

HISTORICAL SKETCHES

By

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Vol. I.

**HISTORICAL SKETCHES
OF
TRINIDAD & TOBAGO**

COLLECTED & ARRANGED BY

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PREFACE

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K. S. W.

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ARTICLE I

THE LAND OF THE HUMMING BIRD



One can live long in Trinidad without being told that Iere was the aboriginal Indian name for the Island; so much so that this name has become part of the traditional history of Trinidad and has been adopted as a place name. There is an Iere Village, an Iere Government School, an Iere Central High School and so forth.

In searching for the source of this word so recurrent in Trinidad, authority for its use is found in the History of Trinidad written by E. L. Joseph in 1837 and published as part of the 1840 guide to Trinidad. It has on page 47 the following statement: "I now come to the smallest but to me the most interesting of the feathered tribes called Humming Birds, because we have such a number of species, such endless varieties of this graceful and resplendent creature as to justify the aboriginal name of Trinidad viz: Iere, that is to say, the Land of the Humming Birds."

In a second book called "Warner Arundell. The

Adventures of a Creole" published in 1838, Joseph writes on page 267: "At the time of Columbus the Indians called it Iere, the Island of Humming Birds."

Though not actually stated, it would appear that Joseph regarded "The Land of the Humming Birds" as a translation of the Indian word Iere. Many people must have wondered how a short word of four letters could mean so much.

Although Joseph's charming and poetical derivation has been widely copied, there is good reason to doubt his use of this word Iere and his interpretation of its meaning. No earlier authority can be found for and this, and Joseph is the first author to use this word to give it this interpretation.

The Indian name for Humming Bird is Bimitti, an imitation of the rapid beating of its wings, the Topaz Columbi is called Kara Bimitti and the Ruby Columbi, Hona Bimitti.

Fortunately Joseph gives the clue to his source of information in the footnote to page 47 of his History which is as follows: "Sir Walter Raleigh wrote this word Chiere. I believe I write it nearer to the Indian pronunciation."

Sir Walter in his book "The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Emphyre of Guiana" published in 1596 wrote of Trinidad: "It hath diuers beasts which the Indies haue not: the Spaniards confessed that they found grains of gold in some of the riuers, but they hauing a purpose to enter Guiana (the Magazin of all rich mettels) cared not to spend

time in the search thereof any further. This island is called by the people thereof Cairi and in it are diuers nations" etc.

Similarly, in Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, Book 1, Chap. VIII, Sect. 15, he writes: "The same happened to the Spaniards in asking the name of the Island Trinidad, for a Spaniard demanding the name of that self same place which the sea encompassed, they answered Caeri, which signifieth an Island."

This word is also to be found in the accounts of the voyages of the great discoverer Christopher Columbus, a hundred years before Raleigh visited Trinidad. Columbus set out on his second voyage with a large expedition from Spain in September 1493, but no detailed report by his own hand is known. The best description of this second voyage is to be found in a letter addressed to the Chapter of Seville by Dr. Chanca, a native of that city who was physician to the fleet and was an eyewitness of the events he related.

Dr. Chanca writes: "La costumbre del desta gente de Caribes es bestial: son tres islas, esta se llama Turuquiera, la otra que primero vimos se llama Ceyre, la tercera se llama Ayay."

Later he writes: "el uno destes dice que en una isla dellas, llamada Cayre que es la primera que vimos, a la cual no llegamos, hay mucho oro."

This island of the Caribs—Ceyre or Cayre—which was their landfall in the New World and which was

said to contain gold, is identified with what is now known as Dominica.

The Aruac word for island is as Raleigh states Caeri or as spelt in modern notation Kairi, and there can be little doubt that the Indians in replying to Columbus at Dominica and again a hundred years later to Raleigh at Trinidad were using the Aruac word indicating that the place was an island and were not using a distinctive name.

When Raleigh visited Trinidad the Aruacs were the principal inhabitants of the Southern part, and the collection of Indian words made there by Sir Robert Dudley just before in the same year 1595, contains none but those of Aruac stock.

At the time that Columbus arrived, Dominica belonged to the Caribs, and the Carib word for island is Oubao. In conquering the West Indian Islands from the Aruacs, the Caribs had exterminated the men but kept the Aruac women as slaves of war. The Carib language was spoken by the men and Aruac by the women. The fleet had arrived when the men were few, most of them having gone on a raiding expedition, and Columbus received his information from captive women speaking the Aruac language and using therefore the word Kairi (Ceyre or Cayre).

In the Bahamas and in Florida, Cayo, Cay and Key are used to indicate islands, e.g., Rum Cay, Cay Verde, Great Guana Cay, The Florida Keys, Key West. These words are also considered derivatives

of the Aruac word Kairi.

The aboriginal Indians of the Bahamas were of the Aruac stock and the Aruacs like many other aboriginal peoples called themselves "The People," which in Aruac is Lukuni. The people of the Bahamas were thus Island People or Lukuni Kairi, shortened by the Spaniards to Lucayos, and were the unfortunate people taken by thousands to work the mines in Española, and almost exterminated. This name Lucayos still remains as the alternative name for the Bahamas Islands.

The word "Aruac" is not the name given by these people to themselves; it is a Carib word meaning "Meal Eaters," and used contemptuously by the Caribs much as the term vegetarian was used not so long ago.

There can be little doubt that the word Iere is a modern version of the Aruac Kairi, meaning island, and while Trinidad may aptly be called the Land of the Humming Bird, there seems to be no justification for regarding these words as a translation of Iere.*

* The authorities for this Article are: Select Letters of Christopher Columbus. Translated and Edited by R. H. Major. Hakluyt Society, 1870; The Voyage of Robert Dudley to the West Indies. Edited by George F. Warner. Hakluyt Society, 1892; The Indian Tribes in Guiana. By W. H. Brett. 1868.

ARTICLE II

CONQUERABIA



It has become part of the traditional history of Trinidad to aver that Conquerabia was the old aboriginal Indian name for what is now Port-of-Spain.

There are those who have doubted the origin and believed this name to have come from the Spanish perhaps led to this opinion by their knowledge of Fuenterrabia, the well known town in Spain.

From the documents and records now at the disposal of the Trinidad Historical Society, it is possible to trace with more certainty the origin and meaning of this name.

The authority for this use of Conquerabia is Sir Walter Raleigh who visited Trinidad in 1595 and on April 8th attacked and captured the only town, St. Joseph, taking prisoner the Governor, Antonio de Berrio and his Lieutenant, Alvaro Jorge. He afterwards went exploring up the River Orinoco as far as the falls of the Caroni.

He wrote a book describing his adventures which is called "The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana" and which was published in London in the year 1596.

It is in this book that Port of Spain for the first time is called Conquerabia ; to use his words : "From Curiapan after a few daies we turned up North-east to recover that place which the Spaniards cal Puerto de los Hispanioles and the inhabitants Conquerabia."

In this book Sir Walter Raleigh uses the word Conquerabia twice and Puerto de los Hispanioles, five times.

Sir Robert Dudley visited Trinidad a few weeks before Raleigh but published his book after that of Raleigh had appeared. In his "Voyage to the West Indies," Port-of-Spain is not mentioned but in the attached Rutier or sailing log written by Abram Kendall who was Dudley's sailing master, Port-of-Spain is mentioned once as Conquerabia.

Lawrence Keymis sent out by Raleigh in 1596, refers to Port-of-Spain as Conquerabia on two occasions.

From this period the word Conquerabia becomes established and is repeated and copied by others until at this present time it has become traditional in Trinidad that Conquerabia was the Indian name for Port-of Spain.

At the same time it should be noticed that the spelling of this word is not always the same even by
B

Sir Walter Raleigh himself.

In the "Discoverie of Guiana" the word appears as Conquerabia; in the sailing log of this voyage written up day by day by Raleigh, the word appears as Conquerabo or Port-of-Spayne; in the map of this area prepared by Raleigh himself or under his supervision in 1595, this word appears as Cumquerabia.

The Spaniards in their writings do not use the word Conquerabia: it is limited to English writers. The Spaniards usually write of the Port of the Island, the Port of Trinidad or of Puerto de España.

The earliest Spanish writer to mention this place is Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo in his authoritative book "Historia General y Natural de Indias" written in 1535. He spent 42 years collecting material, for 28 of which he was in the New World. Throughout this time he was constantly in touch with the great discoverers and conquistadors who had Royal Instructions to provide him with a true account of their doings.

On page 210 of Vol. II of the edition of this book published by the Royal Academy of History of Madrid in 1851-55, Oviedo described how Antonio Sedeño, the first Conquistador of Trinidad and a wealthy Royal Official of the Island of Porto Rico, landed in 1530 with 70 men full of hope and the expectation of reaping great advantages from the Conquest. He described how Antonio Sedeño settled in the south of the Island of Trinidad and visited the Northern province called "Camorocabo" where there were three

or four caciques and two large villages near the sea and many others in the neighbourhood.

On page 211 he repeats this name as "Camocorabo." Juan de Castellanos in his famous *Elegies* published in 1579 described Trinidad as divided into two provinces, that of the Camucuraos in the north and that of the Chocomares in the south. It was in the latter that Antonio Sedeño landed in 1530 and found a friendly reception until his expedition had consumed the supplies of the Indians. Finding that a permanent settlement was intended, the Indians united to defend their ancestral homes and the united attacks were led by the redoubtable Baucunar, the leader of the Camucuraos, and resulted finally in the withdrawal of the Spaniards and no further attempt to conquer the island was made for about 60 years.

In September, 1591, Antonio de Berrio had reached Trinidad at the end of his prolonged voyage from Bogota down the River Orinoco. He had remained there some three weeks exploring and then went on to Margarita.

Here he found Domingo de Vera who entering the service of Berrio had been sent to Caracas to get the assistance in men and money which was denied to him in Margarita.

These the Governor of Caracas, Don Diego de Osorio supplied with the result that Antonio de Berrio was able to order Domingo de Vera to go to Trinidad with 35 men to take possession and settle it as a base from which to discover El Dorado.

In May, 1592, Domingo de Vera set out and the notarial record describes how he arrived at the "Port" of the Island. At this port the formal proceedings took place. Domingo de Vera proclaimed the efforts of Antonio de Berrio to explore El Dorado and how necessary it was to take possession of the Island so as to bring the light of the Faith to the Indians; to obstruct the French and English corsairs who had been visiting, refitting and refreshing there for 14 years; to prevent the capture of the Indians for sale as slaves in Margarita and to prevent the attacks of Caribs from other West Indian Islands.

He proceeded to take possession; he erected a wooden cross 40 feet high, assisted by the Franciscan, Father Domingo de Santa Agueda; he swept his sword around cutting the grass and stated that he had taken this Island for the King and would defend it against any challenger armed or unarmed.

The notarial record then reports (translated from the Spanish): "After this, further to secure the Island Domingo de Vera at this port of Cumucurape in the Island of Trinidad had before him two caciques" etc. These caciques agreed to give obedience to the King, Don Philip, and to live in peace.

After this Domingo went up the River Caroni to the lands of Guanaguanare where he established St. Joseph with a Church, Government House, Cabildo and Prison and he installed the Alcaldes, Regidors and other necessary officers.

Cumacarapo is a well recognized Indian name and

is made up of two Carib words, "Cumaca"—the silk cotton tree and "abo"—the place of; Cumacarapo thus means "the place of the silk cotton trees." Probably these trees flourished there at that time and made this name appropriate and distinctive.

