bolas, who was now made Colonel of the Black Regiment, was sent to endeavour their reduction; but in the prosecution of this service he fell into an ambuscade, and was cut to pieces. In March, 1664, Captain Colbeck, of the white militia, was employed for the same purpose. He went by sea to the north side; and, having gained some advantages over the Maroons, he returned with one who pretended to treat for the rest. This embassy, however, was only calculated to amuse the whites, and gain some respite, for
the

the Maroons no sooner found themselves in a condition to act, and the white inhabitants lulled into security, than they began to renew hostilities, murdering, as before, every white person, without distinction of sex or age, who came within their reach.

In this way they continued to distress the island for upward of forty years, during which time forty-four acts of Assembly were passed, and at least £.240,000 expended for their suppression. In 1730 they were grown so formidable, under a very able general, named Cudjoe, that it was found expedient to strengthen the colony against them by two regiments of regular troops, which were afterwards formed into independent companies, and employed, with other hired parties, and the whole body of militia, in their reduction. In the year 1734 Captain Stoddart, who commanded one of these parties, projected and executed with great success, an attack of the Maroon windward town, called Nauny, situate on one of the highest mountains in the island. Having provided some portable swivel guns, he silently approached, and reached within a small distance of their quarters undiscovered. After

halting, for some time, he began to ascend by the only path leading to their town. He found it steep, rocky, and difficult, and not wide enough to admit the passage of two persons abreast. However, he surmounted these obstacles; and having gained a small eminence, commanding the huts in which the negroes were asleep, he fixed his little train of artillery to the best advantage, and fired upon them so briskly, that many were slain in their habitations, and several more threw themselves headlong down precipices. Captain Stoddart pursued the advantage, killed numbers, took many prisoners, and in short so completely destroyed, or routed the whole body, that they were unable afterwards to effect any enterprize of moment in this quarter of the island.

About the same time another party of the blacks, having perceived that a body of the militia stationed at the barrack of Bagnel's thicket, in St. Mary's parish, under the command of Colonel Charlton, strayed heedlessly from their quarters, and kept no order, formed a project to cut them off, and whilst the officers were at dinner, attended by a very few of their men, the Maroons rushed suddenly

denly from the adjacent woods and attacked them. Several pieces were discharged, the report of which alarmed the militia, who immediately ran to their arms, and came up in time to rescue their officers from destruction. The Maroons were repulsed, and forced to take shelter in the woods, but the militia did not think fit to pursue them. Some rumours of this skirmish reached Spanish Town, which is distant from the spot about thirty miles; and, as all the circumstances were not known, the inhabitants were thrown into the most dreadful alarm, from apprehensions that the Maroons had defeated Charlton, and were in full march to attack the town. Ascough, then commander in chief, participating in the general panick, ordered the trumpets to sound, the drums to beat, and in a few hours collected a body of horse and foot, who went to meet the enemy. On the second day after their departure they came to a place where, by the fires which remained unextinguished, they supposed the Maroons had lodged the preceding night. They therefore followed the track, and soon after got sight of them. Captain Edmunds, who commanded the detachment, disposed his men for action; but the

Maroons declined engaging, and fled different ways. Several of them, however, were slain in the pursuit, and others made prisoners. These two victories reduced their strength, and filled them with so much terror that they never afterwards appeared in any considerable body, nor dared to make any stand; indeed, from the commencement of the war till this period, they had not once ventured a pitched battle, but skulked about the skirts of remote plantations, surprising stragglers, and murdering the whites by two or three at a time, or when they were too few to make any resistance. By night, they seized the favourable opportunity that darkness gave them, of stealing into the settlements, where they set fire to cane fields and out-houses, killed all the cattle they could find, and carried the slaves into captivity. By this dastardly method of conducting the war, they did infinite mischief to the whites, without much exposing their own persons to danger, for they always cautiously avoided fighting, except with a number so disproportionally inferior to themselves as to afford them a pretty sure expectation of victory. They knew every secret avenue of the country; so that they could
either

either conceal themselves from pursuit, or shift their ravages from place to place, as circumstances required. Such were the many disadvantages under which the English had to deal with those desultory foes; who were not reducible by any regular plan of attack; who possessed no plunder to allure or reward the assailants; nor had any thing to lose, except life, and a wild and savage freedom.

Previous to the successes above mentioned, the distress into which the planters were thrown, may be collected from the sense which the legislature of Jamaica expressed in some of their acts. In the year 1733, they set forth, "that the Maroons had, within a few years, greatly increased, notwithstanding all the measures that had then been concerted, and made use of, for their suppression; in particular, that they had grown very formidable in the North East, North West, and South Western districts of the island, to the great terror of his Majesty's subjects in those parts, who had greatly suffered by the frequent robberies, murders, and depredations committed by them; that in the parishes of Clarendon, St. Ann, St. Elizabeth, Westmorland, Hanover, and

and St. James's, they were considerably multiplied, and had large settlements among the mountains, and least accessible parts; whence they plundered all around them, and caused several plantations to be thrown up and abandoned, and prevented many valuable tracts of land from being cultivated, to the great prejudice and diminution of his Majesty's revenue, as well as of the trade, navigation, and consumption of British manufactures; and to the manifest weakening, and preventing further increase of strength and inhabitants, in the island." We may learn from hence, what extensive mischief may be perpetrated by the most despicable and cowardly enemy. The Assembly, perceiving that the employment of flying parties had proved ineffectual, by the length of their marches, the difficulty of subsisting them in the woods for so long a time as the service required, and the facility with which the Maroons eluded their pursuit, ordered several defensible houses, or barracks, fortified with bastions, to be erected in different parts, as near as possible to the enemy's most favourite haunts: in every one of these they placed a strong garrison, who were regularly

larly subsisted, and roads of communication were opened from one to the other. These garrisons were composed of white and black shot and baggage negroes, who were all duly trained. Every captain was allowed a pay of ten pounds, the lieutenants each five pounds, serjeants four pounds, and privates two pounds per month. They were subjected to rules and articles of war; and the whole body put under the Governor's immediate order, to be employed, conjunctly or separately, as he should see occasion. Their general plan of duty, as directed by the law, was to make excursions from the barracks, scower the woods and mountains, and destroy the provision gardens and haunts of the Maroons; and that they might not return without effecting some service, they were required to take twenty days provision with them on every such expedition. Every barrack, besides, *was furnished with a pack of dogs, provided by the churchwardens of the respective parishes*; it being foreseen that these animals would prove extremely serviceable, not only in guarding *against surprizes in the night*, but in tracking the enemy.

This

This arrangement was the most judicious hitherto contrived for their effectual reduction ; for so many fortresses, stationed in the very centre of their usual retreats, well supplied with every necessary, gave the Maroons a constant and vigorous annoyance, and in short became the chief means of bringing on that treaty which afterwards put an end to this tiresome war.

About the year 1737, the Assembly resolved on taking two hundred of the Mosquito Indians into their pay, to hasten the suppression of the Maroons. They passed an act for rendering free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians more useful, and forming them into companies, with proper encouragements. Some sloops were dispatched to the Mosquito shore ; and that number of Indians was brought into the island, formed into companies under their own officers, and allowed forty shillings a month for pay, besides shoes and other articles. White guides were assigned to conduct them to the enemy, and they gave proofs of great sagacity in this service. It was their practice to observe the most profound

profound silence in marching to the enemy's quarters; and when they had once hit upon a track, they were sure to discover the haunt to which it led. They effected considerable service, and were, indeed, the most proper troops to be employed in that species of action, which is known in America by the name of *bush-fighting*. They were well rewarded for their good conduct, and afterwards dismissed to their own country, when the pacification took place with the Maroons.

In 1738, Governor Trelawney, by the advice of the principal gentlemen of the island, proposed overtures of peace with the Maroon chiefs. Both parties were now grown heartily wearied out with this tedious conflict. The white inhabitants wished relief from the horrors of continual alarms, the hardship of military duty, and the intolerable burthen of maintaining the army. The Maroons were not less anxious for an accommodation: they were hemmed in, and closely beset on all sides; their provisions destroyed, and themselves reduced to so miserable a condition, by famine and incessant attacks, that

Cudjoe

Cudjoe afterwards declared, that if peace had not been offered to them, they had no choice left but either to be starved, lay violent hands on themselves, or surrender to the English at discretion. The extremity of their case, however, was not at that time known to the white inhabitants, and their number was supposed to be twice as great as it was afterwards found to be. The articles of pacification (which I have subjoined) were therefore ratified with the Maroon chiefs, and fifteen hundred acres of land assigned to one body of them *, and one thousand acres to another, which the legislature secured to them and their posterity in perpetuity. The Assembly, by subsequent laws, augmented the premium allowed the Maroons for apprehending fugitive slaves, to three pounds per head; and they passed many other

* This was the body that settled in Trelawney Town, and are the ancestors of those who have lately taken up arms. The other Maroon negroes were those of Accompong Town, Crawford Town, and Nauny Town, to each of which lands were allotted. The aggregate number, in 1795, was about 1600, men, women, and children.

regulations

regulations for their better government and protection, for preventing their purchasing and harbouring negro slaves, and for directing in what manner they should be tried in the case of felony, and other crimes, committed against the whites †, and thus an end was at length happily

† On complaint made, on oath, to a justice of peace, of any felony, burglary, robbery, or other offence whatsoever, having been committed by Maroon negroes, he is required to grant a warrant to apprehend the offenders, and to have all persons brought before him, or some other justice, that can give evidence; and if, upon examination, it appears that there are grounds for publick trial, the justice is to commit the accused, unless the offence beailable, and bind over the witnesses. They are to be tried where the quarter sessions are held, or where parochial business is usually transacted, in the following manner:—The justice is to call in two other justices (who must attend, or forfeit twenty pounds each), and they are to summon fifteen persons, such as are usually impanelled to serve on juries, to appear at a specified time, who forfeit five pounds each if they neglect. There must be ten days between the complaint and the trial. Of the fifteen persons summoned, the first twelve who appear are to compose a jury. If the Maroon be found guilty, the justices may give sentence, according to law, of death, transportation, public whipping, or confinement to hard labour for not more than twelve months. Execution of women with child is to be respited until a reasonable time after delivery; and

pily put to this tedious and ruinous contest ; a contest which, while it lasted, seemed to portend nothing less than the ruin of the whole colony.

Articles of pacification with the Maroons of Trelawney Town, concluded March the first, 1738.

In the name of God, Amen, Whereas Captain Cudjoe, Captain Acompong, Captain Johnny, Captain Cuffee, Captain Quaco, and several other Negroes, their dependents and adherents, have been in a state of war and hostility, for several years past, against our sovereign lord the King, and the inhabitants of this island ; and whereas peace and friendship among mankind, and the preventing the effusion of blood, is agreeable

and where sentence of death or transportation shall be passed (except for rebellious conspiracies,) execution is to be respited until the Governor's pleasure be signified ; the justices may also respite the execution of any other sentence till his pleasure be known, if they see cause. Where several are capitally convicted for the same offence, one only is to suffer death, except for murder or rebellion.

to God, consonant to reason, and desired by every good man; and whereas his Majesty George the Second, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and of Jamaica Lord, Defender of the Faith, &c. has by his letters patent, dated February the twenty-fourth, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight, in the twelfth year of his reign, granted full power and authority to John Guthrie and Francis Sadler, Esquires, to negotiate and finally conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with the aforesaid Captain Cudjoe, and the rest of his captains, adherents, and others his men; they mutually, sincerely, and amicably, have agreed to the following articles: First, That all hostilities shall cease on both sides for ever. Secondly, That the said Captain Cudjoe, the rest of his captains, adherents, and men, shall be for ever hereafter in a perfect state of freedom and liberty, excepting those who have been taken by them, or fled to them, within two years last past, if such are willing to return to their said masters and owners, with full pardon and indemnity from their said masters or owners for what is past; provided always,

b that,

that, if they are not willing to return, they shall remain in subjection to Captain Cudjoe and in friendship with us, according to the form and tenor of this treaty. Thirdly, That they shall enjoy and possess, for themselves and posterity for ever, all the lands situate and lying between Trelawney Town and the Cockpits, to the amount of fifteen hundred acres, bearing northwest from the said Trelawney Town. Fourthly, That they shall have liberty to plant the said lands with coffee, cocoa, ginger, tobacco, and cotton, and to breed cattle, hogs, goats, or any other stock, and dispose of the produce or increase of the said commodities to the inhabitants of this island; provided always, that when they bring the said commodities to market, they shall apply first to the custos, or any other magistrate of the respective parishes where they expose their goods to sale, for a licence to vend the same. Fifthly, That Captain Cudjoe, and all the Captain's adherents, and people now in subjection to him, shall all live together within the bounds of Trelawney Town, and that they have liberty

to hunt where they shall think fit, except within three miles of any settlement, crawl, or pen; provided always, that in case the hunters of Captain Cudjoe and those of other settlements meet, then the hogs to be equally divided between both parties. Sixthly, That the said Captain Cudjoe, and his successors, do use their best endeavours to take, kill, suppress, or destroy, either by themselves, or jointly with any other number of men, commanded on that service by his excellency the Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, all rebels wheresoever they be, throughout this island, unless they submit to the same terms of accommodation granted to Captain Cudjoe, and his successors. Seventhly, That in case this island be invaded by any foreign enemy, the said Captain Cudjoe, and his successors hereinafter named or to be appointed, shall then, upon notice given, immediately repair to any place the Governor for the time being shall appoint, in order to repel the said invaders with his or their utmost force, and to submit to the orders of the Commander in Chief on that occasion. Eighthly, That if any white man shall do any manner of injury

to Captain Cudjoe, his successors, or any of his or their people, they shall apply to any commanding officer or magistrate in the neighbourhood for justice; *and in case Captain Cudjoe, or any of his people, shall do any injury to any white person, he shall submit himself, or deliver up such offenders to justice.* Ninthly, That if any negroes shall hereafter run away from their masters or owners, and fall into Captain Cudjoe's hands, they shall immediately be sent back to the chief magistrate of the next parish where they are taken; and those that bring them are to be satisfied for their trouble, as the legislature shall appoint*. Tenthly, That all negroes taken, since the raising of this party by Captain Cudjoe's people, shall immediately be returned. Eleventhly, That Captain Cudjoe, and his successors, shall wait on his Excellency, or the Commander in Chief for the time being, every year, if thereunto required. Twelfthly, That Captain Cudjoe, during his life, and the cap-

* The Assembly granted a premium of thirty shillings for each fugitive slave returned to his owner by the Maroons, besides expences.

tains succeeding him, shall have full power to inflict any punishment they think proper for crimes committed by their men among themselves, death only excepted ; in which case, if the Captain thinks they deserve death, he shall be obliged to bring them before any justice of the peace, who shall order proceedings on their trial equal to those of other free negroes. Thirteenth, That Captain Cudjoe, with his people, shall cut, clear, and keep open, large and convenient roads from Trelawney Town to Westmorland and St. James's, and if possible to St. Elizabeth's. Fourteenth, That two white men, to be nominated by his Excellency, or the Commander in Chief for the time being, shall constantly live and reside with Captain Cudjoe and his successors, in order to maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of this island. Fifteenth, That Captain Cudjoe shall, during his life, be Chief Commander in Trelawney Town ; after his decease the command to devolve on his brother Captain Accompong ; and in case of his decease, on his next brother Captain Johnny ; and, failing him, Captain Cuffee shall succeed ; who is to be succeeded by Captain Quaco ;

and after all their demises, the Governor, or
Commander in Chief for the time being,
shall appoint, from time to time, whom he
thinks fit for that command.

In testimony, &c. &c.

SEC-

SECTION II.

THE preceding Section consists chiefly of an extract from the History of Jamaica, by EDWARD LONG, Esq. published in 1774, whose account I have chosen to adopt, rather than offer a narrative of my own; for two reasons, first, because I have nothing to add, concerning the origin of the Maroons, to what Mr. Long has so distinctly related; and, secondly, because its adoption exempts me from all suspicion of having fabricated a tale, calculated to justify certain circumstances and transactions, of which complaint was made in the British Parliament*, and to which due attention shall hereafter be paid. In the meanwhile I shall take up and continue the subject where Mr. Long left it, beginning with some reflections on the situation, character, manners, and habits of life of the Maroon negroes; and thus tracing the cause of their late revolt to its origin.

* March 1796.

The clause in the treaty, by which these people were compelled to reside within certain boundaries in the interior country, apart from all other negroes, was founded, probably, on the apprehension that, by suffering them to intermix with the negroes in slavery, the example which they would thereby continually present of successful hostility, might prove contagious, and create in the minds of the slaves an impatience of subordination, and a disposition for revolt: but time has abundantly proved that it was an ill-judged and a fatal regulation. The Maroons, instead of being established into separate hordes or communities, in the strongest parts of the interior country, should have been encouraged by all possible means to frequent the towns and to intermix with the negroes at large. All distinction between the Maroons and the other free blacks would soon have been lost; the greater number would have prevailed over the less: whereas the policy of keeping them a distinct people, continually inured to arms, introduced among them what the French call an *esprit de corps*, or a community of sentiments

and

and interests: and concealing from them the powers and resources of the whites, taught them to feel, and at the same time highly to overvalue, their own relative strength and importance.

It has been urged against the colonial legislature, as another, and a still greater, oversight, that after the conclusion of the treaty, no manner of attention was given to the improvement of these ignorant people in civilization and morals. The office of *superintendent*, it has been said, and I believe truly, was commonly bestowed on persons of no education or consequence, and soon became a mere *sinecure*. Mr. Long observed, many years ago, that the Maroons would probably prove more faithful allies, and better subjects, if pains were taken to instil into their minds a few notions of honesty and religion; and the establishment of schools, and the erection of a chapel in each of the towns, were recommended, as measures of indispensable necessity.

That these observations are altogether ill founded, I will not presume to affirm. Man, in his savage state, in all parts of the world,
is

is the slave of superstition ; and it is the duty and policy of a good government (let its system of religion be what it may) to direct the weaknesses of our fellow creatures to the promotion of their happiness. The Christian is not only the best system of religion calculated for the attainment of that end, but, by leading the mind to the knowledge of truth and immortality, contributes more than any other to amend the heart, and exalt the human character. It is a system of humility, meekness, and loving kindness : and although we should admit, with the eloquent historian of the Roman Empire *, that “ the superstitions of Paganism always bore the appearance of pleasure, and often of virtue ;” we must, at the same time, allow that they afforded no consolation to the wretched ; they furnished but few lessons of justice, and none of forgiveness and mercy !

Of these high and important truths I hope that I am fully sensible. Yet I cannot suppress the opinion which I have long since entertained, that the conversion of savage men from a life of barbarity to the knowledge and

* Gibbon.

practice of Christianity, is a work of much greater difficulty than many pious and excellent persons in Great Britain seem fondly to imagine. *

Concerning the Maroons, they are in general ignorant of our language, and all of them attached to the gloomy superstitions of Africa (derived from their ancestors) with such enthusiastick zeal and reverential ardour, as I think can only be eradicated with their lives. The Gentoos of India are not, I conceive, more sincere in their faith, than the negroes of Guinea in believing the prevalence of *Obi*, and the supernatural power of their *Obeah* men. Obstacles like these, accompanied with the fierce and sordid manners which I shall presently describe, few clergymen would, I think, be pleased to encounter, lest they might experience all the sufferings, without acquiring the glory of martyrdom.

Under disadvantages of such magnitude was founded the first legal establishment of our Maroon allies in Jamaica. Inured, for a long series of years, to a life of warfare within the island, it is a matter of astonishment that they submitted, for any length of time, to any system of subordination or government whatever. It is probable

probable they were chiefly induced to remain quiet by the great encouragement that was held out to them for the apprehending fugitive slaves, and being allowed to range over the uncultivated country without interruption, possessing an immense wilderness for their hunting grounds. These pursuits, by giving full employment to the restless and turbulent among them, diverted them from schemes of greater enterprize and projects of mischief. Their game was the wild boar, which abounds in the interior parts of Jamaica; and the Maroons had a method of curing the flesh without salting it. This commodity they frequently brought to market in the towns; and, with the money arising from the sale, and the rewards which they received for the delivery to their owners of runaway slaves, they purchased salted beef, spirituous liquors, tobacco, fire-arms, and ammunition, setting little or no account on clothing of any kind, and regarding as superfluous and useless, most of those things which every people, in the lowest degree of civilization, would consider as almost absolutely necessary to human existence.

Their

Their language was a barbarous dissonance of the African dialects, with a mixture of Spanish and broken English; and their thoughts and attention seemed wholly engrossed by their present pursuits, and the objects immediately around them, without any reflections on the past, or solicitude for the future. In common with all the nations of Africa, they believed, however, as I have observed, in the prevalence of *Obi* (a sort of witchcraft of most extensive influence) and the authority which such of their old men as had the reputation of wizards, or *Obeah-men*, possessed over them, was sometimes very successfully employed in keeping them in subordination to their chiefs.

Having, in the resources that have been mentioned, the means of procuring food for their daily support, they had no inclination for the pursuits of sober industry. Their repugnance to the labour of tilling the earth was remarkable. In some of their villages I never could perceive any vestige of culture; but the situation of their towns, in such cases, was generally in the neighbourhood of plantations belonging to the whites, from the
provision

provision-grounds of which they either purchased, or stole, yams, plantains, corn, and other esculents. When they had no supply of this kind, I have sometimes observed small patches of Indian corn and yams, and perhaps a few straggling plaintain trees, near their habitations ; but the ground was always in a shocking state of neglect and ruin.

The labours of the field, however, such as they were (as well as every other species of drudgery) were performed by the women, who had no other means of clearing the ground of the vast and heavy woods with which it is every where incumbered, than by placing fire round the trunks of the trees, till they were consumed in the middle, and fell by their own weight. It was a service of danger ; but the Maroons, like all other savage nations, regarded their wives as so many beasts of burthen ; and felt no more concern at the loss of one of them, than a white planter would have felt at the loss of a bullock. Polygamy too, with their other African customs, prevailed among the Maroons universally. Some of their principal men claimed from two to six wives, and the miseries of
 their

their situation left these poor creatures neither leisure nor inclination to quarrel with each other.

This spirit of brutality, which the Maroons always displayed towards their wives, extended in some degree to their children. The parental authority was at all times most harshly exerted; but more especially towards the females. I have been assured that it was not an uncommon circumstance for a father, in a fit of rage or drunkenness, to seize his own infant, which had offended him by crying, and dash it against a rock, with a degree of violence which often proved fatal. This he did without any apprehension of punishment; for the superintendant, on such occasions, generally found it prudent to keep his distance, or be silent. Nothing can more strikingly demonstrate the forlorn and abject condition of the young women among the Maroons, than the circumstance which every gentleman, who has visited them on festive occasions, or for the gratification of curiosity, knows to be true; the offering their own daughters, by the first men among them, to their visitors; and bringing the poor girls forward,

forward, with or without their consent, for the purpose of prostitution.

