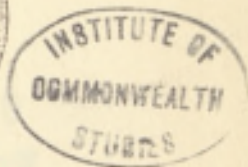


HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

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PREFACE

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HISTORICAL SKETCHES

ARTICLE I.

DON FERNANDO DE BERRIO AS GOVERNOR OF TRINIDAD.
(1597).

DON FERNANDO DE BERRIO was born in 1576, at Alpujarro, in Spain, and he went in 1580 on the fatal expedition with his father Antonio de Berrio and his mother Maria de Oruna to Santa Fe de Bogota, in Colombia, who took possession of the estates of Don Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada.

From this journey flowed the search for El Dorado, the three astounding, prolonged and perilous voyages of exploration through the impenetrable fastnesses of Colombia and Venezuela with the settlement of the Island of Trinidad in 1592, and a claim to the Empire of Guayana.

It was at this time, his mother having died at Santa Fe in 1591, that Fernando, as a stripling of 16 years, joined his father at Margarita, thenceforth to take his part in worldly affairs, and to advance the family fortunes.

In 1592, San Josef de Oruna had been settled in the Island of Trinidad, and Domingo de Vera had ventured up the River Orinoco and had brought

back what was accepted as convincing tangible evidence of the immensity of the golden riches of the Guayana provinces. Antonio de Berrio thereupon wanted men, more men and then still more men, to open the way to these riches believed to be hitherto unequalled even in Mexico or Peru, to lay this notable, glittering jewel of the New World in the lap of his Sovereign and to claim for his family the titles, honours and rewards which could not fail then to be granted.

Denied support in Cumana, Margarita and Caracas, the officials of which were jealous of his possible success, Antonio de Berrio had to look further afield and thus Fernando was directed in 1593, back to Santa Fe, to collect as many men as possible and to dispatch them down the River Orinoco to Guayana. This became a slow and difficult process; a few men were sent in 1594, some thirty men in 1595, and Antonio de Berrio began to realise that men in the numbers which he required (about 500 or so) were not to be obtained in the West.

To place his accomplishments and claims in a proper light before the King of Spain, to counteract the machinations of his enemies and his jealous brother officials (especially the Governor of Cumana) and above all to bring out an expedition which should save for him the great reward now slipping from his grasp, Antonio de Berrio in November, 1594, sent his lieutenant Domingo de Vera to Spain.

While his efforts at Madrid were trembling in the balance, Sir Walter Raleigh arrived at Trinidad. His attack and capture of the town of San Josef, in April, 1595, followed by his exploration of the

River Orinoco, settled the hesitating policy of the Spanish Crown. This valuable area was to be made secure at once and at all costs; an expedition was collected which the enthusiasm of the people swelled to 1,000 and finally to 1,500 people including priests, women and children: moreover the Royal Exchequer loaned 70,000 and the City of Seville 5,000 ducats to supply this expedition.

On February 23, 1596, this gallant array set forth from San Lucar, and on April 10th, it anchored in the Bay of Paria. The men were soon transferred and by the end of May, Antonio de Berrio had about 450 men at San Thome, on the River Orinoco, and sent an expedition of 300 men under Captain Alvaro Jorge southwards to explore the way to El Dorado, and to obtain supplies.

This effort ended in disaster only thirty men returning to tell the tale. Mismanagement, sickness, lack of leadership, lack of accommodation and supplies soon destroyed all semblance of an organised expedition so that a large number of the people died and many others left for other Spanish Colonies in the West.

In 1597, Fernando de Berrio had left Santa Fe de Bogota with a few more, hardly won men and arrived in June, at San Thome to find his father upon his death bed.

Thus in June, 1597, Fernando de Berrio, at the age of 21 became the Governor of the Island of Trinidad, and of the Provinces of Guayana, much the youngest of a long line of successors. This was due not to Royal appointment but to the usual Spanish colonial practice of granting patents for exploration to Conquistadors and Governors which

included the right of nominating a successor for one, two or three lives as the case might be. Antonio de Berrio exercised his legal right of appointing his 21-year-old son, Fernando, as his successor as Governor.

It is true that Antonio's Lieutenant Domingo de Vera claimed to have a cedula from the King of Spain to administer the Government on the death or absence of Antonio de Berrio. Domingo, however, freely wrote to the King of Spain in October, 1597: "He showed so much wisdom and consideration and was so careful in setting guards and in other necessary precautions and above all was so good a Christian, and so disposed to act well, that I considered I should not take over the Government. I did not leave him during the day and remained at his side; he was so ready to take advice as to what should be done and showed that he was the master. All this being so, I gave him the Royal Cedula saying that I did not wish to make use of it."

So also the King of Spain confirmed the dying act of Antonio de Berrio and Fernando was duly proclaimed as Governor of the Island of Trinidad, and of the province of Guayana, and as such succeeded to the wreck of his father's fortunes.

San Josef de Oruna was in ruins, destroyed by Sir Walter Raleigh; San Thome was a straw thatched village in the heart of the Orinoco forests, surrounded by innumerable hostile Indians, occupied by 160 men with 80 horses and cattle, pigs and supplies of powder, lead and iron. This, the wreckage of Vera's great expedition, with the mortgaged estates, at Pauto in Colombia was the heritage of

Fernando from Antonio de Berrio; this, with the jealous opposition of the neighbouring officials; this, with the still accepted dream of yet untold riches in the Guayana hinterland.

Imbued by his father with a belief in El Dorado, the search for which was passed undimmed as a sacred duty to Fernando, he proceeded to lay plans for the conquest of these rich provinces in Guayana. The Commissary General of a Dutch ship which left Briel in December, 1597, and by August of next year was anchored off San Thome in the River Orinoco, stated that "The Governor is Don Fernando de Berrio, Marquess of Weyana and the River Worinoque" and also that he was trying to conquer Guayana from the Caribs and had commenced to make a road which would take five horses abreast.

This was his selected method of entry, to make suitable access to an advanced base at Los Arias, some fifty miles inland from San Thome; a more cautious and safer method than that of his father. Antonio de Berrio had been a true conquistador, faithful to his training as a soldier in the European wars, contemptuous of any possible Indian opposition, he would risk his all in almost impossible and inconceivable journeys of exploration, winning out after all by his indomitable courage and persistence.

The forests, the swamps and the wilds of Guayana have however beaten many a bold and skilful leader and to invade Guayana to the south of the River Orinoco and to breast the northward flowing surge of the Carib dispersal with any hope of success required a far greater, a far better organised and a far better informed expedition than either

Antonio or Fernando de Berrio ever had at their disposal.

Don Fernando was of a different character. Perhaps he had learnt wisdom from his father's failures, perhaps Domingo de Vera had urged more cautious methods before his death in November, 1597; in any case an advanced base at Los Arias, was settled 50 miles inland from San Thome, early in 1598, as a first step to further exploration. From Los Arias short exploratory marches were made, foodstuffs collected and attempts made to bring the nearer villages under control.

Early in this year Captain Martin Gomez with 100 armed men, horses, munitions and supplies had advanced from Los Arias to explore. After traversing about 40 miles to the south he found himself in mountainous country, strongly opposed by Indians. Fernando instructed Captain Gomez to maintain his position and secure food while reinforcements were hurried up. While these were on the way they learnt that Gomez had been defeated, had given way and unfortunately, had lost Arias.

Two other attempts were made to pass the mountains to the south but without success. Finally Fernando decided to leave the horses at San Thome and enter the district on foot. Repulsed again by strong Indian attacks, Fernando swung to the west parallel to the mountains. After passing some 400 miles to the west through constantly hostile Indian tribes always unable to pass the mountains to the south yet "always getting news of the riches within," Fernando reached the River Cuchivera which led him to the Orinoco and so back to San Thome.

Later in 1601, Don Fernando again attempted to penetrate the southern mountains which were reported to have rich gold mines with clothed people and good houses. Again the almost invincible northward swarming Caribs overwhelmed him and his expedition and he had to return and record yet another failure. What was worse not only had he lost his forward base at Los Arias, but the Caribs were boldly counter attacking at San Thome, and making raids on the Island of Trinidad.

On January 14th, 1603, in the absence of Fernando de Berrio, at San Thome, the Illustrious Cabildo of Trinidad, duly constituted itself at San Josef and formed an offensive alliance with the Tibitibi Indians (Warraus) of the Delta. Captain Pedro de Beltranilla, Alcalde Ordinario, was detailed to go with 20 Spaniards and assist these Indians to defeat and punish those Caribs who had been harassing the Island of Trinidad.

By this time the Governor, Don Fernando de Berrio, must have been assailed by many doubts and must have realised that whatever riches may have existed behind the southern mountains, they were not of the magnitude alleged and the existence of another Mexico or Peru was beyond the bounds of serious probability. In any case he certainly must have realised that the impelling and continuous advance of the Caribs northward through the mountains especially down the valleys of the Caroni, Paragua and Caura which they held in great strength rendered any exploration in that direction not only difficult but actually dangerous by drawing upon himself and the Spanish settlements, the murderous revenge of these savages.

Though efforts at exploration were made as late as 1609, so far as Fernando is concerned the active search for El Dorado henceforth took a second place and his attention turned to measures to meet the necessities of his people and government. He recognised that they had to live off the land and not by the discovery of gold and precious stones and thus directed them to the peaceful arts of agriculture and commerce.

Reference. Additional MSS. No. 36317 and 36318. British Museum.

ARTICLE II.

TOBACCO CULTIVATION IN TRINIDAD. (1600-1614).

DON FERNANDO DE BERRIO, the Governor of Trinidad, was disillusioned and had abandoned the search for El Dorado. He was no swashbuckling conquistador with a disdain for commerce and trade: far from it, as later proceedings showed he was singularly successful as a trader and soon placed his settlements in a more satisfactory state than for many a long year afterwards.

About this time many Dutch, French and English vessels visited the Cumana coast to load salt at the famous salt lakes at Araya. In fact the Council of War in Spain, reported to the King in 1600, that in two years more than 300 foreign ships had loaded salt at Punta Araya.

This was regarded as so serious that in 1600, two galleons were stationed at Cumana, but without practical effect. In 1603 the fleet for the Indies was despatched at an earlier date so as to go to Araya and destroy any vessel found there. Again in 1605 this was ordered and the Admiral, Luis

Pajardo, arrived at Punta Araya, in November, with 18 ships. He captured 9 Dutch vessels, hanged some of the prisoners, sent others to the galleys at Cartagena and destroyed the vessels.

Various other measures were suggested to curtail this salt stealing by foreign vessels, including flooding the salt pans permanently by the sea, laying poison all over them, establishing a small local Spanish fleet and the erection of forts.

Finally in 1620 the Dutch raided the Spanish settlements at Cumana, Margarita and Caracas. At Margarita they were unusually successful and were able to demolish all the defences so much so that the Spaniards nearly abandoned the Island and its pearl fisheries.

In 1621 the Dutch West India Company developed pretensions to ownership of these salt pans and in the latter part of 1622 the Spaniards at Cumana drove off a fleet of 58 Dutch vessels, so great had this salt trade become. Early in 1623 another fleet of 41 Dutch vessels appeared off Punta Araya, and the Governor of Cumana, Diego de Arroya y Daza, had an anxious time preventing these Dutch from landing and using the salt pans.

The Spanish Government now definitely determined to protect its rights and in 1623, the Engineer Baptista Antonelli, was sent out to recommend a suitable remedy. As a result a strong fort was erected at a cost of a million pesos at Araya, during 1624-1625, under the protection of the fleet. From this time the Dutch avoided Araya and turned to salt pans elsewhere especially those of the Island of St. Martin.

With such a voluminous trade so near along the

coast of Venezuela, the opportunities at Trinidad and up the River Orinoco were not neglected and the business instincts of Fernando de Berrio were quite prepared to take all possible advantage of such favourable openings. This was a complete reversal of the policy of sturdy opposition and implacable hatred of his father.

In August, 1598, a Dutch vessel was trading at San Thome, and in September, at Trinidad, and the Commissary General reported: "This is a fine, fertile Island in itself adorned with many kinds of products and wares serviceable for many things and we bartered away all the rest of our merchandise and wares."

In 1600, a Dutch vessel was captured off Margarita, which had been trading in the Amazon, the Orinoco, and at the Island of Trinidad. This vessel carried "iron goods and all things necessary for melting gold and silver."

This trade with foreigners in the Orinoco, at the Island of Trinidad and at Cumana and Margarita, continued to increase. The Dutch and English vessels served a useful purpose bringing out European manufactured goods and exchanging them for local produce, principally hides, tobacco and salt.

The provinces of Trinidad and Guayana prospered with this trade so that in 1605-6, Don Fernando was able to re-build and extend San Josef. He also purchased over 400 slaves from the Dutch, who were delivered in Trinidad at the river Caroni. This was evidently to increase still further the tobacco cultivation as constant difficulties with the Indians had occurred doubtless over this very question of labour in the fields.

So well off did these settlements become that in 1610, Don Fernando was able also to re-build and extend what had then become the town of San Thome and in the continuation of this successful trade Don Fernando saw a bright future for his government and his people.

Alas, the Council of the Indies had begun to take cognisance of this persistent and extensive foreign trade and steps had to be taken to end it. In February, 1606, the Council had learnt that Dutch and English ships were attracted to the Cumanagoto province by the tobacco trade and that even the Spaniards themselves connived to aid it. As this was directly contrary to their policy the Council recommended that the province of Cumanagoto be depopulated of all Spaniards so that no tobacco would be grown there. In August, 1606, the necessary cedula was issued from San Lorenzo el Real, to Don Pedro Suarez Coronel, Governor of Cumana.