This name is known in modern times as Mucurapo, the word having in the course of time lost the first syllable.

The Spanish spelling of this Indian name for the Port of the Island is quite consonant with the modern name and follows closely the Carib form.

Sir Walter Raleigh is not so fortunate in his spelling since his version is Conquerabia, though he gets as far as Cumquerabia and Conquerabo which variations leave little doubt that Sir Walter Raleigh was trying to spell Cumacarabo as pronounced by the Indians.

Apparently, the Port of Island, Port of Spayne, Puerto de España, Conquerabia; Camucorabo, Cumcurape were all the same place—that which we now know as Mucurapo, and the present site of Port of Spain was at that time not occupied.

It is interesting to note that the remains of Indian settlements in the shape of pottery have been found in three separate places in the area to the west of the Maraval Dry River and south of the Western Main Road now known as Mucurapo. One of these sites yielded pottery of high grade quite equal in quality to that of Erin and Palo Seco.¹

¹ The Discovery of Guiana by Sir W. Raleigh. Reprinted and Edited by Sir

Robert H. Schomburgk. Hakluyt Society, 1848.

Historia General y Natural de las Indias by Gonzalo Perpandez de Oviedo y Valdez. Reprint by The Royal Academy of History, Madrid, 1852.

Additional MSS. 36316—British Museum.

ARTICLE III

PIRATES IN TOBAGO



PIRACY in the West Indies was, in the early days, of widespread significance—sometimes encouraged and supported by the authorities; sometimes opposed and suppressed. Indeed so widespread was it that no island in the West Indies could have been free from the visits of these marauders with the result that romance and imagination are apt to mislead the earnest searcher for established history.

It is well therefore to place on record the actual circumstances under which some notorious and dangerous pirates were found and captured at Tobago as recorded in existing documents.

The suppression of piracy in the West Indies began in 1671 after the conclusion of the Godolphin Treaty at Madrid between England and Spain for "restraining depredations and establishing peace in the New World" in which the latter country for the first time admitted the right of the English to hold territory in the Western World.

In 1718 Captain Woodes Rogers was appointed Governor of the Bahama Islands and his principal duty was to stamp out the West Indian pirates who had made the Bahamas their headquarters for many years. These desperadoes were in complete power in these islands and numbered more than two thousand including such famous men as Vane and Teach.

Captain Rogers was in a very difficult position as his only weapon, besides the man-of-war in which he arrived, was a royal proclamation from King George offering free pardon to all pirates and buccaneers who would abandon their evil ways and surrender at once to the new Governor. At first the pirates were inclined to resist his landing but in the end the tactful Rogers got his own way and not only landed but was received by an armed guard of honour and passed between two lines of pirates firing joyous salutes from their muskets.

Most of the pirates submitted and received their pardons. Good resolutions are notoriously difficult to maintain and some again resumed their piratical career. Those who were caught and brought back to New Providence were tried and actually hanged by Captain Rogers' late buccaneer subjects, so great had been his success as Governor.

One of these pirates Captain Thomas Anstis who was an associate of the famous or rather infamous Captain Bartholomew Roberts, refused this pardon and sailed from New Providence in 1718 in a sloop called the Buck with five other rascals to go "a

pyrating." They cruised about the West Indies seizing and plundering merchant ships, amongst others the brigantine "Good Fortune" which became Captain Anstis's ship.

In the course of their journeys these pirates forced others to join them and from their deeds they appear to have been an even rougher and more unprincipalled lot of scoundrels than usual. In 1721 they seized a stout ship, the "Morning Star" bound from Guinea to Carolina; they fitted her up with 32 cannon and a crew of 100 men and put Captain John Fenn, a one handed man, in command who till then had been the gunner with Captain Anstis in the "Good Fortune."

Trouble now began since quite a large number of the men had been forced against their will to go "a pyrating." These were getting anxious and wanted if possible to avoid the consequences so they sent a petition signed round-robin fashion to pray for the King's pardon. In August, 1722, these pirates learnt that no notice had been taken of their petition by the Government in England and with the disappearance of this last hope they saw no alternative but to return to their old ways and they sailed out again on the "grand account."

This same year by gross negligence the "Morning Star" ran aground and was wrecked on a reef at Grand Cayman Island to the west of Jamaica. Most of the crew managed to escape onto the island where fortunately Captain Anstis in the "Good Fortune" found them the next day. No sooner had he taken aboard

Captain Fenn, the carpenter and a few others than all of a sudden down upon them came two men-of-war, the "Hector" and the "Adventure" and Captain Anstis had barely time to cut his cable and get away to sea hotly pursued by H. M. S. "Adventure." The latter in a stiff breeze was slowly gaining on the brigantine when the wind suddenly dropped at which the pirates got out the sweeps, gradually drew away and for the time being escaped. In the meantime H. M. S. "Hector" took prisoner the forty pirates who had been left on Grand Cayman Island.

Captain Anstis continued his pirating career the while His Majesty's ships were searching for him. In April, 1723, he sailed to the Island of Tobago hoping to find a quiet and unfrequented bay in which to clean and refit his ship. Which of the many suitable bays he selected is unknown; it might have been Man-of-War Bay part of which is named Pirates Bay but in any case just when all the guns and stores had been landed and the ship "Good Fortune" had been put ashore and careened, as ill luck would have it, H. M. S. "Winchelsea" was sighted far out at sea. Now began the race for life between the pirates and the navy and with a great effort the former were just able to get their ship afloat and escape under cover of night before the latter could block the mouth of the bay. The pirates had however to abandon their guns and stores and also to leave Captain Anstis, Captain Fenn and nine others who fled to the shelter of the high woods.

As Captain Orme of the "Winchelsea" had lost the main prize he determined to search Tobago from end to end and at least secure those who had been left. Dragging themselves through the woods, living miserably on nuts and roots, afraid to remain in any one place and still more afraid to light a fire or shoot for game, they lost courage and blaming Captain Anstis for their desperate plight, killed him one night while asleep in a hammock.

Shortly afterwards (probably betrayed by the Indians) they were surprised in the woods and captured by the sailors. William Ingram, the gunner, was forthwith hanged on the spot in Tobago as "a very resolute and hardened fellow," while Captain Fenn and his eight companions were taken to Antigua.

In this island the prisoners were examined by the Governor, Daniel Hart, who reported that as there was no evidence available at Antigua to prove that these men were pirates, it was arranged that two of them who shortly before had been forced to join the pirates, should give evidence for the Crown with a promise of pardon.

On the 17th June at St. John's before fourteen commissioned judges these two witnesses produced an abundance of first-hand evidence as a result of which Captain Fenn and his six associates were unanimously convicted and sentenced to death.

Captain Fenn who was known to have sailed with Captain Bartholomew Roberts, had short shrift and was hanged in chains on Rat Island in the harbour of

St. John's, Antigua. Five of his fellow pirates were hanged at high water mark and the sixth was granted a reprieve on the grounds that he had been forced to join these pirates against his expressed wish.¹

¹ *The Pirates Who's Who* by Phillip Gosse 1924 Public Record Office, State Paper Colonial (152-14) 1723.

ARTICLE IV

ANCIENT PORT OF SPAIN AND ITS WESTERN ENVIRONS



hundred and fifty years ago when the well-known Governor of Trinidad Don José Maria Chacon arrived in 1783, Port of Spain was bounded on the north and west by the marshy and unhealthy surroundings of the Rio Tragarete (or Rio de Santa Ana) which ran a very tortuous course from Park Street through the area now occupied by Frederick and Chacon Streets.

So as to improve the health of the Town and to allow for necessary expansion, the Governor arranged in 1787 to divert this swampy area down a new channel for one and a half miles along the foot of the Laventille Hills. This extensive diversion employed about a thousand people and was done under the supervision of the Engineer Don Jose Del Pozo at a cost of three thousand six hundred dollars of which a thousand were advanced out of the private purse of the Governor himself.

The Town then consisted of seven streets in north to south direction and three in east to west direction.

The most easterly was the Calle del Infante, known by the French inhabitants as the Rue des Trois Chandelles and now called Duncan Street. The next was the Calle del Principe, Rue de l'Eglise now Nelson Street; then the Calle de San Josef, Rue de la Place now George Street; then the Calle de Santa Ana, Rue de Sainte Anne now Charlotte Street; then the Calle de Herrera or Calle Nueva, Rue de Herrera or Rue Neuve now Henry Street; then the Calle de San Carlos, Rue des Anglais now Frederick Street and last the Calle de Chacon which has the exceptional distinction of being known by no other name.

The cross streets began with the Plaza del Marina at the margin of the sea afterwards King Street and now Marine Square; then the Calle de San Luis now Queen Street; then the Calle de Santa Rosa now Prince Street and at a later period but before 1797 the Calle del Princessa de Asturias now Duke Street.

In those days the Ariapita Estate extended from the Laperouse Cemetery (even at that time the Campo Santo) right up to Chacon Street and was owned by Madame Francisca Guillerma Lambert de San Laurent (in the words of the Spanish Protocol.) This lady was the daughter of Sir John Lambert and Annie Holmes and had married the well-known Philippe Roume de St. Laurent at Paris on the 31st of August, 1775, and settled with him in Grenada and accompanied him subsequently to Trinidad.

In 1791 Don Andres Gonzalez y Davila, described as Capitán del Real Cuerpo de Ingenieros de Su Magestad Católica, bought the greater part of this estate from Madame de St. Laurent, and continued to maintain it as a sugar estate.

In the latter part of 1796 additional forts were built on Gasparee in anticipation of English attack and in February, 1797, a commission was issued to Estevan Noel and Domingo Dert to assess the damage done by such fortifications to the property of Luis Nicolas de Percin, Knight of the Order of St. Louis, previously Administrator of St. Vincent, who had come to Trinidad in 1783, and had then been granted lands in Gasparee. Four buildings and $3\frac{1}{2}$ quadrados of cotton cultivation were assessed at a value of 1,112 dollars.

On February 17th. 1797, when the English appeared in the Bay of Paria, Don Andres Gonzalez was stationed in these forts at Gasparee. With the destruction of the Spanish Fleet that night in the Bay of Chaguaramas, Gasparee was evacuated and Don Andres went overland to Port of Spain.

The Island of Trinidad was surrendered to the English the following day and Don Andres Gonzalez, unprepared to take the oath of allegiance, left the Island and went to Caracas. This property, the Ariapita Estate, was left with his Attorneys Don Valentin de Basanta and Don Juan Ventura Indave both well known residents. At this time it consisted of seventeen fanegas of land (about 130 acres) and is

described as bounded on the north by the Camino Real de Diego Martin (now Tragarete Road,) on the south by the Sea, on the east by Port of Spain and on the west by the Campo Santo and the Heirs of Laperouse.

It appears to have been a very valuable property and a well found sugar estate. It had a well with a pump made of copper, also a Romeria and Alambique capable of distilling 250 gallons. Furthermore it had a Hospital built of Poui wood which was leased to the Government about 1794 and was used for the Hospital for the Town until the Great Fire in 1808 burnt it down. It was situated on the north side of Queen Street between Frederick and Chacon Streets; lands which were then built over but which since the fire have become the site of the Anglican Cathedral. This building replaced the old hospital which the Spaniards had used on the west side of Nelson Street between Marine Square and Queen Street, and which is described in the Protocols of 1795 as the "antiguo hospital."