Visits of this kind (though I believe not frequent) were indeed but too acceptable both to the Maroons and their daughters; for they generally ended in drunkenness and riot. The visitors too were not only fleeced of their money, but were likewise obliged *to furnish the feast*, it being indispensibly necessary, on such occasions, to send beforehand wine and provisions of all kinds; and if the guests expected to sleep on beds and in linen, like gentlemen, they must provide those articles also for themselves. The Maroons, however, if the party consisted of persons of consequence, would consider themselves as highly honoured, and would supply wild boar, land-crabs, pigeons, and fish, and entertain their guests with a hearty and boisterous kind of hospitality, which had at least the charms of novelty and singularity to recommend it.

On such occasions, a mock fight always constituted a part of the entertainment. Mr. Long has given the following description of a scene of this kind, which was exhibited by the Trelawney-Town Maroons, in the presence
of

of the Governor, in 1764. " No sooner (he observes) did the horn sound the signal, than they all joined in a most hideous yell, or war-hoop, and bounded into action. With amazing agility they ran, or rather rolled, through their various firings and evolutions. This part of their exercise, indeed, more justly deserves to be stiled *evolution* than any that is practised by the regular troops; for they fire stooping almost to the very ground; and no sooner is the piece discharged, than they throw themselves into a thousand antick gestures, and tumble over and over, so as to be continually shifting their place; the intention of which is to elude the shot, as well as to deceive the aim of their adversaries, which their nimble and almost instantaneous change of position renders extremely uncertain. When this part of their exercise was over, they drew their swords; and winding their horn again, began, in wild and warlike gestures, to advance towards his Excellency, endeavouring to throw as much savage fury into their looks as possible. On approaching near him, some waved their rusty blades over his head, then gently laid them

upon it; whilst others clashed their arms together in horrid concert. They next brought their muskets, and piled them up in heaps at his feet, &c. &c."

With all this seeming fury and affected bravery, however, I suspect that they are far below the whites in personal valour. Their mode of fighting in real war, is a system of stratagem, bush-fighting, and ambuscade. I will not, indeed, affirm that such a system alone, though it displays no proof of courage, is absolutely evidence to the contrary. I believe it is the natural mode of attack and defence, and that the practice of open war, among civilized nations, is artificial and acquired. It is rather from their abominable and habitual cruelty to their captives, and, above all, to women and children, and from the shameful and shocking enormities which they practise on the dead bodies of their enemies, that I infer the deficiency of the Maroons, in the virtue of true courage. In their treatment of fugitive slaves, they manifest a blood-thirstiness of disposition, which is otherwise unaccountable; for, although their vigilance is stimulated by the prospect of reward,

ward, they can have no possible motives of revenge or malice towards the unfortunate objects of their pursuit: yet it is notoriously true, that they wish for nothing more than a pretence to put the poor wretches to death; frequently maiming them without provocation; and, until mile-money was allowed by the legislature, oftentimes bringing home the head of the fugitive, instead of the living man; making the plea of resistance an excuse for their barbarity.

In the year 1760, an occasion occurred of putting the courage, fidelity, and humanity of these people to the test. The Koromantyn slaves, in the parish of St. Mary, rose into rebellion, and the Maroons were called upon, according to treaty, to co-operate in their suppression. A party of them accordingly arrived at the scene of action, the second or third day after the rebellion had broken out. The whites had already defeated the insurgents, in a pitched battle, at *Heywood-Hall*, killed eight or nine of their number, and driven the remainder into the woods. The Maroons were ordered to pursue them, and were promised a certain reward for each

rebel they might kill or take prisoner. They accordingly pushed into the woods, and after rambling about for a day or two, returned with a collection of human ears, which they pretended to have cut off from the heads of rebels they had slain in battle, the particulars of which they minutely related. Their report was believed, and they received the money stipulated to be paid them; yet it was afterwards found that they had not killed a man; that no engagement had taken place, and that the ears which they had produced, had been severed from the dead bodies which had lain unburied at Heywood-Hall.

Some few days after this, as the Maroons, and a detachment of the 74th regiment, were stationed at a solitary place, surrounded by deep woods, called Downs's Cove, they were suddenly attacked in the middle of the night by the rebels. The centinels were shot, and the huts in which the soldiers were lodged, were set on fire. The light of the flames, while it exposed the troops, served to conceal the rebels, who poured in a shower of musquetry from all quarters, and many of the soldiers were slain. Major Forsyth, who
 commanded

commanded the detachment, formed his men into a square, and by keeping up a brisk fire from all sides, at length compelled the enemy to retire. During the whole of this affair the Maroons were not to be found, and Forsyth, for some time, suspected that they were themselves the assailants. It was discovered, however, that immediately on the attack, the whole body of them had thrown themselves flat on the ground, and continued in that position until the rebels retreated, without firing or receiving a shot.

A party of them, however, had afterwards the merit (a merit of which they loudly boasted) of killing the leader of the rebels. He was a young negro of the Koromantyn nation, named Tackey, and it was said had been of free condition, and even a chieftain, in Africa. This unfortunate man, having seen most of his companions slaughtered, was discovered wandering in the woods without arms or clothing, and was immediately pursued by the Maroons, *in full cry*. The chase was of no long duration; he was shot through the head; and it is painful to relate, but un-

It was surely life enough to cut the heart-
entrails of a dead man than to expose
living man in agony to suffer him to

questionably true, that his savage pursuers, having decollated the body, in order to preserve the head as the trophy of victory, *roasted and actually devoured the heart and entrails of the wretched victim ! **

The misconduct of these people in this rebellion, whether proceeding from cowardice or treachery, was, however, overlooked. Living secluded from the rest of the community, they were supposed to have no knowledge of the rules and restraints to which all other classes of the inhabitants were subject; and the vigilance of justice (notwithstanding what has recently happened) seldom pursued them, even for offences of the most atrocious nature.

In truth, it always seemed to me, that the whites in general entertained an opinion of the

* The circumstances that I have related concerning the conduct of the Maroons, in the rebellion of 1760, are partly founded on my own knowledge and personal observation at the time (having been myself present;) or from the testimony of eye witnesses, men of character and probity. The shocking fact last mentioned was attested by several white people, and was not attempted to be denied or concealed by the Maroons themselves. They seemed indeed to make it the subject of boasting and triumph.

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Jamaica did in the persons of
two Negroes in the year 1760
for the same reason.

usefulness of the Maroons; which no part of their conduct, at any one period, confirmed. —Possibly their personal appearance contributed, in some degree, to preserve the delusion; for, savage as they were in manners and disposition, their mode of living and daily pursuits undoubtedly strengthened the frame, and served to exalt them to great bodily perfection. Such fine persons are seldom beheld among any other class of African or native blacks. Their demeanour is lofty, their walk firm, and their persons erect. Every motion displays a combination of strength and agility. The muscles (neither hidden nor depressed by clothing) are very prominent, and strongly marked. Their sight withal is wonderfully acute, and their hearing remarkably quick. These characteristicks, however, are common, I believe, to all savage nations, in warm and temperate climates; and, like other savages, the Maroons have those senses only perfect, which are kept in constant exercise. Their smell is obtuse, and their taste so depraved, that I have seen them drink new rum fresh from the still, in preference to wine which I offered them; and I remem-

ber, at a great festival in one of their towns, which I attended, that their highest luxury, in point of food, was some rotten beef which had been originally salted in Ireland, and was probably presented to them, by some person who knew their taste, *because it was putrid.*

Such was the situation of the Maroon Negroes of Jamaica, previous to their late revolt; and the picture which I have drawn of their character and manners, was delineated from the life, after long experience and observation. Of that revolt I shall now proceed to describe the cause, progress, and termination; and, if I know myself, without partiality or prejudice*.

* It should not be omitted, that of late years a practice has universally prevailed among the Maroons (in imitation of the other free blacks) of attaching themselves to different families among the English; and desiring gentlemen of consideration to allow the Maroon children to bear their names. Montague James, John Palmer, Tharp, Jarrett, Parkinson, Shirley, White, and many others, are names adopted in this way; and I think great advantages might be derived from it if properly improved.

SECTION

SECTION III.

IN the month of July 1795, two Maroons, from Trelawney-Town, having committed a felony in stealing some pigs, were apprehended, sent to Montego Bay, and there tried for the offence according to law. Having been found guilty by the jury, the magistrates ordered each of them to receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back. The sentence was executed accordingly. They were whipped in the workhouse, by the black overseer of the workhouse negroes; the person whose office it is to inflict punishment on such occasions. The offenders were then immediately discharged; and they went off, with some of their companions, abusing and insulting every white person whom they met in the road.

On their return to Trelawney-Town, and giving an account of what had passed, the whole body of Maroons immediately assembled; and after violent debates and altercations among themselves, a party of them repaired to Captain Craikell, the superintendent, and ordered him, in the name of the whole,

whole, to quit the town forthwith, under pain of death. He retired to Vaughan's-field, a plantation in the neighbourhood; and exerted himself, by friendly messages and otherwise, to pacify the Maroons; but without effect. They sent a *written defiance* to the magistrates of Montego Bay, declaring their intention to meet the white people in arms, and threatening to attack the town on the 20th of that month (July). In the mean while an attempt was made on Captain Craskell's life, and he very narrowly escaped.

Alarmed by the receipt of this letter, and the intelligence which was received of the temper and disposition of the Maroons, the magistrates applied to General Palmer, requesting him to call out the militia; which was done; and the General sent an express to the Earl of Balcarres, in Spanish-Town, praying his Lordship to send down a detachment of the Jamaica dragoons. Eighty men were accordingly sent, well accoutred and mounted.

The militia assembled on the 19th of July, to the number of four hundred; and while

they were waiting for orders, one of the Maroons, armed with a lance, made his appearance, and informed the commanding officer, that they wished to have a conference in Trelawney-Town, with John Tharp, Esq. (the Custos and Chief Magistrate of Trelawney) Messrs. Stewart and Hodges, the Members in the Assembly, and Jarvis Galimore, Esq. Colonel of the Militia.

As this message seemed to manifest a disinclination, on the part of the chief body of the Maroons, to proceed to hostilities, the gentlemen above named very readily accepted the invitation, and proceeded to the town the next day (the 20th). They were accompanied by Colonel Thomas Reed, of the St. James's militia, a very distinguished and gallant officer, and a man of the highest honour and character, by other persons of consideration; and also by Major James, whose son had formerly acted as superintendant of the town, who was himself superintendant-general of all the Maroon towns in the island, and was supposed to have more weight and to possess greater influence with the Maroons, than any other man in the country.

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The Maroons received them under arms. There appeared about three hundred able men, all of whom had painted their faces for battle, and seemed ready for action; and they behaved with so much insolence, that the gentlemen were at first exceedingly alarmed for their own safety. A conference however ensued; in which it was observable that the Maroons complained—not of the injustice or severity of the punishment which had been inflicted on two of their companions; but—of the disgrace which they insisted the magistrates of Montego Bay had put on their whole body, by ordering the punishment to be inflicted in the workhouse by the black overseer or driver, and in the presence of fugitive and felon negroe slaves, many of whom they had themselves apprehended*. They concluded by demanding reparation for this indignity; an addition to the lands they pos-

X * It certainly is to be wished, that some little attention had been paid, by the magistrates, to the pride or the prejudices of the Maroons in this respect. The law however is wholly silent on this head, and the court had a right to exercise its discretion. The punishment, and the mode of administering it, were strictly legal; and a white offender in a similar case would have been whipped by the same man.

ferred, the dismissal of Capt. Craakell, and the appointment of Mr. James, their former superintendant.

The gentlemen had certainly no authority to agree to any of these requisitions; they promised however to state their grievances to the commander in chief, and to recommend to the legislature to grant them an addition of land. In the meanwhile, they assured the Maroons they would request the Governor to provide otherwise for Capt. Craakill their superintendant, and to re-appoint in his room their favourite Mr. James. With these assurances the Maroons seemed pacified, and declared they had nothing further to ask; and the gentlemen, having distributed a considerable sum of money amongst them, returned to Montego Bay.

It soon appeared however, that the Maroons, in desiring this conference, were actuated solely by motives of treachery. They were apprized that a fleet of 150 ships was to sail for Great Britain on the morning of the 26th; and they knew that very few British troops remained in the Island, except the 83d regiment, and that this very regiment was, at that juncture,
under

under orders to embark for St. Domingo; they hoped, therefore, by the specious and delusive appearance of desiring a conference, to quiet suspicion, until the July fleet was sailed, and the regulars fairly departed. In the meanwhile, they pleased themselves with the hope of prevailing on the negroe slaves throughout the Island to join them; and by rising in a mass, to enable them to exterminate the whites at a blow.

The very day the conference was held, they began tampering with the negroes on the numerous and extensive plantations in the neighbourhood of Montego Bay*. On some of these plantations their emissaries were cordially received and secreted: on others, the slaves themselves voluntarily apprized their overseers, that the Maroons were endeavouring to seduce them from their allegiance. Information of this nature was transmitted from many respectable quarters; but most of the gentlemen who had visited the Maroons on the 20th, were so confident of their *fidelity* and *affection*, that the Governor, disbelieving

* Trelawney Town is situated within 20 miles of the town and harbour of Montego Bay.

I don't understand what is the
meant by the allegiance of
Slaves

the charges against them, was prevailed on to let the troops embark as originally intended, and they actually sailed from Port Royal on the morning of the 29th, under convoy of the Success Frigate.

In the course of that, and the two succeeding days, however, such intelligence was received at the King's house, as left no possible room to doubt the treachery of these *faithful* and *affectionate* people; and the Earl of Balcarres, with that promptitude and decision which distinguish his character, determined on a line of conduct adapted to the importance of the occasion. The course from Port Royal to St. Domingo (as the reader is perhaps informed) is altogether against the wind, and there is sometimes a strong lee current; as was fortunately the case at this juncture. These were favourable circumstances, and afforded the Governor room to hope that the transports which conveyed the troops might possibly be overtaken at sea, by a fast sailing boat, from the east end of the island, furnished with oars for rowing in the night. His Lordship was not mistaken; the boat which was provided came up with them on the 2d of August, off the north-east end of Jamaica,

and

and delivered orders to Captain Pigot of the Success, forthwith to change his course, and proceed with the transports down the north side of the Island to Montego Bay. Captain Pigot immediately obeyed; and by this happy accident the country was saved.

The 83d regiment, consisting of upwards of one thousand effective men, commanded by Colonel Fitch, landed at Montego Bay on Tuesday the 4th of August. At this moment, although the Militia of this part of the country were under arms, and had been joined by the detachment of light dragoons, the utmost anxiety was visible in every countenance. The July fleet was failed; and the certainty that the Maroons had collected great quantities of arms and ammunition, and that they had been tampering with the slaves, and the uncertainty of the success and extent of their machinations, had cast a gloom on the face of every man; and while rumours of plots and conspiracies distracted the minds of the ignorant, many among the most thoughtful and considerate, anticipated all the horrors of St. Domingo, and in imagination already beheld their houses and plantations in flames, and their wives and children bleeding
under

under the swords of the most merciless of assassins.

The sudden and unexpected arrival of so powerful a reinforcement, in the most critical moment, immediately changed the scene. But further measures were adopted. By the advice of a council of war, composed chiefly of members of the Assembly, the Governor put the whole Island under martial law. A further reinforcement of 130 well mounted dragoons under the command of Colonel Sandford, and a detachment of 100 men of the 62d regiment, were sent down on the 3d: Colonel Walpole, with 150 dismounted dragoons, embarked at the same time for Black River, to command the forces in St. Elizabeth and Westmoreland, and on the morning of the 4th, the Governor himself left Spanish Town for Montego Bay; determined to command on the scene of action in person.

The reader will easily conceive, that measures of such extent and magnitude were not adopted solely in the belief that the Maroons alone were concerned. It must be repeated, that the most certain and abundant proofs had been transmitted to the commander in chief,

of their attempts to create a general revolt of the enslaved negroes, and it was impossible to foresee the result. The situation of the slaves, under prevailing circumstances, required the most serious attention. With the recent example before their eyes of the dreadful insurrection in St. Domingo, they had been accustomed, for the preceding seven years, to hear of nothing but Mr. Wilberforce, and his efforts to serve them in Great Britain. Means of information were not wanting. Instructors were constantly found among the black servants continually returning from England; and I have not the smallest doubt that the negroes on every plantation in the West Indies, were taught to believe that their masters were generally considered in the mother country, as a set of odious and abominable miscreants, whom it was laudable to massacre! The Society in the Old Jewry had made no scruple to avow this doctrine in its fullest extent, by causing pamphlets to be distributed among such of the negroes as could read, and medals among such of them as could not, to apprise them of the wretchedness of their situation, and to assure them, in language and tokens well suited to their

their

their capacity, *that insurrection was their duty, and that no cruelties, which they should commit in the exercise of such a duty, could be considered as criminal* *.

* Having mentioned the name of a very respectable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) I think it my duty to declare, that I very sincerely acquit *him* of any such atrocious wishes or intentions as I have imputed to the Society in the Old Jewry. With regard to this Society, notwithstanding their publick declaration, that their efforts were meant only to put a period to the Slave Trade, and by no means to interfere with the actual condition of the enslaved negroes already in the plantations, I do aver, that they pursued a line of conduct directly and immediately repugnant and contradictory to their own professions. In many of the pamphlets and tracts which they caused to be distributed throughout the Sugar Colonies, arguments are expressly adduced, in language which cannot be misunderstood, to urge the negroes to rise into rebellion, and murder their masters. In one of those pamphlets, entitled, *A Letter to Granville Sharpe, Esq. from the Rev. Percival Stockdale*, the reverend writer, after pouring forth his earnest prayers for a speedy insurrection of the enslaved negroes throughout the British West Indies, exclaims as follows: “Should we not approve their conduct in their violence? Should we not crown it with eulogium, if they exterminate their tyrants with fire and sword? *Should they even deliberately inflict the most exquisite tortures on those tyrants, would they not be excusable, &c. &c.*” This, and much more to the same purpose, is the language of a christian divine, addressed to Granville Sharp; yet I do not hear that either he, or Mr. Sharp, is in Bedlam!

The wisdom, decision, and activity of the Earl of Balcarres, on the present occasion, defeated all the projects, and rendered abortive all the hopes of these pestilent reformers. The effect of his Lordship's conduct thenceforward, on the minds of the enslaved negroes throughout the whole country, was wonderful. Submission, tranquillity, and good order prevailed universally among them. The circumstance attending the return of the 83d regiment, induced them to believe that Heaven itself had declared in favour of the Whites, and that all attempts at resistance were not only unavailing, but impious.

The Maroons themselves became divided in their councils. Many of the old and experienced among them, even in Trelawney Town, the head quarters of sedition, recommended peace; and advised their companions to postpone their vengeance to a better opportunity; and the whole of the *Acompong* people declared in favour of the Whites. It was determined, however, by a very great majority of the Trelawney Maroons, *to fight the Bucras* (meaning the white people). This was their expression. The violent councils of the younger

younger part of their community prevailed ; most of whom were inflamed with a degree of savage fury against the Whites, which set at nought all considerations of prudence, policy, and humanity.

The Commander in chief, however, previous to any hostile movement, determined to try once more to effect an accommodation. As it was evident the Maroons consulted some person who could read and write, his Lordship, on the 8th of August, sent into their town a written message or summons in the following words :

To the Maroons of Trelawney Town.

“ You have entered into a most unprovoked, ungrateful, and most dangerous rebellion.

“ You have driven away your superintendent, placed over you by the laws of this country.

“ You have treated him, your Commander, with indignity and contempt. You have endeavoured to massacre him.

“ You have put the Magistrates of the country, and all the white people, at defiance.

“ You have challenged, and offered them battle.

“ You have forced the country, which has long cherished and fostered you as its children, to consider you as an enemy.

“ Martial law has in consequence been proclaimed,

“ Every pass to your town has been occupied and guarded by the militia and regular forces.

“ You are surrounded by thousands.

“ Look at Montego Bay, and you will see the force brought against you.

“ I have issued a proclamation, offering a reward for your heads ; that terrible edict will not be put in force before Thursday, the 13th day of August.

“ To avert these proceedings, I advise and command every Maroon of Trelawney Town, capable of bearing arms, to appear before me at Montego Bay, on Wednesday the 12th day of August instant, and there submit themselves to his Majesty's mercy.

“ On so doing, you will escape the effects of the dreadful command, ordered to be put into execution on Thursday, the 13th Day of August ;

gust; on which day, in failure of your obedience to this summons, your town shall be burnt to the ground, and for ever destroyed.

“ And whereas it appears that other negroes, besides the Maroons of Trelawny Town, were there under arms on the day that town was visited by John Tharp, Esq. and several other magistrates of the parish of Trelawney, you are strictly commanded and enjoined to bring such stranger negroes to Montego Bay, as prisoners, on or before the before mentioned Wednesday, the 12th day of August instant.

“ BALCARRES.”

Apprehensive, however, that this summons would have but little effect, the Governor at the same time gave orders that the regulars and militia should take possession of all the known paths leading to Trelawney Town from the surrounding parishes; and the troops arrived at their respective stations early on the 9th.

On the morning of the 11th, thirty-eight of the Trelawney Maroons, being chiefly old men, surrendered themselves to the Governor's mercy, at Vaughan's-field, and frankly

declared, that, with regard to the rest of the town, they were determined on war. "*The devil, they said, had got into them,*" and nothing but superiority of force would bring them to reason.

Two of the thirty-eight were, however, sent back to try, for the last time, if persuasion would avail; but they were detained by the rest, who, having secreted their women and children, *passed the Rubicon* the ensuing night, by setting fire themselves to their town, and commencing hostilities on the outposts of the army. The attack fell chiefly on the St. James's company of free people of colour, of whom two were killed and six wounded: and thus began this unfortunate war.

The Maroons immediately afterwards assembled in a body, near a small village which was called their *New Town*, behind which were their provision grounds.—On the afternoon of the 12th, orders were given to Lieutenant Colonel Sandford to march with a detachment of the 18th and 20th dragoons, and a party of the horse militia, and take possession of those grounds the same evening; it being the Governor's intention to attack
the

the Maroons at the same time, in front. Colonel Sandford proceeded accordingly, accompanied by a body of volunteers; but having been informed that the Maroons had retired to the ruins of their old town, he was persuaded, instead of waiting at his post for further orders from the Governor, to proceed beyond his limits, and to push after the enemy; a most unfortunate and fatal determination, to which this gallant officer, and many valuable men, fell a sacrifice. The retreat of the Maroons from the New Town, was a feint to draw the whites into an ambuscade, which unfortunately succeeded. The road between the new and old towns was very bad and very narrow; and the troops had marched about half way, the regulars in front, the militia in the centre, and the volunteers in the rear, when a heavy fire ensued from the bushes. Colonel Sandford was among the first that fell, and with him perished Quarter Master M'Bride, six privates of the 20th, and eight of the 18th light dragoons. Of the militia, thirteen were slain outright, and, among the rest, the commanding officer, Colonel Gallimore; eight of the volunteers also were killed, and many of all descriptions

descriptions wounded. The troops, however, pushed forward, and drove the Maroons from their hiding places, and after a night of unparalleled hardship, the survivors got back to Vaughan's-field in the morning, and brought with them most of their wounded companions* .