The Governor protested against such an order. He pointed out that there were 12,000 Indians there who would be left without any Spanish control and who would therefore revert to pure savagery and that in consequence the overland route to Caracas and to the Orinoco would be closed and impassable. Furthermore the slaves from the pearl fisheries would find a more easy way of safe escape and the Governor urged the cancellation of this order as the growth and export of tobacco could be otherwise controlled. These recommendations succeeded, the cedula was withdrawn and by June, 1608, the Governor of Cumana was able to report that the growth of tobacco in his government had ceased; but with virtuous anger he pointed

out that Don Fernando de Berrio grew tobacco openly in both Trinidad and Guayana and unblushingly traded it with foreign ships.

The Council of the Indies had also turned its attention to Venezuela and the Governor of Caracas, Don Sancho de Alquiiza, in June, 1607, acknowledged the receipt of orders to prevent the sowing of tobacco for ten years so as to prevent traffic with the English, Dutch and French voyagers. He later reported that these orders had been made effective and all cultivation of tobacco had ceased.

The Island of Trinidad and the province of Guayana had their part in these developments. The President of the Audiencia of Santa Fe, Don Juan de Borja, complained to the King of Spain of the unsatisfactory state of affairs in Guayana. In a report of June 20th, 1608, the President stated that the correspondence of Don Fernando de Berrio "has been so far from what it should be that neither myself nor the Oidores who reside in the Audiencia have received any information from him for the space of ten years, and that the soldiers in Guayana lead free and licentious lives and without spiritual or temporal leading, run headlong into every kind of vice. The President characterised San Thome as a chosen resort of secular criminals, irregular priests, apostate friars and in general, a seminary of rascals.

The chief complaint was that of open and profitable trade with the pirate enemies "which is so extensive and continual that the merchandise reaches as far as this Kingdom through the licence of this same Don Fernando." The President even

commissioned a Corregidor, Don Fernando de Mendoza, to visit San Thome, who confirmed all that had been reported. Don Juan de Borja urged His Majesty to enquire into this matter "for the information and satisfaction of Your Royal Conscience."

Captain Martinez de Prado, who had gone out in Vera's expedition of 1596, and who lived at San Thome, complained in January, 1609, of the irregular and unlawful acts of Don Fernando. In a little known pamphlet in the British Museum there is an account of the treatment accorded to the English ship *Ulysses*, by Don Fernando, at San Thome. When the mariners and merchants went ashore on the faith and oath of the Governor, thirty of them were at once seized "for the divers strangers that had formerly traded there had deceived him of 20,000 duckets but that if the merchants would send him the 20,000 duckets then he vowed presently to send all the 30 men aboard safe and then to continue the trade also." The money was sent whereupon the Governor caused all the men to be hanged upon trees except the Surgeon who was kept alive to cure the Governor's ailments.

Similarly, Captain Pedro de Beltranilla, Alcalde Ordinario, at San Josef, in Trinidad, who also had travelled in Vera's expedition, reported in November, 1609, the open and frequent trade with the privateers and also the trade in Indians of which "the fountain head and author is the Governor himself" who were carried and sold as slaves in Margarita. The Captain wrote: "He acts without any idea of Christianity or consideration that he

is a servant of Your Majesty but as an absolute King and Lord of that country. Neither the law of God nor the law of man is regarded in that country but only that of his own will and pleasure."

A special commissioner, the Licenciado Francisco Manso de Contreras, was sent from Margarita, to enquire into the allegations and in a report to the King at the end of 1609, confirmed that the Indians were taken as slaves of war and sold for use in the pearl fisheries at Margarita and Cumana and that trading was openly and flagrantly done with foreign vessels both in Trinidad and in Guayana. Moreover Diego Nunez Brito, the Royal Chaplain, at Margarita, also wrote of the traffic in Indian slaves and reported that quite recently Don Fernando de Berrio had sent 32 Indians to Don Bernardo de Vargas, Governor of Margarita, who had been sold at 30 ducats each and that there were then in March, 1610, at Trinidad, eleven foreign vessels taking produce.

Sir Thomas Roe, who was at Port-of-Spain, in the latter part of 1610 found there "fifteen sayle of ships freighting smoke, English, French and Dutch" and also reported that Don Fernando was re-building San Thome, where men, horses and cattle were arriving daily.

Clearly business in Trinidad and Guayana was booming and this trade in tobacco, its profitable value, its importance and its dangers, were soon forcibly brought home to the Council of the Indies by a report from an agent in London, that in February, 1611, a ship arrived in the Thames, with 16,000 pounds of tobacco from the Orinoco, which had been supplied by the Governor and his people

at six reales a pound. There were nine other ships then lading at Trinidad and the Orinoco.

Even the Spanish Ambassador in England, Don Alonzo de Velasco, protested at this trade with Trinidad and reported to the King of Spain, that in May, 1611, three ships had arrived in London with tobacco from Trinidad, the cargo of the least of which was valued at 500,000 ducats.

Overwhelming evidence still accumulated and Don Diego Gomez de Sandoval, President of the Audiencia of San Domingo, in July, 1611, informed the Council that an English ship had been captured off that Island, the letters and papers of which proved that trading had been done in Trinidad and implicated by their own signatures the Governor, Don Fernando himself, his Lieutenant, Don Sancho de Mendoza, the local people and also a Franciscan Friar. The Captain had confessed that about 20-30 ships were engaged yearly in this tobacco trade with Trinidad alone.

The wheels of Spanish administration moved slowly, but by February, 1610, the King of Spain, had been moved to send a cedula ordering Don Fernando de Berrio to stop the foreign trading "and in no way permit the said trade to take place punishing the guilty with full rigour with the warning that if you do not do so what may be fitting will be provided."

The reply to this came from the Governor of Margarita, the accomplice of Don Fernando, who regretted that Don Fernando had been ill in Margarita. He had made all haste at once to carry out the Royal Instructions; he had however too few men to command the situation and the foreigners

compelled the Spaniards to trade in default of which their settlements had been threatened with destruction. This Governor urged that the annual fleet should go into the Bay of Paria, so as to destroy the foreign ships sure to be found there forcing their trade upon the unprotected Spaniards.

The Council of the Indies knew only too well all the tricks of delay common to Colonial Administration and simultaneously early in 1610, sent instructions to the Audiencia of San Domingo, to detail an officer to make sure that the foreign trade and the capture of Indian slaves did cease in Trinidad.

Reference. Additional MSS. No. 36318 and 36319. British Museum. Thomasons Pamphlets. E. 1065.

ARTICLE III.

DON FERNANDO DE BERRIO AND THE RESIDENCIA.
(1611-1614).

DON FERNANDO DE BERRIO had developed the trade of Trinidad and Guayana, and by 1611 the Council of the Indies began to understand the large extent of his operations. In March the Council reported to the King that of the 70,000 ducats lent from the Royal Treasury in 1596 to equip Vera's expedition, the greater part was still unpaid and that Don Fernando had given no account of his government and that he had lived lawlessly, condoned offences and traded with the enemy.

The Council urged that a residencia should be ordered forthwith. Within a few days, on March 23rd, 1611, a Royal Cedula was issued from Madrid to Don Sancho de Alquiza, Governor of Caracas, to take "the residencia upon the administration of Don Fernando de Berrio, Governor of the Island of Trinidad."

Evidently trouble was expected since the President of the Audiencia of San Domingo was instructed to order Don Fernando to come to that Island and to supply Don Sancho de Alquiza with

suitable forces to protect him "so that the residencia may be held in due judicial manner."

If Don Fernando was deemed guilty then Don Sancho de Alquiza was instructed to remain as Governor with a salary of 650,000 maravedis (about £550 a year); should Don Fernando be held guiltless then he was to return to his government from San Domingo. During this enquiry Don Sancho was allotted 6 ducats a day.

The residencia was a unique feature of Spanish administration. Governors and other high officers were required to submit themselves every five years or at the end of their term of office, to an open enquiry at which anyone might appear and lodge a complaint. Any such complaint the Governor was required to answer and pending the final issue, the salary of his office and the bonds of his guarantors were held in suspense.

On December 14th, 1611, Don Sancho de Alquiza left Margarita with 30 Spaniards and 100 Indians. On the 29th, he arrived at San Josef, in Trinidad, to take the residencia of Don Fernando, and presented his commission in due form to the Cabildo.

By January 15th, 1612, Don Sancho wrote the following letter to Don Diego Gomez de Sandoval, President of the Audiencia, at San Domingo, "I have begun to conduct this residencia and find generally that everyone here is guilty without exception. I have not taken action against anyone because they all freely confess their fault and ask for mercy in such a way that I could only pity them and considering what I have learnt in the past few days, I have pardoned the people.

"Returning from Mass to my house I was accom-

panied as far as the door by all the people of the town and a part of the women (all the most important). There the Procurator of the town in front of all stated that he had a very important petition to present to me and asked me to allow the Escribano to read it. I so ordered him.

"The petition was in the name of all the people asking mercy for all who from the highest to the lowest admitted that they were guilty of trading with the enemy. As the petition was being read all the women and men fell on their knees in front of my house confessing their guilt and asking forgiveness.

"This was very pitiful and I told them to rise from the ground and consoled them as best I could. I was alone in the town and the people had done all they could. To arrest all those guilty was not possible, I had neither the soldiers nor a prison large enough.

"I am reporting all this to His Majesty recommending that a general pardon be given to all, otherwise all would have to be punished down to children of ten years old."

This must have been a very moving picture and a piteous scene indeed; one well worthy to be included among the many dignified scenes which have taken place in the town of San Josef, the old capital of Trinidad.

Don Sancho de Alquiza also reported that it was impossible to complete the residencia in three months as it was about 250 miles from Trinidad to San Thome, and that at least 24 soldiers must go at a time because of the danger from the Caribs. Furthermore there were 27 foreign vessels at that

time at Trinidad and the Orinoco through which he had to slip on a dark night—"It is more needful to go with a musket on the shoulder than with pen in hand."

Like many another government official Don Sancho de Alquiza considered that he had cause to complain of his allowance though perhaps few have made their representations so courteously. "I do not complain of the six ducats which are allowed since the interest which I have in serving Your Majesty is greater than the obligation which I owe to My King and Lord." He complained that the amount allowed was scanty since even an Oidor received ten ducats a day in addition to his salary as well, and without the necessity of paying soldiers daily for protection. The amount of six ducats was clearly inadequate but Don Sancho courteously ended by assuring His Majesty "I am doing what I can and spending what I do not possess with great pleasure, for I know that I am serving Your Majesty thereby, whom may God preserve as Christendom needs."

Surely this petition must have been granted and the allowance increased.

By February 23rd, Don Sancho de Alquiza, had reached San Thome, and this being the capital and residence of Don Fernando, proceeded to investigate his personal deeds. As a result of this investigation, he found Don Fernando de Berrio guilty of 38 charges of trading and permitting trading with the enemy. He also found Don Fernando guilty of having allowed the seizure and sale of Indians as slaves and rejected the plea of absolute necessity as a justification for these acts.

Don Sancho de Alquiza thereupon sentenced Don Fernando to pay a fine and to suffer perpetual deprivation of his office as Governor of the Island of Trinidad and the Province of Guayana. He reported further that as some of the charges proved merited the sentence of death, the decision on these had been reserved for His Majesty.

As Don Fernando had been proved guilty and unfit to continue as Governor, Don Sancho disclosed his Commission to the two Cabildos and forthwith prohibited any sowing of tobacco for that year, so as to end this trade. Unfortunately just before he had arrived at San Thome the crop had been sold by the people to the English; as they said by force majeure—a thousand of the enemy having attacked, fired shots into San Thome and seized the tobacco!!!

Don Sancho de Alquiza finished the residencia by June, 1612, having spent 3,000 ducats (about £1,200) of his own money and undergone heavy travails. As he was now suffering much from sickness, he retired to Margarita, and thence to Cartagena, leaving Don Juan de Tostado in charge at San Josef, and Don Antonio de Muxica at San Thome.

It would seem that these arduous labours must have contributed to his death since in the year 1623, just after the death of Don Fernando, the widow Donna Ana de las Alas petitioned for consideration on account of these special services of her husband, Don Sancho de Alquiza, and by cedula of January 20th, 1624, was awarded 1,500 ducats a year payable from the estate of Don Fernando de Berrio.

While awaiting the result of the residencia, the King decided to do at Trinidad, what had been successfully done at the salt pans of Araya, and by cedula of April 6th, 1612, Don Geronimo de Portugal y Cordova, the Captain General of the Armada conveying the fleet to the Indies, was commanded to enter the Bay of Paria to capture and burn any enemy ship trading there since such is "contrary to the service of Our Lord God and of Our Realm and interferes with our own trade and commerce. Furthermore it is believed that the enemy has the intention of making a fort in one of the ports and of getting possession of this Island."

In May, 1612, the stately Armada headed up the Bay of Paria, and anchored off Cumucurapo. Here the Admiral burnt and sank the trading ships without however much effect since the Governor of Margarita, reported in August, that eleven more ships had visited Trinidad since the visit of the galleons and in spite of closing the ports.

Don Fernando de Berrio had remained all this time at San Domingo, and had been kept informed of the progress of the residencia held *ex parte* at San Josef and San Thome. The result can not have surprised him much; and subjected to a fine, deprived of his government and perhaps of his life, he had no cause to remain in the Indies.