Presently the Ariapita Estate was laid out in streets and lots and included Abercromby, St. Vincent, Edward and Richmond Streets and later Hanover and Pembroke Streets, crossed by the prolongation of Queen and Duke Streets and Lower Prince Street.

The Protocols of 1797 refer to the "Plaza proyectada" and of 1798 to the "Plaza nuebamente proyectada" (later Brunswick Square, now Woodford

Square) showing that the authorities had a clear idea of the necessity of proper town planning and intended to secure proper amenities for the people.

For two years after the conquest there are frequent records of sales of lots in these streets and also on Brunswick Square.

In 1799 this Ariapita property, obviously very valuable, was sold by Don Andres Gonzalez at public auction and it fell to Messrs. Cayley Johnson and Charles Melville of Martinique for the sum of six thousand portugasas (about £20,000). From this time developments proceeded and lots were being sold on condition that houses were built within six months.

It would appear that the larger part of the estate was still maintained as a sugar property since in 1804 Charles Melville and Cayley Johnson had to pledge this Ariapita Estate as security for £7,550 advanced to them by Messrs. James Phyn, John Inglis and James Forsyth of Mark Lane, London. This estate then had 22 mules, 5 oxen and 3 cows.

Even as late as 1808 this building area was only partly occupied but it would appear that the destruction by the Great Fire gave an impetus to this development since the records of this year show that these lots were being bought at £100 each.¹

¹ The Spanish Protocols in the Government Registry, Port-of-Spain.

ARTICLE V

SAN FERNANDO



OME places are universally adopted as suitable for human habitation and the site of San Fernando must have been such a one as in successive periods the Aruacs, the Missionary Fathers, the Spaniards and other people have in turn settled there and found the slopes above the Mariquire Bay under the shelter of the Naparina Hill, a safe and beautiful abiding place.

It was one of the more important centres of the Aruac people in South Trinidad and the ridge above the Ciperu cutting and bordering the Paradise pasture on which the hospital and Government quarters now stand, is from end to end one large kitchen midden of aboriginal source.

This is not surprising as at an early period this place was evidently regarded as the principal port for that part of the Island and was used by the Aruacs as the western end of their main trackway across Trinidad to their villages on the eastern coast along

the Mayaro beach. It is now known as the Naparima-Mayaro road and in part is still called Indian Walk.

When Sir Robert Dudley visited Trinidad in 1595 and coasted along the Leeward side, he stayed at this important Aruac metropolis. Early in March of that year, he writes of having made "four long marches upon the yland and the last from one side of the yland to the other which was some 50 miles going and coming through a monstrous thicke wood (for so is most part of the yland) and lodging myself in Indian townes."

But a few weeks later Sir Walter Raleigh also visited that quarter and after leaving the point called Tierra de Brea or Piche "went to the mountaine foote called Aunaperima" now known as the Naparima Hill.

Annaparima is a word of Aruac stock, the prefix Anar or Abar meaning one. In this language the number five is abar dakabu (my one hand) and ten is biam dakabu (my two hands) and twenty is abar loko (one man or two hands and two feet). Parima is the Aruac word for hill, and hence Annaparima signifies one hill. Perhaps no more appropriate or descriptive name could have been given by the Indians to this place. In later years the first syllable was dropped and the name shortened to Naparima.

The second phase of settlement at San Fernando began with the civilising efforts of the missionary Fathers. In March 1688, the year in which William III landed in England and King James fled down the

Thames, Father Tomas de Barcelona, Prefect of the Capuchins, came to Trinidad and went to Naparima landing at the mouth of the Mariquire River now the site of San Fernando.

Thence in company with the Indians he travelled along their paths through the "monstrous thicke wood" visiting their villages and finally selected three sites for the Capuchin Missions. The first named the Purissima Concepcion de Naparima, was situated near the landing place (now San Fernando) with villages of eight Caciques on the hills opposite. The second was called the Annunciacion de Nazareth and was placed on the open savana to the east at Sabana Grande now known as the Mission or Princetown as it was later renamed; here the missionaries were near villages of nine Caciques. The third was named Santa Ana and was established at Sabaneta with the villages of two Caciques nearby.

It is also recorded that in 1689 a Father had settled in a place called "de los Cocos" well populated with Indians and situated on the east coast of the island; evidently a reconaissance along the old Indian Walk to Mayaro.

The actual site of the Mission at San Fernando is not recorded but it is reasonable to suggest that it was placed just to the north of the present St. Vincent Street, since an old dilapidated church building was known to be there long before the Spaniards founded San Fernando or made any land grants in that area. The Mission buildings then would have been

built on the hill slopes to the north of the Mariquire Valley with the landing place in the Bay to the west, with the Indians living on the hills to the south (now occupied by the Colonial Hospital) and with the Indian trackway across the Island through Sabana Grande passing eastwards up the valley between them (now High Street and the Naparima-Mayaro Road).

This is not the place to trace the varying fortunes of the Missions but in due course the third phase of settlement at San Fernando opened on the site of the abandoned Mission of the Purissima Concepcion in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The Cedula of Population had been promulgated in 1783 and people had come to Trinidad in increasing numbers to take up land and try their fortunes. The French arrivals in particular were attracted by the excellence of the soil in the Naparimas where they cleared the lands and developed valuable sugar estates.

This expansion in the south caused Don José Maria Chacon to establish in 1786 an administrative centre there and he decided to place this at the shipping port where started the trackways to the east side of the Island, to the south coast and Siparia (where a Mission had been settled since 1758) and to Oropouche; along all of which, estates had been developed.

The town was called San Fernando in honour of the Infante of Asturias (born 1784) afterwards King Ferdinand VII of Spain; and the Crown Grant reserving the necessary land to form that area was made in 1786 to Don Isidore Vialva. This reserved land

measured 1 fanega 2 suertes and 15 estadeles (about 10 acres) divided into 78 lots of 50 x 100 feet each and was bounded on the north by the hilly lands above St. Vincent Street, on the south by the Mariquire Ravine, east by Mon Chagrin Street and on the west by Mariquire Bay.

In the same year Vialva sold his land to Don Juan Bautista Jaillet, a surveyor, who ~~or~~ named the estate Mon Chagrin and turned it into a valuable sugar property of 82 quarrees (about 260 acres). This estate extended from Vistabella on the north, to Paradise on the south, to Mon Repos on the east and to the town and sea on the west. It thus surrounded the town of San Fernando on three sides and comprised the lands north of St. Vincent Street, those between the Ravine and Harris Promenade and those east of Mon Chagrin Street including the Naparima Hill.

Presumably in error or as has been unkindly suggested, in hope of safety from detection, Don Juan Bautista Jaillet while selling some small parts of his estate also sold the lots reserved for the Town. In due course these irregular transactions came to light (is this why the estate was called Mon Chagrin?) and after enquiry the Spanish Government decided to condone these sales and treat them as occupancies.

In this way was the town occupied and settled and amongst the early inhabitants was Don José Vincent Bontur from San Domingo who had married Dona Maria de Pozadas of Trinidad and was owner of

Paradise Estate. He became a Regidor and later Alcalde of the Cabildo, the Commandante of South Naparima and Corregidor of the Mission of Sabana Grande. So also was Don José Rambert from St. Vincent, one of whose estates is marked by the present site of Rambert Village and Don Salvador Domenici, owner of Vistabella Estate since 1785 then known as Buena Vista de los Fuentes.

Don Juan Bautista Jaillet had married Miss Maria Susan Fotheringay and when he died in 1805, his estate Mon Chagrin, then valued at 5,070 pesos fuertes de oro (about £2,500 sterling), passed to his two sons and the one daughter.

In laying out the town the usual Spanish custom was followed and a central square formed which was named the Plaza de San Carlos (now known as the "Old Cemetery" between St. Vincent Street and Chacon Street). On the north was the ancient dilapidated Church presumably the site of the abandoned Mission. This Church was in 1786 replaced by a new one built at the southeast corner of the Plaza (at the corner of Penitence and Chacon Streets). The Presbytery was on the west side and the Casa Real on the north. The principal places of business in 1792 were along St. Vincent Street and the Mariquire Bay must have been a busy shipping place.

By 1811 the two Naparimas, north and south, had rapidly developed with a population of 192 whites, 297 free coloured people and nearly 3,000 slaves. About 18,000 acres had been granted of which over

a third had been cleared and put into cultivation producing 2,600 tons of sugar, 71,000 gallons of rum, 78,000 gallons of syrup, 41,000 lbs. of cotton and 21,000 lbs. of coffee. They were evidently thriving districts giving rise to a busy and prosperous town.

However, in these early years, San Fernando never expanded very much and the original grant sufficed all necessities for many years, it being known as "Petit Bourg" and even "the little village of San Fernando" though in more formal documents the town is called the "Pueblo de San Fernando de Naparima" while the Church is described as of the "Parroquia de San Fernando de la Brea" whereof the Father Francisco Fontanete was Cura from 1799 to 1817.

On May 1st 1818, a destructive fire started in St. Vincent Street from some undiscovered cause and burnt the greater part of this small but prosperous town. The vigorous inhabitants were not dismayed and a new and better town soon arose from the ashes and expanded beyond the original boundaries to the south and east over the Mon Chagrin Estate around what are now High and Coffee Streets.

To facilitate the loading of the increasing quantity of produce passing through the town from the adjacent estates, a wharf was constructed by the Government in 1820 along the shore of Mariquire Bay in front of the town, appropriate fees being levied for its use. In 1827 this wharf was leased for 99 years to S. J. Taylor, Desir Fabien and Dr. Jean Baptiste

Philippe who wrote the famous "Free Mulatto" and was a benefactor of the African race, a defender of its interests and an exponent of its social and political grievances.

In 1839 the wharf was destroyed by a storm and the lease terminated, a new wharf being built in 1842 at a cost of £5,300.

The years 1836 to 1842 saw a great development to the town which expanded again over the Mon Chagrin Estate to the south up to Harris Promenade and to the east up to Pointe-a-Pierre Road. The name of Petit Bourg was no longer appropriate and the modern phase of the town began with the grant of a municipal constitution in 1846, which had been approved by the Legislature during the administration of Governor Macleod.¹

¹ The Spanish Protocols in the Government Registry, Port-of-Spain. The Trinidad Monthly Magazine, December 1872.

ARTICLE VI

AN OBSERVATORY AT LAVENTILLE



THE Island of Trinidad is notable for many things but undoubtedly the following scientific achievement has lain buried for a long time and is more than worthy of recollection.

Don Cosino Damien de Churruca was born in 1759 and at Ferrol in Spain took up special studies in mathematics and astronomy.

He must have been an exceptional student as at the comparatively early age of 30 he was seconded for duty with the expedition then being formed to fix the longitude of various important points in America in relation to Cadiz.

Furthermore, he was distinguished by being placed in charge of that section dealing with the Antilles and Mexico.

In 1792 on June 17th he sailed from Cadiz with two bergantines, the Descubridor and the Vigilante. The voyage was uneventful and his expedition arrived in Port of Spain on 21st July. He proceeded active-

ly with his mission and after obtaining the approval of the Governor Don José Maria Chacon, he established his observatory in the Fort of San Andres which stands a short distance to the west of the present Laventille Church and about a quarter of a mile to the north of the present St. David's Tower or Picton Fort.