Thus terminated this disastrous and bloody conflict ; in which it was never known with certainty, that a single Maroon lost his life. Their triumph therefore was great, and many of the best informed among the planters, in consequence of it, again anticipated the most dreadful impending calamities. So general was the alarm, that the Governor thought it necessary, in a proclamation which he issued

* Among the officers of the Militia who escaped on this occasion, was my late excellent and lamented friend *George Goodin Barrett*. He was attended on that day by a favourite Negro Servant ; of whom it is related that, during the first attack, perceiving a Maroon from behind a tree present his gun at his beloved master, he instantly rushed forward to protect him, by interposing his own person ; and actually received the shot in his breast. I rejoice to add, that the wound was not mortal, and that the poor fellow has been rewarded as he deserved, for such an instance of heroic fidelity as history has seldom recorded. Yet this man was, what is called, a *Slave*.

on the occasion, to make publick the orders he had given to Colonel Sandford, and to declare in exprefs terms, that if the detachment under that officer's command had remained at the post which he was directed to occupy, the Maroons, in all probability, would have been compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. "Soldiers will learn from this fatal lesson (adds his Lordship most truly) the indispenfible neceffity of ftrictly adhering to orders. An excefs of ardour is often as prejudicial to the accomplifhment of any military enterprize, as cowardice itfelf."—The truth was, that the whole detachment held the enemy in too great contempt. They marched forth in the confidence of certain victory, and never having had any experience of the Maroons mode of fighting difregarded the advice of fome faithful negro attendants, who apprized them of it. Happily the clafs of people on whom the Maroons relied for fupport remained peaceably difpofed ; nor did an inftance occur to raife a doubt of their continuing to do fo.

By the death of Sandford, the command, in the Governor's abfence, devolved on Colonel Fitch, an officer whofe general deport-

ment and character excited great expectation; but the Maroons found means to elude his vigilance. They had now established their head quarters at a place in the interior country, of most difficult access, called the *Cockpits*; a sort of valley or dell, surrounded by steep precipices and broken rocks, and by mountains of prodigious height; in the caverns of which they had secreted their women and children, and deposited their ammunition. From this retreat (almost inaccessible to any but themselves) they sent out small parties of their ablest and most enterprising young men, some of which were employed in prowling about the country in search of provisions, and others in setting fire by night to such houses and plantations as were unprovided with a sufficient guard. In the beginning of September, they burnt the habitation and settlement of Mr. George Gordon, called Kenmure; and soon afterwards the dwelling house and buildings of a coffee plantation, called Lapland; the proprietor too sustained the still greater loss of thirty valuable negroes, whom the Maroons compelled to go with them, loaden with plunder. Another plantation,

tation, called Catadupa, was destroyed by them in the same manner, and ten of the negroes carried off. About the same time, they burnt the property of John Shand, Esq. a settlement belonging to Messrs. Stevens and Bernard, a plantation called Bandon, a house of a Mr. Lewis, and various others.

At some of these places several white people unfortunately fell into their hands, all of whom were murdered in cold blood, without any distinction of sex, or regard to age. Even women in childbed, and infants at the breast, were alike indiscriminately slaughtered by this savage enemy; and the shrieks of the miserable victims, which were distinctly heard at the posts of the British detachments, frequently conveyed the first notice, that the Maroons were in the neighbourhood.

The fate of Mr. Gowdie, a respectable and venerable planter, who lived within a few miles of Trelawney Town, was remarkable. This gentleman, having a better opinion of the Maroons than they deserved, had employed one of their chief men to act as the overseer or superintendant of his plantation, whom he treated with singular kindness, and allowed him

him the same wages as would have been paid to a white person in the same capacity. Although, on the commencement of hostilities, this man had joined the insurgents, Mr. Gowdie continued to place a fatal dependance on his fidelity, and was induced to visit his own plantation, as often as his necessary attendance on military duty would allow. He had the most perfect confidence that his Maroon overseer would interfere to protect him from danger; yet did this barbarous villain come himself to the house of his benefactor, at the head of a band of savages, and having coolly informed Mr. Gowdie, that the Maroons had taken an oath, after their manner, to murder all the whites without distinction, he massacred both him and his nephew (the only white person with him) without compunction or remorse.

But, perhaps, no one circumstance in the course of this most unfortunate war excited greater indignation, or awakened more general sympathy, than the death of Colonel Fitch, who, notwithstanding the recent example of Colonel Sandford's fate, perished nearly in the same manner as that unfortunate officer had done; being like him surpris'd by an enemy
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in ambush. On the 12th of September, he went out with a detachment of the 83d regiment, consisting of thirty-two men, to relieve some distant out-posts; at one of which he left a guard, and proceeded onwards with the rest of his men; but after getting about half a mile further, he was attacked by a volley of musquetry from the bushes, and received a wound in the breast, with which he dropt. After expressing a wish, and receiving assurances, that he should not fall alive into the hands of the merciless savages, he raised himself up, when another ball took place in his forehead, which instantly put an end to his life. A corporal and three privates of the 83d, and two negro servants, were also killed, and Captain Leigh and nine of the party wounded; and if the guard, which had been left behind, had not pushed forward to their assistance, immediately on hearing the firing, not one of the whole detachment would have escaped with life; two of them actually fell into the hands of the enemy, and were put to death with circumstances of outrageous barbarity, and Captain Leigh afterwards died of his wounds. The misfortune of this day

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was aggravated too by a circumstance, which, though shocking to relate, must not be omitted, as it strongly marks the base and ferocious character of the Maroons. When the remains of Colonel Fitch were found, a day or two afterwards, by a party sent to give them the rites of sepulture, it was perceived that the head had been separated from the body, and was entombed *in the ill-fated officer's own bowels!*

It now became evident, that it would prove a work of greater difficulty, than was imagined, to stop the depredations which were daily and hourly committed by this horde of savages, and it was allowed that extraordinary measures were necessary to counteract their constant practice of planting ambushes. Neither the courage nor conduct of the best disciplined troops in the world could always avail against men, who, lurking in secret like the tygers of Africa, (themselves unseen) had no object but murder. The legislative bodies of the island were soon to meet, and the hopes of the whole community rested on their councils.

SECTION IV.

THE General Assembly was convened the latter end of September, and their first deliberations were directed to the subject of the Maroon rebellion, with a solicitude equal to its importance. On this occasion it was natural to recur to the experience of former times, and enquire into the measures that had been successfully adopted in the long and bloody war, which, previous to the treaty of 1738, had been carried on against the same enemy. The expedient which had then been resorted to, of employing dogs to discover the concealment of the Maroons, and prevent the fatal effects which resulted from their mode of fighting in ambuscade, was recommended as a fit example to be followed in the present conjuncture; and it being known that the Spanish Americans possessed a certain species of those animals, which it was judged would be proper for such a service, the Assembly resolved to send to the island of Cuba for one hundred of them, and to engage a sufficient

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ficient number of the Spanish huntsmen, to attend and direct their operations. The employment to which these dogs are generally put by the Spaniards, is the pursuit of wild bullocks, which they slaughter for the hides; and the great use of the dog is to drive the cattle from such heights and recesses in the mountainous parts of the country, as are least accessible to the hunters.

The Assembly were not unapprized that the measure of calling in such auxiliaries, and urging the canine species to the pursuit of human beings, would probably give rise to much observation and animadversion in the mother country. Painful experience on other occasions, had taught them, that their conduct in the present case, would be scrutinized with all the rigid and jealous circumspection, which ignorance and hatred, and envy and malice, and pretended humanity, and fanaticism, could exercise. The horrible enormities of the Spaniards in the conquest of the new world, would be brought again to remembrance. It is mournfully true, that dogs were used by those christian barbarians against peaceful and inoffensive Americans, and the
just

just indignation of all mankind has ever since branded, and will continue to brand, the Spanish nation with infamy, for such atrocities. It was foreseen, and strongly urged as an argument against recurring to the same weapon in the present case, that the prejudices of party, and the virulent zeal of restless and turbulent men, would place the proceedings of the Assembly on this occasion, in a point of view equally odious with the conduct of Spain on the same blood-stained theatre, in times past. No reasonable allowance would be made for the wide difference existing between the two cases. Some gentlemen even thought that the co-operation of dogs with British troops, would give not only a cruel, but also a very dastardly complexion to the proceedings of government.

To these, and similar, objections it was answered, that the safety of the island, and the lives of the inhabitants were not to be sacrificed to the apprehension of perverse misconstruction or wilful misrepresentation in the mother country. It was maintained that the grounds of the measure needed only to be fully examined into, and fairly stated, to induce all reasonable

men to admit its propriety and necessity. To hold it as a principle, that it is an act of cruelty or cowardice in man to employ other animals as instruments of war, is a position contradicted by the practice of all nations.—The Asiatics have ever used elephants in their battles; and if lions and tygers possessed the docility of the elephant, no one can doubt that these also would be made to assist the military operations of man, in those regions of which they are inhabitants. Even the use of cavalry, as established among the most civilized and polished nations of Europe, must be rejected, if this principle be admitted; for wherein, it was asked, does the humanity of that doctrine consist, which allows the employment of troops of horse in the pursuit of discomfited and flying infantry; yet shrinks at the preventive measure of sparing the effusion of human blood, by tracing with hounds the haunts of murderers, and rousing from ambush, savages more ferocious and blood-thirsty than the animals which track them?

The merits of the question, it was said, depended altogether on the origin and cause of the war; and the objects sought to be obtained by its continuance; and the authority of
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of the first writers on publick law, was adduced in support of this construction. " If the cause and end of war (says Paley *) be justifiable, all the means that appear necessary to that end are justifiable also. This is the principle which defends those extremities to which the violence of war usually proceeds: for since war is a contest by force between parties who acknowledge no common superior, and since it includes not in its idea the supposition of any convention which should place limits to the operations of force, it has naturally no boundary but that in which force terminates; the destruction of the life against which the force is directed." It was allowed (with the same author) that gratuitous barbarities borrow no excuse from the licence of war, of which kind is every cruelty and every insult that serves only to exasperate the sufferings, or to incense the hatred of an enemy, without weakening his strength, or in any manner tending to procure his submission; such as the slaughter of captives, the subjecting them to indignities or torture, the

* Vol. ii. p. 417.

violation of women, and in general the destruction or defacing of works that conduce nothing to annoyance or defence. These enormities are prohibited not only by the practice of civilized nations, but by the law of nature itself; as having no proper tendency to accelerate the termination, or accomplish the object of the war; and as containing that which in peace and war is equally unjustifiable, namely, *ultimate and gratuitous mischief*. Now all these very enormities were practised, not by the Whites against the Maroons, but by the Maroons themselves against the Whites. Humanity therefore, it was said, was no way concerned in the sort of expedient that was proposed, or any other, by which such an enemy could most speedily be extirpated. They were not an unarmed, innocent and defenceless race of men, like the ancient Americans; but a banditti of assassins: and tenderness towards such an enemy, was cruelty to all the rest of the community.

Happily, in the interval between the determination of the Assembly to procure the Spanish dogs, and the actual arrival of those auxiliaries from Cuba, such measures were pursued

sued as promised to render their assistance altogether unnecessary.—On the death of Colonel Fitch, the chief conduct of the war, in the absence of the Governor, was entrusted to Major General Walpole, an officer whose indefatigable zeal and alacrity;—whose gallantry, circumspection, and activity, in a very short time gave a new aspect to affairs, and reduced the enemy to the last extremity. Although the country to which the Maroons retired, was perhaps the strongest and most impracticable of any on the face of the earth, it was entirely destitute of springs and rivers. All the water which the rains had left in the hollows of the rocks was exhausted, and the enemy's only resource was in the leaves of the *wild-pine*; a wonderful contrivance, by which Divine Providence has rendered the sterile and rocky desarts of the orrid zone in some degree habitable*; but even this resource was at length

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length

* The botanical name is *Tillandsia maxima*. It is not, properly speaking, a tree; but a plant, which fixes itself and takes root on the body of a tree, commonly in the fork of the greater branches of the wild cotton tree. By the conformation of its leaves, it catches and retains water from every shower. Each leaf resembles a spout, and forms

length exhausted, and the sufferings of the rebels, for want both of water and food, were excessive. By the unremitting diligence and indefatigable exertions of the troops, all or most of the passes to other parts of the country were effectually occupied; and a perseverance in the same system must, it was thought, soon force the enemy to an unconditional surrender.

In spite of all these precautions, however, a rebel Captain of the name of Johnson, found means to conduct a small detachment of the Maroons into the parish of St. Elizabeth, and to set fire to many of the plantations in that fertile district. His first attempt was against the habitation of a Mr. M^c Donald, whose neighbour, a Mr. Haldane, together with his son, hastened to his assistance. The elder Haldane unfortunately fell by a musket ball, but the son shot the Maroon dead that fired it, and carried his wounded father in his arms to

forms at its base a natural bucket or reservoir, which contains about a pint of pure water, where it remains perfectly secure, both from the wind and the sun; yielding refreshment to the thirsty traveller in places where water is not otherwise to be procured.

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a place of safety, where he happily recovered. — The Maroons were repulsed; but proceeding to a plantation of Dr. Brooks, they burnt the buildings to the ground, and killed two white men who opposed them. They left however a white woman and her infant unmolested; and as this was the first instance of tenderness shewn by the rebels to women and children, it was imputed rather to the consciousness of their inability to continue the war, and the hopes of getting better terms on a treaty by this act of lenity, than to any change in their disposition.

The Earl of Balcarres, as soon as the business of the Assembly would allow him to be absent from the capital, repaired in person to the scene of action, and it is impossible to speak of his, and General Walpole's exertions, in terms of sufficient approbation, or to convey any just idea of the fatigues and hardships which the troops underwent, without entering into a copious detail of the various enterprizes and skirmishes that ensued, and the difficulties they had to encounter from the nature of the country. The line of operation extended upwards of twenty miles in length, through tracts and
glades

glades of which the military term *defile*, gives no adequate conception. The caves in which the Maroons concealed their ammunition and provisions, and secured their women and children, were inaccessible to the Whites. The place called the *Cockpits* before mentioned, could be reached only by a path down a steep rock 150 feet in almost perpendicular height. Strange as it may appear, this obstacle was surmounted by the Maroons without difficulty. Habituated to employ their naked feet with singular effect, in climbing up trees and precipices, they had acquired a dexterity in the practice, which to British troops was altogether astonishing and wholly inimitable. On the other hand, all the officers and privates, both of the regulars and militia, from a well-founded confidence in their chief commanders, seem to have felt a noble emulation which should most distinguish themselves for zeal in the cause, obedience to orders, and a cheerful alacrity in pushing forward on every service of difficulty and danger; sustaining without a murmur many extraordinary hardships; among which, distress for want of water, and thirst even to extremity, were none of the least.

It

It was easily foreseen that a perseverance in the same line of conduct, must ultimately prove successful; and intimations were at length received, by means of enslaved negroes whom the Maroons had forced into their service, and purposely dismissed, that they were extremely desirous of an accommodation, on any terms short of capital punishment, or transportation from the country. They expressed a willingness, it was said, to deliver up their arms, and all the fugitive slaves that had joined them, to surrender their lands, and intermix with the general body of free blacks, in such parts of the country as the colonial government should approve. Although these overtures were evidently dictated by deprecation and despair, it was the opinion of many wise and worthy men among the inhabitants, that they ought to be accepted; and it was said that General Walpole himself concurred in the same sentiment. It was urged that the war, if continued on the only principle by which it could be maintained, must be a war of extermination. Some few of the Maroons, however, would probably elude the last pursuit of vengeance; and these would form a central point to which
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the runaway negroes would resort. Thus hostilities would be perpetuated for ever; and it was observed that a single Maroon, in the season of crop, with no other weapon than a firebrand, might destroy the cane fields of many opulent parishes, and consume in a few hours, property of immense value. To these considerations, was to be added the vast expence of continuing the war. The country had already expended £. 500,000, exclusive of the loss which was sustained by individual proprietors; consequent on the removal from their plantations of all the white servants, to attend military duty. In the meanwhile, cultivation was suspended, the courts of law had long been shut up; and the island at large seemed more like a garrison, under the power of the law-martial, than a country of agriculture and commerce, of civil judicature and increasing prosperity.

On the other hand, it was loudly declared that a compromise with a lawless banditti, who had slaughtered so many excellent men, and had murdered in cold blood even women in child-bed, and infants at the breast, was a shameful sacrifice of the publick honour; a
total

total disregard to the dictates of justice; an encouragement to the rest of the Maroons to commit similar outrages, and a dreadful example to the negroes in servitude; tending to impress on their minds an idea not of the lenity of the Whites, but of their inability to punish such atrocious offenders. It was alleged withal, that the rebel Maroons were not themselves seriously desirous of such an accommodation. Their only purpose was to gain time, and procure an opportunity to get into better quarters; judging perhaps that the militia of the country, a large proportion of whom were at the distance of one hundred miles from their places of residence, would soon be tired of the contest. Many facts were indeed related, and some strong circumstances adduced, which gave a colour to this charge; and proved that the Maroons had not altogether relinquished their hopes of creating a general revolt among the enslaved negroes. Such an event however was not likely to happen, while the country continued in arms. The dismissal of the troops, on the fallacious idea of an accommodation with the Maroons, would alone, it was said, realize the danger.

Fortunately

Fortunately for all parties, this unnatural and destructive revolt, was brought to a happy termination much sooner than might have been apprehended. On the 14th of December, the commissioner who went to the Havannah for assistance, arrived at Montego Bay with forty *chasseurs* or Spanish hunters (chiefly people of colour) and about one hundred Spanish dogs. Such extraordinary accounts were immediately spread of the terrifick appearance, and savage nature of these animals, as made an impresson on the minds of the negroes that was equally surprizing and unexpected.

Though these dogs are not in general larger than the shepherds' dogs in Great Britain, (which in truth they much resemble) they were represented as equal to the mastiff in bulk, to the bull-dog in courage, to the blood-hound in scent, and to the grey-hound in agility. If entire credit had been given to the description that was transmitted through the country of this extraordinary animal, it might have been supposed that the Spaniards had obtained the ancient and genuine breed of *Cerberus* himself, the many-headed monster that guarded the infernal regions.

Whether

Whether these reports were propagated through folly or design, they had certainly a powerful and very salutary effect on the fears of the rebel Maroons, a large party of whom now displayed strong and indubitable evidences of terror, humiliation, and submission, and renewed their solicitations for peace with great earnestness and anxiety. A negociation was at length opened, and a treaty concluded; of which, and the proceedings that followed, until the embarkation of the Maroons for North America, the Minutes of the Assembly subjoined, furnish a copious and satisfactory detail. It is pleasing to add, that not a drop of blood was shed after the dogs arrived. Here then I close this introductory discourse. From the account that I have given of the ferocious character, and dissolute manners of the Maroon negroes of Jamaica, the calm and unprejudiced reader will draw the proper conclusion, and perhaps agree with me in thinking, that a wild and lawless freedom, suddenly bestowed on any people on earth, neither contributes to benefit society, nor to promote the happiness of the people themselves. Many of the features which deform the Maroons, have hitherto

hitherto been supposed peculiar to men in a state of slavery, which undoubtedly debases and degrades the human mind, and depresses its faculties; yet, after the picture that has been exhibited of the extreme of liberty, who will contend that a condition of life, which allows the passions to rage without controul or restraint, is a state conformable to nature, or conducive to the happiness of mankind? Men in savage life, or but a little removed from it, can only be made useful to society, or beneficial to each other, by the strong hand of authority. Persuasion is lost on such men, and compulsion, to a certain degree, is humanity and charity.

Of the *policy* of ridding the country of such an enemy (admitting the justice of the war on the part of the Whites) there can be but one opinion. After *such* a war, carried on in *such* a manner, it is impossible to believe, that a cordial reconciliation between the white inhabitants and the Maroons could ever have taken place. The latter would probably have continued a sullen subjugated people, employed only in seducing the enslaved negroes from their fidelity, and ready to revolt themselves

selves, whenever occasion should offer. "No country on earth," says Rutherford, "would suffer a body of men to live within its territories, unless they would agree to be accountable to its laws, as far as the general security requires." To expect such conduct from the Maroons, was to manifest a total ignorance of their disposition. Concerning another question which was started in Great Britain, when the first account was received of the disposal of these people, namely, the *legal right* of the colonial government to banish a set of miscreants who had been guilty of felony, murder, and treason; no doubt, I think, could have been gravely maintained on the subject; except in times like the present, when the bonds of society seem every where to be loosened; and when crimes the most atrocious and abominable (if committed by the lower orders of men against their superiors) meet with apologists and advocates!

It has been asserted, however, that the Maroons were expressly protected against banishment, *by treaty*; and the high authority of the gallant officer himself, with whom the treaty was concluded, has been appealed to

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in support of this assertion. It is indeed becoming the humane and generous nature of a brave man, to shew mercy to a vanquished enemy; and the gratitude that is justly due from the inhabitants of Jamaica to General Walpole, gives great weight to his opinion. On a question between such an authority on the one hand, and that of the Governor and Assembly on the other, and under such circumstances (independently of the personal respect and esteem which I bear towards General Walpole) it would ill become me to offer any decision: the Assembly considered that the General was honourably released from his pledge, and that their conduct towards the Maroons was defensible, not only on the ground of good policy, but of strict justice. In support of their proceedings, they directed the subsequent minutes to be printed in Jamaica, that facts might speak for themselves; and they are re-published in Great Britain for the same purpose. To the impartial Publick therefore, they are now respectfully submitted.

POSTSCRIPT.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THAT no information on the subject of the Maroons may be withheld from the reader, it is thought necessary to inform him, that soon after the subsequent minutes were printed by order of the Assembly, his Majesty's ship the *Dover*, with two transports in company, having on board the *Trelawney* Maroons (in number about six hundred) provided with all manner of necessaries, as well for their accommodation at sea, as for the change of climate, sailed from Bluefields in Jamaica, for Halifax in North America, the beginning of last June. They were accompanied by William Dawes Quarrel and Alexander Ouchterlony, Esquires, commissioners appointed by the Assembly, with authority and instructions (subject to his Majesty's approbation and further orders) to purchase lands in Lower Canada, or where else his Majesty should please to appoint, for the future establishment and subsistence of those Maroons, as a free people. The commissioners had orders withal, to provide them the means of a

comfortable maintenance, until they were habituated to the country and climate. The Sum of £.25,000 was allowed for those purposes.

The following votes and proceedings of the Assembly, having been omitted in the minutes, are added in this place:

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

Friday, April 22, 1796.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That the Receiver General do remit the sum of seven hundred guineas to the Agent of the island, for the purpose of purchasing a sword, to be presented to the Right Hon. ALEXANDER Earl of BALCARRES; as a testimony of the grateful sense which the house entertain of his distinguished services, displayed both in the field and cabinet; and under whose auspices, by the blessing of Divine Providence, a happy and complete termination has been put to a most dangerous rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons, whereby the general value of property, as well as security of the island, have been highly augmented.