He went promptly to Spain to plead in person before the authorities at Madrid. Having arrived there all his efforts were unable to prevent the Council of the Indies from confirming on November 20th, 1614, the sentence of perpetual deprivation of his government.

Don Fernando de Berrio, thereupon appealed to

the King and detailed all the valuable services of his family and himself to the Crown, supported by testimony from the Governor of Margarita, Don Bernardo de Vargas, from the Cabildo of Trinidad, from the cura of San Josef, Father Juan Diaz de Mansilla and from Don Juan de Tostado, the Lieutenant left by Don Sancho de Alquiza. The petition was successful and His Majesty was pleased to reduce his sentence to one of exclusion from his provinces until permitted by licence of His Majesty.

It now became necessary to appoint a new Governor for the Island of Trinidad, and two names were presented to His Majesty whose choice fell upon Don Diego Palameque de Acuna, an officer of 20 years experience, to the exclusion of Don Sancho de Alquiza. The salary was fixed at 3,000 ducats a year of which 2,000 ducats were to be paid from the Treasury at Cartagena and 1,000 ducats from the Treasury at Trinidad.

Reference. Additional MSS. No. 36319 and 36320. British Museum.

ARTICLE IV.

THE FINAL EFFORTS OF DON FERNANDO.
(1618—1622).

DON FERNANDO DE BERRIO had been dismissed from his government and by November, 1615, Don Diego Palameque de Acuna had reached the Island of Trinidad, taken up his duties and realised the poor condition and scanty supplies at San Josef and San Thome.

The cessation of the tobacco trade and the forcible exclusion of foreign ships had ruined Trinidad and Guayana and though the Dutch and English made efforts to continue this trade even under force of arms, by 1614, trade was at an end.

In January, 1613, the Licenciado Pedro de Beltranilla, Procurator General of San Josef, reported to the Council of the Indies that for the past 18 years no Spanish ship had appeared at Trinidad to trade. The people had thus been forced by necessity to trade with enemy ships from which had flowed so many troubles and difficulties as was well known. He urged that the Casa de Contratacion should be ordered to send two register ships of 200 tons each to the Island of Trinidad every year so as to bring necessaries to the Island and to carry back the produce.

In September, 1614, a register ship did actually pass between Spain and Trinidad, carrying out necessaries including linen and clothing, 6fty

muskets, ten hundred weight of powder, six hundred weight of gun matches and six hundred weight of lead and returning laden with tobacco.

Such ships became rare and irregular and in spite of the Royal Pardon to the inhabitants of San Josef and San Thome, evidence still appeared of trading with the enemy and the Governor of Trinidad was instructed by cedula of November 8, 1615, to investigate and punish any who had dealings with the enemy after the promulgation of the pardon.

To encourage and assist the dispirited settlements in Trinidad and Guayana, the King approved the grant of freedom from the Alcabala and Almorazgo taxes (trading and custom dues) for six years on all tobacco shipped from these places to ports in Spain. Here was still another attempt to direct the Colony's trade into proper channels but the scarcity of Spanish vessels was not the only difficulty which discouraged the people of Trinidad since on November 21st, 1617, one of the register ships, a patache full of tobacco from Trinidad, was lost off Cape St. Vincent, being captured by the Turks.

Just at this time Sir Walter Raleigh made his second attack on Trinidad and the Orinoco. He arrived at Cedros, on December 17th, 1617, and left Trinidad, on February 8th, 1618, having sacked and burnt San Thome, during which Don Diego Palameque de Acuna had been killed. By June 21st, Sir Walter Raleigh was back at Plymouth, and on October 29th, he was executed at Westminster in London.

The Island of Trinidad and the Province of

Guayana, was once again without a Governor and as the Province of Guayana was within the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Santa Fe, it appointed Don Geronimo de Grados, as Teniente, at San Thome, who took up duty on August 19th, from the Alcades. As the Island of Trinidad was within the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of San Domingo, this Audiencia appointed Don Juan de Vilorio y Quinones, as Teniente, at San Josef, where he assumed duty in high dudgeon at being rejected as Teniente by the people of San Thome.

Don Fernando de Berrio had persisted in his special pleading in Spain, and by the use of family interests and other influence had at last succeeded in obtaining re-appointment as Governor of Trinidad and Guayana, after the end of the term of duty of Don Diego.

During 1617, Don Fernando had returned to the Indies and gone to his estates, at Pauto, about 200 miles from Santa Fe. Here in April, 1618, the news of the destruction of San Thome and the death of Don Diego Palameque de Acuna reached him and he found himself once again Governor of these provinces.

In May, 1618, the Audiencia of Santa Fe, instructed him to go to Guayana and take up his duties and by July, Don Fernando had gone to Casanare at the head of the Orinoco and had asked the Audiencia for 100 men and suitable supplies without which he could not go to Guayana.

The Audiencia authorised a loan of 2,000 ducats from the Royal Treasury to help the people of San Thome, and provided for 25 men. As the men did not materialise Don Fernando de Berrio was still

at Casanare, when the President, on December 21st, 1618, threatened him with severe penalties for disobedience did he not proceed forthwith.

Again on January 17th, 1619, the Audiencia had to repeat this order but this time the Audiencia supplied him with 2,000 ducats worth of supplies for the people of San Thome and with 20 men.

As usual Don Fernando reported nothing and up to June the Audiencia was still unaware of his movements. On this occasion however, Don Fernando had really gone and by May 11th, 1619, had arrived at San Thome with the supplies and 44 men having collected 24 of his own.

Don Fernando reported his arrival and his assumption of the duties of the Government to the King of Spain and complained strongly of his treatment by the Audiencia stating that they would not supply him with the requisite men and supplies and had expected him to go undefended and without assistance to San Thome. He claimed to have collected 44 men by his own efforts and to have spent another 2,000 ducats of his own money and to have found the Spaniards at San Thome, threatened by a Carib fleet of 30 pirogues from which he saved them.

Don Fernando emphasised the importance of keeping Trinidad and of placing a fort there with 100 men as a garrison as well as at Guayana. He also asked for an annual register ship for Guayana as well as that now granted to Trinidad.

He complained bitterly that while Guayana had readily received him as Governor, the people in the Island of Trinidad had refused to accept him since Don Juan de Vitoria y Quinones was there

by orders of the Audiencia of San Domingo; and this after being Governor for 22 years and never during all that period receiving a cent of pay. He begged the King to grant him 4,000 pesos of gold from the Treasury at Santa Fe and that the 2,000 ducats loaned for supplies for San Thome be written off or placed against his arrears of pay. He finally prayed for permission to go to Spain to represent the urgent needs of his government.

The King by his cedula of May 12th, 1620, at once commanded the people of Trinidad to receive Don Fernando, as Governor. He also gave orders for the supply of military material, granted the annual register ship to Guayana, not to exceed eighty tons and extended the freedom from custom dues for another four years.

The King, however, had "under consideration" the need for a fort in each place, the request for a grant of 4,000 pesos of gold and a petition for the title of Adelantado. The leave to return to Spain was definitely refused "because your presence is very necessary in your Government."

The Audiencia of Santa Fe had treated Don Fernando badly, the people of Trinidad had insulted him, San Thome was in ruins, trade had been reduced to almost nothing, the Caribs had taken the offensive, the Truce of Antwerp was ended and the Dutch were settling the Guayana coast and seriously threatening his own provinces. Don Fernando de Berrio felt that he had to go to Spain and convince the authorities that efficient defence and active support were vitally necessary. And go he did, without permission and in defiance of the Royal refusal.

On the way unfortunately like the patache with tobacco from Trinidad in 1617, his vessel was captured early in 1622, near the coast of Spain by the Moors and Don Fernando, the Governor of Trinidad with his nephew, Don Martin de Mendoza y Berrio, were taken prisoners to Algiers.

Shortly after Don Fernando died in prison, while Don Martin was more fortunate and was ransomed four years later. In 1642, he himself became the Governor of Trinidad.

Thus Don Fernando de Berrio had played his part in the affairs of the West. He had dutifully searched for El Dorado, he had re-built the towns of San Josef and San Thome, he had developed the pastoral and agricultural resources of his government and, built up what was for that period, a thriving trade in hides and tobacco employing 40-50 ships a year.

But alas, he had not reckoned with the blindly rigid mercantilism of that time, perhaps more strongly held in Spain than elsewhere, that economic expression of militant nationalism which was unable to conceive any mutual advantage in trade between one country and another. To the Spanish authorities trading with foreigners was anathema, more especially when it allowed access to their private empire in the Indies.

The residencia was held, Don Fernando and his people were adjudged guilty and condemned; the foreign trade was checked and the exports of Trinidad and Guayana sank to almost nothing, the freight of two or three small register ships a year.

Don Fernando had learnt and learnt from actual experience that the wealth of Trinidad and Guay-

ana lay not in undiscovered and probably non-existent gold and precious stones but in the development of pastoral and agricultural resources. When he returned to his government in 1619, and viewed with sorrow the wreck of that prosperity which he had left in 1612, he quickly made plans for a revival.

He clearly realised that the first necessity was security from his enemies, obtainable only by a fort and garrison at each centre and that the second necessity was an ample supply of shipping communication with Spain. The Royal Cedula of May 12th, 1620, demonstrated to Don Fernando only too well the timid procrastination of the authorities and the entire lack of understanding of the local problems.

A man of action, a man of foresight, a man of courage, heedless of administrative restrictions, regardless of the consequences when paramount issues were at stake, he seized the sole hope of retrieving the position of his government and forthwith took passage for Spain evidently to demand in person and possibly to obtain, the two major necessities for his people in Trinidad and Guayana.

Alas, a disastrous misfortune led Don Fernando to close confinement at Algiers. Instead of gaining his way at Madrid and starting Trinidad upon that extensive agricultural development for which it had to wait many a long year and which remains to this day its greatest asset, Don Fernando died unhonoured and unsung in prison at the early age of forty-six.

Reference. Additional MSS. No. 36320 and 36321. British Museum.

ARTICLE V.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN THE ISLAND OF TOBAGO. (1627—1629).

MYNHIER JAN DE MOOR was a great merchant adventurer. He was Burgomaster of Flushing, a prominent Director of the Zealand Chamber and closely associated with the great Anglo-Dutch trading firm, Courteen & Company, of Middleburgh and London, which traded to Guinea, Portugal, Spain and the West Indies.

He had taken a prominent part in the earlier Dutch attempts to settle the delta of the Amazon, and the coast of Guayana. In 1613, the Dutch had a post on the Corentyne River which may well have been sent by Jan de Moor. He certainly financed the expedition made under Pedro Luis and Jan Pietersz Alorst to the Wiapoco (Oyapok) River in 1614.

With Peter Courteen, as a private venture, he sent out the expedition to Kykoveral on the Essequibo River in 1616. This settlement prospered under the careful management of Aert Adrianzoon Groenewegen and remained in existence alongside the official venture of the Dutch West India Company

undertaken by the Zeeland Chamber in 1624. These two amalgamated in 1642, on the death of Jan de Moor, when Aert Adrianzoon, who was married to a Carib woman became the official Commandeur of the Essequibo Colony for the Zeeland Chamber. This gallant veteran commanded the Dutch in 1637, when they raided the Spanish settlements at St. Thome in Guayana and St. Joseph in Trinidad. He continued in charge of this Essequibo Colony until 1664, when he died at the ripe old age of 83 years.

In 1627, Sir William Courteen, the London partner of Courteen and Company, with his brother Sir Peter Courteen and the two Powells settled Barbados, as a private venture. To help this settlement, Captain Henry Powell went on to the sister colony in Essequibo, where he obtained some Aruac Indians as well as cassava, tobacco and other useful plants which he brought to Barbados. In a few years some ten thousand pounds had been spent in support of the Barbados colony and the settlement grew rapidly. The future events in this Island led to the famous dispute over the rights flowing from the Pembroke and Carlisle patents whereby the Earl of Pembroke and the Courteens lost all their interests.

Mynheer Jan de Moor having seen the Essequibo venture firmly rooted and probably envious of the success of the Courteens in Barbados, proceeded to obtain rights to a West Indian Island and for this purpose applied to the Dutch West India Company. The Charter given by their High Mightinesses, the Lords of the States General, to this West Indian Company included extensive rights

over Africa, Cape of Good Hope, America and the West Indies and claimed to prohibit trade or traffic to the West Indies for 24 years from 1621, by any persons of any nation without the sanction of this Company.

The Spaniards based their rights in the West on discovery. At the same time the more important Spanish jurists acknowledged the claims of the Indians to their territories which could only be alienated by treaty or by *justum bellum* for which however causes were easily evoked.

The Netherlands had been Spanish territory and the Dutch had the rights of Spanish citizens until the Dutch revolt. With the consolidation of the Dutch Republic the States General claimed, as shown above, extensive rights over many parts of the world where their vessels had traded since the early days of discovery.

During 1627, Captain Joachim Gijsz in the Kater of 90 tons on his way back from Brazil had visited the Island of Tobago, found it unoccupied and made a favourable report on its suitability for a colony. Consequently later in this year Captain Jacob Maertz (on behalf of Jan de Moor) respectfully petitioned the Honourable, Wise and Very Prudent Sirs, the Directors of the Chartered West India Company, for permission to settle in the Island of Tobago. He guaranteed that they would be prepared "whenever the Company shall think necessary to make any expedition be it to the Island of Trinidad or to Orinoco, Cumenogotte, Margarita, Caracaus or Cumana, at which places at the proper time of the year good profits and prizes are to be made."