Here, after testing and standardising his instruments on the slopes of the Laventille Hill, he made geographical and astronomical history by observing on 2nd January with the great precision even then attainable, the immersion of the third satellite of Jupiter in the disc of the moon and also that of the first satellite. From these observations he fixed for the first time an accurate meridian in the New World.

Don Cosmo Damien then dismantled his observatory and on January 28th 1793, sailed for Grenada. On February 1st, however, war had been declared by France against Spain, Holland and England, and Don Cosmo after assisting the Allies there against France had to return almost at once to Trinidad. Here he spent several months patrolling the coasts of this Island protecting them from the raids of French Corsairs.

This was much against his inclination but he realised it was inevitable until finally he was ordered back to Spain as his mission could not be achieved in the disturbed conditions then prevailing in America.

On October 21st 1793, at Cadiz he made an accurate observation of the entrance of Aldebaran into

the disc of the moon with its exit. This with his observations in January in Trinidad enabled him to link up the New World with the Old and to fix the absolute longitude of the Fort of San Andres at Port of Spain in Trinidad; the first point so fixed in the New World.

He confirmed these observations in Trinidad in subsequent years by additional observations at Havana in Cuba.

These results were communicated to and accepted by the well-known observatories in Europe.

Don Cosmo has another link with Trinidad in that he married Dona Maria Dolores Ruiz de Apodaca, the daughter of Don Vicente and niece of Don Sebastian Ruiz de Apodaca, the Admiral of the Spanish fleet which was at Chaguarainas when General Abercromby captured Trinidad in 1797.


Don Cosmo Damien was eventually promoted to Brigadier and commanded the San Juan at the battle of Trafalgar where he was killed at the early age of 46 on October 21st 1805.

The Fort of San Andres is now in ruins and gradually becoming unrecognisable. Is it vain to hope that the site of this important achievement which should have a prominent place in the annals of this Island will receive more interest and that some mark be there placed to prevent its complete disappearance into eternal forgetfulness?*

* The Galeria Biografica de los Generales de Marina by Don Francisco de Paula Pavia. Vol. II, 1873.

ARTICLE VII

MAN OF WAR BAY IN TOBAGO



OBAGO is a very beautiful Island and those who have ridden from Parlatuvier through the uplands of Anse Fourmi and have surprised Man of War Bay from the heights above Hermitage Estate will agree that it is difficult to find a more pleasing sight than the curving sweep of this picturesque bay.

The five mile ride descending around the Bay to Charlotteville gives plenty of time to dream of the bay giving shelter to the Royal Navy, the three deckers swinging to their anchors and its shores lively with the bustle of their crews.

Alas, where is the record of any gathering of a fleet in Man of War Bay and there appears in history no sanction or justification for such a name. In one corner is Pirates Bay, doubtless one of the many careening places in the West Indies for pirate vessels; a name which will remind us that Tobago as a "neutral" island must have been a useful and fairly safe

resort for pirates to rest and refit.

This bay is eminently suited for the shelter of a fleet and the name would be appropriate but it is difficult to understand the reason for such a name in the absence of any historical record.

When maps of a hundred years or more ago are consulted, the name of this bay appears not as Man of War Bay but as John Moore's Bay. Now, who was John Moore? Was he an early English Governor or a distinguished planter of Tobago?

The Treaty of Paris of February, 1763, ceded Tobago in full right to the English and from November, 1764, under General Melville permanent English settlements began and increased at a great rate since by 1776 there were over 14,000 people in Tobago.

There is no John Moore prominent amongst the government officials or planters of that or any later period and the reason for assigning this bay to John Moore received no enlightenment from enquiries in this direction.

In 1686 at a time when both England and France were asserting claims to Tobago in one of the many letters which passed between Colonel Stede, the Governor of Barbados and the Comte de Blenac, the Governor of Martinique, this bay is called the Cul de Sac of Jean le Mort. The mystery deepens. Has John Moore emerged as a pirate murdered by his men or even perhaps hanged by the King's officers? Unfortunately for romance no pirate of this name is recorded amongst that motley crowd.

In April 1676, a Dutch fleet under Admiral Jacob Binkes left Holland; it attacked Cayenne, captured it from the French and then proceeded to Tobago and lay off Scarborough. A French fleet arrived later in the same year, recaptured Cayenne in October and arrived off Tobago at the end of February 1677. A bloody engagement ensued in Rockly Bay on March 3rd and the Dutch under Admiral Binkes were victorious while the French under the Comte D'Estrées were defeated and returned to Brest in France.

There is an account of this notable engagement amongst the manuscripts in the British Museum and also a plan of Scarborough and its surroundings with a record of the ships engaged, their crews and casualties.

What is of more importance, however, for this purpose there is also a general sketch of the whole of Tobago. In that sketch Man of War Bay is described as "Jan de Moor's Cuil Sacq" the Dutch equivalent of John Moore's Bay and the obvious explanation of Jean le Mort.

Now while John Moore is unrecognisable, Jan de Moor is a well-known person as a prominent merchant venturer, a member of the State Council of Holland and Burgomaster of Flushing. He was a rich man and financed some of the earlier Dutch attempts at settlement in the Amazon and Guiana coast in the years 1613-1614.

With the great Anglo-Dutch trading firm of Courteen and Company of Middleburg and London, he

maintained the Dutch settlement at Kykoveral in the Essequibo River from 1616 right on to 1644 when he died and the settlement merged into the operations of the Dutch West India Company.

In 1627 the Courteens on their own account settled Barbados and Jan de Moor stimulated by the success of the Courteens then undertook on his own to settle Tobago. He sent out people from Flushing with supplies for that purpose in 1629. Unfortunately they were driven out at once by the Spaniards with the help of the Indians.

In 1633 Jan de Moor made a second attempt to settle Tobago sending another party from Flushing under an Englishman named Gayner. They first established themselves in Tobago and then later got a footing at Toco by placing a trading outpost there.

Captain Diego Lopez de Escobar, a new and active Governor, arrived in Trinidad in June, 1636. He forthwith evicted the Dutch from Toco in August and on a second expedition in November defeated them in Tobago, destroying the settlement and taking prisoner amongst others Cornelis de Moor, the son of Jan de Moor.

Most of the Dutch prisoners were sent to Margarita where they were hanged by the Governor of that Island. The news of this at once inflamed the sister colony of Essequibo to retaliation and on the 22nd July, 1637, the Dutch from that settlement with Indian allies took Santo Thome and nearly succeeded in catching Escobar who was then in that town.

Santo Thome was destroyed and the Dutch recovered Cornelis de Moor, the son of their Patroon who was there with Escobar.

The Dutch refitted and refreshed in the Amacuro River and proceeded in October of the same year to attack St. Joseph in Trinidad which they captured and destroyed on the 14th of that month. Both these successful raids were led by Aert Adriaan Groenewegen, the veteran Commandeur of Essequibo then 56 years old. He died in Essequibo in 1664, being married to a Carib wife and having reached the ripe old age of 83 years.

The names Jan de Moor and the Courteens, allied in business thus link closely together the settlements of the Amazon, of the Guiana Coast, of Essequibo, of Barbados and of Tobago and Toco and their operations give the key to many of the local historical movements in these parts between 1614 and 1640.

Such a man was Jan de Moor, the Patroon of the first settlements in Tobago and in whose honour the Dutch had named this beautiful Cuil Sacq.

In later periods a generation arose who knew him not. The name of this worthy old Dutch Patroon became to the French, Jean le Mort and to the English merely John Moore, while as a final indignity his name has been ignorantly and unwittingly transposed to Man of War. Tobago has no remembrance in the Island of the first merchant venturer to make settlements of any permanent character.¹

¹ Map No. 82510 (1) of Tobago. British Museum. Dr. G. Edmundson, Eng. Hist. Review, Vol. XVI.

ARTICLE VIII

SIR HENRY COLT IN TRINIDAD, 1632.



SIR Henry Colt was a country gentleman who had his seat at Colt's Hall, Cavendish in Suffolk and was knighted by James I on February 25th 1605.

He was one of those many adventurous spirits whose joy in the risks of life drew him to take part in the great colonising exodus which characterised Europe in the early part of the seventeenth century.

Full of enthusiasm for overseas adventures, doubtless in touch with the pioneers of St. Kitts and Barbados, he proceeded to buy a pinnace of 30-40 tons in Holland. Fortunately he supplied it with, amongst other things, six pieces of ordnance and his expedition set out from Weymouth in the ship *Alexander* for St. Kitts on May 22nd 1631.

Evidently favoured with good weather and avoiding the monstrous storms of the Atlantic which have destroyed so many promising ventures, he passed the Island of Flores in the Azores on June 1st and

entering the lower and more pleasant latitudes reached Barbados on July 2nd. Here he remained 12 days refreshing and refitting and gave a lively and critical account of life at that time in the Island.

He continued the eventless voyage on July 14th but when passing between Martinique and Dominica on the 16th he was seen and chased by an unwelcome fleet of 20 sail. These were Spanish vessels and only two were fast enough to overtake him. Expecting an easy prize they began to attack but finding the Alexander well armed ready and eager to fight the two Spanish ships soon sheered off and left him alone.

By this time the ship had been chased well to windward of St. Kitts and touching at the Island of St. Martin, Sir Henry Colt found 48 Dutch ships loading salt from the salt pans. The ship slowly beat up against the wind and arrived at St. Kitts on July 21st 1631. Here Sir Henry Colt landed and pitched his tent on the seashore near the fort. Evidently St. Kitts had not yet recovered from the visit of the Spanish Fleet of 15 frigates and 24 ships under Don Fadrique de Toledo which in 1629 had evicted the English settlers and destroyed their houses and plantations.

The Island of St. Kitts was struggling back to production and Sir Henry Colt took up land at Palmito Point for planting and evidently meant to stay since he wrote on August 31st to his son a long letter describing his journey and asking that 40 more bond

servants he sent out to him in 1632. He closed his letter by writing: "For I goe next September to trade amongst ye Indians uppon ye Mayne and you shall receyve a note from me for ye matterials of trade wch I yett want."

His narrative of this journey to St. Kitts is preserved in the Cambridge University Library and has been published by the Hakluyt Society in Vol. LVI of Series II.

Sir Thomas Warner was then at St. Kitts and doubtless from his experience gave much help to Sir Henry Colt who set forth in the latter part of 1632 in accordance with his expressed intention of trading upon "ye Mayne."

He certainly was in the Berbice River at the settlement of Fort Nassau then not long founded by the Dutch in 1627. It is probable also that he visited the Dutch settlement at Kykoveral in the Essequibo and it is known that he finally reached the River Orinoco and traded with the Indians in the lower part.

On leaving the Orinoco he drifted with the flood tide to the east of Trinidad; sailed up the Band de L'est and arrived at Punta Galera. Here he landed to refresh probably at Toco Bay and finding the place to his liking and unoccupied by any settlers he erected buildings and began to plant.

A Spanish frigate going from Havana to Cartagena had been blown out of her course and in November of the year 1632 put into Punta Galera for water. The English under Sir Henry Colt repulsed the frigate

wounded two Spaniards and the frigate thereupon beaded for Margarita where the Governor, Don Juan de Eulate, was informed of this invasion of Spanish territory.