†

Ordered,

Ordered, That a copy of the above resolution be sent to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That Mr. Speaker be requested to present the thanks of the House to the Hon. Major General WALPOLE, for the signal services performed by him to this island, in the late rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That the Receiver General do remit to the agent of this island, five hundred guineas, for the purpose of purchasing a sword, to be presented to the Hon. Major-General WALPOLE; as a testimony of the grateful sense which the House entertain of his important services and distinguished merit, in the suppression of the late rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That Mr. Speaker be requested to give the thanks of the House to the brave Officers and Privates of the regulars and militia, for their gallant services to the island, during the late rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons; and that the Commander in Chief, under whose auspices they fought, be requested by Mr. Speaker, to communicate the high

sense which the House entertain of their distinguished merit.

Thursday, April 28.

A motion being made, that a Committee be appointed to enquire and report to the House the names of such persons as have fallen in battle during the late rebellion, that a monument may be erected to perpetuate their memories, and the gratitude of this country for their eminent services;

Ordered, That Mr. Fitch, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Mathison, Mr. Stewart, and Mr. Hodges, be a Committee for that purpose.

Saturday, April 30.

The Lieutenant Governor's Answer to the message from the House, with the resolution of the 22d inst.

*Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House
of Assembly,*

The present you have made me, by your unanimous resolution of the 22d instant, is inestimable.

A soldier's honour, with emblem and emphasis, is placed in his sword; and I shall transmit your precious gift to my posterity, as

an everlasting mark of the reverence, the attachment, and the gratitude, I bear to the island of Jamaica.

BALCARRES.

The following Address was this day presented to his Honour the Lieutenant Governor:

WE, his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, beg leave to offer to your Honour, our most sincere and cordial congratulations on the happy and complete termination of the rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons.

This great and important event must be productive of substantial benefits and salutary consequences to the country, in every point of view in which it can be contemplated: tranquillity and the enjoyment of our civil rights, are restored; public credit, so essential to the support of government and to the prosperity, if not to the very existence of the country, is re-established, and our internal security greatly increased and confirmed.

From all these inestimable advantages, we look forward with confidence to the augmentation

tation of the value of property, which is likely to take place ; and which, in time, we trust, will compensate all the losses and expenditure of treasure unavoidably incurred in the prosecution of the war.

It is with peculiar satisfaction and gratitude we acknowledge the lively impression made on us by the energy displayed by your Lordship in difficult operations of war ; which affords the most convincing proof, that the zeal, ardour, and activity manifested in your military conduct, have only been equalled by the sound policy, and decisive measures, which marked the wisdom of your councils.

HIS HONOUR'S ANSWER.

*Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of
Assembly,*

Your address excites in my bosom every sensation of pleasure, the mind of man is capable of receiving.

The picture you have drawn of the future prosperity of the Island, is strong and impressive.

After

After contemplating the unavoidable calamities of war, a sentiment arises, grateful and soothing to a feeling heart—

That, during your contest with an enemy the most ferocious that ever disgraced the annals of history:

That, during your contest with an army of savages, who have indiscriminately massacred every prisoner whom the fortune of war had placed in their power—no barbarity, nor a single act of retaliation, has sullied the brightness of your arms.

I pray that the energy, the vigour, and the humanity, which you have so honourably displayed, may descend to your children; and secure to them for ever those blessings which you have hitherto enjoyed, under the mild and happy government of the illustrious house of Hanover.



After contemplating the unavoidable consequences of war, a sentiment arises, grateful and soothing to a feeble heart —

That during your contest with an enemy the most virtuous that ever dignified the ranks of history;

That during your contest with an army of invaders who have ruthlessly massacred every patriot whom the fortune of war had placed in their power — the battles, not a single act of retaliation, has sullied the brightness of your arms;

That during the struggle, the vigour and the humanity, which you have so nobly displayed, may descend to your children, and secure to them for ever those blessings which you have hitherto enjoyed, under the mild and happy government of the illustrious house of Hanover.

THE
P R O C E E D I N G S
OF THE
Governor and Assembly of Jamaica,

IN REGARD TO THE
M A R O O N N E G R O E S :

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE ASSEMBLY.

L O N D O N :

Re-printed for J. STOCKDALE, Picadilly,

November 1796.

THE
PROCEEDINGS
of the
Government and Assembly of Jamaica

IN ACCORDANCE WITH
MARRIOTT'S ACTS
PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE ASSEMBLY

LONDON:
Printed by J. Stoeness & Co.,
New Street, 1825.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

MONDAY, 30th November, 1795.

A PETITION of fundry persons, known under the denomination of Maroons, was presented to the house, and read, setting forth,

“ That the petitioners have always been faithful to their king and country, and obedient to the laws :

“ That they have never joined in any rebellion or rebellious conspiracy; on the contrary, they detest and abhor all treasons and treasonable practices :

“ That they are willing and anxious to take the benefit of the act, and to give up for ever any right they may have of inheritance to any of the lands granted to the maroons, wheresoever situated :

“ That many of the petitioners are totally dependent on the goodness of the white inhabitants; that many have children, and have it not in their power to procure a settlement ;”

And praying for relief.

Note. The above petition is subscribed with the following names: *Elizabeth Collins, Francis Collins, Margaret Collins, Sally Collins, Joanna Graham, Quasheba, Molly, Nancy Grey, Mary Simpson, Elizabeth Palmer, Margaret Reid, Amelia Lewis, Peggy Murray, Matthew Thomas.*

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THURSDAY,

THURSDAY, 3d December, 1795.

A message from his honour the lieutenant-governor, by his secretary, as follows :

“ *Mr. Speaker,*

“ I am commanded by his honour the lieutenant-governor to lay before the house a petition presented to him from the Trelawny-Town maroons, who surrendered to his honour in obedience to his proclamation of the 8th of August last:

‘ *JAMAICA, ff.*

‘ *To the right honourable ALEXANDER earl of BALCARRES, lieutenant-governor and commander in chief, &c. &c. &c.*

‘ *The humble petition of the Trelawny-Town maroons, now in the barracks in Kingston.*

‘ *Humbly sheweth,*

‘ That your petitioners, in pursuance of a proclamation of your lordship, of the 8th day of August last, sent into the Trelawny maroon town, surrendered themselves to your lordship:

‘ That, by virtue of an act entitled, “ An act to repeal ‘ An act for the better order and government of the negroes belonging to the several negro-towns; and for preventing them from purchasing of slaves; and for encouraging the said negroes to go in pursuit of runaway slaves; and for other purposes therein mentioned;’ and for giving the ma-

roon negroes further protection and security; for altering the mode of trial; and for other purposes," it is enacted, that it shall be lawful for any maroon negro or negroes to appear in person before the justices of their precinct, at the time they shall preside at any of the courts of quarter-sessions, and there and then publicly and solemnly to declare, that he, she, or they, are desirous and willing to give up any right he, she, or they, may have to any part of the lands which have been granted to the maroon negroes, and that he, she, or they, are desirous and willing to reside in any other part of the island, except in any of the maroon towns:

‘ That your petitioners are desirous to avail themselves of the terms of the said act; but that, in so doing, your petitioners will be without any means of support:

‘ Your petitioners therefore humbly submit themselves to your lordship’s mercy and consideration in the premises;

‘ And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

‘ 3d November, 1795.

his

John + James

mark.

his

Joseph + Campbell

mark.

his

Donald + Cooper

mark.

his

Cuffie +

mark

his

James + Russea

mark

his

Herbert + Jarrett

mark

his

Martin + Sewell

mark

his

William + Anglin

mark

his

Samuel + Tharp

mark.

his

William + Libbart

mark

his

Daniel + Bernard

mark

his

John + Euler

mark

his

John + Witter

mark

his

Gayton + Quaco

mark

his

Pater + Gordon

mark

Witness,
ROBERT GIBB.

bis

Little + Quaco

mark

bis

John + Tharp, *capt.*

mark

bis

Robert + Jackson, *capt.*

mark

bis

James + Lawrence, *capt.*

mark

bis

Samuel + Shaw, *capt.*

mark

bis

James + Williams, *capt.*

mark

bis

John + Thomson, *lieut.*

mark

bis

James + Reilly

mark

bis

Charles + Bernard, *lieut.*

mark

bis

John + Samuel

mark

bis

Bob + Downer

mark

John Graham

Miles Hall

John Mostyn

his

John + Sympson

*mark**his*

John + Palmer

*mark**his*

James + Bernard

*mark**his*

John + Bucknor

mark

‘ JAMAICA, ff.

‘ Robert Gibb, of the parish of Kingston, gentleman, being duly sworn, maketh oath and faith, that he was present and did see the above thirty-three persons set and subscribe their several marks or names to the foregoing petition.

‘ Sworn before me, this 5th day of November, 1795.

‘ SIMON TAYLOR.’

her

Sukey + Martin

mark, for self and child, named

William Martin

her

Mary + Sterling

*mark**her*

Mimba +

mark, and her daughter, Mary

Fisher

her

Maria +

mark, for self and child, named

Thomas Morris

Patience

her

Patience +

mark

her

Juba +

mark, for self and her child, named

Quamina

her

Amelia + Palmer

mark

her

Sufanna + Palmer

mark, for self and three chil-

dren, named Eleanor Pal-

mer, Emily Mountague, and

John Pendrill

her

Witness,

Ann + Sewell

mark.

JOHN M'CALL.

her

Lilly + Allen

mark

her

Rofanna + Scarlett

mark, for self and four children,

named John Quick, Eliza-

beth Quick, William Scar-

lett Earle, and John Auglin

Earle.

her

Elizabeth + Borthwick

mark, for self and child, nam-

ed Mary Sharp

her

Ann + Maclachlan

mark

his

James + Allen

*mark**her*

Sarah + Saunders

*mark**her*

Elizabeth + Sewell Walcott

*mark, for self and two children, named Ann Weir and William Walcott**her*

Betty + Cole

mark

‘ JAMAICA, ff.

‘ John M‘Call, of the parish of Kingston, gentleman, being duly sworn, maketh oath and faith, that he was present and did see the above several persons set and subscribe their several marks on the back of the within-written petition.

‘ Sworn before me, this 6th day of November, 1795.

‘ SIMON TAYLOR.’

WEDNESDAY, 2d March, 1796.

A message from his honour the lieutenant-governor, by his secretary, as follows:

“ Mr. Speaker,

“ I am commanded by his honour the lieutenant-governor to lay before the house fundry papers relating to the rebel maroons, from No. 1 to No. 29; among which papers is contained the correspondence between his honour and the honourable major-

major general Walpole, from the period of the truce agreed on by colonel Hull, to that of the surrender of the rebel maroons inclusive, together with the treaty which was made between the honourable major-general Walpole on the one part, and colonel Montague James * on the part of the rebel maroons, and was ratified by his honour on the 28th day of December last.

“ I am also commanded by his honour to inform the house, *that the rebel maroons (a very few excepted) did not comply with the first and second articles of the said treaty, until the troops were moved in force against them.*

“ I am also commanded by his honour the lieutenant-governor to inform the house, *that the maroons did not give up the runaways, in conformity to the third article of the treaty.*

“ His honour, however, commands me to signify to the house, that he understands that the surrender of the rebel maroons was received by major-general Walpole, under a promise of safety of their lives.

“ I am also commanded by his honour to inform the house, that, upon receiving the treaty from major-general Walpole, his honour thought it expedient to convene as many of the members of the council and the assembly, as the circumstances of time and their places of residence would permit, to meet at the king's house on the 24th December last, in order to deliberate upon the terms of the treaty, and to give his honour their opinions

* The oldest of the maroons, and chief in command.

thereon :

thereon: the paper No. 29, contains the resolution which was passed at such meeting, and which his honour has also directed me to lay before the house.

No. 1.

Old Maroon Town, December 20, 1795.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ I returned here this evening, and have the satisfaction to report to your lordship the success of the detachment under colonel Hull. The maroons, by his judicious conduct, were attacked before they discovered the advanced guard. I need add nothing further to your lordship; colonel Hull’s report will explain every thing.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithful and obedient servant, G. WALPOLE.

‘ *Earl Balcarres, &c. king’s house, Spanish-Town.*

‘ I must most strongly recommend to your lordship to lay before the assembly the case of the family of Cato, a slave of Mr. Vaughan’s: He has, during the whole campaign, been a most faithful guide; it was by his means that we discovered the retreat of the rebels, and he behaved, by every account, with singular bravery during the action: He was unfortunately killed by a maroon in an ambuscade, on his way back to bring up the baggage. G. W.’

No. 2.

[Private.] December 20th, 1795.

‘ MY DEAR LORD,

‘ Hull has agreed, I understand, to a sort of truce.

truce. This is the only part which, *entre nous*, I dislike: But, however, for the sake of public faith, I shall keep it. My intention was to give them terms, but by no means to suspend hostilities until they should first lay down their arms. I shall adhere strictly to your lordship's instructions. I understand that they will surrender on their lives only; wishing for land to be allotted them to cultivate.

‘ I have the honour to be your very faithful servant,

G. WALPOLE.

‘ *Earl Balcarres, &c. Spanish-Town.*

‘ P. S. I understand Hull's truce extends only to the post about here.’

No. 3.

December 22d, 1795.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ I have the honour to inclose to your lordship the proposals of the maroons, to which I have acceded.

‘ The party under Johnstone have been sent to by Montague James, ordering them to come in; but they are not expected before to-morrow, at which time the party here are to come in to build their huts.

‘ The whole detachment behaved to their credit. I must not omit to mention to your lordship, that to the impression made in the action by the undaunted bravery of the 17th dragoons, who were more particularly engaged on the 15th, we owe the submission of the rebels: The maroons speak
of

of them with astonishment. Mr. Werge was particularly signalized with the advanced guard; and the serjeant-major of that regiment is strongly recommended, for his spirit and activity, by the commanding officer Mr. Edwards, who is every way deserving your lordship's good opinion.

“ I have the honour to be your lordship's most faithful servant,
G. WALPOLE.

“ The proposals of the maroons were as follow :

“ 1st. That they would, on their knees, beg his majesty's pardon :

“ 2^d. That they would go to the Old Town, Montego-Bay, or any other place that might be pointed out, and would settle on whatever lands the governor, council, and assembly might think proper to allot :

“ 3^d. That they would give up all runaways.

“ I grant the above.

“ GEORGE WALPOLE, *major-general.*
his

“ MONTAGUE + JAMES
mark.

“ Done on Guard-Hill, 21st December, 1795.

“ Ratified at Castle-Wemyss, this 28th day of December, 1795.

“ BALCARRES, *lieutenant-governor and commander in chief,*

“ *Witnesses to the within ratification :*

“ G. WALPOLE, *major-general*

“ TREVOR HULL, *colonel*

“ JAMES GALLOWAY, *lieutenant-colonel*

“ ROBERT SHAWE, *lieutenant-colonel*

“ W.M.

“ Wm. JAMES STEVENSON, *lieutenant-colonel*.

“ JAMES STEWART, *lieutenant-colonel.*”

No. 4.

‘ *Spanish-Town, December 24th, 1795.*

‘ *At a meeting of such members of the council and of the assembly as could attend at the king’s house,*

Present,

EARL BALCARRES

HON. MR. ATTORNEY-GENERAL

HON. MR. RODON	MR. SHIRLEY
HON. MR. SPEAKER	MR. REDWOOD
MR. TAYLOR	MR. FITCH
MR. VAUGHAN	MR. CHRISTIE
MR. COCKBURN	MR. BATTY
MR. CUTHBERT	MR. GALBRAITH.

“ It was resolved, That if the Trelawny maroons, according to the third article of their treaty, deliver the runaways that have joined them, and if they, according to the first article of their treaty, lay down their arms, which arms are to be taken away from them, that then, and in such case, general Walpole’s secret article ought to be ratified, as far as their not being sent off the island; but that they are to remain in Jamaica, subject to such regulations as the governor, council, and assembly, may think proper to enact in that respect.”

No. 5.

Old Maroon Town, December 24th, 1795.

‘ MY DEAR LORD,

‘ Two maroons (Smith and Dunbar) have come
in

in from Johnstone's party, to beg the king's mercy; and the whole are to be in here on Saturday, to construct their huts within our posts. I have allotted them a spot between Cudjoe-Town and the Old Town; there they are to remain until the legislature shall dispose of them. If I might give you an opinion, it should be, that they should be settled near Spanish-Town, or some other of the large towns in the lowlands: The access to spirits will soon decrease their numbers, and destroy that hardy constitution which is nourished by an healthy mountainous situation.

* No doubt, some persons there will be found who may object to the war being terminated: Let those finish it better, if they can; and, above all, do not let them talk of the expence of the war, and yet object to its termination; do not let them extirpate an enemy at their wine, and then leave their posts to keep their holidays. But there is a better reason for finishing the war; the impossibility of penetrating the country, if it is at all defended; or, if you could get through it, of extirpating *wholly* the rebels: They will increase by runaways; and, if you destroy them to five, those five will be a rallying point for more runaways to resort to, and thus the war be perpetuated for years. Suppose the French were to smuggle in a tolerable engineer to them; could we even remain in possession of the Old Town. There was a runaway of the name of Bowman, who *alone*, a great space of time, destroyed plantations, and did infinite mischief. Rely upon
it,

it, my lord, that, after more mischief and more expence, you must make peace in twelve months hence: The difficulty will then perhaps be stronger, which I have met with, than it is now; namely, that of fear: To expel this from their minds has been my chief endeavour; and it was for some time before I could bring two or three of them from the cockpits into the town: If this was to be continued, nothing will wear it off the mind; and of crimes, those committed under this impression are the most horrid.

‘ In hopes of your lordship’s approbation, I have the honour to be yours most faithfully and sincerely,

G. WALPOLE.’

No. 6.

[*Private.*] 25th December, 1795.

‘ MY DEAR LORD,

‘ I was obliged to accede on my *oath*; I promised a secret article, that they should not be sent off the island.

‘ Hull wishes much to go home with the account; and he exerted himself so well on the 15th, that I should hope you will have the goodness to indulge him.

‘ Mr. Werge, your lordship has recommended for a cornetcy, I believe in the 17th; but I must not conceal from you, that to his presence of mind much of the peace is owing.

‘ Old Montague is, as far as I can guess, the obstacle to peace, as much as he dares: Some of the

the maroons were heard to tell him, that they would have peace whether he would or not.

‘ I am your lordship’s obedient and faithful servant,
G. WALPOLE.

‘ Hull’s dispatch was mis-dated the 20th instead of the 19th.’

No. 6. [Copy.]

‘ I have received, in Spanish-Town, the treaty signed by general Walpole and colonel Montague James, and have ratified the same: And I do hereby appoint Friday morning, the first day of January next, at ten o’clock, for the Trelawny maroons to come in a body to Castle-Wemyss, to perform the treaty.

‘ Dated at Castle-Wemyss, this 28th day of December, 1795.

(Signed) ‘ BALCARRES, *lieutenant-governor.*’

No. 7.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ Every thing wears the best possible appearance: Several of the maroons have been in this day, cleaning out the huts, and more are expected to-morrow. But Palmer, I believe, it will be difficult to get in, even if alive, with the rest. They seem determined to be sure that no infringement of the treaty will ensue: I read the ratification to three of them, and your lordship’s letter, assuring them, that whatever might be the future disposal of them, that they would be a free people. They were also informed of the 500*l.* donation of the assembly, to those who had *surrendered.*

‘ I have

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most
faithful servant,

G. WALPOLE.

‘ *Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c. Castle Wemyss,*

‘ *Five o’clock, 28 December, 1795.*’

No. 8.

‘ MY DEAR LORD, *December 29, 1795.*

‘ Some of the maroons are, I learn, bringing in their families ; but there is great reason to suppose that there is a schism amongst them : One of them sent me word, that old Montague is the cause ; and I this day hear that possibly he may die in the woods.

‘ I should think that your lordship will choose, that all those who do come in should be sent to you on Friday, and that we should attack the remainder. Fowler has begged that he may have a gorget, with some inscription to shew that he was the first who made peace with the white people. All this will, I think, serve your lordship : It will clearly prove, that if matters had been held with too tight a rein, none would have come in. At all events, much is gained even by dividing them.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most obedient servant,

G. WALPOLE.’

‘ *Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c. Castle-Wemyss.*’

No. 9.

‘ MY LORD, *December 30th, 1795.*

‘ Notwithstanding the inclosed papers, I believe that many of the maroons are sincere ; they admit

C

themselves,

themselves, that "some have bad heart." However, Friday will shew; and I shall move on Saturday against them, if they do not come in. Nine or ten more, in all sixteen, are here this day, and have taken their huts.

' I have the honour to be your lordship's most faithful and obedient,

G. WALPOLE.

' *Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. Castle-Wemyss.*'

No. 10.

' MY DEAR LORD, *January 1st, 1796.*

' I now give the matter up: Only Smith, Dunbar, Williams, and two boys, are here. I shall send them to Falmouth to-morrow. I suppose that your lordship will admit them to the terms of the treaty upon which they have surrendered.

' I fear that our baggage negroes will not be here in time for me to move after these rascals in the morning, and that I must postpone it till Sunday: In this case, I shall endeavour to seduce the maroons still to keep near us.

' Your lordship shall hear the result as soon as possible.

' Should any future parley proceed from them, I shall refer them to your lordship.

' I have the honour to be your lordship's most obedient,

G. WALPOLE.'

No. 11.

Old Maroon Town, January 4th. 1796.

' MY LORD,

' I ventured yesterday to trust Smith to return to the cockpits, to bring in his family, which he did

did in the evening, to the amount of thirteen; three of them very fine young men; the others comprehended his wife and several small children. He had (which induced me to trust him) given me a strong proof of his fidelity and gratitude, by a material piece of information, that one of those who surrendered, in my absence with your lordship, is a runaway; that this is an experiment on the part of the other runaways, to try whether they can pass for maroons; and by his (Smith's) advice, I let him return to the cockpits. A large body are expected in to-day of maroons, and I hope others: It will take some days, I suppose, to get in the whole; for they are as mistrustful as possible, and each is desirous that the other should make the experiment before him. All this will naturally and conclusively prove to your lordship the impropriety of holding forth more harsh conditions than those now granted: Should there be any person so dull to common policy and common sense, as to think that another turn of the screw would be better, ask him this question: "Is he prepared to spin out the contest till foreign assistance may arrive?" This may be followed up by another question, "If foreign assistance arrives, what will be the situation of the island?"

' I am your lordship's most faithful and obedient,

' G. WALPOLE.'

' DEAR SIR,

' Unless a great number of the maroons came in last night, or do come in in the course of this day,

I hope and trust that nothing will prevent the dogs from going out to-morrow.

‘ I am perfectly with you, that the pin ought not to receive another screw ; but also clear that it ought not to be relaxed.