The petition was duly granted and Mynheer Jan de Moor obtained the exclusive permission to settle in the Island of Tobago, subject to the following conditions. All ships were to sail to and from the ports of Zeeland and to load and unload at the warehouses of the Company. The patroon was required to begin the settlement within twelve months and to complete the agreed number of persons within four years. Land was to be granted free to each settler according to the number of his people and any produce might be raised except anatto dye, the cultivation of which was reserved to the Company. Freedom from all dues was granted for 10 years except upon articles not cultivated or raised such as wood or stone. Any gold or silver was to pay twenty per cent. of the value. Finally the Patroon was required to maintain a capable preacher and schoolmaster at the settlement.

The necessary preparations were actively pushed forward and by 3rd March, 1628, the ship *De Fortuyn* of 160 tons, commanded by Captain Gelyn van Stapel, was able to leave Zeeland with sixty-three colonists for the Island of Tobago.

The Dutch West India Company had such settlements under its immediate charge and took great care that they should be properly organised, adequately supplied and supported. The Company owned the ships and provided the colonists with food on board which was repaid at the rate of six stivers per head per day collected from the first exports from the Colony. Before being allowed to embark each colonist had to show one pea jacket, 3 collars, 3 shirts, 1 nightgown, 2 suits of duck, 1

suit of cloth, 3 pairs of stockings, 4 pairs of shoes, 2 pairs of sheets, 7 yards of duck for a mattress, 1 bag and enough wares to purchase food in the Indies for one year. Moreover each household had to show 1 musket, 1 halfpike, 1 sword, 2 axes, 1 pickaxe, 1 handsaw, 3 shovels, 1 kettle and 1 pan. On the journey the colonists were required to assist in defence and offence and shared *pro rata* in any prize money. No Colony could consist of less than 20 households, each of not less than 3 persons and such colonies were self-governing by elected Deputies, the Governor alone being appointed by the Patroon through the Company. All produce was to be sold to the Company or to the Patroon provided 25% of the value was paid to the Company for the first 7 years. Similarly all articles sent out by the Patroon in the Company's ships were to be charged 25% of the value which was collected from the value of the return cargo. Colonists had to bring their lands under cultivation within three years under penalty of confiscation and were allowed all hunting and fishing free.

By the end of April, 1628, the De Fortuyn had landed the Colonists with Jacob Maertz as Governor, on the leeward side of the Island of Tobago, probably at Plymouth, which they named New Walcheren, after the name of the Island Walcheren in Zealand, on which Flushing was situated and from which they had sailed.

The necessity for support to such a colony in the early stages was well recognised by the Dutch and Mynheer Jan de Moor had collected additional people and supplies to send to Tobago. On the 29th January, 1629, the Zecuwche Jager of 80 tons

with 4 bronze and 12 iron cannon, commanded by Captain Jan van Stapel, left Zeeland with another 56 colonists. By the end of March they had arrived safely and been welcomed at New Walcheren, while the ship went on to join the Dutch West Indian fleet cruising in the western part of the Caribbean Sea on the lookout for the Spanish Treasure ships.

In May, 1630, the Admiral Dirck de Ruyter was with his fleet off Brazil, and ordered one of his ships, the *Goude Sonne*, to visit the Island of Tobago, and to report on the state of this new colony. Unfortunately this ship ran into heavy storms and on a dark night was swept past Tobago far to the Leeward without any chance of beating up again. The *Goude Sonne* therefore sailed on to meet the Admiral and report the misadventure.

News travelled slowly in those days and it was some time before the Spaniards realised that the Dutch were making a permanent settlement in Tobago. On 10th March, 1629, Don Luis de Monsalves, the Governor of Trinidad, informed the King of Spain of news that he had received from the Governor of Margarita, who had captured a pirogue of Caribs and learnt from them that the Dutch were settled in Tobago. He wrote that "the Island of Tavaco is settled by Flemings which if correct is of grave importance to all nearby including Trinidad as between the two islands the only defence is an arm of the sea but six leagues across." The Governor ended by asking for 50 muskets, some arquebuses and the necessary powder and lead.

In November, 1629, the Dutch Admiral Pater, while at Barbados, detached the Vice-Admiral,

Martin Thisz, to destroy the Spanish settlements. With seven vessels he sailed up the Orinoco River, and on December 11th, appeared off St. Thome. The inhabitants realising the futility of resistance, burnt the town and fled to the forests. By December 30th, the Dutch had returned down the Orinoco River, and were anchored at the Punto del Gallo in the Bay of Paria.

They decided to destroy the town of St. Joseph, in Trinidad, but adverse winds and bad weather kept the Dutch at anchor for eight days during which time many of the men developed fever so the attack was abandoned. To the great relief of the Spaniards the Dutch ships sailed out through the Bocas.

The Spaniards of Trinidad, incensed against the Dutch, were not prepared to allow them to take peaceful possession of Tobago, but while being highly indignant of this unwarrantable intrusion into the dominions of His Majesty they found themselves too weak to bring it to an end by direct action. These Spaniards, however, are said to have incited the Caribs of Grenada and St. Vincent, who were equally angered at this invasion of Tobago, to attack and harass these invaders. During 1630, the Dutch Colonists under their leader Jacob Maertz, found themselves unable to hold their own against the persistent assaults of the Caribs and finally decided to abandon New Walcheren.

There is no further record of the movements of these people but it would not be surprising if in their difficulties they went to seek shelter at Kykoveral on the Essequibo, a sister settlement of their Patroon, situated so near to Tobago.

The Dutch were not dismayed by difficulties or failures and by 1633, Jan de Moor, sent out another expedition of 200 men under Christian Gayner, who again settled at New Walcheren in Tobago. This was the settlement destroyed by the armed party of Spaniards from Trinidad under Don Diego Lopez de Escobar in 1637.

It is of great historical interest to realise that the exploration of the Delta of the Amazon, the short lived expedition to the River Wiapoco, the permanent settlement of the River Essequibo, the early colonisation of Barbados and this attempted venture in Tobago, all between the years 1613 and 1630, are linked in close association having been initiated, directed and financed by Mynheer Jan de Moor and his business associates, Sir William and Sir Peter Courteen.

Reference. Jan de Laet. Minutes of the Dutch West India Company. Reprinted 1916. J. A. Williamson. The English in Guiana, 1923. Additional MSS. No. 26321. British Museum.

ARTICLE VI.

THE ENGLISH ATTACK ON TRINIDAD IN 1740.

MOST people in Trinidad know that the British took Trinidad from the Spanish in 1797, but few will know of the English raid which took place in 1740. It will be remembered that the War of the Austrian Succession had begun and that England had joined Austria against Spain and France.

In October of this year, a Spanish architect, El Maestro de Abanil, was travelling from San Domingo to Cumaná in order to supervise the erection of a church. On the way he touched at Martinique and encountering an English vessel was taken prisoner. He then learnt that the English were expecting to be joined by other vessels from Barbados thus making a formidable expedition with the intention of taking the Island of Trinidad, and if this were not possible of going on to Guayana and thence up the River Orinoco to make an attack on Santa Fé. The Spanish architect gained his liberty too late to warn his countrymen in Trinidad but made his report in due course to the authorities in Cumaná.

In November, the English commanded by Captain Waterhouse arrived off the north coast of Trinidad and were reported as having lauded and spent some time in fishing, probably waiting for the

expected reinforcements from Barbados which never arrived.

The protection of St. Joseph against surprise from that direction was described by Don Cristoval Felix de Guzman, Governor of Trinidad from 1711-1716. He wrote that he had taken over his duties on the 21st April, 1711, and that on the 20th May, he had himself climbed the mountain of Maracas whose slopes reach the sea on the north coast of Trinidad. He had penetrated with no little trouble and danger these steep and precipitous slopes up to the place where the lookout kept watch for the approach of any enemy. The Governor reported that he had found the guard who were of course Indians, diligent and watchful.

This Governor further related that he fell sick afterwards from these violent efforts in the heat and humidity of this area and that the misery of this illness was fully assuaged by the satisfaction that it had resulted from efforts in the service of His Majesty which was always his sole interest.

It would seem however, that this guard was not always so vigilant and wakeful; perhaps the severe epidemic of small pox which swept Trinidad in 1739, only the year before, had removed many of the available Indians.

In any case on this occasion the English were able to secure two Indians as guides and start to march over the mountains to St. Joseph, unsuspected by the people of that town. The guides managed to slip away into the forest and loyal to the Spaniards fled to the Capital where they roused the inhabitants to the knowledge that the English said to be 300 strong, would shortly have been in

their midst had they not "been exhausted by the mountain." In point of fact the English abandoned their intention and returned to their vessel at Las Cuevas.

The English with 60-70 men had landed at Las Cuevas Bay and had attempted to reach St. Joseph by one of the most difficult lines of approach. This path at the present time is long, steep, and exhausting; what it must have been then, a mere track scrambling from tree to tree, may well be imagined. Add to this the necessity of carrying arms and supplies and the task appears unlikely of success, especially if the torrential rains of November intervened.

The dogged persistence which in June, 1595, carried the men of Amyas Preston and Sir George Somers from La Guaira over the 7,000 foot range in Venezuela and laid open to them the riches of Caracas, was not in evidence and the very moderate prospects of plunder in St. Joseph failed to encourage the English to persevere with their attempt to struggle over the 2,000 feet of the pass into the Maracas Valley.

Having abandoned this attempt in Trinidad the English carried out their plan and went to the River Orinoco to try their luck at St. Thomé. On December 10th, this town was warned by the Indians of impending attack and late on the 11th the English appeared before the town.

The lieutenant in command at St. Thomé, Don Juan Viamonte has described how the English attacked on the night of the 11th and were severely repulsed, and how on the 12th they landed in force having three companies with field guns and stand-

ards. Overwhelmed by numbers he described how the men at St. Thomé, 46 in all, were forced to retire to the fort and how the English skilfully led attacked on all sides and after a severe struggle succeeded in defeating them.

The account given by the Prefect of the Capuchin Missions differs from that of the Lieutenant and is more laconic. He reported that the English were not more than 75 men but the Spaniards were nearly dead from hunger and of broken spirit so that at the second volley they fled and left the place in the hands of the English.

It is clear that little or no resistance was offered as the town had little to lose. It is described by a Spanish report as having about 60 inhabitants; "All are idlers and their wives indolent creatures; they live on fish and on the spirits which they make from the sugar cane that is more than enough for their gluttony."

Just at this time the paymaster was on his way down the River Orinoco from Santa Fé to St. Thomé with the pay for the garrison so a message was sent post haste to stop him and the English missed this chance of plunder.

The Spaniards asked the five Capuchin Missions of Guayana to send Indians at once to help them in evicting the English. As food supplies had to be collected for the Indians to take with them, some delay was inevitable and the Indians arrived at St. Thomé after the English had left.

This catastrophe had been reported to the Governor of Cumana, Don Gregorio Espinosa de los Monteros, whose son later became the Governor of Trinidad. The news reached him on January 4th,

1741. He took prompt steps to meet the crisis and sent over land from Barcelona 30 Spaniards and 200 Indians to the River Orinoco to protect the Missions. He sent 20 Spaniards and 30 Indians to the Island of Trinidad which had remained under arms all this time expecting a renewed attack at any moment. Two boats with 60 Spaniards were sent by water round the coast and up the River Orinoco to attack the English or to reinforce Trinidad if the enemy were at that Island.

All this was, however, far too late Captain Waterhouse and his men had destroyed the Mission of Pararaima on the 13th, had burnt St. Thomé, on December 20th, and had sailed away from the Orinoco and disappeared before the Governor of Cumaná had even received the news of this raid.

Sixty years later when the English were in possession of the Island of Trinidad, this way from St. Joseph up the Maracas Valley, over the spur of Tueuche and down its northern slopes to Las Cuevas Bay, was that decided by General Picton as his line of retreat should the occasion arise. This first English Governor of Trinidad was for some years expecting a determined effort by the Spanish to recover Trinidad and in case he had to give way the neighbouring colonies were warned to send assistance and supplies to Las Cuevas Bay, where he had erected and garrisoned a fort (Abercromby Fort) of which the earthworks and some of the guns remain to this day on the eastern side of this bay.

Reference. Additional MSS. No. 36331 and 36335. British Museum.

ARTICLE VII.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S EXPEDITION TO GUAYANA (1594).

IN the history of Trinidad, the name of Sir Walter Raleigh will ever hold a prominent place. It is well known that he twice ventured in Guayana and twice failed. The later expedition ended with the suicide of the faithful Laurence Keymis in Trinidad and the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh in Old Palace Yard at Westminster.

In the earlier years of the sixteenth century, the French and English had visited the West Indies, they had traded openly and without repulse in Spanish territory and had even maintained their factors in the more important ports. The Indies were beyond the "lines of Amity," the whole proceedings were maintained in a state of armed neutrality and the borderline between open war and peaceful trading was but thinly drawn.

In the latter part of the century the power of Spain had grown by leaps and bounds, her riches were multiplied by the treasures flowing from the

West, the vessels of France and England were refused admission to her ports and a rigid, exclusive system of trade was enforced upon the New World.

This was the period of piracy and contraband, might was right in the Indies and the great merchant venturers staked their fortunes on the bold Elizabethan seamen either to reap a rich reward or to fail and venture again.