Again in February 1632, a Portuguese shallop put in at Punta Galera wanting water and food. Sir Henry Colt gave them a little cassava and some water for their immediate necessities and ordered them out to sea. This vessel also passed on to Margarita and reported the news of this English settlement at Punta Galera to the Governor.

Understanding the dangers of such a settlement, Don Juan de Eulate decided to destroy this venture as early as possible and before it had gained a firm footing. He proposed to lead the expedition himself but the Council demurred to the Governor leaving his duties in this way. The expedition therefore of three companies of Spanish soldiers and fifty Indian archers left in three pirogues on March 12th under the command of Don Juan Alvarez de Eulate, the son of the Governor.

This expedition on reaching the Bocas from Margarita continued along the north coast of Trinidad; this is recorded as an unusual proceeding, the course being around the south coast so as to avoid the danger from strong currents, violent winds and dangerous rocks on the north. This risk, however, was deliberately taken because there were villages of Indians on the south which would see the fleet and send

warning to the English whereas there were no villages on the north coast.

The expedition arrived safely at Punta Galera and after careful reconnoitering the attack was made from all sides at the break of day. The English were completely surprised and overwhelmed, having one killed and some wounded. The buildings were dismantled and burnt and the pinnace destroyed. On April 12th they returned to Margarita with the guns and other supplies and with 11 prisoners amongst them Captain Enrico Colto as the Spaniards called him.

He suffered the penalty of death in Margarita but before execution was examined by the Governor to whom he declared the details of his visit to the Main and his landing at Berbice Essequibo and the Orinoco. Don Juan de Eulate then beseeched the King of Spain to consult his Council with a view to arranging for the early destruction of the enemy in Berbice as he was afraid of the Dutch becoming powerful near the mouth of the Orinoco and thus holding the key to the back door entrance of the great Kingdom of New Granada.

Don Juan offered to arrange for this expedition to Berbice under the command of his son, free of expense to His Majesty provided he was so ordered.

He also asked to be authorised to take the necessary Indians from Paria and Trinidad and to require the inhabitants of the latter Island to help and to come with the expedition. This expedition, however,

never took place and this Dutch settlement thrived and now forms part of British Guiana.

The Governor of Trinidad, Don Cristoval de Aranda, who should have dealt with this venture by Sir Henry Colt was in no position to carry out his duties since he had notified Don Juan de Eulate that his people lacked wine, oil, clothes and other supplies and were even thinking of abandoning the Island altogether. To avoid this disaster the Governor of Margarita promptly gathered together some necessities and sent them by Juan de Mendieta to Trinidad under escort of soldiers to protect them from the danger of Caribs and other enemies.¹

¹ Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana. 1623-1667. Edited by V. T. Harlow. Hakluyt Society, Vol. LVI, 1925. Letters from the Governor of Margarita the King of Spain. 20 July 1633. In additional MSS. British Museum. Publication No. 61 Trinidad Historical Society.

ARTICLE IX

THE DUTCH SETTLEMENTS IN TRINIDAD, 1636.



IDDEN away amongst the untold wealth of historical treasures in the British Museum there is a slim volume published in 1637 and described as the "Relacion de los Particulares Servicios que ha hecho a Vuestra Magestad Don Diego Lopez de Escobar Governador y Capitan-General de la Isla de la Trinidad y de las Provincias del Dorado, hijo del Capitan Diego Lopez de la Fuente en el ano de 1636."

This volume contains two long letters written at St. Joseph by this Governor of Trinidad and sent to the King of Spain giving details of his success in defeating the Dutch invaders and evicting them from both the Island of Trinidad and that of Tobago. These two letters contribute valuable material to the history of Trinidad and supply the reason for the attack by the Dutch of Guayana on St. Thome and also on St. Joseph in the latter part of 1637.

Don Diego Lopez de Escobar, Governor of Trin-

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idad for six years, took up his duties on June 23rd 1636 and found the Island in a precarious and dangerous position. He reported that the Indians were in rebellion and also that the Spanish forces were so reduced that, including young and old, it was not possible to muster more than 40 men of whom barely 30 were in a condition to bear arms.

Shortly after his arrival, news was brought by a renegade Indian that the Dutch had gained a footing and made a settlement in the north eastern part of the Island. This Indian also reported that the Dutch were allied with the Indian tribes of that part who were at least 1,000 strong and that with these allies the Dutch had arranged to attack St. Joseph and drive the Spaniards out of the Island after additional men and supplies had arrived in a ship expected from Holland later in this same year, 1636. This serious news was subsequently confirmed by information sent to Don Diego by Don Juan de Eulate, Governor of Margarita.

The situation was evidently critical and required prompt and energetic handling. The Governor at once sent Captain Cristoval de Vera to Guayana and Captain Agustin de Santiago to Margarita, the two neighbouring centres of Spanish authority, to ask urgently for men and supplies. To avoid the possibility of delay Don Diego promised to pay any charges himself as there "was not one single real in Your Majesty's Treasury to meet all these difficulties."

From Guayana three vessels soon arrived with 20 Spaniards and 50 Indians while from Margarita came promises of men if vessels could be sent to fetch them. The three vessels from Guayana were forthwith sent on to Margarita and brought back 40 Spaniards in charge of Captain Lorenzo Galindo. Unfortunately according to Don Diego they were "ill clothed and weaklings, mostly youths and only a few had swords; they were not able and did not know how to use an arquebus." There were, however, eight valuable men among them and the Governor joined all the available men together and with this force decided to attack and try and oust the Dutch.

To explain his anxiety to retain the possession of Trinidad and to illustrate its importance, Don Diego reported that it easily grew all supplies such as sugar cane, ginger, tobacco and woods of high quality both for dyeing and for building vessels. He described its windward position and therefore its easy communication with the other parts of the Indies and also its excellent harbours well supplied with game and fish "particularly at a place called Maracas which if it were occupied by the enemy would cost Your Majesty a great deal to dislodge them on account of its great strength."

In the middle of August the Governor set out with 50 Spaniards from St. Joseph in four pirogues down the Caroni River, past the site of Port of Spain, then apparently unoccupied, past the Indian villages at

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Cumucurapo, out through the Bocas and along the north coast. Simultaneously he had sent Captain Agustin de Santiago and Captain Pedro de Vargas with 42 Spaniards and 60 friendly Indians by the overland route who must have passed the probably hostile Indian villages of Tacarigua, Arauca and Arima.

The meeting place for these two forces was "the fort and settlement of the enemy at the cape of this Island on the east coast near Punta de la Galera contiguous to the Island of Tabaco" which would suggest the site now known as Cumana Bay. However, these old records are not always accurate and it is quite possible that the site may have been that of Toco Bay.

The Governor's staff work was good since the two forces duly met and achieved their object. The fort and settlement were suddenly surprised and captured after a sharp attack. Ten Dutchmen were taken and one succeeded in escaping with most of the Indians.

Evidently the Governor's attack was none too soon for while Don Diego was there the ship expected by the Dutch from Holland arrived with men. Showing due caution the ship displayed its private signals and failing to obtain the pre-arranged reply realised that the Spaniards were present and in control. The Dutch thereupon sheered off and sailed southwards. The Governor with his pirogues hastened to follow so as to prevent any landing and found to his astonishment that the ship had anchored off a second Dutch fort and settlement on the South Coast

(probably at Moruga) of which he had no knowledge.

He soon discovered that these Dutch had been warned by the ship that armed Spaniards were about. As no surprise attack could be attempted, the Spaniards made a direct assault on a dark night amidst squalls of wind and rain and in spite of the rough and steep ascent succeeded in taking the fort and all the ten men therein though again the Indians slipped away in time and escaped.

Among the prisoners was William Gaynor who had landed from the ship and from him Don Diego learnt that this ship had brought men and supplies for Tobago and Trinidad and was to load the produce collected at these places. He said that the settlers at New Walcheren in Tobago had not prospered so that they had arranged with the Indians in Trinidad to drive the Spaniards out and to settle themselves as the produce was of better quality than that of Tobago and of greater value when sold in Holland. If unsuccessful this year the Dutch were expecting a fleet of ten ships next year to make a formal conquest. He further told Don Diego that many of the men in Tobago had died of disease and that he himself was being sent back to Holland as a prisoner by the Governor of Tobago on account of the many differences between them.

From other sources it is known that William Gaynor subsequently brought suit against the Zealanders for damages in which finally he obtained judgement on June 4th 1662, from the High Court of Holland,

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Zealand and Friesland. He failed, however, to obtain execution since in 1673 he had still gained no satisfaction for this judgement.

Don Diego continued persistently to follow this ship in his pirogues till it sailed out of the Bocas having given up hope of doing anything in Trinidad. Meanwhile Captain Miguel de Goliz had taken the Dutch prisoners overland from the south coast to St. Joseph by Indian trails through the dense forests then covering the Island; a dangerous journey since he was travelling continuously through hostile country and must have passed the populous Indian villages at Sabana Grande. At the same time, Captain Agustin de Santiago under orders had ravaged the provision grounds, destroyed the supplies of the Indians and punished all those he could secure as a warning against future dealings with the enemy and as a penalty for not bowing in obedience to the Spanish rule.

By October 20th the expedition was reunited at St. Joseph and Don Diego reported that nearly all of the men were ill because of the heavy rains which had prevailed most of the time while those wounded were suffering severely. The Governor closed this letter by informing the King of Spain that his men were recuperating satisfactorily and so soon as recovery was complete and supplies again collected, he proposed to venture against the Dutch remaining in Tobago.

By his vigorous and courageous efforts Don Diego


evidently did his best to checkmate the plans of the Dutch and to preserve the Island of Trinidad for the Government of Spain. However, Dutch reports make it clear that they had no intention of taking Trinidad. The Nepuyo Indians whose Cacique was Hyarima lived three leagues (nine miles) to the east of St. Joseph, evidently at Arima. They had offered the Dutch as hostages all the old men, women and children of the tribe in return for the assistance of 80 men with arquebuses. The Dutch whose principal settlement was in Tobago, definitely refused to entertain this agreement or to have any part in this adventure. Their object was to establish trading centres and extend their trade and influence amongst the Indians without provoking the Spaniards to reprisals.

This policy would probably have left the Dutch eventually masters of the Island but it little availed them as Don Diego Lopez de Escobar, wise in his generation, dealt with this danger before it ever had taken secure root in Trinidad.¹

¹ Relacion de los Particulares Servicios que ha hecho a Vuestra Magestad. Don Diego Lopez de Escobar Governador y Capitan General de la Isla de la Trinidad y de las Provincias del Dorado, hijo del Capitan Diego Lopez de la Fuente en el año de 1636. Published 1637.

ARTICLE X

THE DUTCH SETTLEMENTS IN TOBAGO 1633-1636.

 IN the second letter which Don Diego Lopez de Escobar, Governor of Trinidad and Guyana sent to the King of Spain and which was published in the "Relacion" of 1637, he gave an account of his expedition against the Dutch in the Island of Tobago.

On October 20th, 1636 the Spaniards had returned to St. Joseph after evicting the Dutch from the north eastern and southern parts of Trinidad, to heal their wounds and to recover from their sickness.