‘ Should the maroons disencumber themselves of their women, children, old men, sick and convalescents, they would acquire a degree of pliability which they have not at present, and, by removing from their present country into a new one, we should be very much censured by the island for not having made the attack while it was in our power. We cannot stop the operations of war ; I look upon the treaty in the same point of view with yourself ; but I see the danger of not attacking them so very clear as to induce me to declare, that I cannot take upon myself the responsibility of acceding to a moment’s unnecessary delay.

‘ I remain, my dear sir, yours faithfully,

‘ BALCARRES.

‘ *Honorable major-general Walpole,*

‘ *Old Maroon-Town.*

‘ *Castle-Wemyss, Jan. 5th, 1796.*’

No. 12.

‘ MY LORD,

January 5th, 1796.

‘ Nine (additional) maroons, men, women, and children, came in last night. I have permitted two or three to return this day, to bring in more of their relations : One, however, I suspect will not come out to us again.

‘ The

‘ The Spaniards are, I fear, a little out of temper. If they cannot be kept, it would be better to avail ourselves of the breach of the treaty by the maroons themselves, and to move on; as nothing can be clearer, than that all treaty would soon terminate were they off the island.

‘ Mr. Stewart will deliver this to your lordship, and can inform you as to every point.

‘ I am your lordship’s most obedient and faithful servant,
G. WALPOLE.’

No. 13.

Old Maroon-Town, January 5th.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ Old Montague will be with you to-morrow, and, I believe, those who are expected to day. These delays are to be sure tiresome to a great degree, but still I think that they will be attended with every good consequence.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithful servant,

‘ *Earl Balcarres.*

G. WALPOLE.’

No. 14.

‘ MY LORD,

January 5th, 1796.

‘ Your lordship’s letter dated January the 1st, 1796, is but now come to hand. Conceiving the purport to be a positive order from your lordship to proceed against the rebels, I shall lose no time in doing so; but you will please to observe, that the negroes from Trelawny are but now coming

up (Tuesday afternoon): We cannot, therefore, move before Thursday at day-break.

‘ I must confess that even from the truce, if the Spaniards can be kept in good humour, very considerable advantages might accrue; we are getting an increase every day, and we have now thirty, a number far beyond what two battles could give us in slain; and this is owing solely to distrust: Each is desirous that his neighbour should try the white faith first; and when one is satisfied, the way is, that he returns and brings back most of his family.

‘ Add to this, the crops are gradually getting in, and we approach to (or rather they approach us) nearer to our reinforcements from England.

‘ However, on Thursday I shall go forward.

‘ Your lordship’s most obedient,

‘ *Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c.* G. WALPOLE.’

No. 15.

‘ *December 8th, 1795.*

‘ MY LORD, [*A mistake for January 8th.*]

‘ I have written to colonel Shawe to procure me, if possible, some shoes for the 16th, as they are several of them barefooted, and the supply which I expected are not yet arrived.

‘ One misfortune will, I fear, occur as to the dogs; the extreme want of water: There is none, during seven hours march, between the great cockpit and the spot where colonel Hull engaged the maroons. Smith likewise informs me, that
there

there is none beyond the last-mentioned place, except what may chance to be got from wild pines. If the dogs cannot be got on through want of water, we must leave them behind; but I fear that it will be impossible to supply the post with provisions, through such a length of defile, and so difficult a path as it must be, that it takes up seven hours to go only five miles.

‘ However, we will get at them some how or other, either with or without dogs; and the best shall be done that can by me.

‘ I am your lordship’s most faithful and obedient,

‘ G. WALPOLE.’

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I was honoured by your two letters of yesterday. Colonel Shawe has collected, I believe, 130 pair of shoes.

‘ Surely a very few breakers will serve to carry water for the dogs: Ten are procured here, and I dare say some more may be picked up.

‘ I shall return the Smith family to you, in the manner you propose.

‘ I sincerely hope and trust, that no column shall proceed against the enemy without the dogs, until their inefficacy is proved: Such a measure I know would set the country in an uproar. My own responsibility, as well as my opinion and the report I have made to his majesty of the intended operations with the dogs, leaves no other alternative than to give immediate and due energy to the enterprize

and ideas of the country, in sending, at an enormous expence, for these dogs. Yours faithfully,

‘ BALCARRES.

‘ *Castle-Wemys, 9th January, 1796.*’

No. 16.

Extract of a letter from major-general Walpole to Earl Balcarres, dated January 11th, 1796.

‘ Samuels, and a brother of Smith’s, set off for the maroons this morning: I shall proceed against them, if some do not arrive by three o’clock to-morrow.’

No. 17.

O. M. Town, January 12, 1796.

‘ MY DEAR LORD,

‘ Two new maroons are arrived, and three that were in before, and two women. Johnstone has sent to me to say, that he has not been able to prevail on the women, several of whom have been lost, and only one found since the late actions. He desires to know what I have to say in answer to his message: My answer is, that I shall move against him, unless twenty men come in to-morrow. I shall therefore begin my march at two to-morrow afternoon, weather permitting, unless I hear to the contrary from your lordship. I am, however, apprehensive that Johnstone’s reply will scarcely arrive in time: They beg till four o’clock; but if I delay till that time, it will be too late for me to move till next day.

‘ Your

‘ Your lordship will please to consider what I mentioned this morning, exclusive of the position stated by you; *viz.* Whether we should be the first to re-commence hostilities: Certainly we shall not make peace for some time to come, after the first shot is fired.

‘ I remain your lordship’s most faithfully,

‘ G. WALPOLE.

‘ *Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c. Castle-Wemyss.*’

No. 18.

‘ MY LORD,

January 12th, 1796.

‘ The maroons were so terrified last night, and begged so hard, that I told the man who was to return to Johnstone, that if they were not able (the twenty men) to reach me by two o’clock, and yet were disposed to keep the agreement, that I would, upon hearing their horn, defer my march for one hour.

‘ I think that we shall not, on account of water, be able to move beyond the great cockpit this night: On farther examination, it will, I fear, not be practicable to carry water enough in breakers for so many men and dogs, but we can carry some.

‘ I am, &c. &c.

G. WALPOLE.

‘ The post at Tacky’s Bum ought to be immediately re-occupied; if your lordship concurs you can issue the order.’

No. 19.

‘ MY LORD, *January 12th, half past two.*

‘ We had scarcely moved two hundred yards, when I met a maroon coming from Johnstone, to say that he would come with his people to-morrow into the cockpit, to make their huts, and begged that I would have provisions for him; and that he would adjust every point. I have therefore ordered the troops to stop at the advanced posts, which is about half a mile on this side where we meant to halt during the night. If Johnstone will build his huts within our posts, I shall permit him to keep his arms till he sees you, then to lay them down. If, on account of the women, he insists on building them in the cockpit, in that case he must lay down his arms to me.

‘ In hopes that your lordship will not disapprove of my proceedings,

‘ I have the honour to be your most obedient and faithful servant,

G. WALPOLE.’

No. 20.

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ The maroons, with Johnstone at their head, are either serious, or they are not serious. If serious, it can make no difference to them whether they go immediately to Montego-Bay barracks, there to remain until the assembly shall dispose of them, or that they are permitted to build their huts in the Old Town, or vicinity: If they are not serious, we shall only give them time to get out of our way.

‘ We

‘ We are not a match for them in duplicity. We may put our strength in truth and openness.

‘ I think you may give them an opportunity until two o’clock to-morrow afternoon, to come in, and then to proceed against the remainder. I really am for pushing them hard. We have this day seen the good effects of it.

‘ Permit me to express the very high sense I have experienced of your punctuality. Although the principle of the order is not discretionary, still I give you free permission to modulate it according to your judgment.

‘ Yours very sincerely, BALCARRES.

Castle-Wemyss, Jan. 13th, 1796.

‘ *Hon. major-general Walpole.*’

No. 21.

Advanced post 17th lt. dragoons, Jan. 14th, 1796.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ Young Jarrett, and four boys capable of bearing arms, with nineteen women and children, have arrived at the Old Town; but on my arrival here, I found Bonny the maroon dispatched to me by Johnstone yesterday, returned with another message, saying, that he had so many sick people that he could not reach me this day, but would not fail being with me in the morning. This is really so perplexing, that I do not know what to do. Your lordship’s directions will reach me time enough, if dispatched immediately, to enable me to proceed part of the way to-night, if your lordship disapproves

proves of my waiting till to-morrow ; but if, on the other hand, your lordship should think it proper for me to wait till the morning, it will certainly be right for me to delay where I am at present.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most obedient,
G. WALPOLE.’

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ My orders are,

‘ That young Jarrett, the four boys, Bonny, and the 19 women and children, be immediately secured as prisoners :

‘ That you do advance against the rebels, at the very earliest moment after you receive this order :

‘ That you may take Bonny as a guide, if you choose, and take every measure to discover where the maroons are :

‘ Should the maroons, in a body, offer to surrender, you may receive their arms on the spot :

‘ Any messenger going backwards and forwards is not to delay your operations :

‘ All the maroons now in, to be sent to Montego-Bay, as soon as you can procure a sufficient escort.

‘ I have the honour to remain, with the greatest esteem, yours,
BALCARRES.

‘ C. W. January 14th, 1796.

‘ Major-general Walpole.’

No. 22.

Past three o’clock, January 14th, 1796.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ Your lordship’s orders will be obeyed at dawn, to-morrow.

‘ Your

‘ Your lordship is not, I apprehend, aware that Jarrett surrendered under the treaty, two days since; and, though charged with a message from me to Johnstone, said, at the same time, that he would return; and has kept his word.

‘ Bonny surrendered yesterday, and went backwards and forwards twice this day, bringing in his family: His zeal has, I assure you, since he has first come here, and witnessed our conduct, been only equalled by his activity as a rebel. I understand that he, with Smith, are esteemed the most intelligent among them.

‘ Old Palmer, Fowler and Taylor, his two sons, are also arrived, all uncommonly fine men; Briffett, &c. in all nine men, and about forty women and children; they seem not to care about their arms.

‘ Fowler, whose wife is so big with child as not to be able to reach the posts this day, has entreated me to let him accompany me in the morning, to endeavour to save her; this will not, I fear, be possible to do, from the dogs. X

‘ The maroons are where they were exactly: I mean as to residence; for there is this difference, that they are on their road hither.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most obedient,
G. WALPOLE.’

‘ There always will be a difference as to thinking between those on the spot and those at a distance; representations never strike the same as ocular and even auricular demonstration: I wish
your

your lordship was here; but your orders shall be implicitly obeyed.

G. W.'

No. 23.

Old Maroon Town, Jan. 15, 1796.

' MY LORD,

' Eleven stout able maroons, with five women and nineteen children, are just arrived at this post.

' I send you a penciled note from general Walpole, on his march; wherein your lordship will see, that he has met with, in different parties, between 50 and 60 men, women, and children, and Johnstone with them; and that they will be all in; requesting your lordship's instructions further how he is to proceed.

' I have the honour to be, in haste, respectfully, your obedient servant,

' G. BROWNE, *major 83d reg.*'

No. 24.

' MY LORD,

Old Town, Jan. 15, 1796.

' Since my information dispatched to your lordship through major Browne, the maroons have been coming in till dark. Several are still out; Smith would reckon about twenty or thirty; but I should think more. The troops sleep in the woods, between three and four miles from hence. I shall rejoin them, and move forward, if any procrastination should ensue in the morning.

' The total, since the commencement of the present treaty, who have surrendered, including Montague James, &c. stand thus; *viz.*

5

' 91 men,

‘ 91 men, 111 women, 124 children.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most
faithful and obedient,
G. WALPOLE.’

No. 25.

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I give you joy of your successful operations.

‘ I have no orders to give; those which I have already issued are exactly conformable to his majesty’s intentions, which have been communicated to me this day by Mr. Dundas and the duke of Portland, *per* the duke of Cumberland packet. Every person that comes in shall receive quarter; but you will not relax one moment in using every means in your power to crush these rebels: If mercy can be shewn, your own feelings will point the way; but it cannot be extended at the expence of one moment’s delay.

‘ All the maroons who come in are to be disarmed within your posts; and they will be conducted to Montego-bay. Jarrett and Bonny, I conceive, have surrendered in terms of the treaty.

‘ I have the honour to be, with much sincerity,
yours,
BALCARRES.

‘ *Castle-Wemyss, Jan. 15th, 1796.*

‘ *Hon. major-general Walpole.*’

No. 26.

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I rejoice most sincerely at the very happy prospect of a speedy termination to the rebellion.

‘ I hope you have in your possession Rusea, Wallace, and Parkinson: I should, in that case, look to an immediate conclusion of the business.

‘ The

‘ The embers still remain ; to extinguish them,
I give you a *carte blanche*.

‘ I can assure you, that your conduct will be
highly approved of by his majesty.

‘ I remain yours faithfully and sincerely,

‘ *Castle-Wemyss, Jan. 16th, 1796.* BALCARRES.

‘ *Hon. major-general Walpole.*’

THURSDAY, 3d March, 1796.

Ordered, That the following message be sent to
his honour the lieutenant-governor.

“ *May it please your honour,*

“ We are ordered by the house to wait on your
honour, and to request you will be pleased to order
all the maroons who are in custody at Montego-Bay,
Falmouth, and St. Ann’s, to be sent up to Spanish-
Town, as soon as possible, by such conveyances,
or under such escorts, as your honour may judge
necessary for their security, to wait the determina-
tion of the legislature ; and that the house will make
good the expence attending the same.”

Ordered, That Mr. Murray and Mr. Wedder-
burn be a committee to wait on his honour with
the above message ; who returning, reported the
delivery thereof.

WEDNESDAY, 23d March, 1796.

A message from his honour the lieutenant-gover-
nor, by his secretary, as follows :

M.

“ *Mr. Speaker,*

“ I am commanded by his honour the lieutenant-governor to lay before the house sundry papers relating to the Trelawny-Town maroons.

“ First parcel, twenty numbers.

“ Second ditto, twenty-three numbers.

No. 1.

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I have great satisfaction in announcing to you, that, in consequence of orders which I issued to major-general Walpole, he moved forward with a strong column of regulars, accompanied by the Spaniards and the dogs.

‘ He had only advanced some hundred yards, when a maroon delivered a message from Johnstone: As he had experienced much trifling evasion, and insincerity, it was judged expedient to move slowly on, merely taking the precaution of keeping the dogs in the rear of the column.

‘ In consequence of this arrangement of the line of march, which I conceive was both firm and temperate, the maroons, to the number of 260, have surrendered.

‘ I have in my possession, of Trelawny maroons, upwards of 400 persons, of whom I count about 130 men. Some of the young maroons are still out; but I think we have a near and happy prospect of extinguishing the embers of this rebellion.

D

‘ You

‘ You will announce this pleasing event as speedily as possible, in the Spanish-Town papers.

‘ I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

‘ BALCARRES, M. G.

‘ *Castle-Wemyss, 16th Jan. 1796.*

‘ *Major-general Campbell, Spanish-Town.*’

No. 2.

Old Maroon-Town, January 17th, 1796.

‘ MY DEAR LORD,

‘ Mr. Mathison will have informed your lordship of the result of yesterday. Palmer and Parkinson are not yet come in, and there have been some doubts as to them; but I learn to-day that they will come.

‘ I hope to dispatch a body of about 200, this day or to-morrow, to Montego-Bay: There does not appear to be the least hesitation, either to go down there or to deliver up their arms. Johnstone is more easily to be brought to a conclusion than any of their chiefs whom I have met with, and he preserves very strict discipline amongst his people.

‘ I could wish that your lordship would have the goodness to allow me to keep such a body of them here with me as, from circumstances of the moment, may most conduce to keep them satisfied in their minds: There is more in this than most people think for; and we are at present very great friends. Johnstone has desired that his people may

not

not have rum, and he yesterday punished one man for drunkenness.

‘ I have to thank your lordship for your personal kindness to me, and the approbation that is likely to flow to me from the king. It ever has been my wish to discharge my duty honestly; and although I do not expect that his majesty will ever consider my humble exertions to the disparagement of my seniors, yet I hope that your lordship will not think me unreasonable in requesting, at the termination of this rebellion, your permission to return to Europe, with a view to obtain his majesty’s consent, at a general peace, to a sale of my commission.

‘ I have the honour to be, with every regard and respect, your lordship’s most faithful servant,

‘ *Earl Balcarres, &c. &c.* G. WALPOLE.’

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I am honoured by yours of the 17th instant; and I have not the smallest doubt you will do all you can to realize those advantages we have attained, which are in some degree insecure, until such time as these quicksilver rebels are under lock and key. I merely suggest, that a conversation may arise in the country, that the maroons have not surrendered in terms of the treaty; and as such a rumour may get to the maroons, which would make them uneasy, I wish that their numbers resident with you may be reduced by every means you can devise: Any part of them that you wish to keep

in the Old Town will, of course, remain, until you see the propriety of sending them to the coast.

‘ I shall order some preparations to be made in St. Ann’s barracks, for the reception of a party of them.

‘ At the end of the rebellion, I shall very eagerly embrace any opportunity of doing what may be pleasing to yourself.

‘ Yours faithfully, BALCARRES.’

‘ *Castle-Wemyss, January 17th, 1796.*

‘ Jarrett wishes much to see his wife and youngest child; they may be sent to him: The wives and families of Ricketts, Dunbar, and the others, now at Falmouth, should be sent down at the same time.

‘ *Hon. major-general Walpole.*’

No. 3.

Old Maroon Town, January 18th, 1796.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ I have appointed Mr. Werge to superintend the management of the maroons, and Mr. Campbell, of the 13th light dragoons, to act as surgeon’s mate to them, till your lordship’s pleasure shall be known.

‘ Major-general Reid has, at my desire, offered to go down to Montego-Bay with those who are to depart this day: This will prevent any dissatisfaction on their part, I trust; not that I at present see
the

the slightest degree of it. Johnstone assures me, that they have perfect confidence as to every thing. He came to me yesterday, to desire leave to send a party of four maroons to bring in Parkinson and Palmer, with the remainder; and that, if they failed, he gave up all wish to protect them, and would leave them to be dealt with as might be thought proper.

‘ We know perfectly where this party are; so, my good lord, be not alarmed too much. Smith has offered to go with me, whenever it shall be necessary, and treats Palmer and Parkinson with great contempt. I understand, from the list sent to me by major James, that thirty-two are still out. This list should, though made at the end of his superintendency, appear to be tolerably accurate, as it agrees nearly with Smith’s account.

‘ I must make another demand for negroes, in case of accidents.

‘ Martial law must be continued till the legislature comes to a final decision as to the subsisting and settling these people. If my present gang of negroes do not run away, as their time is out, I shall, in case the remainder are not in, move on Tuesday after them.

‘ I am your lordship’s most faithful and obedient,
G. WALPOLE.’

‘ *Earl Balcarres, &c. &c.*’

No. 4.

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I really think that Smith, and others who you have mentioned, have behaved extremely well.

D 3

‘ I think

‘ Smith tells me, that the maroons had, early in the war, a design to go to a place called Oxford, on Hector’s River, about seven miles on this side of One-Eye, in St. Elizabeth’s; but were stopped by hearing that our troops were there. I hope that Mr. Robertson destroyed all the provisions in that neighbourhood; he assured me that he had done so. I have, however, left Palmer and Parkinson should act upon this plan, ordered the 13th light dragoons to go immediately to Oxford. It must take up a considerable time, should they do so, as Smith tells me that it takes a day to go as far as even Vaughansfield from hence; as they are obliged to make three or four trips backwards and forwards for their children; and the wounded are still in the woods, who must also be carried.

‘ Should any of this party come in, I shall directly send your lordship their names.

‘ Our negroes are come, so we can move at any time you wish for it.

‘ Any party going hence to Hector’s River must either go through the pens of Trelawny, or by Accompong-Town.

‘ I am your lordship’s most obedient,

‘ G. WALPOLE.’

‘ The two maroons are returned, without finding the others; I fear that they are scattered about.’

No. 6.

Thursday, January 21st, 1796.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ I had the honour of your lordship’s letter yesterday evening, purporting that an expedition should

take place, under the command of a subordinate officer, for particular reasons relative to the field-officers, to take place on Friday next. Having received, through major Browne, your lordship's express desire that no expedition should take place before Saturday, and that it would be better to continue negotiating till that time, I had made the arrangements accordingly; and, if your lordship thinks proper, they shall now continue so; as I confess that I should not wish that any thing should be attempted of consequence, but under some of the field-officers; and I have given assurances to the maroons of a little longer indulgence for the coming-in of their families, some few of whom, from sickness, are still with the remaining maroons in the woods.

' I sent to major Godley last night.

' I have the honour to be your lordship's most obedient and faithful,

G. WALPOLE.'

' DEAR SIR,

' I am favoured by yours of this date.

' Saturday, I conceive, will be a very proper day for the expedition, under the command of a field-officer.

' I long to hear of another batch of maroons finding their way to Montego-Bay.

' Yours, &c.

BALCARRES.'

' *Castle-Wemyss, January 21, 1796.*'

' *Hon. major-general Walpole.*'

No. 7.

‘ DEAR GENERAL,

‘ I must use one other argument, in addition to those I urged this day, as to the expediency of sending down the maroons to Montego-Bay; and that is a strong one; namely, That it will be most difficult, I may say impossible, for me to meet the legislature until this measure is effected.

‘ The situation of the maroons must be the immediate object of their deliberations, and something must be done by the assembly as to the disposal of their persons.

‘ It will be impracticable for me to inform the assembly that these people have surrendered themselves, unless I can give a much more solid proof of it, than the information of their skipping about in the Old Town.

‘ I am therefore extremely anxious that this service may be performed before the return of the dogs.

‘ Yours sincerely,

‘ BALCARRES.’

‘ *Castle Wemyss, Jan. 22d, 1796.*’‘ *Hon. major-general Walpole.*’

No. 8.

‘ *Old Maroon Town, Jan. 23d, 1796.*’

‘ MY DEAR LORD,

‘ There could have been no necessity for your lordship to recur to any argument to enforce your injunctions;

injunctions; it is my duty to obey them; but certainly I am not so fortunate as to coincide with your way of thinking; and my reason is, that a very different line of conduct has produced the success which we have already experienced, and, if pursued, will probably produce more. The dogs had certainly nothing to do with it; it was not, I apprehend, known to the maroons that they were with us; for the maroons (as I wrote to your lordship I presumed was the case) had moved the day before we did, and were on their way towards us; we met them early in the morning, about a mile's march:

‘ I have ordered a list of forty more maroons to be made out, to comply with your lordship's orders, in the course of a day or two: Some few went voluntarily this morning.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship's most faithful servant,
G. WALPOLE.’

‘ The detachment has marched in search of the rebels.

‘ *Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c.*’

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I give every respect to the solidity of your opinion, though it is contrary to my own.

‘ It is impossible, however, that I can meet the legislature, until the persons of the maroons who have come in are actually at Montego-Bay.

‘ It is impossible also that I can carry into effect those commands which have been given to me by
his

his majesty, and which are rather of a secret nature.