The Elizabethan period was truly one of stirring adventure but also one of rare intellectual genius. While Shakespeare was writing his plays and Spenser his poems, Sir Walter Raleigh was a notable exponent of naval policy, a poet of no mean calibre and a philosopher second to none. He recognised only too well the growing dangers from Spain, he resented deeply its monopoly of the New World and never ceased to urge with Drake and others that the Indies was the place to attack if its inexhaustible riches were to be diverted from the Treasury of Philip II.

Sir Walter Raleigh had vision, he saw further than many others of his day. The occasional capture of a treasure ship, the periodical destruction of coastal towns on the Main were but passing incidents in his broad conception. He urged the necessity of planting colonies in the New World and of gaining as large and rich a heritage as had fallen to the share of Spain.

Sir Walter Raleigh had assisted Gilbert in North America and had himself planted Virginia in the years 1585-1590, but without success. The merchant venturers had little interest in these efforts and while Raleigh had spent the enormous sum of

£40,000 neither the Queen nor the merchants would vouchsafe financial support.

His colonists had abandoned the enterprise as soon as the prospect of sudden wealth by plunder or discovery had disappeared. Both merchants and colonists wanted their share in the scramble for the riches of the Western World and Raleigh realised that investors accustomed to the rapid and great, though uncertain profits of piracy, would not be attracted by the slow and plodding growth of colonial expansion.

Territorial acquisition had to be baited with gold and the problem before Sir Walter Raleigh was to select an area where the presence of that lure was notorious and where as yet the Spaniard had not gained a firm footing.

An omnivorous reader, Raleigh had long been familiar with the many tales of the mysterious Empire of Guayana which for fifty years had filled the credulous minds of men with dreams of wealth beyond desire and which had tempted many of the ever adventurous Spanish Conquistadors to try their fate in the search for El Dorado. In spite of constant disaster, in spite of repeated failure, here was Raleigh's opportunity and his character was such that he failed not to put it to the test.

Despite the fact that he welcomed an opportunity to share the inexhaustible riches of the West, there were, however, easier and more certain methods of getting rich. Doubtless he realised that some sensational exploit was essential to regain for him the favour of Queen Elizabeth. Thus Sir Walter Raleigh launched his Guayana venture in the conviction that fate had reserved for him the honour of laying

at the feet of his offended Queen, riches which would measure up to even her insatiable desire and of reaping for England a colonial empire which should rival that of Spain.

As a preliminary Sir Walter Raleigh sent Captain Jacob Whiddon in 1593, to explore the approaches to Guayana. Whiddon was a loyal lieutenant to Raleigh, he had been to Virginia in 1585, had supported him at the Azores in 1586 and had commanded Raleigh's ship, Roebuck, against the Great Armada in 1588, capturing the flagship of Don Pedro de Valdez and taking it to Torbay. Captain Whiddon also had commanded the Pilgrim in Lord Thomas Howard's expedition to the Azores in 1591, when the Spanish convoy fleet caught the Revenge in September, at Flores. He stood by the Revenge till chased away and had to leave Sir Richard Grenville to his heroic and immortal fate.

Once more Captain Whiddon sailed in Raleigh's service and after exploring the entrances of the Delta entered the Bay of Paria in June, 1593, and dropped anchor off the port.

Amicable relationships were established with Don Antonio de Berrio at San Josef, and Whiddon explained his presence as due to the need for wood and water. Conversations ensued, each engaged in seeking information from the other and Whiddon must without much difficulty have obtained from Berrio and his men some general outline of the journey of Berrio in 1591, through Guayana and probably accurate details of the recent expedition of Vera which had returned to Trinidad only the month before with tangible proofs of the golden treasures of El Dorado.

At this time Whiddon received news of an English ship on the other side of the Bay of Paria and putting off in a small boat he met the *Edward Bonaventure*, commanded by Captain James Lancaster. This vessel had set out in April, 1591, from Plymouth and passed the Cape of Good Hope in July; Zanzibar was left in February, 1592, and Sumatra reached in June, the return being made by the Cape of Good Hope in December, 1592. This vessel doubled the Cape in March, 1593, and being short of food, ran for Trinidad and entered the Bay of Paria early in June. After refreshing in the south, Lancaster drifted with the tides in the Bay for some eight days during which period Whiddon hoarded to exchange news. Finally drifting through the Bocas, after adventures in the West Indies and Bermuda, Lancaster's expedition reached England again in May, 1594.

While Captain Whiddon was away, a canoe of Indians invited his men to hunt deer. Eight of them accepted this invitation but on landing they were ambushed by the Spaniards and all killed. This treachery Whiddon attributed to the initiative of Berrio "notwithstanding that he had given his word to Captain Whiddon that they should take water and wood safely."

The return of Captain Whiddon to England with the news of the recent discoveries of Vera in Guayana, stimulated Sir Walter Raleigh to added exertion in spite of opposition from many directions and in spite of the hesitation of adventurers to support the risky enterprise.

Even his devoted wife begged Sir Robert Cecil in February, 1594, to dissuade Raleigh from the voy-

age to Guayana: "Now, Sir, for the rest I hope for my sake you will rather draw Sir Walter towards the east than help him forward towards the sunset if any respect to me or love to him be not forgotten. I know truly your persuasions are of effect with him; therefore I humbly beseech you rather to stay him than further him, by the which you shall bind me for ever."

This appeal was without avail and the impetuous Raleigh continued his preparations. The necessary permission was granted by the Queen and his commission authorised him to "offend and enfeeble the King of Spain, and to discover and subdue any heathen lands not in the possession of any Christian Prince or inhabited by any Christian people and to resist and expel any persons who should attempt to settle within 200 leagues of the place he fixed upon for settlement."

The ships were engaged and crews gathered though with great care since at the time plague was raging in England. By September, 1594, the expedition was ready to sail but still difficulties interposed. A troublesome lawsuit delayed the departure, winds continued from a contrary direction and some of the vessels failed to report.

Reference. The Discovery of the Empire of Guiana by Sir Walter Raleigh. Hakluyt Society, 1848.

ARTICLE VIII.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH AT TRINIDAD.

(1595).

SIR WALTER RALEIGH was collecting his expedition and preparing to leave England to explore and settle the Province of Guayana.

News however travels fast and far and Captain Whiddon's account of the discoveries by Vera in Guayana stirred others to take advantage if possible of this golden opportunity. Some there were quite willing to attempt to forestall Sir Walter Raleigh so much so that in December, 1594, he urged Sir Robert Cecil to place an embargo on shipping. "For if Eaton's ships go who will attempt the chiefest places of my enterprise? I shall be undone and I know they will be beaten and do no good."

None the less Sir Robert Dudley then 20 years old, had got away from Southampton by November 6th, 1594, in two ships and two pinnaces with 240 men. He suffered loss from storms and arrived at

Trinidad, on January 31st, with 140 men. During February, he remained in the Bay of Paria exploring the southern part of the Island of Trinidad and making friends with the Indians whose language, as he records it is clearly Aruac.

At Pelican Bay (Los Gallos Point) seeking earnestly for gold the Indians led them to a place about three leagues to the east where as Dudley wrote "we passed a mine of Marcasites which glisters like gold; but all is not gold that glistereth for so we found the same nothing worth though the Indians did assure us it was Caluori which signifieth gold with them."

Learning from the Indians of great riches in Guayana thus confirming the accounts of Vera's discoveries brought to England by Captain Whiddon, Dudley on February 21st sent a boat with 14 men to explore the River Orinoco.

While awaiting their return, Sir Robert Dudley was joined in the Bay of Paria on March 4th by a vessel on an independent venture. It was commanded by Captain George Popham who the year before had captured a Spanish vessel in which he had found letters from the Indies to Spain giving the news of the rich discoveries in Guayana and also a copy of the actual report upon "Nuevo Dorado" made by Domingo de Vera to Don Antonio de Berrio.

Captain George Popham was thus well aware of the hopes, expectations and intentions of Antonio de Berrio who was then quietly watchful at San Josef. This news must have heightened the interest centred on the expedition then up the River Orinoco but alas, it returned after 16 days having heard still

further stories of El Dorado but "in a very pitiful case almost dead for famine."

In spite of the desperate desire of Dudley to follow up such favourable indications, any further attempt to pass the Delta was rendered impossible for "not one man would go with me."

They waited till March 12th, as Dudley ingenuously writes "for Sir Walter Raleigh (who we surmised had some purposes for this discovery) to the end that by our intelligence and his boats we might have done some good." The expedition then left for Porto Rico and finally reached England in May 1595.

Sir Robert Dudley though so young had with him experienced men; amongst others the old shipmaster Abraham Kendall as his nautical adviser and Captain Thomas Jobson as his Lieutenant General both of whom had served in the West Indies and elsewhere with Drake; also Captain Benjamin Wood a well seasoned mariner who as Master of the "Wild Man" under John Chudley had actually visited Trinidad in 1591.

By February 6th, 1595, all was ready for departure and Sir Walter Raleigh set sail from Plymouth with five vessels, most of them small even for those days as he was aware of the difficulties of the River Orinoco. His officers included Captain George Gifford as second in command and Captains Caulfield, Amyas Preston, Thynne, Laurence Keymis, Eynos, Whiddon, Clarke, Cross and Facey, and also Nicholas Melshap as Surgeon.

Unfortunately even after this prolonged delay, the Lion's Whelp subscribed by Lord Howard and the vessels of Amyas Preston failed to join and

were left behind. Raleigh had with him 100 men in the expedition exclusive of mariners for navigating the vessels. By February 17th, they had reached Teneriffe and waited in the Canaries 7-8 days again for the vessels of Lord Howard and Amyas Preston, but in vain.

The expedition then headed for Trinidad and Sir Walter Raleigh reached Icacos, on March 22nd, accompanied only by a barque commanded by Captain Cross, the other vessels being lost to sight. Here he remained refreshing for five days and then in a boat coasted close inshore surveying every bay and river. He described the oysters on the mangrove roots, explored the famous pitch lake, proceeded past the Annaparima Hill and joined his two ships again off Cumucurapo, on April 4th.

Don Antonio de Berrio had settled in Trinidad and founded the town of San Josef in May, 1592. He had sent Domingo de Vera in April, 1593, to explore Guayana and find the way to El Dorado. In May, Vera had taken possession of Guayana, in the name of Don Antonio, had left a military post of ten men at Carapana and had returned not only with certain news of this fabulous country but with actual articles of gold worked with rare skill.

Overjoyed at the approaching realisation of his hopes, Berrio had published this wonderful news widely throughout the Indies expecting in consequence to be able to recruit adequate forces to enter and secure his empire. It was at this time that Captain Whiddon had visited Trinidad and gathered this news then spreading like wildfire through the Indies.

The neighbouring Governors had thwarted his efforts. One even sent an expedition secretly to gain these riches for himself; another claimed the government of Trinidad and tried to oust Don Antonio de Berrio from San Josef. None made any attempt to assist him with either men or money.

At this repulse Don Antonio de Berrio had sought further afield and had sent his son Don Fernando to Santa Fé in New Granada to obtain men. Learning of the lukewarm response there and knowing that the Royal Council of the Indies in Madrid had ordered him to deliver Trinidad to Don Francisco de Vides, Governor of Cumaná, he decided to send Domingo de Vera to Spain to vindicate his possession of Trinidad, to lay the golden evidence of El Dorado before the King and to obtain an expedition to enter and secure the Empire of Guayana.

Vera had left the Indies in November, 1594, and Don Antonio de Berrio was settled at San Josef, with 46 men maintaining his claims against the opposition of neighbouring Governors, hoping for reinforcements from Santa Fé and expecting early and adequate assistance from Spain.

When Sir Robert Dudley arrived in the south of Trinidad in February, with 140 men, Don Antonio de Berrio could only wait and watch, hoping that this was but one more of the many English pirates who had refreshed and passed on to raid the pearl fisheries of Margarita and to levy toll on the towns of the Main. He must have been anxious at the long marches by Dudley into the interior of the Island; even more so at the expedition up the Orinoco and the departure on March 12th, must have come as a welcome relief.

This gave Berrío an opportunity to visit the south and punish the Indians for their free and open traffic with the English and warn them to avoid such assistance in the future.

His relief was short lived. Sir Walter Raleigh arrived off the south of the Island only ten days later and again Don Antonio de Berrío watched and waited at San Josef in the hope that as before Trinidad was to be merely a place of refitting and refreshing and that the more tempting opportunities on the Main would soon carry this expedition to the west.

In this he was sadly disappointed since on April 4th, Sir Walter Raleigh dropped anchor off Cumucurapo, where apparently the Spaniards had no post since on the following day, apprised by the Indians of the arrival of ships, Don Antonio sent from San Josef four soldiers under the command of his nephew, Roderigo de la Hoz, with 25 friendly Indians to reconnoitre and report.

At Cumucurapo, Don Roderigo was met by a boat with a flag of truce and learnt from Captain Whiddon whom he probably had already met in 1593, that the ships had only come for refreshing and were on their way to the settlement in Virginia made by Raleigh. Don Roderigo and two soldiers went on board while the others remained on shore. Amity was soon established and all were regaled with entertainment and healths were deeply, too deeply, pledged.