In spite of these successes the Governor remained apprehensive and felt that serious danger continued so long as the Dutch were left in Tobago, especially in view of their friendship with the Indians. He urged this view before a Council of War held at St. Joseph and the members agreed that it would be advisable to drive the Dutch out of Tobago, but they were all of opinion that the available number of men was inadequate. In spite of this, however, the

Governor decided to take the field and carry an expedition to Tobago and accordingly proceeded to collect supplies as rapidly as possible.

With remarkable celerity considering that these men had only returned on October 20th from two months campaigning in heavy rains, they set out again on November 20th in eight pirogues. Fortunately good weather favoured them and this force of 90 men safely reached the place from which they were to cross to "El Tabaco." Don Diego described it as a most dangerous crossing and added that a former Governor of Trinidad, Don Fernando de Berrio, once lost many of his boats and barely escaped with his life when crossing this piece of sea.

Here the expedition was kept waiting by unsuitable weather which continued for seven days. This delay and inactivity was having a bad effect upon the men, and was a strain upon their supplies. The Governor therefore decided to risk a night crossing and fortunately arrived safely on November 30th without being discovered by the Dutch "in that part of the Island which is at the back of the town and fort of the enemy."

Don Diego left 20 men to guard his boats and then marched all day with the rest of his force through swamps and over hills, forcing his way through bush and scrub and thorns until in the evening he suddenly surprised three Dutchmen, an Indian and a Negro cutting timber. Although surrounded, the Negro managed to escape, and hurried to raise the alarm

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while the Governor made all haste to attack. He was able to rush the fort by surprise, and captured it before any defence could be organised. Here he found Dutch, French and English some of whom had retired towards a second and larger fort some distance beyond.

At once Don Diego ordered Captain Alonzo de Aguilar to push forward as fast as possible with his men and surround the second fort, so as to prevent any supplies being collected and stored. During that night the Spaniards cleared the country round from enemy Indians, consolidated their position and made arrangements for the attack on the morrow.

On December 1st, knowing that 70 men were too few to capture the Dutch fort by direct assault, Don Diego resorted to a ruse de guerre in the hope that the Dutch would believe themselves faced by an overwhelming force. The men were divided into small troops of 16 men each who were marched and counter-marched in different directions in and out of sight of those within the fort. At the same time men were posted as if to invest the fort and to appear as an advance guard of a large force, while others guarded the stream below the fort, thus separating the Dutch from their water supply.

Those in the fort were deceived by these preparations, and being there principally for trade, were not disposed to dispute the fort with a much superior force if reasonable terms could be obtained. They

therefore sounded the drums and offered to treat. Don Diego was overjoyed at this result and as actual hostilities were to be avoided, it was agreed that the Governor, Secretary and Justicia Mayor should be made prisoners and allowed to keep their swords and baggage, while all the others should be allowed to depart without arms or baggage and should be assisted to go either to St. Kitts or to Holland at the expense of the King of Spain. The Dutch hesitated at first to accept these terms, but promptly acceded when Don Diego, fearing the consequences of delay and discovery, bluffed them and gave them the option of immediate acceptance or immediate assault.

The account of this surrender from a Dutch source, described how an Irish deserter from their settlement had guided the Spaniards to the fort which was only a stockade for protection against the Caribs, and then pretending to be an escaped prisoner from the Spaniards, gave them exaggerated reports of the strength of the Spanish forces and induced them to surrender.

However it be, the Governor triumphantly entered with 30 men, took over the key positions and disarmed the Dutch forces. The rest of the Spaniards then entered, and as soon as the Dutch realised the trick that had been played, they raised an outcry and an uproar. Don Diego fearing dangerous trouble at once removed the Governor, the Secretary and the Justicia Mayor to his quarters, warned the others of

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the consequences of breaking the agreement and thus quickly ended the outbreak.

The Governor of Tobago surrendered his commission which was from the Prince of Orange. The Dutch force of 75 men was composed of English, French, Dutch, Irish and Flemings with 28 pieces of artillery and an ample supply of other arms, munitions and provisions.

Don Diego knew how risky was his position, and on December 2nd, after Father Antonio Rodriguez, of the Franciscan Order, had celebrated mass he hastened preparations for departure, so that by December 5th they were ready to embark in the pirogues. These were dangerously overloaded, not only with the extra men but also with what arms, munitions and supplies could be removed. With much regret the artillery had to be thrown into the sea. Finally after the cultivation had been laid waste and the buildings and fort burnt, he started across to Trinidad.

The journey was completed successfully but with great difficulty, as all the pirogues continually shipped water and everything was flooded out. No lives were lost, and the pirogues anchored at "a very small Island which is called Mono" whence he sent 72 of the prisoners (of whom 19 were boys) under escort to Don Juan de Eulate, Governor of Margarita, and asked him to arrange for their passage to St. Kitts.

Don Diego knew that better opportunities for a passage would be found at Margarita than at Trinidad,

and he also knew that he could not feed 75 additional men at St. Joseph, nor was he prepared to face the grave danger of their presence in that town. Having sent off most of his prisoners, the Governor returned to St. Joseph on December 9th with the three principal ones who were to go to Spain.

Don Diego was still not satisfied that his duty was done, and he reported the presence of several Dutch settlements in Guayana. He wanted to go to evict them and bewailed the fact that the Governor of Margarita would not join nor help him—not even returning the guard which had been sent to Margarita. He had information from Ousiel, the Secretary of Tobago, that Essequibo had a fort with 16 guns, 200 soldiers and a 24 gun vessel; an exaggerated account evidently made to discourage any attack from Trinidad.

It is not easy to decide the exact site of these operations in Tobago, but it is known that the early settlements of the Dutch, were on the Leeward side. It is probable that the principal fort was at Plymouth, and the advance fort in the Black Rock district. If this be correct it is reasonable to suggest that Don Diego and his men landed on the south at La Guaira and pushed their way for about 6 miles through Tyson Hall, Golden Grove, Buccoo and Crafton to the fort at Black Rock.

It is also known that this Dutch venture was the second attempt organised and financed by Jan de Moor the well known Burgomaster of Flushing. It

had arrived at Tobago in 1633 under command of an Irishman, William Gayner, whose instructions were to recover the Island from the Spaniards and settle it. It is not clear what differences arose, but in 1636 Jan de Moor sent out Luke Pole in the ship "New Walcheren" to dispossess Gayner and to install Cornelis de Moor as Governor. Gayner was enticed on board by an invitation to dinner, was seized and made prisoner and carried with this ship around Trinidad. At Moruga he was taken prisoner by Don Diego and sent to St. Kitts, where he arrived 11 months later.

Cornelis de Moor was the son of Jan de Moor, and as Governor of Tobago had a few months later to surrender to Don Diego, and was taken to St. Joseph. It was the recovery of the son of their Patroon which provided one of the reasons which led the Dutch to attack the Spanish settlements of Guayana and Trinidad in 1637.¹

¹ Relacion de los Particulares Servicios que ha hecho a Vuestra Magestad, Don Diego Lopez de Escobar Governador y Capitan General de la Isla de la Trinidad y de las Provincias del Dorado, hijo del Capitan Diego Lopez de la Fuente en el año de 1636. Published 1637.

Letters from the Governor of Margarita to the King 29th December 1636; from the Governor of Trinidad to the Audiencia at Santa Fe 11 April 1637; from Council of War of the Indies to the King 10 November 1637; all in Additional MSS. 16324.

ARTICLE XI

THE DUTCH ATTACK ON ST. JOSEPH, 1637.



HE valiant and active Governor of Trinidad and Guayana, Don Diego Lopez de Escobar, had obtained the surrender of the fort at New Walcheren in Tobago, captured the men in the Dutch settlement, sent 72 of them to Margarita and had returned to St. Joseph with his three principal prisoners by December 9th of 1636. The Governor's own letters published in the "Relacion" end at this point and the subsequent course of events is to be found in letters and reports from the Governor of Margarita, the Governor of Caracas, the Royal Audiencia of Santa Fe, the Cabildo of Trinidad and finally from Jacques Ousiel, the Dutch Secretary of Tobago, who escaped to Holland while being sent a prisoner to Spain.

Don Juan de Eulate in Margarita found himself greatly embarrassed by the sudden arrival of 72 prisoners as there were no suitable vessels to take them to St. Kitts, nor prospect of any in the near future.

Fearing the danger from these prisoners in Margarita he consulted with the Cabildo and on its advice offered these men to the Governor of Cumana for work upon the fort at the salt pans of Araya. Meanwhile they were put in irons and distributed amongst the few residents of the town.

The Governor of Cumana was equally afraid to accept this unwelcome risk especially as he had great trouble in controlling the 17 prisoners then at Araya. He suggested that they should all be sent to Cartagena.

On December 19th after prolonged discussion the Cabildo of Margarita by a majority decided that the safety of the Island could not be maintained with so many prisoners and it was unavoidable that they should die as traitors to God and to Spain. This decree was carried out and all were put to death save 19 boys who were saved by repeated intercessions of the Franciscan Fathers. These boys were distributed amongst the Spaniards to serve as servants and labourers.

This news soon reached the Island of Trinidad and Don Diego Lopez de Escobar reported this breach of the terms of capitulation. He described it as gravely detrimental to the credit and reputation of the Spanish Government and likely to cause the Castilian name to be hated and despised by all nations. He knew that this treachery must soon come to the ears of the Dutch and letters show that both Trinidad and Guayana expected prompt

reprisals.

Meanwhile the Governor of Trinidad had gone up the River Orinoco to St. Thome taking with him Cornelis de Moor, who was a sickly youth. The other two principal prisoners had been sent in charge of Don Vicente Viresti, via Cartagena and Havana, to the Government in Spain.

While at St. Thome Don Diego learnt definitely that the Dutch of Essequibo were incensed at the assault in Tobago and at the traitorous murders in Margarita and were preparing to wreak their vengeance upon the Spaniards of Trinidad and Guayana.

Don Pedro Vivero was forthwith sent up the Orinoco and by way of the Casanare and eastern slopes of the Andes to Santa Fe. He was instructed to represent to the Royal Audiencia the unprotected and dangerous position of the Spaniards, to urge that the best defence was attack upon the Dutch settlements and to beg for 300 men at once to capture and destroy the Dutch of Essequibo.

He left St. Thome in April 1637 and after three weeks journey reached Santa Fe in July. He failed in his object as the Audiencia refused to supply any men firstly because of the cost (about 40,000 ducats;) secondly because the Dutch were many days away from Guayana and had already been there many years; thirdly because if dislodged they would depart only to return later. The Audiencia ordered that a report should be made to the King of Spain for consideration in his Royal Council of the Indies

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with the recommendation that an adequate expedition be sent from Spain to drive the Dutch from all their settlements.

Don Diego may have expected this reply from the Audiencia, in any case he reported all the circumstances himself to the King direct and urged immediate assistance as a Dutch assault was pending and it was of vital importance to Spanish security to retain possession of the Island of Trinidad and the River Orinoco.

While due consideration was being given by the Spanish authorities to these representations, the Dutch struck their first blow at St. Thome on July 22nd 1637, the feast day of St. Mary Magdalene. With their Carib allies in six pirogues they came up the Orinoco River and at four in the morning fell upon St. Thome and burnt the town, the Church and Convent of San Francisco to the ground. At this time Don Diego was there with Cornelis de Moor and 12 Spaniards, the rest of the people being engaged in making a new settlement in a more healthy place higher up the river. The Dutch whose colony at Essequibo was financed and owned by Jan de Moor, Burgomaster of Flushing, obtained their principal object by the rescue of Cornelis, the son of their Patroon, but failed to catch Don Diego who promptly fled with the other Spaniards to the forests. The Cura, Father Juan Lopez Brito, performing his duties at the Church was left for dead with both arms broken; he recovered however, and served for

many years longer in this distant outpost of Spanish dominion.