‘ When I enforce the measure of sending these maroons to Montego-Bay, I surely take off from you all responsibility respecting the bad effects of our taking such a step, for which I am alone answerable.

‘ I therefore most earnestly and most pointedly request, that all the maroons may be sent to Montego-Bay, previous to the return of the dogs, excepting only a few, which you may keep, as being useful to you, as described in my letter to you of the 20th instant.

‘ I remain yours very sincerely, **BALCARRES.**’

‘ *Castle-Wemyss, Jan. 23d, 1796.*

‘ *Hon. major-general Walpole.*’

No. 9.

Old Maroon Town, Jan. 23d, 1796.

‘ **MY LORD,**

‘ Another batch of maroons have just set off for Montego Bay; among them, twenty men. I reckon seventy men there before; which, together with a few that went one day at their own desire, makes from ninety to one hundred men, capable of bearing arms. Samuels, with some women belonging to those at the Point, and a brother or two of Dunbar’s, will go down to-morrow.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithfully,

G. WALPOLE.’

‘ With

‘ With the assistance of Smith, I begin to guess at the spot where the body now out are; but we must take a little time to consider; I do not like to be beaten.

‘ Your lordship will excuse my requesting of you to permit the inclosed to be sent to Kingston with your dispatch.’

No. 10.

Old Maroon Town, January 24th, 1796.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ Thirty men, twenty-one women, and sixteen children, set off this morning for Montego-Bay. I intend to send some more on the day after to-morrow. There was no sort of difficulty in managing the business.

‘ Having given them an assurance, that, whenever they were marched to any place, that I would permit them to carry their arms in their hands, it was intimated to them again this morning; some wished to do so, others were wholly indifferent; however, Johnstone the maroon settled the matter, by telling them that they had made peace, and therefore had no occasion for them: The arms were consequently left behind, without the least trouble to me, or any wish expressed on my part about the matter.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithful and obedient,

G. WALPOLE.’

‘ Your lordship must be so good as not to restict me to a day, as it is not always that I have a proper

proper person to go along with the maroons off duty.

‘ I left colonel Skinner yesterday, about four miles from hence. I should not have returned, but from your lordship’s letters. I do not expect the return of the detachment till to-morrow, at the earliest.’

No. 11.

‘ MY LORD, *24th January, 1796.*

‘ There are two women of Accompong-Town here; one of them married into this town; the other, I fancy, was on a visit here when the town was burnt: They are very desirous of going to Accompong; they tell me, that when on their way from hence, in August last, they were brought back against their own consent.

‘ Your lordship will be so good as to instruct me upon this.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most obedient,
G. WALPOLE.’

No. 12.

‘ MY LORD, *January 26th, 1796.*

‘ Smith the maroon thinks he can find those who are still out, and he proposes either to go with me or without me, taking eight maroons. He is positive that they will risque no engagement, and relies chiefly on persuading them to come in. This will benefit us either way; as, if we find where they are, and the persuasion fails, we can then pursue.

‘ I request

‘ I request your lordship’s orders, and have the honour to be your very obedient and faithful servant,

G. WALPOLE.’

‘ *Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c.*’

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I had the pleasure of your two letters last evening.

‘ We have already secured advantages beyond either my own expectations, or any formed by the country. I have already realized every thing pointed out to me, in my instructions from his majesty. To allow eight maroons to go into the woods, to endeavour to persuade people to come in, who you yourself could not prevail upon, would be in contradiction to the spirit of my orders.

‘ I am much afraid that you have not been able to carry into execution my orders, of sending down the maroons to Montego-Bay. The delay is of the highest inconvenience, as it is impossible that I can proceed in writing my dispatches to government, until that duty is executed; nor can the packet be permitted to sail until I am enabled to make my report to the king.

‘ The opinions of his majesty’s confidential servants are fixed and determined on the principles of carrying on this war. I feel and I know that I am acting with them, in the orders I have given on the subject of sending the maroons to Montego-Bay. Nothing can be left, under these circumstances, to your discretion. My orders therefore are,

‘ That

‘ That the maroons be sent down immediately to Montego-Bay, and to be delivered over to major-general Palmer, or the officer commanding at that post. If you wish to keep a few men with you, agreeable to my letters of the 20th and 23d, you may; but even that goes much against my inclination.

‘ The two women who say they belong to Accompong, I think you had best send down to Montego-Bay, unless you have made them some promise, in consequence of receiving my letter of yesterday concerning them.

‘ I think that the maroons should be sent down when the dogs are out, not when the dogs are in.

‘ My wish therefore is, that one half of the dogs should be sent on the road towards Mocho, on Friday morning, and the other half on the road towards Tackey’s, on the same morning. They ought to march by moon-light.

‘ Soon after day-break, in the same morning, I wish that such of the maroons as have not been forwarded to Montego-Bay, be sent off; they may halt that evening (Friday) at John’s Hall; and I have given orders to colonel James to send a party of the St. James’s militia to receive them at John’s Hall on Friday.

‘ I am, &c. &c.

BALCARRES.’

‘ January 27th, 1796.’

‘ Honourable major-general Walpole.’

No. 13.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ Colonel Skinner returned this day, after a most toilsome march, in which he went far beyond the ground on which the action of the 13th of December was fought. It does not appear, that the rebels had been any where lately in the vicinity of the route which he pursued.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithful servant,

G. WALPOLE.’

‘ *Old Maroon Town, January 26th, 1796.*

‘ Colonel Skinner speaks highly of the activity and utility of the Spaniards and their dogs.’

No. 14.

Old Maroon Town, January 27th, 1796.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ I have this moment the honour of your lordship’s letters No. 1 and 2. The orders contained in those letters I shall proceed to put into execution, as directed therein; but I will not answer to your lordship that the Spaniards will consent to divide the dogs, or themselves; and my reason for thinking thus is, I made the request once, and they refused it: But I shall ask again; at all events, there may be a feint made towards Mocho.

‘ I am concerned that I did not receive the alterations of your lordship’s sentiments respecting the women of Accompong-Town sooner, as I have permitted them to depart about fours ago.

‘ About

‘ About twenty (I have not the list by me, major Brent having gone with the party of maroons to Montego-Bay this morning) of the maroons are now here ; they consist chiefly of Smith’s and Johnstone’s families ; and I did suppose that it had been left to my discretion to have retained that number, for political reasons, arising, to my knowledge, from local circumstances ; but they can be sent down on Friday, if your lordship should not alter your opinion. I am not clear at this instant how our effective force stands, and whether it will enable me to detach towards Mocho, and, at the same time, leave me sufficient for an escort to the maroons.

‘ I say, effective force ; as those which returned yesterday had undergone more fatigue, and had traversed more ground, than will easily be credited. Your lordship would, I apprehend, wish, that if any point should be given up, it is the march in the direction of Mocho : But I trust that I shall be able to execute both.

‘ I shall inform your lordship to-morrow morning, if I cannot.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithfully,
G. WALPOLE.

‘ A smoke was seen this day at a great distance, in the direction of Mouth-River, whereabouts it joins Hector’s River, on a hill on this side, supposed to be fourteen miles off. I believe, from the manner of it, that it was a deception or a signal, as it was evidently meant to be as conspicuous as possible.

E

‘ When

‘ When I mentioned, in a former part of my letter, about the number of maroons here, I spoke only of the men.

‘ I thank your lordship for leaving nothing to my discretion; discretionary orders are too apt to be civil, and consequently not very precise. Your lordship will have the goodness to say whether any, and how many, maroons may be left here. I fear that your lordship did not entirely read my letter, as to any party of them going out.

‘ I have the honour to be, &c.

‘ G. WALPOLE.

‘ I have to thank your lordship for my rank in the West-Indies, as it appears in the Gazette.’

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I have ordered a detachment of militia, consisting of sixty men, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Shawe, to be at the Old Maroon Town to-morrow night.

‘ This column is intended to accompany that part of the dogs which goes to Tacky’s; and as lieutenant-colonel Shawe has a thorough knowledge of that district of country, he will explore the part of it that lies between Tacky’s and Green-Vale, following nearly lieutenant-colonel Stevenson’s last track.

‘ He will be out three days, and the dogs will return the fourth day.

‘ As to the part of the dogs that go on Friday morning towards Mocho, you may either make
that

that an effective movement, provided you can properly support it, or make it merely a feint, to enable you to get away the maroons in the manner I have mentioned, which is my principal object.

‘ I am, &c. &c.

BALCARRES.’

‘ Honourable major-general Walpole.’

No. 15.

‘ MY LORD,

Jan. 28th, 1796.

‘ I shall move the post on at Coldspring to-morrow towards Mocho, by way of feint, it would be a very great distance from hence, nine miles at least, and then eight more to the spot where the rebels used to frequent. But your lordship may, I think, rest assured, that none of them are on that side: They may perhaps go that way on excursions to burn the canes, but not by intent to reside there. Even Johnstone’s party did not like the ground, thinking it not sufficiently rocky and difficult for their purposes.

‘ Smith was desirous that his brothers should go down to the Point, to see his father, and that the two former should remain there for a few days, in the room of his father and the other brother who is there. Whether your lordship will consent to this sort of thing I cannot say, or whether, if not, you have any objection to their going down and returning.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithful,

G. WALPOLE.’

‘ Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c.

E 2

‘ DEAR

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I have received your letter of this date.

‘ I really should think that the request of Smith is attended with every danger; and the refusal of it is also disagreeable.

‘ If it was not for a respect and delicacy I have for your opinion, I should at once say, Make a clean sweep, and send them all down.

‘ Yours, &c.

BALCARRES.’

‘ Dromilly, January 28th, 1796.

‘ Honourable major-general Walpole.’

No. 16.

‘ MY LORD,

January 28th, 1796.

‘ The Spaniards are desirous to be permitted to go out alone some time or other; and they mean to remain in the woods until they have finished the business.

‘ I understand from Johnstone, that there are several runaways in the woods between Mocho and St. Elizabeth’s, but not any maroons.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithful servant,

G. WALPOLE.’

‘ Johnstone and Smith have again assured me, that if I will go with them, or Skinner, they think that every man now out may be brought in: They will go with soldiers, but not dogs.

‘ No smoke observable on the hill near Mouth River this day.

‘ Earl Balcarres, &c. &c.’

‘ DEAR

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ My sentiments are long ago made up upon this business: Smith’s application to day, and their proposal since to go out without the dogs, all convince me that we have not a moment to lose.

‘ The best and most agreeable news that could possibly reach me to-morrow forenoon, would be to hear that all the maroons were secured, and marched off to Montego Bay; and, in my letters home, I have absolutely reported that we had secured them; of course, I must be on thorns until that moment arrives.

‘ Yours sincerely, BALCARRES.’

‘ Dromilly, Thursday, 28th January, 1796.

‘ Hon. major-general Walpole.’

No. 17.

Old Maroon Town, January 29th, 1796.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ In obedience to your lordship’s orders, received this morning, I have sent the maroons down to Montego Bay.

‘ I cannot but lament that the opportunity (as far as I am capable of judging) of bringing in those at present out, should be thus lost. Positive I am, that, had your lordship had the same opportunity of judging on the spot that I have, you would have been of the same opinion, and the war probably terminated.

‘ From the information which I received from Smith, there seems to be but little chance of any but a maroon discovering a maroon, whenever these people are where they can remain quiet for any time. Dogs cannot scent, but on a recent step; and I fear that the maroons are now so deep in the woods, that no expedition can be supported against them, without risking a failure of food and water for those animals; with a great probability, even if it could be sustained, of never finding the enemy. Had we accompanied Smith, we should, if they had not been induced to surrender, at all events have discovered where they were, and then could have pursued them. The die is cast, and it is now too late, unless they discover themselves; for I am told that the Spaniards say, that they could live in these woods for ever, that they never saw such woods for sustenance any where.

‘ Your lordship will be so good as to let me have your orders; but I could wish that nothing should be left to my discretion.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithful and obedient,
G. WALPOLE.

‘ A sick woman or two, and two children, have been left behind of the maroons at this place.

‘ I propose to go to Montego Bay to-morrow, to inspect their situation.

‘ I fear that the party will not get beyond John’s Hall this night, owing to the number of women and children.

‘ *Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c.*’

No. 18.

Old Maroon Town, January 31st, 1796.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ Yesterday I went down to Montego Bay, for the purpose, as I had the honour to inform your lordship, of inspecting the situation of the maroons there.

‘ The barracks are, from the numbers, very much crowded; and I should be apprehensive that some disorders may break out among the people there. To obviate this, I should submit to your lordship, whether it may not be proper to fit up with boards the underneath part of the barrack, which has hitherto served as a stable.

‘ Should your lordship approve of this, you can issue an order to the commissioners for the purpose.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithful and obedient,
G. WALPOLE.’

No. 19.

Old Maroon Town, January 31st, 1796.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ On the embarkation of the 13th, 21st, and 49th, I found our strength here not sufficient to allow us to send any of the regular troops from hence down to Montego Bay; and as at that time there was every appearance of a termination of hostilities, I ordered the detachment of the 83d regiment, then at Great River and its neighbourhood, down to the former place; but as that side of the country may

be considerably exposed thereby at the present moment, I should submit to your lordship whether or not it might be proper to order back the 83d to their original position, and direct colonel James to call in about seventy of the militia to the Bay, to guard the maroons.

‘ It will be necessary to have a post at Mocho, about half way between Coldspring and Catadupa; the distance being about nine miles from the first to the latter place.

‘ We must, I fear, call for a considerable number of pioneers; I should think about one thousand, or twelve hundred; in order to get with all possible dispatch through the remainder of the work.

‘ I much fear that the 13th and 14th will not be a very active reinforcement for the first three weeks after they land, from their having been so many months on board the transports: I should recommend to your lordship their being brought up into the country, in a very few days after their being landed.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithful and obedient,
G. WALPOLE.’

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I am rejoiced to find that all the maroons are now secured; but I am sorry that your judgment has differed with mine on the propriety of that measure.

‘ Your requisition of twelve hundred negroes, I am afraid, will startle the country, who believe, and

I think with reason, that their efforts to crush this rebellion have nearly succeeded, and that they may look with some reasonable hope of their being suffered to go on with their crop, in a degree of tranquillity and repose.

‘ Baggage negroes will be required, as usual, to attend any columns which you may send out; but if the 1,000 or 1,200 pioneers are wanted for the purpose of making roads and communications, I am of opinion that such a measure should be done by an act of the legislature, and not without it. I cannot, however, judge of it, as you have not mentioned the specific, or even the general, purpose for which they are wanted.

‘ With respect to the active operations of the war, our opinions have gone hand in hand; but although we cannot be too watchful to smother the embers of rebellion, still I think you give much more consideration to the present state of the war, than either I do or the country does.

‘ My general notion of it is, that, the instant the reinforcement arrives, the militia may go home; if a further reinforcement is necessary, I think it should be done:

‘ That the duty of the regulars will be to guard the maroon prisoners at the posts of Montego Bay, Falmouth, and St. Ann’s which last place some of the prisoners should be sent to from Montego Bay:

‘ That the troops should be so posted as to be able to furnish a column to move to any point where the rebels may appear, in a very short space
of

of time: Three posts are very evident, as being consonant with this idea; namely, Mocho, Dromilly, Old Town, and Vaughansfield. I should have liked a division of the dogs to have been at each of these places; but, at all events, Dromilly ought to be a post for one division of them.

‘ My situation in this country, and the necessity I am under to attend personally when there is a meeting of the legislature, must confine me much to the fixing of general principles, which are founded both upon my instructions, public and private, from the king and his confidential servants, but also regulated by what relates to the civil government of the island. I know how pleasant it is to an officer to act under direct orders; the next pleasant circumstance is, to have the greatest latitude given, consistent with the absolute duty of the commander in chief or governor. But your request to have nothing left to your discretion, is totally incompatible with the very high situation in which you are placed: I must leave much to your discretion, as having the chief command in my absence; and the great opinion I have had of the proper exercise of that discretion, assuredly will justify the favourable report I have made to his majesty of your services in this war.

‘ I beg you will send me a return of the number of arms that were brought in and surrendered by the maroons; sixteen of which were brought down to Castle Wemyss, by the men that were forwarded to Falmouth.

‘ I have

‘ I have the honour to be, dear sir, yours sincerely,
BALCARRES.’

‘ *Dromilly, 1st February 1796.*

‘ *Hon. major-general Walpole.*’

No. 20.

Old Maroon Town, 31st January, 1796.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ As near as I can recollect, the number of arms delivered in here and at Castle-Wemyss are 95; of this about 29 are at Montego-Bay. The first party which were sent having their arms by permission from me, they were again delivered up there, in charge of the 83d regiment. I permitted one of these arms, which had been the property of a gentleman, to be delivered to a friend of his.

‘ I called for the negroes chiefly for the purpose of making roads, and establishing posts in advance: Among these, Pond River, the last stand of the maroons, it was my design to take post at, on account of the water; and thence the road might be continued to Hector’s River. This would in a great measure reach the parish of Trelawny, and cut off the access to that plentiful supply of springs between the interior parts of the cockpits, and the provision-grounds of that parish, as well as open the communication, down the banks of the above-mentioned river, with St. Elizabeth.

‘ As to my opinion, it is of mighty little consequence, especially when the matter which was the
cause

cause of it may be possibly past: But I did, I confess, think that, by Smith's assistance, we should have traced the maroons; and had we failed in bringing them in, we should at all events have known their haunts, and might have pursued them. What gave rise to the suggestion of Smith was this; the finding a stick at Pond River, with a white streamer fastened to it. This was one of their signals; and Smith turning to me, in the presence of colonel Skinner, said, "Sir, we can bring them out as easy as to kiss your hand." Your lordship will recollect, that this party of eight maroons was to have been attended by a party of the king's troops.

' I am extremely obliged to your lordship for your favourable mention of my services: I have but one motive; that of doing what I ought to do.

' I must repeat, that if your lordship had had the different communications, and conferences on the spot, that you would then have been more of my opinion.

' I shall send your lordship an exact list of the maroon arms soon; you will inform me if you are in haste about it, as I must go or send to Montego Bay.

' I have the honour to be your lordship's most faithful and obedient,

G. WALPOLE.'

' *Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c.*'

No. 1.

Old Maroon Town, February 1st, 1796.

* MY LORD,

' I have the honour to enclose to your lordship two letters which I received last night. The maroons, I am pretty certain, went to Oliphant's by the road, and not through the cockpits.

' I have the honour to be your lordship's very faithful and obedient servant,

* G. WALPOLE.

' The 13th dragoons, thirty in number, have been at One Eye during the last week past.'

* SIR,

One Eye, January 29th 1796.

' I am favoured with your orders of the 26th instant, and am much flattered by the confidence you have reposed in me. I have communicated the same to major Shawe, commanding the Vere detachment at Hector's River; and have from him received assurances of his cordially co-operating with your orders, and in every measure will, I am assured, use every exertion to crush our savage foe. I am at the same time under much concern to represent the situation of the troops at Hector's River and its vicinity: That, for want of necessary supplies, the dragoons at One Eye cannot be advanced into the woods; that the supplies for the Vere detachment at Hector's River are very precarious, they being often in want of bread-kind, and other necessaries of life; that this want of supply is owing to a supineness in some of the commissioners,

under

under a persuasion that no maroons will ever make that way. Major Shawe and myself waited on colonel Peart, who promised to exert himself to procure and forward provisions, &c. but I fear it will be some time before we can march, having neither pioneers or baggage negroes for the 13th dragoons. The place alluded to in your letter, as the intended retreat of the maroons, is called Oliphant's, formerly the property of David lord Oliphant; and so far from the Trelawny maroons being under any difficulty in finding their way to it through the cockpits, that fourteen or fifteen of them were entertained by Mr. Mure's gardener at that place, a few weeks previous to the breaking out of this rebellion. However, that place is in the possession of the Vere troops on Hector's River banks. If I had been furnished with the necessary supplies and baggage negroes, I intended to have scoured the woods across the country, by way of Mouth River, home to the Trelawny settlements.

‘ The Vere detachment have been immured in the woods ever since the 20th November 1795. This they have all along submitted to without a murmur; the service has to them been peculiarly severe, owing to the remote situation from their homes, which prevented them drawing supplies from their friends. However, they have no wish but for the public good, and wait with anxiety the moment to call them to action. Nevertheless, it would be an act of charity to relieve them, or change their post.

‘ I remain

‘ I remain, with the greatest respect, sir, your
most obedient and very humble servant,

‘ *Hon. major-general Walpole,* FRAS. ROBERTSON.
‘ *Old Maroon Town.*’

‘ SIR,

‘ I received your favour, and shall certainly benefit all I can from Mr. Robinson’s information, and will co-operate with much pleasure in any thing that may be deemed necessary for the good of the service we are engaged in. From every information I have had from colonel Batty and general Campbell, I have been always led to believe the maroons were likely to be drove in here; and colonel Batty, in a former letter, advised me to solicit colonel Peart to send in what troops he might have at One Eye, and that he would supply their place with some from colonel Caldwell’s detachments in Mile Gully. This I communicated to colonel Peart; but he had none there, and the want of provisions made me less anxious to press the business, as I have never been able to get above one day’s supplies at the post at any time since I took the command here. Many days we have been entirely out of bread-kind, sometimes out of beef, and frequently, indeed oftener than otherwise, at short allowance of bread-kind, and that frequently of the worst kind; and if I had not got flour, salt beef, and biscuit from Vere, I do not think I could have maintained the post till this time. The officers have, at great expence and inconvenience, almost wholly supplied their table
from

from thence. I think that the commissioners must be very dilatory, otherwise we would have been better supplied; all that I write to them has no effect. In consequence of its being strongly supposed that the remaining maroons and runaways would make for these woods, I wrote to colonel Caldwell, in case I should be obliged to advance further into the woods, that it would be necessary for me to call on him for part of his detachments to assist me, as I conceived I had too few troops for that business, and protecting the provisions and ammunition that it would be necessary to have deposited here; at same time apprized him of the difficulty of providing supplies of provision, so that he might judge for himself in the propriety of coming forward. His answer to me was, that he had inclosed my letter to general Campbell, and that he did not think he could well leave Mile Gully unprotected; and that, more especially, he thought it would be improper to move forward without further orders, when he considered the difficulty of procuring provisions. To this I readily assent, and indeed only wished for further reinforcement in case of actual necessity, and thought it best to apprise him of what I thought might be required. You may rest assured there shall be nothing wanting on my part to defend the post.

‘ I have the honour to be, with great respect, sir,
your very humble servant,

A. SCHAW,

‘ *Hector's River, January 30th, 1796.*

‘ *Hon. major-general Walpole.*’

No. 2.

No. 2.

SIR,

‘ It is my intention to move about 150 or 160 of the maroon prisoners from Montego Bay to the barracks at St. Ann’s, where they are to remain.

‘ You will therefore have every thing prepared for their reception; and I beg you will notify this to the commissioners, that they may take the necessary arrangements as to feeding them, &c. &c.