Failing to receive news from his nephew and realising that five ships was more than a trading venture, Don Antonio sent two soldiers on the 6th, from San Josef, who were equally welcomed and

equally made forgetful of their duty. As Raleigh wrote "for these poor soldiers having been many years without wine, a few draughts made them merry, in which mood they vaunted of Guayana and of the riches thereof and all what they knew of the ways and passages, myself seeming to purpose nothing less than the entrance and discovery thereof but bred in them an opinion that I was bound only for the relief of those English which I had planted in Virginia."

The news from Cumucurapo must have left Don Antonio with the impression that in due course these ships would pass on their way as so many others had done in the past. As he reported he loathed the English and had always attacked them doing all the damage possible and would have liked to do the same in this case had not the fleet been much too powerful for his 46 men.

As the object of ships in the past had always been the pearl fisheries of Margarita and the rich settlements to the west so Don Antonio comforted himself and hardly suspected any danger to his plans in Trinidad and the Orinoco. Still anxious, however, he sent two more men on the 7th, to Cumucurapo for further news.

Sir Walter Raleigh had not been idle. He had put ashore at once on arrival, two Indians of Trinidad whom he had brought from England thus making contact with the local Indians. From these Raleigh soon gained accurate knowledge of the Spaniards and their defences at San Josef and he proceeded to prompt action.

Happy in their pleasure, heedless of danger, Don Roderigo and his soldiers made merry with their

new found boon companions when suddenly at a signal from the flag ship, all the nine without a chance of defence, were treacherously put to the sword. The fleet at once disembarked 100 men, sixty as a vanguard under Captain Caulfield and forty as a rearguard under Raleigh himself.

Guided by the Indians they passed in single file overland through the dim and tortuous forest path and passed the night of April 7th, in a village of Indians (probably near San Juan) whose Cacique, Guanaguanare, was then held by Don Antonio de Berrio as a prisoner in chains at San Josef.

Reference. *The Discovery of the Empire of Guiana* by Sir Walter Raleigh. Hakluyt Society, 1848.

The Voyage of Robert Dudley to the West Indies, 1594-1595. Hakluyt Society, 1899.

Additional MSS. No. 36316. British Museum.

ARTICLE IX.

THE CAPTURE OF SAN JOSEF. (1595).

SIR WALTER RALEIGH had arrived at Cumucurapo, on April 4th, 1595, and had landed 100 men on the 7th. They had passed the night in an Indian village probably at or near San. Juan

At four o'clock in the morning of Friday, April 8th, the expedition moved on San Josef and at daybreak this town, completely unaware of impending danger, was attacked. The watch at the Church door must have seen the approach and raised the alarm. The Spaniards turned out, but too late; after all what were 37 men against 100. As Raleigh wrote "they abode not any fight after a few shots."

The town was captured and Don Antonio de Berrio, the Governor, Alvaro Jorge his Lieutenant and nine other Spaniards were made prisoner while 12 were killed. Sixteen others with some women and the Franciscan Father, Juan de Peralta, had been able to escape hurriedly into the

forest. Some of these men fled to the south of the Island and after great difficulty reached La Brea. From here friendly Indians took them to the Island of Margarita, where they arrived on April 12th, with news of the disaster which had befallen Trinidad.

Don Pedro de Salazar, Governor of Margarita, was not strong enough to send an expedition to dispossess Raleigh but he placed his own Island in a state of defence, stopped the pearl fisheries, warned adjacent towns and dispatched a boat with six soldiers and twenty Indians to Trinidad to gain news and if possible to bring away any more soldiers, the women and the Franciscan Father, who had escaped from San Josef.

The English remained in the town for two days plundering everything and taking all the cloth and any other supplies of value. Then having killed all the prisoners except Antonio de Berrio and Alvaro Jorge, Raleigh set fire to the town and left in ruins, the Church and surrounding buildings which were made of tapia walls and thatched roofs.

On his return to Cumucurapo, Raleigh found to his great satisfaction that Captain George Gifford and Captain Laurence Keymis who had been separated on the voyage, had arrived safely with their vessels.

Here in the pastures at Cumucurapo, shaded by the giant silk cotton trees, Sir Walter Raleigh gathered the Indians to a great conference and placed the Island of Trinidad under the protection of Queen Elizabeth.

As he wrote: "We then hastened away towards our purposed discovery and first I called all the

Captains of the Island together that were enemies to the Spaniards for here were some which Berrio had brought out of other countries and planted there to eat out and waste those that were natural of the place. By my Indian interpreter which I carried out of England, I made them understand that I was the servant of a Queen who was a great Cacique of the North and a Virgin and had more Caciques under her than were trees in the Island; that she was an enemy to the Castellani in respect of their tyranny and oppression and that she delivered all such nations about her as were by them oppressed and having freed all the coast of the northern world from their servitude, had sent me to free them also and withal to defend the country of Guayana from their invasion and conquest. I showed them Her Majesty's picture which they so much admired and honoured as it had been easy to have brought them idolatrous thereof."

On April 15th, Raleigh left Cumucurapo with Berrio and Jorge on board and returned to Los Gallos. Here he took formal possession of the Island and erected a tall post bearing the arms of Queen Elizabeth informing the Indians that he had come to liberate them and that they must acknowledge the Queen as their Sovereign Lady. He also built a fort, landed three pieces of artillery, was provisioned by the Indians and prepared the necessary boats awaiting the still expected arrival of Amyas Preston.

Here on the flagship of Los Gallos occurred a strange duel, not of swords but of wits. Behind Don Antonio lay his eight years of incessant wanderings and incredible travails, behind him lay four

years of struggle against the factious opposition of his persistent rivals and now at last when the guerdon of victory was within his grasp, now at last within sight of the entrance to the golden riches of Guayana this hated English pirate, "El Conde Guaterral, (Sir Walter Raleigh) demanded from him the way to El Dorado.

The polished Spanish hidalgo and the cultured English gentleman, each playing a part, each seeking an opportunity to defeat the other, each with valuable cards in his hands, played out this strange contest as the fleet lay off the shore at Los Gallos.

Don Antonio de Berrio had knowledge which Raleigh wanted; he alone knew the entrance, the general direction and probable distance and possible difficulties of the way to El Dorado. This valuable information Don Antonio was prepared to sell dearly and slowly knowing that the coming Orinoco floods would be against Raleigh, hoping that assistance might now be on the way from Santa Fé and praying that Vera might have succeeded in Spain and now be crossing the ocean with a powerful expedition.

Thus they fenced courteously but shrewdly and gradually Don Antonio realised that Raleigh held trump cards. Each discussion showed that Raleigh knew far more than was expected. He had the report of Captain Whiddon, he had read the Spanish letters and had extracted the verbatim notarial record of Vera's discoveries in Guayana captured by Captain George Popham, he had gathered information from Indians well acquainted with the River Orinoco and had also ransacked the official records at San Josef.

Don Antonio de Berrio was led to admit more than he would care to have realised. As Raleigh wrote: "Berrio was stricken into a great melancholy and sadness and used all the arguments he could to dissuade me and also assured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour lost; and that they should suffer many miseries if they proceeded. First he delivered that I could not enter any of the rivers with any barque or pinnace nor hardly with any ship's boat, it was so low, sandy and full of flats and that his companies were daily grounded in their canoes which drew but twelve inches of water. He further said that none of the country would come to speak with us but would all fly and if we followed them to their dwellings, they would burn their own towns. Besides that the way was long, the winter at hand and the rivers were beginning to swell; it was impossible to stem the current and that we could not in those small boats by any means carry victuals for half the time and then (which indeed most discouraged my company) the Kings and Lords of all the borders and of Guiana had decreed that none of them should trade with any Christians for gold because the same would be their own overthrow and that for the love of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossess them of all together."

Apparently Sir Walter Raleigh demanded still more detail perhaps more than even Don Antonio could supply and the iron hand began to appear through the velvet glove. Threats were made and according to Spanish account Raleigh "intended to deliver up the said Governor Berrio to the

Indians to be slain by arrows and Captain Alvaro Jorge to be hanged if they did not declare the way to Guayana, dragging them ashore with much fusilading."

By the 2nd of May, Sir Walter had prepared for his journey up the River Orinoco and he awaited Amyas Preston no more, the date agreed being long past. Several entrances to the Delta had been carefully explored and it was clear that none of his ships could enter. Sir Walter therefore set out with a gallego (60 men), the boat of the Lion's Whelp (20 men), Caulfield's wherry (10 men), and his own barge (10 men). These hundred men included Captains Gifford, Caulfield, Eynos, Whiddon and Keymis with Don Antonio de Berrio, Captain Alvaro Jorge and Sir Walter Raleigh himself.

Reference. *The Discovery of the Empire of Guiana* by Sir Walter Raleigh. Hakluyt Society, 1848.

Additional MSS. No. 36316. British Museum.

ARTICLE X.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH IN GUAYANA.
(1595).

SIR WALTER RALEIGH had collected his expedition at Los Gallos in Trinidad and it entered the Delta of the Orinoco by the Manamo channel. Travelling on with the flood and anchoring during the ebb, they progressed until losing the tide of the sea they were "enforced by main strength to row against a violent current or to return as wise as we went out; we had then no shift but to persuade the companies that it was but two or three days work and therefore desired them to take pains, every gentleman and others taking their turns to row and to spell one another at the hour's end."

While passing through the Delta they met four canoes coming down stream. These were promptly chased and while two got away, the other two ran ashore and were taken. They were found full of cassava which Indians were taking to Margarita

and it was learnt that in the other two canoes were three Spaniards, Captain Phelipe de Santiago, Captain Andres de Velasco and Fray Domingo de Santa Agueda who had heard of the invasion of Trinidad and were escaping from the small post higher up the river. In due course they safely reached Margarita.

In searching the banks nearby was found a basket left behind by the Spaniards which much encouraged Raleigh and his men since it contained the materials for refining, "quicksilver, saltpeter and divers things for the trial of metal and also the dust of such ore as he had refined but in those canoes which escaped there was good quantity of ore and gold."

By May 17th, they entered the main stream of the River Orinoco and obtained the aid of the wind which rested them from their labour at the oars. By the 23rd the expedition had reached the port of Morequito named after the Cacique (whom Berrio had killed as a punishment for the murder of a priest and eight soldiers) near the mouth of the River Caroni.

Here Sir Walter Raleigh met the Cacique Topiawari said to be 110 years old, who had succeeded his nephew Morequito as the Paramount Chief of the Nepuyo Indians. Raleigh explained to him how this voyage had been made at the directions of Queen Elizabeth to deliver the Indians from the tyranny of the Spaniards. From the Indian Raleigh learnt of the plains to the north leading straight across to Caracas and Cumaná, and also of the lands to the south behind the hills where in his youth the Nepuyos had been driven out by "so

great a multitude as they could not be numbered nor resisted" and that these people had built a great town, and their houses had many rooms, one over the other and that their King kept 3,000 fighting men.

The expedition then went on to the River Caroni and explored the Great Falls and the country around, again obtaining news of a rich country to the south where "we should satisfy ourselves with gold and other good things." Here they collected gold bearing quartz, marcasite and coloured stones. Of the quartz Raleigh reported that some assayed in London showed £130, £230 and £270 value of gold to the ton.

With the rainy season well developed, Raleigh feared to remain longer and left on the return journey on the 27th, "for that the fury of the Oronoque began daily to threaten us with dangers in our return for no half day passed but the river began to rage and overflow very fearfully and the rains came down in terrible showers and gusts in great abundance."

Sir Walter Raleigh had a second conference with Topiawari, who told him that this was not the time of year to explore Guayana nor had he enough men to do so and advised him never to attempt the invasion of El Dorado without the help of all the friendly Indians.

Raleigh proposed a preliminary reconnaissance which Topiawari was willing to support provided Raleigh left behind 50 men to assist the Indians against the counter attack which would certainly eventuate. Although Captain Caulfield, Captain Grenville, John Gilbert and others willingly volun-

teered to remain, Raleigh refused consent knowing that they were certain to be killed on the arrival in force of the Spaniards expected from New Granada and from Spain.

It was agreed to defer any invasion of El Dorado till next year when Raleigh arranged to bring 1,000 men to the Orinoco in March. Pledges were exchanged and Topiawari gave his son Cauorako to accompany Raleigh to England and later to be established as the Chieftain, successor to his father. The Spaniards had taken by force another son and a nephew "by whom they seek to make a party against me in my own country." Raleigh on his part left behind him Francis Sparry, 25 years old and Hugh Godwin, 16 years old to explore the country and to learn the language.

Sparry was captured by the Spaniards in February, 1596, taken to Margarita and sent a prisoner to Spain whence he eventually arrived in England in 1602. Hugh Godwin was hidden by the Indians who told the Spaniards that he had been killed and eaten by tigers. Twenty-two years later he was found by Raleigh amongst the Indians of the Orinoco in 1618 almost unable to speak his mother tongue.

On June 1st, the expedition passed down the Orinoco travelling rapidly and easily with the flood waters, stopping here and there to encourage the Indians to oppose the Spaniards. On June 6th, the expedition was back at Los Gallos and Sir Walter Raleigh wrote: "we carried 100 persons and their victuals for a month in the boats being all driven to lie in the rain and weather in the open air in the burning sun upon the hard boards; we had to

dress our meat and to carry all manner of furniture in them wherewith they were so pestered and unsavoury that what with victuals being most fish with the wet clothes of so many men thrust together and the heat of the sun, I will undertake there was never any person in England that could be found more unsavoury and loathsome especially to myself who had for many years before been dieted and cared for in a sort far differing."

During all this time the Spaniards had not been idle. They had strengthened the defences of Margarita and Cumaná by making entrenchments and new forts and had closed the pearl fisheries. As the Governor reported "the English will find me a hard bit of cheese to nibble."