Requests for assistance were sent forthwith overland to Margarita and Cumana but without result and the messenger, Captain Ochagavia, sent up the river to the Audiencia of Santa Fe, was captured and killed by the Caribs.

Meanwhile the Dutch had left St. Thome and rested with the Caribs at Amacura in the mouth of the Orinoco and collected supplies. Probably feeling that they had not yet adequately chastised the Spaniards for the assault at Tobago and for the treachery at Margarita, and being abetted by the Caribs whose great pleasure in life was fighting and raiding, the Dutch decided to wreak their vengeance also upon the people of St. Joseph in Trinidad. They therefore sent to invite the assistance of the Nepuyo Indians of Trinidad and their great chieftain, Hyarima, whose village was 9 miles to the east of St. Joseph, collected his fighting men from the north of the Island and welcomed this heaven sent opportunity of joining the Dutch in ravaging St. Joseph and chastising his inveterate enemies. This Indian Chieftain might well have reminded the Dutch that had they accepted his proposals in 1636 for attacking the Spaniards at St. Joseph, neither the assault at Tobago nor the murders at Margarita would have occurred.

With 20 pirogues the Dutch and Carib allies appeared off the mouth of the Caroni on October 14th,

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1637, the feast day of St. Calixtus. After capturing the watch kept there, the expedition crept quietly up the river, turned into the St. Joseph stream, then navigable, and managed to reach the town just before daybreak and silenced the guard stationed at the Church door. The town then contained 28 men who defended it as best they could but without any hope of success and they had to retire with Juan Gallardo killed and Captain Agustin de Santiago and others wounded.

The Cabildo of Trinidad wrote to Don Juan de Eulate who had killed the prisoners and so precipitated all the trouble: "the fact is, Sir, that on Wednesday morning the 14th October, the Dutch allied with corsairs of the Carib and other tribes, attacked the town and although we had sentinels the attack was so sudden and so vigorous, that they spread over the town so quickly that the women had hardly time to leave their houses and escape to the forest. The guard and other inhabitants who could render assistance did what they could but the enemy had made such careful plans and brought such good guides that they succeeded in their attempt and burned the town and the principal Church, so that nothing escaped."

"Now our condition is such that we have no hope save in God and yourself and we hope for help from you as one who knows well how to give it and always does give it and we require your kindness no less now for we are in dire need and we beg Your

Excellency to help us in the name of His Majesty."

This moving appeal was sent by the hand of Miguel de Morillas, Alcade Ordinario, but without result. Don Juan merely took sworn evidence of the facts and forwarded them to the Royal Audiencia for its consideration. The Governor of Cumana was unable to send assistance because he was defending himself with difficulty against the Cumanagote Indians.

After the destruction of St. Joseph, the Dutch left Trinidad and returned to Essequibo. The Spaniards surveyed their miserable lot. Bereft of houses and supplies, living scantily upon what might be gained from the forest, abandoned by their neighbours, they lost hope and threatened to desert Trinidad for good and all. On December 27th the Cabildo made a last effort and wrote to the King of Spain, describing the pitiable condition of the people and closed as follows: "We beseech Your Majesty that this relief may be despatched as speedily as possible taking pity on the desperate and harassed state of this community destitute of all help but that from God and Your Majesty. If relief does not speedily come there is no doubt that the enemy will possess themselves of these two places. This would be to the great disadvantage of Your Majesty and as to ourselves, should we escape, we should migrate to o'her places to serve Your Majesty where we should be more able to defend ourselves and where there are fortifications."

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Don Diego begged them to hold on and soon all would be well as in November he had sent an express messenger, again Don Pedro Vivero, with urgent demands to the Royal Audiencia at Santa Fe. Don Pedro arrived there in March 1638 but failed once more to obtain the urgently needed help from the Audiencia. After prolonged and careful consideration this Council decided that any help could be more easily and properly sent direct from Spain than from the New Kingdom of Granada.

By now, however, the tide had turned: for the Spanish Government began to take serious notice of the danger from the Dutch settlements and of the more serious danger of losing possession of the Island of Trinidad and the River Orinoco. While the hopes of the Spaniards in these two places were at the lowest ebb, cheering news came of active and practical measures to relieve their necessities and to reinforce their courageous and persistent efforts at settlement and occupation.¹

¹ Letters from the Governor of Margarita to the Audiencia of San Domingo 4 December, 1637; from the Cabildo of Trinidad to the King 27 December 1637; both in Additional MSS. 96321.

• ARTICLE XII

THE RELIEF EXPEDITION TO TRINIDAD 1638-1639.



N 1636 Don Diego Lopez de Escobar, the Governor of Trinidad, had destroyed the Dutch settlements at Toco, Moruga and Tobago. He had sent the majority of the prisoners from Tobago to Margarita to be sent on to St. Kitts in accordance with the terms of the capitulation. Unfortunately the Governor of Margarita deemed it necessary for the safety of that Island to put them to death.

The Dutch then settled in some strength on the River Essequibo, were incensed at these aggressions and treacheries to their fellow countrymen and thereupon in 1637 attacked and destroyed the Spanish towns of St. Thome in Guayana and St. Joseph in Trinidad. In doing so the Dutch had wreaked their vengeance on the Spaniards and also recovered Cornelis de Moor, the son of their Patroon, who had been taken prisoner in Tobago and carried to St. Thome.

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The Spaniards were in destitution and despair. They had been unable to obtain assistance from the neighbouring centres at Cumana and Margarita and were thinking of abandoning the River Orinoco and the Island of Trinidad.

During 1637 the Spanish Government began to realise the increasing danger from the Dutch invasion of the Indies and decided to concert practical measures for supporting the Spanish settlements in Guayana and Trinidad.

In the latter part of this year the King informed the Governor of Margarita that he would be relieved of his duties and instructed him to return to Spain. Don Juan Luis Camarina arrived at Margarita in June 1638 and Don Juan de Eulate left for Cartagena and Havana and arrived in Spain in March 1640 to answer for his part in the execution of the Dutch prisoners.

In accordance with the advice of the Audiencia at Santa Fe, it was decided early in 1638 to send 200 men with munitions, clothing and provisions from Spain to Trinidad. The necessary instructions were sent to the Casa de Contratacion so that early despatch could be arranged in fast sailing vessels. Unfortunately great difficulty was found in getting any transport to sail for Trinidad on account of the great risks from the Dutch whose ships were daily sailing throughout that region. For the past eight years no Spanish vessel had visited Trinidad or the Orinoco so notable was the Dutch Dominion in these

waters.

This proposal was therefore abandoned and royal instructions were sent forthwith to the Audiencia of New Granada to collect men and send an expedition down the River Orinoco. The demands of Don Diego Lopez de Escobar urgently and forcibly put before the Audiencia by special representatives, once in August 1637 and again in March 1638 and on each occasion refused by this Council, had now been repeated by these royal instructions direct from Spain. They were forthwith obeyed, steps being immediately taken to collect men and supplies.

Meanwhile the Spanish pioneers in Trinidad and Guayana were living from hand to mouth in miserable circumstances and in fear of death. The Cabildo of St. Thome in February 1638 wrote to Don Ruis Fernandez Fuenmayor, the Governor of Caracas, and described their hopeless position. "We are few and destitute of help from anywhere. Our women and children are looking daily for death at the hands of inhuman savages who are cannibals and heretics to our Holy Faith. We are retiring and hiding in the forests until help may come." The Governor listened to this appeal and also feared the serious danger of a Dutch settlement in the rear of his provinces on the Orinoco and therefore sent 50 men in April 1633 overland to St. Thome with supplies. He could not send more as most of his men were then engaged in assisting the Governor of Cumana against the menacing attacks of the Cuma-

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magote Indians.

Hope was revived in St. Thome while Trinidad remained in a desperate condition. Don Diego disturbed and anxious and without so far any sign of further relief, decided to send yet a third "Procurador" to beg the Audiencia for help in their urgent necessities. Don Juan Bautista de Arzuela was sent from St. Thome in October to journey up the river to Santa Fe carrying with him the last hopes and expectations of these long suffering and unfortunate people.

Don Martin Saavedra y Guzman, the President of the Audiencia, had loyally carried out the royal instructions and by the end of October 1638 at a cost of 18,000 pesos he had collected 200 men with provisions and supplies. This expedition set out from the town of Santa Fe and followed the same path as that of Don Antonio de Berrio fifty years before when he made his third and most famous journey to El Dorado and when he eventually reached the Island of Trinidad. This formidable cavalcade crept down the eastern slopes of the Cordilleras and embarked in 13 pirogues on the River Casanare on 24th December 1638.

Shortly afterwards they met Don Juan Bautista de Arzuela who continued on to Santa Fe and reported to the Audiencia. By 17th January this expedition commanded by Captain Don Ruis de Maldonado left the Meta and entered the Orinoco. Favoured by the strongly flowing current they arrived at St. Thome

on 11th February 1639 where in parade order, with flags flying and guns thundering, they landed amidst the joyous welcome of the inhabitants. These must have been days of rejoicing since the supplies included amongst other things 11 barrels of biscuits, 430 cheeses and 30 hams as well as clothing for the people and ornaments for the Church.

This must also have been a time of triumph for Don Diego Lopez who now found himself with 250 men in good condition and well supplied with arms and ammunition. Now was the time and opportunity to effect the desire of his heart and sweep the hated Dutch for ever from the adjacent coasts and Island; from Surinam on the east to Curacoa on the west.

First, however, he dealt with the Caribs close at hand, who had helped the Dutch in their invasion and had for more than a year kept the Spaniards in fear and trembling and had added greatly to their misery and distress. Forty men were sent up river under Captain Alonso de Aguilar and 20 men down river with the Governor to chastise the Carib tribes. In these forays some thirty Indians were captured.

Next Don Diego had to consider the urgent needs of his people in the Island of Trinidad. At the end of February he took part of the supplies brought from Santa Fe, meat and tallow from the cattle in Guayana and the Indian slaves and went across to St. Joseph. With hope revived and strength renewed the Spaniards started to rebuild their town of

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St. Joseph while the Governor proceeded to chastise the hostile Indian tribes of Trinidad. As a result additional Indians were captured and the whole number were sent to Cumana and Margarita for sale.

With the completion of these urgent measures Don Diego had intended to return to St. Thome and organise the important venture against the Dutch in Essequibo and Berbice. However, man proposes and God disposes; for unfortunately at this critical time he fell ill at St. Joseph and was unable to reach St. Thome until 16th June 1639. This prolonged delay was fatal to his plans and the inevitable difficulties soon arose. The inactivity of so many men in the confined space of the forests soon led to discontent, to which was added serious sickness and scarcity of food supplies. Captain Don Diego Ruiz de Maldonado was in despair and in spite of repeated messages could get no instructions from Don Diego in Trinidad. Much against his will the Captain was forced to disband several companies and allow the men to find their way overland to Caracas especially as desertion in bands of 20-25 had already begun.