‘ I have the honour to be your most obedient humble servant,

BALCARRES.’

‘ Dromilly, February 2, 1796.

‘ Colonel Stevenson, or officer commanding at St. Ann’s.’

‘ I shall write you soon as to the manner of guarding them.’

No. 3.

DEAR SIR,

‘ I received your letter of February 2d, last evening.

‘ My object has been to keep myself free and uncommitted; by no means to cramp you in any point that I am not forced to. The maroons are secured, and in such a manner as will leave to the legislature the full exercise of their powers, when they meet on March 1st. I do not know your opinion respecting the treaty, nor do I desire to know it: I have formed my own, and must declare it, when I am called upon. You will of course take

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every

every means in your power to get in, or destroy, the rebels who are still out. But what I have anxiously wished for, namely, the securing of the persons of these maroons, has been executed, and I can now report with correctness and security: While these people remained in the Old Town, I could advance nothing but with incorrectness and insecurity. As the principle I worked upon is established, I cannot possibly think of troubling you with any detail of mine. You will give what orders you please respecting the 83d, at Montego-Bay: I gave orders to assemble a proper number of militia, to take the guards. You may always keep any three maroon men with you that you fix upon (Montague James and old Jarrett excepted); but no terms can be held to the rebels now out, that can impress an idea that either the country, or myself, is bound at all, either by the spirit of the treaty or the letter of it.

‘ I mean to divide the maroons, and to send 160 from Montego-Bay to St. Ann’s. I have desired that the maroons themselves may arrange the families who are to go, and those who are to remain; of course you will give such instructions on that head as to you seems best. The 160 will march on Monday next, and I shall arrange their route. I find I must necessarily take fifty of the St. Ann’s militia from the posts in this neighbourhood, to do the duty at St. Ann’s.

‘ The reinforcement shall be sent down at the earliest
earliest

earliest possible moment; when, I trust, the militia may be sent home.

' I am, &c.

BALCARRES.'

3d February, 1796.'

' Hon. major-general Walpole.'

No. 4.

Old Maroon Town, February 12, 1796.

' MY LORD,

I have the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that six maroons, capable of bearing arms, have this day been brought in by Johnstone, with a number of women and children. It seems that the remnant of their body, after the surrender of Johnstone, were met by a maroon of the name of Heath, who alarmed them by a false report of the approach of the dogs; upon which they fled deep into the woods, in the direction of Oliphant's, near Hector's River, as a drum was heard by the party which I sent from hence, at some distance. It is imagined by Johnstone, and also concurs with what I have been able to gather from the maroons themselves, that they are scattered in different bodies, as they did not see some of those whom they expected. Among those who are come in, are two of Holman Harding's sons: This is their mode; these two young men will reconnoitre us for two or three days, and then one of them will ask leave to go and bring in his father and family, and, according to the treatment, the family will come back and remain. Your

F 2

lordship

lordship will be perhaps surpris'd to learn, that spies from those in the woods have more than once come out, by a circuitous route, to the hills over the town, and observed what has been passing; they have seen the different bodies, particularly the last, sent off to Montego-Bay, and have construed it into treachery on our part. I am told that some came to surrender, and upon this went back to the woods.

‘ Their want of water is, I understand, extreme; they cannot get any but what they draw from the wild pines; and that, Johnstone tells me, is at this time very unwholesome. They have a plan, if driven from these woods, of going towards Cave-River, at a place called Old Woman’s Savanna. As fast as they exhaust the pines at one place, they move further on.

I have offer’d no terms but lives; and it may be necessary to explain to your lordship, that I was oblig’d to alter my original plan of attending, with a detachment of the king’s troops, the maroon party. The want of water, after the first day’s march, was an insuperable difficulty; and on being satisfied in my own mind of the fidelity of the party, I permitted them to go; and my confidence has not been forfeit’d: They were absent six days; and if I had allow’d them a longer term, perhaps more might have been brought in.

‘ As your lordship may perhaps wish to lay before the legislature the names of those who have acted with such fidelity to the public cause, I have

to

to mention the names of *Johnstone, Smith, Sam. James, Senior, Reid, Sam. Barnett.*

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithful and obedient servant,

‘ G. WALPOLE.

‘ I think it probable, that many of those said to be still in the woods have been killed in the different actions.’

No. 5.

Montego-Bay, 7th February, 1796.

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ In consequence of the orders I received yesterday, I prepared one hundred of the militia to be ready for an escort to the maroons, on Monday morning. I think it right to inform you, that Mr. Werge has just now reported to me his having mentioned to the maroons the orders for separating them, and that they are very much alarmed and discontented, saying they had rather be killed at once.

‘ I shall, however, be prepared to execute my orders; but wish to have your sentiments on this business in the course of the day.

‘ As Mr. Werge did not mention the orders for the maroons march until this morning, it is impossible for him to send a return of those that are to go.

‘ Shaw says, that if the runaways come to the

knowledge of what is to happen, he cannot be answerable for them, that they will attempt an escape.

‘ Dear sir, your most humble servant,

J. ROB. JAMES.’

‘ *Hon. major-general Walpole, Old Maroon Town.*’

No. 6.

‘ MY LORD,

February 1st, 1796.

‘ To-morrow I intend going into the woods, with five or six maroons, and about one hundred regulars; in all probability we shall be absent a week. I shall take rockets with me, in order, should we find those now out, to call up the dogs, if they persist in not surrendering.

‘ It seems that there is a good deal of water in the Black Grounds, and provisions, several settlements being forming there; and of course many people, whites and negroes, must be acquainted with the spot: The proprietor of Mahogany-Hall would, I think, not be an improper person for your lordship to talk with on the subject. What I should propose would be, to send some confidential negroes, under the promise of reward, to search for tracks about the places where water and provisions are.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithful and obedient,

‘ *Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c.* G. WALPOLE.’

No.

No. 7.

‘ MY DEAR LORD, *February 11th, 1796.*

‘ To-morrow or next day I will send you a more particular account; but in case that you should have any arrangements to make as to the packet, I can inform you, that about thirty maroons, including women and children as well as men, will be here, I trust, to-morrow. Smith has arrived with nineteen; Johnstone, who has behaved with great fidelity in this instance, I expect to-morrow, with the remainder. I am preparing to move the 13th dragoons through the cockpits, from One-Eye. Parkinson and Palmer are not of the number above-mentioned: It seems that the steps relative to their various removals have reached them; and, consequently, whatever has been done against their consent much exaggerated. I have all along been afraid of this.

‘ I shall send the maroons to the Bay in two or three days.

‘ I am your lordship’s most obedient,

‘ G. WALPOLE.’

No. 8.

‘ MY LORD, *18th February, 1796.*

I omitted in my last to inform you, that it was my intention to attempt to cut a road to Pond-River, the place where the maroons made their last stand, in order that I might avail myself of the

water at that place, should it become advisable to make any expedition hereafter into the woods in search of the rebels still out; it being perfectly clear, that such a thing must be utterly impracticable from our present posts. I hope, by the direction which we have given to the intended road, that the distance will be shortened from seven to four miles. The maroons arrived at St. Ann's very well satisfied, as colonel Bell informs me. The runaways (for they were so blended as not to be distinguished) were much alarmed: I am told, that there are some among them who have been missing from the estates for years.

‘ I have the satisfaction to acquaint your lordship, that Mr. Gubbins, of the 13th light dragoons, has entered the woods from the side of St. Elizabeth, at One-Eye; He merits great applause for his perseverance. The commissioners either could not or would not furnish provisions; indeed, I trust that they were not able: The troops undertook, sooner than be debarred their share of enterprise, to cure it themselves: It is curiously done, I make no doubt; but, such as it is, they have entered the woods, with a resolution to penetrate either directly through the cockpits, or up the banks of Hector's River. The Spaniards are with Mr. Gubbins, and a detachment of Accompong maroons: The whole town shewed great readiness; but only a few selected as track-men, or rather to give the direction.

‘ I have

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithful and obedient,

‘ *Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c.* G. WALPOLE.’

‘ Mr. Robertson, of the St. Elizabeth’s militia, accompanies the expedition.

‘ I inclose your lordship a list, the *left batch* are not included.’

No. 9.

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ From the state of the maroon war, I am convinced the country will be of opinion that martial law ought not to be continued :

‘ That the regular troops, with the assistance of the black shot, the Spaniards, &c. are sufficient, as a force to watch over the embers of the rebellion :

And that a party act may be made of such energy as may suit the purpose.

‘ This party bill was in considerable forwardness at the moment of the late adjournment of the house of assembly.

‘ It is only upon my giving an assurance, that martial law will be taken off as soon as the party act shall pass, that I can hope to carry the question, at the next council of war, of continuing martial law.

‘ Under these circumstances, we must look forward to the application of the regular forces, when the militia go to their homes.

‘ I think it will take a considerable force to guard the maroon prisoners. The 17th light dragoons
and

and the 62d regiment may occupy Montego-Bay, Falmouth, and St. Ann's.

‘ The 17th are to hold themselves in readiness to embark for St. Domingo, when they send shipping to receive them ; of which no requisition is as yet made.

‘ The 83d regiment may occupy the Maroon Town.

‘ I should be glad to know your wish as to the quartering the 13th light dragoons, on their arrival.

‘ The 14th regiment of light dragoons are not to remain in this country, if quiet is restored. If, however, the banditti of runaway slaves have gone down to Old Woman's Savanna, they must occupy posts in that neighbourhood ; the country that lies behind it I believe never was explored.

‘ I beg that you will order a list to be taken of all tools and implements, and also what belongs to the hospital, such as cradles.

‘ Should fresh disturbances break out, we must meet them anew ; but there is no alternative at present, but the militia going home, and the furnishing of the guards over the maroons to be done by the regular troops.

‘ These are my present sentiments ; if you wish for any particular disposition of the troops, be so good as to let me know.

‘ The moment the party act shall pass, I shall

give

give you notice of it, and the militia will begin to move.

‘ I am, &c. &c.

BALCARRES.’

February 20th, 1796.’

‘ Honourable major-general Walpole.’

No. 10,

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I have heard that some maroons have been permitted to go from Montego-Bay to Falmouth (to the great offence of the country) unguarded. I wish you would send immediately a strong party of regular troops, to relieve the militia in the duty of guarding these prisoners. I think the detachment of the 17th light dragoons would do this duty properly; and they will be then ready to embark.

‘ I request that you will give them the strictest orders to keep the strictest guard over them; and that this detachment is to be responsible that no escape shall be attempted; for which purpose each sentinel is to have his piece loaded.

‘ You will no doubt take effectual means to secure all arms and ammunition, by sending it back, or securing it at the Old Town.

‘ Yours, &c.

BALCARRES.’

‘ King’s house, February 29th, 1796.

‘ Honourable major-general Walpole.’

No. 11.

‘ SIR,

‘ It was found necessary in Westmorland, at the beginning of the Trelawny maroon rebellion, to
secure

secure the persons of all these maroons who resided in Westmorland.

‘ As this is a measure which the safety of the country required, and it appearing that nearly the whole of these maroons, so residing in Westmorland, had no connection with the rebel town, there can be no reason for keeping these people in confinement; they may therefore be enlarged and permitted to return to their homes.

‘ I have the honour to be your most obedient humble servant,

BALCARRES.’

‘ King’s house, 25th February, 1796.

‘ Colonel Lawrence, Westmorland.’

No. 12.

‘ SIR,

‘ This country is extremely alarmed at the circumstance of several of the maroon prisoners having been seen at St. Ann’s, going at large without guards. I beg that no relaxation may take place, respecting guarding against all possible escape of any of these maroons.

‘ I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

BALCARRES.’

‘ King’s house, March 4th, 1796.

‘ Colonel Rose, or officer commanding at St. Ann’s Bay.’

No. 13.

Old Maroon Town, March 4th, 1796.

‘ MY DEAR LORD,

‘ I arrived here but this day, having stopped yesterday

6

yesterday to rest myself. I have only to say that your lordship's orders, as contained in your different dispatches, shall be executed without delay. The 17th shall march the day after to-morrow, for Montego Bay. I am sorry to learn what has happened; but I hope it has been mistated to your lordship, as I know not of any maroon, except Smith's family, that have passed that way; and as I was here for some days after, without hearing any complaint in my correspondence with colonel Bell, but the contrary, I shall trust that the representation is not what your lordship apprehends to be the case. I have been obliged to bring my own letter from St. Elizabeth, there being no conveyance from thence to town direct, except on posts-days.

' I have the honour to be your lordship's most faithful and obedient,
G. WALPOLE.'

' I understand that those maroons now out have said, that they do not ever mean to do any mischief; this we shall see.'

No. 14.

' SIR, *King's house, 4th March, 1796.*

' Every person here is alarmed in the highest degree, as they understand that some of the maroon prisoners, under your charge, have been seen near Falmouth, even without a guard.

' I must entreat that you do give immediately the strictest orders, as to the thoroughly guarding these prisoners; and I trust you will consider the
weight

weight of responsibility that unquestionably lies upon yourself alone; *that such guards and centinels be placed as to prevent the possibility of any of them effecting their escape.*

‘ Yours,
‘ Major-general Palmer.’

BALCARRES.’

No. 15.

‘ MY DEAR LORD, *March 5th, 1796.*

‘ The inclosed I send with all speed to your lordship; and give you joy of having again the opportunity of finally and effectually terminating the rebellion.

‘ The letter is written in so much hurry as not to admit of giving any detail; but the affair I believe to be this: That the maroons, finding that we could get at them, sent forward Shawe, whilst the others were conveying, as well as they could, their families from the dogs. Nothing but the exhausted state of both the detachment and dogs would have *prevailed*, I am confident, on either the Spaniards or the 13th, to have continued the pursuit; but I fear there was no conquering the want of water; for nearly three days, I was a witness to it; and my reasons, under those circumstances, for permitting the detachment to go forward, your lordship is already in possession of.

I shall grant lives only. I have been too scandalously traduced already, to exert my judgment for the public good, notwithstanding your lordship’s
ratification

ratification of the terms heretofore granted. I shall endeavour to keep the matter afloat till I may be honoured with your lordship's commands; for I cannot but apprehend that they may make some effort to get to windward, desperate as it may appear, should they be dealt with too rigidly in their conceptions.

‘ I hope that the country will not lose the opportunity.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship's most faithful and obedient,
G. WALPOLE.’

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ In your letter of the 5th instant, you write me that you have been too scandalously traduced already, to exert your judgment for the public good, notwithstanding my ratification of the terms heretofore granted.

‘ This I do know, that all public men every where will be traduced by restless and violent characters; but my ratifying the treaty which you signed sufficiently marks the support which I gave to that measure; and the respectable council that advised me to ratify it, bears you out as well as myself. The same council expressed themselves in clear terms, as to the assurance you gave the maroons, that they should not be sent off the island; and it stands on the minutes taken at that council, That, provided the maroons performed the 1st and 3d articles of the treaty, that the secret articles should be complied with.

‘ Every

‘ Every man, however, will form his own opinion as to those two points: First, Whether or not the treaty is a wise one; Secondly, If it has been performed. It now lies before the assembly, as well as our correspondence upon it, from the period of colonel Hull’s action to the moment of the maroons coming in, inclusive, and also my letter dated 2d of February.

‘ In regard to the third article of the treaty, it stands upon a matter of fact, to establish, whether the runaways were surrendered, agreeable to that article or not.

‘ As to the first and second articles, my mind is made up upon the subject; and my opinion is, that if force had not been sent out against them, in conformity to my orders of the 14th of January, issued in consequence of my receiving your letter of that date, they would not have come in at all.

‘ But from the high situation which you have filled, from the intercourse and conversations you have had with these maroons, and, above all, that these unhappy people may have every circumstance adduced to the assembly that can operate in their favour, it may be fair and right in you to give an opinion, if you are so inclined, how far, in your conception, these people have complied with the articles of that treaty.

‘ I am perfectly aware, and shall hold in my recollection, the favourable opinion you have of the Smiths and Johnstone; and I shall represent it to the assembly at a proper time. Whatever opinions

we

we may hold respecting the treaty, we are united in the sentiment of bringing the business before the public in the fullest and fairest manner; and if the state of the war can permit of your absence, I could wish you here, that we might do it in conjunction.

‘ I wish to make a remark upon the first part of your letter of the 5th, which runs in these words: “ I give you joy of having again the opportunity of finally and effectually terminating the rebellion.”

‘ This, I presume, alludes to the circumstance of your wishing to keep the maroon prisoners at the Maroon Town, instead of sending them to the coast. I really cannot state this to have been a difference of opinion between yourself and me; and I am free to confess that their remaining in that situation might have been an inducement for those still out to have come in. But I thought it was playing too deep a game; and if the maroons had given us the slip, I should have had a dreadful reckoning to account for to the king, this country, and my own tranquillity of mind.

‘ I am, &c. &c.

BALCARRES.’

‘ March 9th, 1796.

‘ Honourable major-general Walpole.’

No. 16.

‘ MY DEAR LORD,

March 11th, 1796.

‘ I have this moment yours of (I think it is) the 9th of March.

G

‘ I send

‘ I send you a private letter; make what use of it you please. I have no objection to its being shewn and canvassed; indeed, I fear that you have been in some points deceived. The maroons would make out a stronger case, from what passes by my ear very often, than is imagined. Many of them say, that the rebellion of—60 would not have been quelled but for them; there are some of them here who were wounded in that event: Indeed, my dear lord, had there been such a body at St. Domingo, the brigands never would have risen. This may look like being an advocate; but it is my honest opinion. If Palmer and Parkinson should refuse the terms, which I think they will, you never will conquer them. I shall offer the terms, and there leave the matter.

‘ I will not, nor shall any thing induce me, avail myself of that reliance which I see they have in me, until I am certain that no deceit is intended. I will not be accessory to so foul a crime.

‘ Could not a company of rangers be formed from them, agreeable to the hints which I once laid before you, and the rest dispersed about as free citizens, like the people of colour.

‘ Johnstone set out this morning, with D. Shaw, T. Harding, and Bucknor. I do not expect them back till the 19th.

‘ Content yourself, my lord, with this reflection: That the island, by firmness and humanity together, has been saved, without *a single cane destroyed*; and

at

at a time when the *slaves were set agog by Mr. Wilberforce.*

‘ I have the honour to be, in haste, your lordship’s most faithful and obedient,

‘ G. WALPOLE.’

‘ One word as to the freedom allowed the maroons; Montego-Bay barrack is not secure; it is best therefore not to seem to mistrust them.’

[*Private.*] March 11th, 1796.

‘ MY DEAR LORD,

‘ I must trouble your lordship with a few words in privacy and confidence.

‘ For some days past, I have been in a state of considerable uneasiness at a report, which seems to gain ground, that the legislature mean to infringe the capitulation accepted by me and ratified by your lordship.

‘ My lord, to be plain with you, it was through my means alone that the maroons were induced to surrender, from a reliance which they had in my word, from a conviction impressed upon them by me that the white people would never break their faith.

‘ All these things strongly call upon me, as the instrumental agent in this business, to see a due observance of the terms, or, in case of violation, to resign my command; and if that should not be accepted, to declare the facts to the world, and to leave them to judge how far I ought or ought not to be implicated in the guilt and infamy of such a proceeding. So much the more strong is this call upon

me, as there was no occasion to ratify the terms; for your lordship will well recollect, that I told you at Castle-Wemyss, that the time appointed by me for fulfilling them was expired, and the terms therefore null and void; but your lordship then thought, that there was so much of advantage to the country in those terms, that it would be best not to give them up.

‘ As the great object of the war is now declared to be accomplished, I shall shortly solicit your lordship for permission to return to England, with an intention to retire from the service.

‘ I am your lordship’s most faithful and obedient,
G. WALPOLE.’

‘ *Earl Balcarres, &c. &c. &c.*’

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I am honoured by both your letters of March 11th. If I had not looked upon the treaty signed by you as advantageous to the country, under the existing circumstances, I never would have ratified it: But the country has a right to every advantage which that treaty affords it; and I am decidedly of opinion, that if the terms of the treaty have been complied with by the maroons, that the country is bound in honour not to send them off the island. So far I go with you, and so far I will support you; but, I shall certainly leave it with the legislature to decide, whether that treaty has been observed, or not: Indeed, they will decide that for themselves, as a matter of right inherent in them.

‘ All I can say is, that I have not the smallest light upon what their decision will be ; but I assure you, those strong sentiments which you have expressed relative to those maroons shall fairly be canvassed. I do not enter into what the country in its wisdom ought to do. I feel we have done our duty as soldiers: The executive power, in my person, has amply supported you, by ratifying the treaty which you acceded to.

‘ But, in a political consideration of this subject, the country will not be guided either by your politics or mine. There is a word in your last letters, namely, *capitulation*, is used instead of *treaty*: It has always hitherto been mentioned as a treaty; perhaps it may be a distinction without a difference. Be it what it may, I look upon my responsibility to the public as *equally* committed; for surely, if there is any thing upon earth in which a legislature has a right to exercise its judgment, *it is internal rebellion*. Under the whole circumstances of the case, you have done extremely right in withholding any offer to the rebel maroons still out, excepting *lives, and their being placed exactly in the same situation, and to share the fate, whatever it may be, of the maroon prisoners now in our possession*. I cannot offer them more, until the sentiments of the legislature respecting those now in should be communicated to me.

‘ In respect to your going home, I shall be extremely happy in doing whatever may be agreeable to yourself in this point: But I regret your deter-

mination of quitting the service, in which you are so well advanced.

‘ I have the honour to remain, very sincerely,
yours,

BALCARRES.’

‘ *King’s house, 16 March, 1796.*

‘ *Hon. major-general Walpole.*’

No. 17.

‘ MY LORD,

March 13th, 1796.

‘ I have this moment the honour of your lordship’s dispatches of the 10th, one number 2, the other not of any number, but inclosing a message from the assembly.

‘ I apprehend a variety of opinion may arise upon the third article: A vast number, I believe, of runaways are out; but Johnstone and Smith have frequently assured me, that, the maroons once in, no difficulty would arise as to the others. I understand that David Shaw has mentioned, that, as a preparatory step towards securing the runaways, they have taken the fire-arms from them. By the way, the second article implies the whole of the secret article.

‘ Your lordship has, I well know, been of opinion, that the force sent out on the 14th induced the maroons to come in. I think not; and my opinion is grounded on this fact, that I met the maroons, about half a mile from the advanced post, coming in with loads on their backs of clothes and children. They must therefore have moved more
than

than half way the day before ; and certainly no one knew of my motions here. A maroon of the name of Heath turned on hearing the dogs, and went to Palmer and Parkinson, and told them that a *trap was laid*, and the dogs sent round in a different direction. Johnstone came up to me, some time after in the day, and informed, that this had been just told him ; adding, that if I had left him to his own direction, he would have remained till he had seen every one of them out, but that he came before, having heard (which was true enough) that I had said, that if he came the rest would come too.