Pirogues had been sent under Juan Gallego to keep in touch with the movements of the English invaders in Trinidad and the Orinoco and to gather all the news possible from the friendly Indians. Thus the Spaniards learnt of the happenings at Los Gallos and of the expedition up the Orinoco which was confirmed by the arrival at Margarita of Captain Felipe de Santiago and his companions who had so narrowly escaped capture by Raleigh in the Delta.

In this way also Father Juan de Peralta, the women and other refugees from San Josef had managed to leave Trinidad and reach Margarita, on June 2nd. The Spaniards also learnt that Raleigh had sent a vessel back to England from Los Gallos and feared, incorrectly, that Berrio and Jorge had been sent as captives therein. It was also reported that the English had returned and taken careful soundings at Cumucurapo and also that the Indians

had taken over the ruins of San Josef and settled there.

Still anxious for news of Raleigh the Governor of Margarita, Don Pedro de Salazar, sent another pirogue on June 14th, which however returned almost at once with news of three ships and a pinnace some 12 leagues to windward on the course from Trinidad. On the 16th, these ships stood in for the pearl fisheries at Punta de Piedras and they were recognised as the long expected vessels of Raleigh; of Monsieur Reales, Count of Cornualla or Milor Guaterral as he is styled by Spanish writers.

At the pearl fisheries Raleigh landed Captain Alvaro Jorge and Juan Lopez to arrange a ransom of 1,400 ducats for Berrio and his lieutenant. This money was collected in Margarita and ready for payment when the Spanish Governor intervened, refused to allow the transaction and Raleigh's ships were driven off with Berrio on board while Alvaro Jorge remained in the Island.

Raleigh then sailed to Cumaná which he attacked on the 23rd. He was driven off and the defeat was evidently severe as Captain Caufield, Captain Grenville and Captain Thynne were killed and a considerable quantity of stores and arms were lost. In the hope of obtaining the return of some of his men, Raleigh put Don Antonio de Berrio ashore at liberty. The Spaniards however claimed to have only one wounded drummer who was sent off to the ships.

At last on June 29th, 1595, to the immense relief of the Spaniards, Raleigh weighed anchor and sailed to the west and the Governor of Cumaná, Francisco

deVides, reported that he "does not go away as pleased as he could wish." Still anxious to produce some profit on the voyage which had been barren so far and in spite of the disastrous repulse at Cumana, Raleigh continued along the Spanish Main to Rio de la Hacha and to Santa Marta both of which places he sacked and burnt because the inhabitants would not ransom them at his price.

Homeward bound Raleigh passed through the Windward Channel to the east of Cuba, and there met at last, on July 23rd, the ships of Captain Amyas Preston and Captain George Somers which had passed Trinidad, on May 27th. No effort had been made to look for Raleigh as the time arranged was so long past so they had made the profit of the voyage by sacking Santiago de Leon (Caracas) and Coro and were now also returning to England. This was the time for explanation and probably recrimination since Raleigh must have felt that his expedition had been prevented from attaining its full measure of success by the absence of these reinforcements.

Perhaps Amyas Preston had a valid excuse, perhaps he had remembered Raleigh's flagrant dishonesty when as Commissioner in 1589 with Sir John Gilbert, he had embezzled the proceeds of a Newfoundland voyage and left the shareholders unpaid including Preston himself who had ventured £220.

In any case they separated and Sir Walter Raleigh with his ships reached England at the end of August, 1595, with but a sorry return for those who had contributed. Sir Walter returned however with a confirmed belief in Guayana as a land of amazing

potentialities, the possession of which would out-shine that of Peru and Mexico. The Queen and Court were sceptical, the City of London unmoved and thus Raleigh wrote his famous report of the discovery of the large, rich and beautiful Empire of Guayana which was published early in 1596. A second edition was required before the year was out and it was soon translated into several other languages.

Reference. Additional MSS. No. 36316. British Museum.

The Discovery of the Empire of Guiana by Sir Walter Raleigh. Hakluyt Society, 1848.

ARTICLE XI.

THE RECOVERY OF TRINIDAD. (1596).

SIR WALTER RALEIGH was now rapidly reaching the zenith of his career and became deeply immersed in the political movements in England so that the Guayana project had to fade into abeyance while he faced the rivalry of Essex and lost his intrigue for the favour of James Stuart.

Raleigh was able however to arrange for a small expedition under Laurence Keymis to locate more definitely the Inca Capital, to maintain contact with the Indians and to prepare the way for more extensive operations. The ship *Darling* and the pinnace *Discoverer* left Portland, on January 26th, 1596, but the latter was soon lost to view in foul weather. The *Darling* with Captain Keymis on board passed the Canaries and Cape Verde and "fell so far to the southwards by Your Lordship's direction" that it reached the South American coast on March 14th to the west of the Amazon Delta.

From here, Captain Keymis surveyed the whole Guayana coast before reaching the Orinoco,

exploring the Aprowaco River for 40 miles but not entering the other rivers. Along the coast he learnt from the Indians that they were expecting Raleigh to return, that the Spaniards were expecting large reinforcements from Spain to arrive shortly in Trinidad and also that the Caribs were preparing to drive the Aruacs out of the Orinoco region so as to deprive the Spaniards of their source of food and lead to their withdrawal.

Still more important Captain Keymis learnt of a great lake at the head of the Essequibo River whercon he felt sure was built the far famed golden town of Manoa. This lake could be reached directly by ascending the River Essequibo and in this way the treacherous and difficult passage through the shoals of the Orinoco Delta could be avoided as well as any settlements which the Spaniards might make on the Orinoco River.

By April 6th Keymis had reached the Delta and entered the Orinoco River. His arrival was soon discovered by Indians in pirogues collecting food and disclosed to the Spaniards. Proceeding up river he captured a boat carrying letters from Don Antonio de Berrio to Trinidad asking for men to be sent at once. Captain Keymis continued up the Orinoco to the mouth of the Caroni where he found Don Antonio settled with 55 men determined to dispute any entry to the hinterland. In addition to this settlement on the bank, the Spaniards had made a strong fort on an island.

Here Keymis learnt that Don Antonio was expecting daily the arrival of a large force from Spain which would bring him men from Trinidad and horses from Caracas.

Realising the danger of being trapped in the river Keymis started to return on the 16th, dropping rapidly down the stream and making contact with the Indians from whom he learnt that they were gradually deserting this area because of ill-treatment by the Spaniards. They asked urgently for protection by the English and reported that the Spaniards now found great difficulty in getting food supplies. The Indians showed Keymis where gold could be found and assured him that all the Indians were ready to rise against the Spaniards.

He also learnt that the long expected expedition from Spain had arrived at Trinidad and that there were 16 ships prepared to repulse any fleet brought by Raleigh. These ships were to wait until June, when the Orinoco in flood would be impassable and the danger past for the year.

On April 24th, Keymis reached the mouth of the Orinoco and was overjoyed to find there the pinnace Discoverer which had caught up with him after exploring four of the Guayana rivers. The men and stores were transferred to the Darling and the pinnace burnt as unserviceable.

From here Captain Keymis did not dare to enter the Bay of Paria and attempt to pass through the Bocas because of the Spanish Fleet. By anchoring during the flood and drifting with the current during the ebb, he managed to work his vessel to the east along the south coast of Trinidad and reaching to windward Keymis cleared the north-east point and arrived at Tobago. Sailing through the West Indies he arrived finally at Plymouth on June 29th, 1596.

While Captain Keymis brought to Sir Walter

Raleigh further and encouraging news of El Dorado he also brought a clear warning that the Spaniards had settled in force on the Orinoco near to the mouth of the Caroni, determined to prevent any entrance into these rich provinces. In consequence of this Raleigh sent during 1597, Captain Leonard Berry to explore the possibility of entering Guayana by a more easterly route avoiding altogether the River Orinoco.

This third expedition left in the pinnace *Watte* from the Thames, on October 14th, 1596. Contrary winds kept them in the Channel nearly to the end of the year and they reached the Guayana coast on January 27th. Captain Berry spent 9 days exploring the *Wiapoco* River, 17 days in the *Marowyne* and 20 days up the *Corentyne* River. He did not push up this last river beyond the Great Falls since he did not wish to antagonise the *Accowio* Indians "which would turn to our great hurt when Sir Walter Raleigh should come thither having occasion to use this river."

He was told that the Spaniards were still present in force in Trinidad, on the Orinoco and also on the *Essequibo* and Captain Berry evidently feared to follow the coast further to the west and explore thoroughly the *Essequibo* as almost certainly he had been instructed. He left the *Corentyne* River, turned his course to the north, on May 8th, and reached *Plymouth*, on June 20th, 1597.

With the reports of *Keymis* and *Berry* before him, Sir Walter Raleigh proceeded to try and carry out his original scheme to settle and exploit the natural resources of Guayana and as a secondary consideration to gain the treasures of El Dorado.

Unfortunately political intrigues increased, his star began to wane and the accession of James I led to the trial of Raleigh and his imprisonment in the Tower of London in 1603.

Don Antonio de Berrio, Governor of Trinidad, left by Raleigh in June, 1595, at Cumaná, ever loyal to his obligations hurried to Margarita, gathered together the remnants of his troop who had escaped from Trinidad and returned with 10 men to view the ruins of San Josef. He decided to return to the Orinoco and occupy the port of Morequito at the mouth of the Caroni where he could guard the entrance to El Dorado and watch over his interests.

The Council of the Indies was greatly disturbed by the invasion and exploration of Guayana by Raleigh. It realised to the full the grave and serious danger to the Spanish Empire in the West were European nations to make permanent and growing settlements in the Indies.

For long Don Antonio de Berrio had urged the conquest and settlement of Trinidad and now that Raleigh had raided the Island and had announced his intention of returning the next year with 1,000 men to occupy both Trinidad and Guayana and make permanent settlements, all the neighbouring officials pressed the urgent necessity of immediate action to secure these provinces.

The Council of the Indies was thoroughly convinced, it urged the King to recognise Berrio's claims and to send out Domingo de Vera (then in Spain pleading on behalf of Berrio).

Thus on February 23rd, 1596, Domingo de Vera, left San Lucar with 1,500 men, women and children

on six vessels, part of a fleet for the West Indies, having received every facility for his departure including a loan of 70,000 ducats from the Royal Treasury and of 5,000 ducats from the City of Seville.

The ships dropped anchor at the Island of Trinidad, on April 10th, and while the rest of the fleet sailed on the ten additional vessels remained at the Five Islands or Las Cotorras as they were called, to repulse the dreaded arrival of Sir Walter Raleigh. By July, any danger of invasion had passed and these ten vessels sailed on to their destination.

It is clear therefore that Captain Keymis only escaped from the Orinoco just in time since within a week of his departure from that river, the Spaniards were passing up the river in force and by the end of May, Berrío had some 400 men at San Thomé.

The Council did not rest content with this effort, it meant business and as reinforcements were always necessary in new settlements, one hundred families had been embarked at Cadiz in June, 1596, to follow Vera's expedition to Trinidad and Guayana, when the combined English and Dutch fleets with Sir Walter Raleigh on board, captured Cadiz and caused the destruction of 40 outward bound merchant vessels. Before this merchant fleet could be reformed the disastrous failure of Vera's adventure was known in Spain and these intended reinforcements were withdrawn.

The Spaniards, however, still remained in strength on the River Orinoco, and Captain Berry was correctly informed when the Indians warned him

in April, 1597, that the Spaniards were on the Essequibo. This was merely an exploring party and no permanent settlement by the Spaniards ever appears to have been made in Guayana east of the Orinoco.

While the efforts of Spain to repel Sir Walter Raleigh and to prevent his settlements definitely failed, political events in England interfered and were of more effect. Raleigh only found opportunity to send out small exploring parties to keep in touch with the Indians of Trinidad and Guayana and twenty-three years elapsed before he made any further attempt in this direction.

Reference. *The Principal Navigation of the English Nation* by Richard Hakluyt.

ARTICLE XII.

THE COBLENTZ ESTATE ST. ANN'S

(I).

THE property in St. Ann's Valley now limited to the spacious house at Coblentz and surrounded by a comparatively small piece of land was when established a large and profitable estate covering a considerable amount of this valley. It included part of the Fondes Amandes and Cascade Valleys and lands now occupied by the St. Ann's Mental Hospital with Errol Park, part of the Government House lands and the present Coblentz House and gardens.

As a result of the efforts made in the latter part of the 18th century to populate and settle Trinidad, the occupation of lands in and around Port-of-Spain had actively progressed. On the north of the Town Jean Dumas, Jean Garcin, Louis Maury de Lapeyrouse and Henri Peschier had taken up grants of land extending from Oxford Street to the entrance of the St. Ann's Valley and smaller parcels had been occupied further up.

It was in the year 1794 that this property was begun and the land cleared and planted. This was

due to the enterprise and energy of a French Royalist from Martinique. In 1792 Monsieur de Mallevault was the Captain of the Frigate Calypso of 32 guns in the French Fleet then stationed at Martinique and as was the common practice in those days, he owned and worked a thriving estate ashore in that Island.

Revolutionary troubles broke out in Martinique early in 1793, and the Aristocratic Party had decided not to attempt to oppose the forces then being sent out by the Republican authorities in France. As a result of this decision, Monsieur de Behague, the French Governor of Martinique, retired to Grenada while the Vicomte de Riviere, the Admiral of the French Squadron and Commander of the Ship La Firme, 74 guns, and Monsieur de Mallevault in the Calypso and Monsieur D'Ache in the Frigate, Mareschal de Castries, took their ships to the Island of Trinidad.