On his return to St. Thome the Governor was incensed at the serious reduction of the force and after an official enquiry into the disaster, decided that the Captain was to blame. High words and angry protests appear to have passed between the leaders and written reports representing conflicting views were indited to the Audiencia. A decisive Council of War at St. Thome came to the disappoint-

ing but inevitable conclusion that an attack on Essequibo with the present force of about 80 men had no hope of success.

Don Diego Lopez therefore ordered 35 soldiers to remain at St. Thome for its defence and directed the second in command, Captain Don Francisco Vane-gas de Maldonado, to take the rest with him up the Orinoco to Santa Fe. The Governor himself with Captain Don Diego Ruiz went down the river to Cedros Bay and then on to Punta de Brea where pitch was cut with hatchets and crowbars to serve for patching the pearl fishing canoes at Margarita. A day later they arrived at the mouth of the Caroni River where, to the disgust of Don Diego Ruiz, the Spaniards were freely trading with an enemy vessel.

After twelve days at St. Joseph as Captain Pedro de Padilla was going to Margarita to sell the pitch and obtain salt, the Governor sent Don Diego Ruiz with him. From Margarita he went to the River Magdalena and eventually reached Santa Fe. Apparently he was accompanied by his aide as far as Trinidad where Don Diego Martin de Baena remained to settle and to take up land in the Diego Martin Valley which is said to be named after him.

The President of the Audiencia of New Granada, Don Martin Saavedra y Guzman had spent a large sum of money and sent 200 men to St. Thome. In January 1640 he complained to the King that the objects of this expedition had not been achieved and alleged that Don Diego Lopez never had any

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intention of ousting the Dutch and merely wanted the troops to collect Indian slaves for sale in Cumana and Margarita where he had also sold a large quantity of the supplies sent from Santa Fe putting the proceeds in his own pocket. He further alleged that the so-called attack by the Dutch on St. Thome was made by only seven men who came to fetch Cornelis de Moor and that it was common knowledge that the Governor had lost his head and appeared in shirt tails and without arms flying from the enemy. The President ended by demanding exemplary punishment for the scandalous misuse of this expedition and reported that he had instructed the Treasury at Cartagena to cease paying the annual amount of 2,000 ducats to this Governor.

Don Diego retorted that the men sent were undisciplined and short of arms and munitions, that he had to go to Trinidad to fetch vessels and also to pacify the Indians, then in revolt, and that in any case it was necessary to wait till the Orinoco was in flood in June to take suitable vessels through the mouth to Essequibo.

After careful examination of the various discordant claims forwarded to Spain the Council for the Indies in June 1640 decided that Don Diego Lopez should remain till 1641 and complete the five years of Government. Meanwhile Don Martin de Mendoza y Berrio was appointed to succeed him and to enquire into the allegations against him.

By a letter from the King to the Governor

designate, dated 8th March 1641, these complaints were duly set out; firstly that Don Diego had proceeded with the expedition to Tobago in 1636 contrary to the advice of his Council in Trinidad and solely for his own credit and profit from which great damage had followed in Trinidad and Guayana; secondly that Don Diego after capturing the Dutch in Tobago had failed to disclose all the booty and that he had kept for his own benefit some slaves, 7 pieces of artillery, a quantity of powder, muskets and various other articles; thirdly that Don Diego had taken some silver articles from the Treasury at St. Thome and jewels from that at St. Joseph with intent to steal from the Royal Estate; fourthly that Don Diego sought help from the Royal Audiencia of New Granada to dislodge the enemy from the coast of Guayana and yet, when sent, the expedition miscarried owing to the disgraceful avarice and mal-governement of Don Diego himself.

The new Governor arrived in Trinidad on 30th August 1642 and proceeded with his enquiries. His report was referred with due care to the Audiencia of San Domingo to attest and verify the facts. In 1647 the King had cause to reprimand the Audiencia for prolonged delay and required the President to complete this matter at once. Don Pedro Ruis de Salazar was sent from San Domingo to Trinidad for this purpose and also to arrest Don Diego even though he had provided adequate financial guarantees.

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In 1652 we learn that Don Diego Lopez had retired and was living in otium cum dignitate at Margarita. It would appear that the report of Don Martin de Mendoza must have convicted Don Diego and that on appeal, the verification of the Audiencia must have cleared the Governor from, at any rate, the more serious offences.¹

¹ Letters from the Governor of Caracas to the King 20 April 1638 in the Additional MSS. 36324.

The report of Don Diego Ruiz de Maldonado of 1640; the depositions taken by order of the President of the Audiencia of Santa Fe, January 1640; letters from the President of the Audiencia to the King 20 January 1640; all in additional M.S.S. 36325.

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THE TRINIDAD HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOUNDED : JUNE 23, 1932

List of Officers and Committee

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Hon. Secretary's Report for the year ended June 1933

Form of Application for Membership



*The following pages are printed at the request of the
Trinidad Historical Society.*

THE TRINIDAD HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Officers and Committee for 1933-4

Patron.

H. E. Sir Alfred Claud Hollis, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.

President.

The Hon. Dr. K. S. Wise, M.B., Surgeon-General

Vice-President.

Dr. E. Prada, O.B.E.

Hon. Secretary-Treasurer.

Professor C. Y. Shephard, B.Sc. (Econ.).

Committee.

Mr. C. B. Franklin, *Act. Hon. Sec.*

Mr. J. M. Farfan.

Miss L. Hart.

Dr. S. M. Laurence, M.B., C.M.

Mr. J. W. Macgillivray, F.S.I.

M. T. I. Potter, M.B.E., F.Z.S.

Mr. Chas. Reis, Barrister-at-Law.

Mrs. K. S. Wise.

THE TRINIDAD HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Objects of the Society

The Trinidad Historical Society was formed on 23 June 1932 under the Patronage of His Excellency the Governor, to collect, print, and circulate to its members copies of rare, important or interesting letters, cedulae, proclamations, reports, maps, statistical data, &c., relating to the economic, social and political development of Trinidad and Tobago, and neighbouring countries.

It is hoped that these original documents will eventually provide the basis for a comprehensive and accurate historical account of the Colony from the earliest times. These publications will be supplemented by short papers on selected topics.

Should sufficient funds become available the Society will extend its activities to reprinting historical books of local interest and outstanding merit, which are no longer accessible to the general public, and to the identification and preservation of historic sites.

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Much valuable material has already been placed at the disposal of the Society, and this will be printed and circulated as and when the necessary funds are forthcoming. So far the number of documents printed and circulated by the Society number 108.

The Society has no source of income other than the subscriptions of members. It is earnestly hoped that you will subscribe to the Society and so enable the Committee to increase the number of publications.

The Society welcomes the contribution of any historical data relating to Trinidad. Original documents will be returned immediately copies have been made. Careful consideration will be given to all material submitted which, if suitable, will be published, provided the necessary funds are available.

The annual subscription is £1. 0s. 10d. (\$5 Trinidad currency) and those who desire to become members are requested to forward this amount together with the Form on the last page of this book to Professor Shephard, Honorary Secretary-Treasurer, C/o The Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad, B.W.I.

THE TRINIDAD HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Report of the Acting Hon. Secretary

The first annual report of a society of this kind might reasonably be characterised by brevity, as the hopes of the founders may not, in very great measure be realised, while many unforeseen difficulties may so impede the way that progress might be slow, and there be but little to report.

It is unfortunate that this report falls to be written by some one other than the original secretary, Professor C. Y. Shephard—who might almost be regarded as the parent of this organisation—could have told of its origin; the discussion of the many plans for launching it; the discovery of enough persons sufficiently interested to see the work of such a society faithfully maintained; and above all of the moving spirit in the person of the Hon. Dr. K. S. Wise.

On the afternoon of 23rd June, 1932, a number of research workers and others interested in that cult met at the home of Prof. C. Y. Shephard at St.

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Augustine, and there founded the Trinidad Historical Society. There were present the Hon. Dr. K. S. Wise, (Surgeon-General) and Mrs. Wise; Prof. C. Y. Shephard, (Prof. Economics, Imperial College) and Mrs. Shephard; Miss M. Hart, (Public Librarian); Dr. E. Prada, (Town Clerk); Dr. S. M. Laurence, (Port Health Officer); Messrs. J. M. Farfan, (1st Asst. Colonial Secretary); J. W. Macgillivray, (Surveyor-General); Charles Reis, (Barrister-at-Law); P. Lechmere Guppy, (Naturalist) and C. B. Frnaklin, (Publisher). An excuse for absence was received from Mr. T. I. Potter, (Naturalist).

Dr. Wise explained the object of the meeting and stressed the point that it was highly desirable that a society be established for the purpose of rescuing and publishing the many hitherto unpublished (in Trinidad) documents, as well as those which had previously been published but had not been preserved. There were certain persons in the Colony who could contribute to the carrying on of such a society if founded, and he felt sure that if interest could be aroused in the community regarding its purpose, there would be little doubt of the success of the effort.

After considerable discussion as to details of organisation, it was unanimously agreed that the "Trinidad Historical Society" be formed. That His Excellency Sir Alfred Claud Hollis, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., the Governor,—who is himself an ardent research worker—be asked to become its Patron; that Dr.

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Wise be its first President and Dr. Prada, Vice President; and that Prof. Shephard be Secretary-Treasurer. A Publication Committee was also formed comprising Messrs. Reis, Macgillivray and Potter.

His Excellency the Governor having kindly accepted the office of Patron, active steps were then taken towards a start; to this end circulars were sent to those persons whom it was felt would be interested in the new Society, asking them to become members. This effort resulted in the registering of thirty-six members, some of which represent institutions such as Colleges, Libraries, &c. The Secretary of the new Barbados Historical Society is also among the members. In the coming year a further campaign must be made—this time, perhaps, by personal approach—as the subscriptions from such a small membership are insufficient to adequately forward the interests of the society.

During the year 56 Publications were issued to members at a cost of \$115.80, and it is hoped that in the new year, should funds permit, to reprint some old maps and plans of great value and historic interest.

With a view to interesting the general public in our labours, articles were also published in the columns of the daily press and magazines from time to time. These Publications, thus circulated, it is felt should be reprinted and added to those already issued to subscribers, as they form valuable connecting links in the history of our island which we

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are trying to preserve.

Accompanying this report¹ is the Financial Statement to 30th June, 1933, duly audited by Mr. T. I. Potter. It shows a balance in hand of \$121.94, of which \$118.15 is in Barclays Bank. There is an outstanding bill of \$35.88 for printing &c., which will be met from this, leaving a surplus of revenue over expenditure of \$36.06.

This report would be incomplete did I not record the grateful thanks of members to our President for his untiring labours in the operations of the society, particularly in the providing of material, from many sources, for the very interesting Publications issued during the past year. Dr. Wise has delved carefully and thoroughly with the sole purpose of carrying out the main object of the society, that of furnishing the facts necessary for the publication of a more comprehensive history of Trinidad and Tobago than has hitherto been attempted. Thus shall we endeavour to earn the gratitude of the present generation and even posterity may yet be proud to be our debtors.

C. B. FRANKLIN

Acting Secretary

Port-of-Spain

12th December, 1933.

¹ Not included here.

FORM OF APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Dear Sir,

I enclose the sum of £1 0s 10d. (\$5.00) being a year's subscription (July 1934 to June 1935) to the Trinidad Historical Society. Please forward its publications to:—