‘ The wisdom of the treaty cannot be much doubted, as treble the number of troops would not have brought in so many maroons in twelve months more. Your lordship will permit me to observe, that the opinions of the field-officers on the spot have never differed.

‘ It was not so much the sending the maroons from hence, as the time of doing it, that I withstood. I wished to have had the opportunity to have been taken when I might see it best. The last party I was very averse to sending away ; it consisted of 24 men, composed in a great measure of the families of Smith and Johnstone. Johnstone was desirous to stay, he said, with me ; and I had assured him of so much being done ; and I well knew what effect the sending him away under a guard would have, if perceived from the hills. I have to thank your lordship for your great attention

to me, and giving yourself so much trouble to explain your sentiments to me: I only aim at an honest discharge of my duty. I am anxious to keep my faith with those maroons now surrendered. Sure I am, that Jamaica has been saved by the terms of surrender, and that the not adhering to them may be productive, one day or other, of the loss of the colony.

‘ I have the honour to be, with all deference, your lordship’s most faithful and obedient,

‘ G. WALPOLE.

‘ If your lordship wishes for my attendance in Spanish-Town, I shall set out, if nothing material occurs, on the 19th or 20th.

‘ Should your lordship not find my attendance necessary, you will have the goodness to let me know of it.

No. 18.

‘ SIR, *St. Ann, March 14th, 1796.*

‘ A detachment of the 62d regiment, consisting of one captain, three serjeants, and forty-nine rank and file, arrived here at eight o’clock yesterday morning; and, in obedience to the governor’s orders which came to my hands (as the commanding officer at St. Ann) I delivered the maroon prisoners and runaways, at five o’clock yesterday afternoon, to captain Daly, who commanded the detachment, and took his receipt for them; a copy of which is at foot.

‘ I have dismissed the militia until further orders, agreeable to his lordship’s directions.

‘ I have

‘ I have the honour to be, fir, your obedient
servant, T. JENKINS, *lt. col. St. Ann's reg.*’

“ Received, March 13th, 1796, as prisoners in
the St. Ann's barrack, from lieut. col. Jenkins,
one hundred and sixty maroons (in which are in-
cluded the runaways), all in good health, excepting
two persons named Sukey and Lawfon.

(Signed) “ HYATH. RD. DALY, *capt. 62d.*
* *Col. Rose, Southfield.*’

No. 19.

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ The Iris must take on board the maroon men at Falmouth, say	- - -	20
62d regt. troops to guard them	- - -	9
The Iris must then drop down to Montego- Bay, and take on board the maroon men, about	- - - - -	51
Boys, ditto	- - - - -	54
62d regt. the troops about	- - -	75
		<hr/>
	Total	209

Exclusive of the officers, &c.

The Thomas must go to St. Ann's, and take on board maroon men, about	- - -	16
Maroon boys, ditto	- - -	12
Runaways, ditto	- - -	46
Boys, ditto	- - -	16
Troops, 62d regt. ditto	- - -	54
		<hr/>

144

‘ The

‘ The other vessels are the Mercury, the Barbara, and the Conquest; which three vessels will take all the women and children. It may be in your power perhaps to make one of these three vessels work up to St. Ann’s, if she can work to windward better than the Thomas, and there receive the troops and maroons, which she can deliver on board the Thomas at sea.

‘ It is not easy to give orders sufficiently positive and precise to reach the different circumstances attending this embarkation; and the more so, as the three privateer vessels, or some of them, may be cruising; but Mr. Gillies will give you every information. The vessels allotted for this service are, the Mercury, Conquest, Barbara, Iris, and Thomas, in which all the maroons, the runaways, and 62d regiment, are to be embarked, and to proceed to Port-Royal. Should you not have it in your power to send all, by reason of the cruisers not being got at, you will send all the males in preference to the females, and the cruisers will take the women whenever there is an opportunity of giving them orders to receive these women on board.

‘ These vessels must be victualled proper for the service they are going upon. The whole ought to collect, and sail together.

‘ You are now in possession of the outlines of my sentiments; and, that you may perform this very essential service to your country, I must entreat that you will be so good as to accept of being
sole

sole commissioner for the embarkation and sailing of those people.

‘ I send you a commission accordingly ; and believe me to be, &c. &c. &c.

‘ BALCARRES.’

‘ *King's house, March 16th, 1796.*

‘ Perhaps you had as well let the Iris go down before you declare your powers, or our intentions.

‘ *James Galloway, esquire, Falmouth.*

‘ *By his honour the right honourable ALEXANDER earl of BALCARRES, lieutenant-governor and commander in chief of his majesty's island of Jamaica, &c. &c. &c.*

‘ Whereas I have thought fit to appoint James Galloway, esquire, to be the sole commissioner for the purpose of embarking all the maroons and 62d regiment on board the vessels Iris, Thomas, Mercury, Conquest, and Barbara ;

‘ I hereby require and order all officers having the charge of these maroons to cause them to be embarked, at the requisition of the said commissioner James Galloway, esquire.

‘ I direct the different detachments of the 62d regiment, now doing duty over the maroons, to embark according to the allotment of the said commissioner to each vessel, and on the day which he shall name ;

‘ That

‘ That the several detachments of the 62d regiment are responsible for the safe delivery of those maroons to captain Dobbin, of Fort-Augusta.

‘ That all the commissioners for the several parishes are required to be aiding and assisting for the due victualling, &c. of the vessels; and I hereby authorize the said commissioner James Galloway, esquire, to give what orders he thinks best suited to the nature of the service, to the five captains of the five above-mentioned vessels, and especially that he may name one of them to command the whole; who will report on his arrival at Port-Royal, both to the officer commanding the royal navy and also to captain Bingham of his majesty’s ship Jamaica.

‘ I do hereby appoint the said James Galloway, esquire, to be the sole commissioner for the above purposes.

‘ Given under my hand and seal at arms, at St. Jago de la Vega, the 16th day of March, Annoque Domini, 1796. BALCARRES.’

No. 20.

MY LORD,

March 17th, 1796.

‘ Four maroons, dispatched by Johnstone, arrived yesterday, with a message to inform me, that he was on his way to me with the *whole remaining body* of the maroons, and, if I am not misinformed, of the runaways also. Whether this is to surrender, or whether it is meant *first* to be a conference, I cannot ascertain till they arrive.

‘ Your lordship will no doubt view the conduct of Johnstone, in this latter business particularly, in a very meritorious light. The names of those who accompanied

accompanied him and assisted on the expedition are as *per margin*.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithful servant,

‘ *T. Harding,*

G. WALPOLE.’

‘ *Bucknor,*

‘ *D. Shaw.*’

No. 21.

‘ MY DEAR LORD, *March 21st, 1796.*

‘ I cannot be with you so soon as I could wish. The maroons now in the woods are thirteen in number: I have expected them yesterday and this day. It seems that these were out hunting wild hogs; and Johnstone, eager to bring out as many as he could, would not wait, but left some of the women to tell *these*, at their return, what had happened.

‘ Parkinson says, that I may rely on their surrender; and so sure is he of it, that he left his wife and children behind him. He desired to send in two of his party, but did not wish to go himself. As soon as the whole arrive, I shall send them down to Montego-Bay under the non-commissioned officer of the 16th, and ten men of the 17th dragoons, whom I was obliged to detain here. The 11th may as well remain at Montego-Bay till their embarkation for Europe.

‘ The maroons I perceive coming in at this instant. The fire-arms brought in by *Parkinson’s party* are *forty-four*. The number of *maroons*, *thirty-six bearing arms*.

‘ Mr.

‘ Mr. Gallimore’s fusee I shall return to his friends, at their request.

‘ I hope to leave this place on Thursday for Spanish-Town.

‘ I thank your lordship for acceding to my wishes respecting my going home; and shall prepare to go by the next fleet: As to my remaining in the army, the candidates who stand before me are too numerous to allow me any very sanguine hopes of preferment.

‘ I have not spoken to Skinner on the matter; but if he went home with your lordship’s dispatches, it might perhaps secure his local rank to him in Europe; but that may be done otherwise: Although he has not been actually engaged, he has been of the most material service. I see very clearly, that when it comes to hard work, he is an officer to be depended upon.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithful and obedient,

‘ G. WALPOLE.’

‘ I could wish your lordship would obtain permission for Charles Samuels, a maroon, brother to Smith, to remain with me.

‘ Bowen Harding cannot be removed, on account of his wound; and I shall allow his brother to remain here with him.

G. W.’

No. 22.

No. 22.

‘ MY LORD, *Falmouth, 22d March, 1796.*

‘ I had the honour of your lordship’s letter of 16th instant, with the commission and instructions relative to the maroons.

‘ I take the liberty of assuring your lordship, that no exertion shall be wanting on my part, to complete that service according to your lordship’s wish.

‘ Mr. Quarrell is just arrived here from the Old Maroon Town, and says the whole of the maroons and runaways are come in: This is fortunate; it will enable the whole to be sent round together.

‘ The Iris and Thomas were seen this morning off Montego Bay, and may be expected here tomorrow.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s very faithful and obedient servant,

JAMES GALLOWAY.’

No. 23.

‘ MY DEAR LORD, *March 22d, 1796.*

‘ I have this moment received your letters No. 1, 2, and 3.

‘ As affairs are now so much altered, I think that I may as well go to Spanish Town: Indeed, should I defer it, and the journey hereafter be necessary, I may then be without a conveyance, for my own horses are starved.

‘ My wish to retire was, in a great degree, connected with a presage which I had of future circumstances

stances with regard to the maroons; perhaps those may now be altered. I was fearful lest it should seem that I had drawn the maroons into a treaty which I knew was hereafter to be broken; my resignation was meant to declare my entire ignorance of such an intention; private reasons might also operate in some degree, but they would not have prevailed alone.

‘ I remain your lordship’s most faithful and obedient,

G. WALPOLE.’

No. 24.

‘ MY LORD, *Falmouth, 23d March, 1796.*

‘ I have just received information from Mr. Gillies, that brig Conquest has not been heard of for these ten days; that the Mercury is in Montego Bay, short of hands; the Iris and Thomas have not yet made their appearance. From the additional number of maroons and runaways come in, there will be much deficiency in the shipping to carry them round. I therefore take the liberty of submitting to your lordship’s consideration the moving of those at St. Ann’s by land, unless some other vessel could be had for them.

‘ I have the honour to be your lordship’s most faithful and obedient servant,

JAMES GALLOWAY.’

THURSDAY, 24th March, 1796.

Ordered, That the following message be sent to the council:

“ May

“ May it please your honours,

“ We are ordered by the house to acquaint you, that there being matters on business of the utmost importance to this island before the house, they desire you will appoint a special secret committee of your board, to join a special secret committee of the house in a free conference on such matters; and, if your honours agree thereto, you will be pleased to appoint your number, time, and place.”

Ordered, That Mr. Redwood and Mr. Wedderburn be a committee to carry the above message to the council; who returning, reported the delivery thereof.

A message from the council, by their clerk, as follows :

“ Mr. Speaker,

“ I am commanded by the council to acquaint the house, in answer to their message of this day, that they agree to the free conference therein proposed, and have appointed three of their board to be a special secret committee, to join a special secret committee of the house for that purpose, on Wednesday next, at twelve o’clock, in the council-chamber.”

Ordered, That Mr. Murray, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Redwood, Mr. Cuthbert, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Shirley, Mr. Edwards, and Mr. M’Lean, be a committee to manage the said free conference.

Ordered, That the clerk of this house do attend at the said free conference, with all such papers and documents as may be necessary.

H

Ordered,

Ordered, That the committee appointed to meet a committee of the council, in a free conference, do lay before the house all such evidence or information on which they may ground their report, that has not yet been laid before the house.

WEDNESDAY, 20th April, 1796.

Mr. Murray, from the special secret committee appointed to join a special secret committee of the council, in a free conference on matters of business of the utmost importance to the island, reported,

That both committees accordingly met; and his honour the lieutenant-governor's message of the 2d day of March last, and the papers therewith sent, and his honour's message of the 23d March last, and the papers therewith sent, also a petition of fundry persons known under the denomination of maroons, presented to the house on the 30th day of November last, and also his honour's message of the 3d day of December last, and the petition of the Trelawny maroons then in Kingston barracks, therewith sent, were severally read; and also an extract of a letter from his grace the duke of Portland to his honour the lieutenant-governor, to the said report respectively annexed, having been laid before the joint committee by his honour, the same were also severally read: And that the joint committee having proposed certain questions in writing to his honour the lieutenant-governor, which questions and his honour's answers thereto are to the said report annexed,

annexed, the joint committee thereupon came to the following resolutions :

1st. That it is the opinion of the joint committee, that all runaway slaves, who joined the Trelawny maroons in rebellion, ought to be dealt with according to law.

2^d. That it is the opinion of the joint committee, that all persons of free condition, who joined the rebels, ought to be dealt with according to law.

3^d. That it is the opinion of the joint committee, that the thirty-one maroons who surrendered at Vaughansfield, under the proclamation of the 8th of August, together with the six deputies taken up at St. Ann's, having come in before any actual *hostilities* commenced, should be sent off the island, and some settlement provided for them in another country.

4th. That it is the opinion of the joint committee, that Smith, Dunbar, and Williams, with their wives and children, and the two boys who came in on the 1st of January, are entitled to the benefit of the treaty.

5th. That it is the opinion of the joint committee, that all the maroons who are confined in Kingston, Falmouth, and elsewhere, that have petitioned the honourable house of assembly to be permitted to take the benefit of an act, passed in the year 1791, intituled "An Act to repeal ' An act for the

better order and government of the negroes belonging to the several negro-towns, and for preventing them from purchasing of slaves; and for encouraging the said negroes to go in pursuit of runaway slaves; and for other purposes therein mentioned; and for giving the maroon negroes further protection and security; for altering the mode of trial; and for other purposes," not having been at any time in rebellion, be allowed to do so, according to the prayer of their petition.

6th. That it is the opinion of the joint committee, that the maroons who petitioned his honour the lieutenant-governor, on the 3d of November last (the thirty-one maroons who surrendered at Vaughansfield excepted) being also guiltless of any act of rebellion, be likewise admitted to take the benefit of the said act.

7th. That it is the opinion of the joint committee, that all the maroons who surrendered after the first of January, and until the 10th day of March last (within which period Johnstone and his party came in), not having complied with the terms of the treaty, are not entitled to the benefit thereof, and ought to be shipped off the island; but the joint committee are of opinion, that they ought to be sent to a country in which they will be free, and such as may be best calculated, by situation, to secure the island against the danger of their return; that they ought to be provided with suitable clothing and necessaries for the voyage, and maintained at the public
 expence

expence of this island for a reasonable time after their arrival at the place of their destination.

8th. That it is the opinion of the joint committee, that Parkinson and Palmer, and all the maroons who came in with them, are entitled to their lives only, but ought to be sent off the island; and as their conduct was marked with aggravated guilt, they ought, in the manner of their being sent off the island, to be dealt with more rigorously than those in the class mentioned in the preceding resolution.

9th. That it is the opinion of the joint committee, that as there may be among the rebels a few who, by their repentance, services, and good behaviour since their surrender, may have merited protection and favour, that it be recommended to his honour the lieutenant-governor to permit such to remain in the island, together with their wives and children; and to distinguish them by any other marks of favour, as his honour in his discretion may think proper.

10th. That it is the opinion of the joint committee, that the lieutenant-governor, in complying with the matters mentioned and recommended in the preceding resolutions, should be fully indemnified at the public expence.

Extract of a letter from his grace the duke of Portland to his honour the lieutenant-governor, referred to in the annexed report, dated Whitehall, 8th January, 1796.

‘ From the cordiality and zeal with which the militia and the inhabitants in general co-operate

with your lordship, I have no doubt of your being able to take such measures against the maroons as will most speedily and effectually tend to their reduction.

‘ The very defence which, from their local situation and other causes, they have been able to make against a very superior force, renders it essential that the island, in any terms which may be granted them, should be secured against the possibility of a similar insurrection.

‘ This will, I conceive, be best effected, first, by not restoring to them their district; and, secondly, by placing them in such a situation within the island (if it cannot be done out of it, which would be preferable) as will, from its nature, incapacitate them from contriving further mischief.’

Questions proposed to his honour the lieutenant-governor, and his honour's answers thereto, referred to in the annexed report.

Q. ‘ Whether general Walpole, upon the surrender of Palmer and Parkinson, and other maroons in their party, had promised any thing more than safety of their lives?’

A. ‘ Lives only.’

Q. ‘ Upon what terms were Harvey and Williams, the two brown men, received, and did they surrender in the character of maroons?’

A. ‘ They surrendered as maroons, without any special conditions, and after January 1st.’

Q. ‘ Were the runaways surrendered by the maroons, and were they received upon any express terms?’

A. ‘ No

A. ' No runaways have been surrendered by the maroons; they came in in the character of maroons.'

Resolved, That the consideration of the above report be postponed until Saturday next.

SATURDAY, 23^d April, 1796.

Resolved, That the consideration of the report from the special secret committee appointed to join a special secret committee of the council, in a free conference on matters of business of the utmost importance to this island, be further postponed until Wednesday next.

TUESDAY, 26th April, 1796.

A message from the council, by their clerk, as follows:

" *Mr. Speaker,*

" I am commanded by the council to acquaint the house, that they have agreed to the report made by the chairman of their special secret committee appointed to meet a special secret committee of the house, on matters of business of the utmost importance to this island."

Ordered, That the above message do lie on the table, to be perused by the members.

WEDNESDAY, 27th April, 1796.

The order of the day for the taking into consideration the report from the special secret committee ap-

pointed to join a special secret committee of the council, in a free conference on matters of business of the utmost importance to this island, being read;

And the said report being again read;

And a motion being made, that the house do agree thereto;

The house divided:

The noes went forth:

Ayes, 21: Mr. Redwood, Mr. Bryan, Mr. Halsted, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Foulks, Mr. Cockburn, Mr. Ross, Mr. Chief-Justice, Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Cuthbert, Mr. M'Lean, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. White, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Murray, Mr. Christie, Mr. P. Fuller, Mr. Shirley, and Mr. Edwards:

Noes, 13:—Mr. Quarrell, Mr. G. Fuller, Mr. Hodges, Mr. Galbraith, Mr. Fitch, Mr. Mathison, Mr. Woolfrys, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Grant, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Osborn, Mr. Henckell, and Mr. Deans:

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

A motion being made, that the proceedings of the house this day, relative to the report from the special secret committee appointed to join a special secret committee of the council, in a free conference on matters of business of the utmost importance to this island, be published in the Royal Gazette, St. Jago Gazette, and Cornwall Chronicle, for one month;

A debate thereon arising, and the question being put, it passed in the negative.

A motion

A motion being made, that a message be sent to the council, to acquaint their honours, that the house had agreed to the report made by the chairman of the special secret committee appointed to join a special secret committee of the council, in a free conference on matters of business of the utmost importance to this island;

A debate thereon arising, and the question being put, it was resolved in the affirmative.

Ordered, That the following message be sent to the council:

“ May it please your honours,

“ We are ordered by the house to acquaint you, that they have agreed to the report made by the chairman of their special secret committee appointed to join a special secret committee of your board, in a free conference on matters of business of the utmost importance to this island.”

Ordered, That Mr. Murray and Mr. Wedderburn be a committee to carry the above message to the council; who returning, reported the delivery thereof.

THURSDAY, 28th April, 1796.

Resolved, That a clause be inserted in the poll-tax bill for paying to the order of the commissioners appointed by law for stating and settling the public accounts, a sum or sums not exceeding 25,000*l.* in order to carry into effect the resolutions of the joint committees of the council and
the

the assembly, agreed to by the house on the 27th instant.

Resolved, That a message be sent to his honour the lieutenant-governor, with a copy of the above resolution.

FRIDAY, 29th April, 1796.

Ordered, That the following message be sent to his honour the lieutenant-governor :

“ May it please your honour,

“ We are ordered by the house to wait on your honour, and to lay before you a copy of a resolution of the house of yesterday.”

Ordered, That Mr. Grant and Mr. Campbell be a committee to wait on his honour with the above message; who returning, reported the delivery thereof.

Resolved, That the following message be sent to his honour the lieutenant-governor :

“ May it please your honour,

“ We are ordered by the house to lay before your honour their resolutions respecting matters of the utmost importance to this island.”

Ordered, That the following message be sent to the council:

“ May it please your honours,

“ The house having agreed on a message to his honour the lieutenant-governor, we are ordered to

lay the same before your honours, and to desire your concurrence."

Ordered, That Mr. Murray and Mr. Wedderburn be a committee to carry the above message, and also the message to his honour the lieutenant-governor, to the council; who returning, reported the delivery thereof.

A message from the council, by their clerk, as follows:

" Mr. Speaker,

" I am commanded by the council to acquaint the house, that they have agreed to the message to his honour the lieutenant-governor, sent them this day by the house for their concurrence; and that they desire the house will be pleased to fill it up accordingly."

Ordered, That Mr. Murray, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Chief-Justice, Mr. Cuthbert, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Shirley, Mr. M'Lean, Mr. Vaughan, and Mr. Redwood, be a committee to join a committee of the council, to wait on his honour the lieutenant-governor with the message agreed to this day.

Ordered, That the following message be sent to the council:

" May it please your honours,

" We are ordered by the house to acquaint you, that they have filled up the blanks with the words " council and," " of assembly," and " joint," in the message to his honour the lieutenant-governor, agreeable

able to your honour's message of this day, and have appointed a committee to join a committee of your board, to wait on his honour the lieutenant-governor with the same."

Ordered, That Mr. M'Lean and Mr. Foulks be a committee to carry the above message to the council; who returning, reported the delivery thereof.

A message from the council, by their clerk, as follows:

" Mr. Speaker,

" I am commanded by the council to acquaint the house, that agreeable to their message of this day, they have appointed a committee of three of their board to join a committee of the house, to wait on his honour the lieutenant-governor with the joint message immediately."

Then the committee went up; and being returned, Mr. Murray, from the committee, reported, that the joint committee had waited on his honour the lieutenant-governor with the joint message accordingly,

SUNDAY, 1st May, 1796.

Ordered, That the following message be sent to his honour the lieutenant-governor:

" May it please your honour,

" We are ordered by the house to wait on your honour; and to request that you will be pleased to
give

give orders for the dismissal of the chasseurs and the dogs, the rebellion being now at an end. We cannot but take this opportunity of expressing our acknowledgments of the eminent advantages derived by the importation of the chasseurs and dogs, in-compliance with the general wishes of the island: Nothing can be clearer, than that if they had been off the island, the rebels could not have been induced to surrender, from their almost inaccessible fastnesses. We are happy to have it in our power to say, that terror excited by the appearance of the dogs has been sufficient to produce so fortunate an event; and we cannot but highly approve that attention to humanity so strongly proved by their being ordered in the rear of the army.

Ordered, That Mr. Osborn and Mr. Cuthbert be a committee to wait on his honour with the above message; who returning, reported the delivery thereof.

(True extracts.)

JAMES LEWIS,

Clerk to the Assembly.

F I N I S.



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