Monsieur de Mallevault lost his properties in Martinique during the revolutionary disturbances and also experienced other serious losses to which reference is made later. He had therefore transported his family and all that he could realise of his property to Trinidad with the intention of taking advantage of the exceptional terms offered to colonists by the famous cedula of 1783.

On arrival at Port-of-Spain, the Vicomte de Riviere and the other French Officers offered themselves and their ships for service under the Spanish Crown. Don Josef Maria Chacon was naturally not in a position to make a decision in such a matter; having no precedent before him and doubtful how to proceed in these exceptional circumstances, he

referred this offer to the King of Spain for his instructions.

Pending the result, Monsieur de Mallevault pursued his intention of settling in Trinidad and after careful examination of various lands available in the country, made application for a grant of land in the St. Ann's valley.

In May, 1793, before any reply was received from Spain, the three French ships suddenly left for Martinique. The Officers had learnt that the Royalists in that Island had changed their views and had decided to organise resistance to the Republican Forces as soon as they had the news that a British expedition was on the way to the West Indies with the object of capturing the French Islands.

In June, Monsieur le Vicomte de Riviere and the two other Captains met the British Fleet off Martinique and requested to be allowed to join and serve under Admiral Gardner and assist in the attack upon the French Islands. The Admiral was taken aback by this unusual request as Great Britain was then at war with France and proposed at first to capture the three ships and make prisoners of the Officers and crew. When he was shown a dispatch from Mr. Dundas, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies (then combined in one office) directing that protection should be given to ships of war sailing under the old French Royalist flag, he finally decided not to accept their service and left them to their own devices.

On the 14th June, Admiral Gardner and Major General Bruce decided to attack the Island of Martinique and proceeded to land troops with the

intention of making a general attack on St. Pierre, on the 18th. Unfortunately on the eve of this attack when all was ready, a false alarm occurred during the night amongst the 800 French Royalists who were co-operating with the British which resulted in great confusion and the assault had to be abandoned.

The British troops were re-embarked and it was recognised that it was impossible to leave the Royalists to the rage and fury of the Republican forces and that humanity at least dictated the necessity of taking steps to relieve them as the Republicans were determined to give them no quarter.

The British ships took off 600 people including people of colour and slaves and landed them at Barbados. The French ships, La Firme, Calypso and Marechal de Castries, carried 1,000 people from Bay St. Anne in Martinique to the Island of Trinidad.

Once more back in Trinidad, Monsieur de Mallevault completed his application for a grant of land and succeeded in obtaining 436 quarrees (about 1395 acres) in St. Ann's mainly in the Fondes Amandes and Cascade Valleys. Much of the land consisted of precipitous slopes extending to the highest ridges of the valleys while some was valuable and fertile vega. To this area other sections of land were added later by purchase from adjacent owners.

It would appear that during 1795 the Spanish Government decided to accept the offer of the French ships since Monsieur de Mallevault is described as an Officer in the Spanish Navy and the

management of this property had to be left largely in the capable hands of his wife, Madame Anne Pinel de Mallevault.

On May 8th, 1796, occurred the well known incident which so disturbed the peace of Port-of-Spain. Captain Vaughan of the Frigate Alarm was a persistent scourge and relentless opponent of the Republican privateers, many of whose ships he had captured or destroyed. On this day he landed at Port-of-Spain with the third Lieutenant, the Purser and the Surgeon and had gone to pay his respects to Madame de Mallevault at Coblenz whom he had known well with her husband in Martinique. It was on his return to Port-of-Spain that the Republicans in considerable numbers met him and forced him to take refuge in the house of Madame Griffith whence he eventually escaped and reached his ship.

Possibly because of the large area, possibly for want of capital sufficient to develop the property, Captain de Mallevault sold a half share to Monsieur Jean Charles, Baron de Montalembert whose wife was Madame Anne Magdalene Pinel du Manoir.

This gentleman was equally a French Royalist who, however, had settled and developed valuable estates in the Island of San Domingo. With the spread of revolutionary troubles to that Island many people left but the Baron de Montalembert remained and joined the British forces which had landed there in September, 1793. He commanded the British Legion raised from the planters and others in San Domingo, all through the campaigns in the Island until the withdrawal of the British forces in July, 1797, and the disbandment of the

British Legion. He then transferred all that he had saved of his property in San Domingo to Trinidad and in 1801 joined with Monsieur de Mallevault in developing the Coblentz estate.

In 1802 Monsieur de Mallevault left Trinidad for good and the Baron became the sole owner. Monsieur Auguste Monier de Laguerre was brought to Trinidad to assist in the management while the Baron identified himself closely with the interests of the Island and took an active part in organising and promoting the Militia. He was highly respected and his military experience and reputation brought him the position of Brigadier General of these forces.

Reference. Public Record Office. State Paper Colonial. CO. 295. 11 and 35, and CO. 298. 1. Also State Paper Admiralty. Adms. 1. 315 and 316.

ARTICLE XIII.

THE COBLENTZ ESTATE ST. ANN'S

(II).

THE year 1803 proved to be a very fatal one to this estate as the Baron de Montalembert lost 70 out of 150 slaves in a period of nine months; an unprecedented mortality which led to a strong suspicion of the use of poison.

In 1804 Colonel Hislop, the Governor, commissioned Mr. St. Hilaire Begorrat, a member of the Council of Government and Monsieur Louis Francois Sergent, a French Notary from Martinique to enquire into the circumstances of this tragedy at Coblentz estate. Eventually the principal driver, the hospital, orderly and three slaves of the estate were convicted and executed. During the enquiry it became known that amongst the slaves on the estate were some who had been brought by Monsieur de Mallevault with him from his estates in Martinique, where in 1793 a similar excessive mortality had occurred and the use of poison also strongly suspected.

In this report the property is described as one of the most healthy, airy and well watered in the Island of Trinidad. As long ago as 1794, in less than six months M. de Mallevault had lost a number

of slaves at Coblentz the cause of which had never been definitely discovered. In 1802 the Baron de Montalembert had imported 150 well seasoned slaves from Jamaica and for six months all had been well. Later on, however, this excessive mortality had occurred in spite of all the attention and treatment by the best physicians and special domestic care. During this same period the slaves on the neighbouring estates were quite healthy and well.

The Commissioners go on to report "Every experienced planter knows that the negro doctor obexhmen are nothing but poisoners who profit by the ignorance and credulity of their comrades to sell them some insignificant powders to which they attribute miraculous virtues and who after carrying on this trade for some time to acquire reputation, always finish by selling poisons extracted from plants with which they are well acquainted and can always find. Nor can the police ever be too vigilant of this sort of doctors as dangerous from their principles and from the consequences they produce."

This report also discloses that a few years before in Trinidad Colonel Picton, the Governor, had appointed a Commission *ad hoc* of experienced planters who had devoted a whole year without salary or emoluments to dealing with this dangerous trouble. They managed to bring 20 of these villains to trial of whom five were condemned to death and the rest to corporal punishment.

Mr. John Waters, the proprietor of lands at Cocorite, informed the Commissioners that when he was an estate owner in the island of Martinique

he had lost 65 slaves in rapid succession. After a prolonged trial, four slaves had been convicted and executed.

Monsieur Legendre de Fougainville, a member of the Court of Appeal in Martinique, and who had important interests in Trinidad, testified that such crimes had increased so much in Martinique after the revolution that the regular form of the law had to be laid on one side and a special tribunal established to take cognizance of such crimes.

This report also recorded a similar experience in Guadeloupe, where in 1802, the Republican Governor, Monsieur La Crosse, found it necessary to appoint a special Commission because poisoners had become so alarmingly numerous.

The loss of these slaves at Coblenz is reported to have brought the Baron de Montalembert to the brink of ruin with little hope of recovering his financial position. The records certainly show that shortly afterwards (1806) he sold his town house in St. James Street (now the section of Frederick Street from Brunswick Square to Park Street) and by 1808 he had sold large portions of his property in St. Ann's Valley.

In this same year, 1808, the Baron died and the estate passed into the hands of his son René who was a Captain in the 69th Regiment of the British Army. Monsieur Auguste Monier de Laguerree carried on the management of this property as Attorney for the heir and continued to sell out portions and realise the capital value of the estate.

The property consisted of five separate sections. The original grant included the Fondes Amandes Estate at the mouth of that part of the St. Ann's

Valley and the St. Elizabeth Estate at the mouth of the Cascade Valley. On the most recently published map of this area, the village on the site of this estate still bears this name.

A third section was the Union Estate which was added to the area of the original grant by purchase. This Estate is of interest as it is one of those taken up and settled before the issue of the famous Cedula of 1783. This Estate was 60 quarrees in extent and had been granted to Pierre Dupont in 1778 by the Governor, Josef de Falquez, under the provisional regulations for the grant of lands in Trinidad made by J. de Abalos, the Intendant General at Caracas.

Early in 1777 Brigadier General Augustin Crame and Lieutenant Colonel Juan de Castilla both of the Royal Engineers, were sent out by the Spanish Government to consider and advise on the measures necessary for the development of the Spanish provinces between the River Orinoco and Mexico. In March of this same year they were both in the island of Trinidad and there met Monsieur Philippe Roume de St. Laurent. This meeting was a fortunate and opportune one for the future of Trinidad and one of its first fruits was the provisional regulations of 1778 and the arrival of a few new colonists induced by the influence of Roume de St. Laurent to try their fate in the Island.

This estate was probably purchased about 1794, as about that time Pierre Dupont removed from St. Ann's to the Santa Cruz Valley and later became the Commandant of that Quarter.

A fourth section was that of Coblentz and the fifth was named Hollandais. This latter estate is of

great interest as it included what is now the lands of Government House and also extended across the Circular Road into the area of the present savannah.

In view of the strong local tradition that the present Government House and its gardens were part of the old Peschier property, it appears safe to conclude that the Hollandais estate was purchased by the Baron de Montalembert from the heirs of Henri Peschier though unfortunately any such deed is not yet known.

Monsieur Henri Peschier came to Trinidad in 1782, and obtained a grant of land at Pointe-a-Pierre, and also a second grant of 56 quarrees and 867 square paces to the north of Port-of-Spain, and which comprises the greater part of the present area of the savannah. Two additional grants of land in the same district were made in 1782, one of 16 $11/18$ th quarrees to Doña Magdalena de Beltgens, the sister-in-law, and the other of 12 $1/2$ quarrees to Doña Rosa Celeste de Beltgens, the wife of Henri Peschier. These three parcels were all worked as a single sugar estate and would appear to have been a prosperous venture up to and after the death of Henri Peschier in 1791. It is these two northern sections granted to the widow and sister-in-law of Henri Peschier which afterwards became the Hollandais Estate.

When the purchases took place has not yet been traced though it must probably have been before 1803 in view of the financial ruin that fell upon the Baron de Montalembert in that year.

In 1801 it is known that the widow held her 12 $1/2$ quarrees as she pledged this piece of land in a deed

as security for the faithful administration of the properties of her daughters. In 1813 the records show that the $12\frac{1}{2}$ quarrees was in the possession of the heirs of Montalembert. The heirs would appear to have sold some of this land and other additional land also to Mr. Samuels, since in 1821, the Governor, Sir Ralph Woodford in April of that year reported that the Government House at St. Ann's was completed and that the necessary lands had been purchased by the Colonial Government from the heirs of Montalembert and from Mr. Samuels.

The 16 $11/18$ th quarrees of Doña Magdalena de Beltgens was in the possession of the heirs of Montalembert in 1819, since in that year the illustrious Cabildo purchased that area from the heirs in order to add it to the 56 quarrees and 867 square paces which it had bought from the heirs of Peschier in 1817 and thus completed the savannah in its present form.

In April, 1821, Sir Ralph Woodford reported to the Secretary of State that these two pieces of land comprising $72\frac{7}{10}$ th quarrees in all, had been transferred to the Colonial Government by the Cabildo, the deed for which was completed in October, 1825.

Reference. Public Record Office State Paper Colonial. CO. 295. 7. Spanish Protocol for 1806. Trinidad Registry-

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THE TRINIDAD HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOUNDED: JUNE 23rd, 1932

List of Officers and Committee



Objects of the Society



Form of Application for Membership



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THE TRINIDAD HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Objects of the Society.

The Trinidad Historical Society was formed on 23rd 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.

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 204.

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.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES

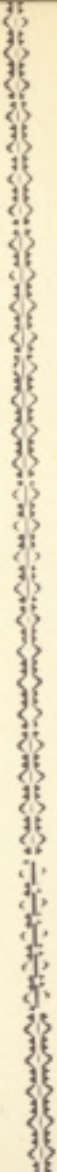
The Society welcomes the contribution of any historical data relating to Trinidad. Original documents will be returned immediately copies have been made. Careful consideration will be given to all material submitted which, if suitable, will be published, provided the necessary funds are available.

The annual subscription is 10s. 10d. (\$2.50) 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.

Vol. I of these Historical Sketches is out of print.

A set of most of the documents, numbering 152, published during the first three years (1932-33 to 1934-35) may be obtained on payment of £1 0s. 10d. (\$5 Trinidad currency) to the Honorary Secretary-Treasurer.

A short series of public lectures has been arranged for the session 1935-36.



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