HISTORICAL SKETCHES

BY

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HISTORICAL SKETCHES
OF
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

COLLECTED AND ARRANGED BY

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PREFACE

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K.S.W.

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HISTORICAL SKETCHES

ARTICLE I.

Early Efforts to Colonise Trinidad.

IT was not until many years after the discovery of Trinidad by Christopher Columbus that definite attempts were made to conquer and settle this island.

In the earlier years Trinidad was visited by the ships of those engaged in discovery who after taking wood and water, passed on their way. In due course, however, the development of this island attracted attention and efforts were made to settle.

In 1506 arrangements were made for the erection of a fort in the Island of Cubagua and for beginning the famous pearl industry. By 1509 Diego Columbus, son of the Admiral and Governor of San Domingo, was engaged in sending Spaniards there and supplying Indian slaves from Trinidad and the Bahamas whose value was 150 ducats each. This pearl industry prospered and in a short time the fifth of the proceeds which belonged to the King of Spain, was estimated at 15,000 ducats a year.

In 1508 Juan Ponce de Leon had conquered the Island of San Juan and two years later gold mines had been found and developed.

Gold was an overpowering lure and the King of Spain now directed attention to the exploration of the natural

resources of Trinidad. In 1511 he instructed Diego Columbus as Governor of San Domingo to cease removing slaves from Trinidad and to send men to explore the island for gold. These instructions were repeated in 1512 to San Juan and the Royal Officials were urged to take immediate steps to verify the Indian reports of valuable gold deposits in Trinidad.

The search for gold in Trinidad was not successful. Probably the Indians showed the Spaniards the deposits of marcasite just as they later displayed them to Sir Robert Dudley in 1594, who sadly wrote that "all that glistereth is not gold," and it could not be long before expectations in this direction were proved unjustified.

Interest in Trinidad thereupon lapsed except as a place for enslaving Indians to be sold at Cubagua and San Domingo until 1520, in which year, on December 15th, the King of Spain granted the conquest and pacification of the Island of Trinidad with the title of Adelantado to Captain Roderigo de Bastidas. In the following year Fray Francisco de Arevalo was appointed Bishop of the Island and he started to collect funds in Spain to build a Church in Trinidad.

This Conquistador had been a Notary in Seville and was a man of standing with private means and had wealthy friends. He had first sailed to the New World in 1500 and passing Trinidad, he had explored the Main as far as the Gulf of Darien. In 1504 he had returned to San Domingo, taken up estates and mines and became a rich man with over 8,000 head of cattle. The epidemic of smallpox which raged in 1518 had decimated his slaves and reduced the production of sugar and gold. In a period of six months the value of his produce had diminished from 150,000 pesos to 30,000 pesos a year. This heavy loss may well have caused Captain Roderigo to consider venturing in other directions.

This appointment of Captain Roderigo as Conquistador and Adelantado of the Island of Trinidad was at once strongly opposed by Diego Columbus as a breach of the agreement made with his father, the Admiral Christopher Columbus. Apparently one place was as good as another to Captain Roderigo and rather than have dispute with so powerful an opponent as the Governor of San Domingo, he waived any claim to the conquest of Trinidad and accepted a similar commission for Santa Marta where he landed with 150 men in 1525.

At Santa Marta he protected the Indians from illtreatment by his men and inflicted exemplary punishment for any breach of his orders. When they realised that no slaves were to be made, his men became so incensed that an attempt was made to assassinate him by his Lieutenant, Pedro de Villafuerte, who was subsequently executed for this crime. Though wounded Captain Roderigo managed to escape but died later of his wounds at San Domingo in November, 1527.

His death was a great loss to the Indies, as he was notable as a most humane man, one able to understand the Indians and to obtain their confidence and such at that time were only too few. Had he taken up the conquest of Trinidad and succeeded in settling the island how very different might have been its history.

In May, 1520, was signed the famous agreement with Fray Bartolome de las Casas by which he was to settle the Main from the Province of Paria along to Santa Marta. His illfated expedition left Spain in December of that year.

In March, 1525, the settlement of the Island of Margarita was granted by the Emperor, Charles V, to the Licenciado Marcelo de Villalobos. Two years later he died and the Audiencia of San Domingo, evidently composed of persons of liberal mind, continued this agreement with his daughter, Dona Aldonca de Villalobos, who ruled this Island with much success.

In 1526 the Licenciado Serrano of San Domingo obtained the commission to conquer and settle the Island of Guadeloupe but he attempted nothing

With such active interest in the settlement of areas around Trinidad it was impossible that this Island should be overlooked especially as Diego Columbus had died in 1526. Two years later Antonio Sedeno, the Contador of San Juan, was in Spain and made application for the conquest and settlement of this Island with the title of Governor and Captain General. Negotiations followed and at Madrid on July 12th, 1530, was signed the necessary commission appointing Antonio Sedeno, the Contador of San Juan, to be Governor and Captain General of the Island of Trinidad for life without salary and with the privilege of appointing the Alguazil Mayor.

He was pledged to construct a fort for the defence of the Island, to establish a priest there for the conversion and baptism of the Indians and to conquer, pacify and settle the Island. The King, however, definitely refused to grant his request for the right to nominate his successor after his death or to be allowed to take the Indians of Trinidad as slaves or to be supplied at the cost of the Royal Treasury with a salaried Lieutenant and garrison for the fort.

Antonio Sedeno though a wealthy man, was clearly of entirely different character from that of Captain Roderigo de Bastidas. He had left Spain on August 10th, 1512, to take up his post as Contador of San Juan, one of the Royal Officials, and by 1515 he had been appointed a perpetual Regidor of the Cabildo of that Island

Shortly afterwards his brother Officials were sending adverse reports about Sedeno, and in 1518 he was suspended from office and imprisoned on the allegation of having seduced a girl, 10 years of age, from the Convent. At this time Antonio Sedeno is described as of turbulent nature and he appears to have justified this description on

this occasion, as he set fire to the prison, and in the resulting confusion he escaped from the Island on a vessel.

Two years later Diego Columbus visited San Juan and investigated this among other affairs. He would have appeared to have acquitted Sedeno, as he was reinstated in office as Contador.

A year afterwards in 1521, Francisco Velasquez from San Domingo, the Juez de Cuentas, arrived and in March committed Sedeno to prison. On this occasion he was charged with deficiencies in His Majesty's accounts (he is alleged to have "put his hands deeply into His Majesty's funds"), with disturbing the Island and fomenting factious disorders. He was adjudged guilty and removed temporarily from the Island and was required to refund the missing amount to the Royal Treasury. Even as late as 1529, the Royal Officials in Porto Rico sent to the King 5,000 pesos collected from the estate of Antonio Sedeno on this account.

In 1524 the Licenciado Vasquez de Ayllon was sent to San Juan to take the residencia on the Royal Officials. Again Antonio Sedeno was in trouble and was convicted of many charges, in consequence of which, he was required to provide guarantees of 4,000 pesos for good behaviour.

Such is the record of the man who aspired to conquer and pacify the Island of Trinidad. His brother Officials in no uncertain terms made it clear that the interests of the Island of San Juan would be best served by his absence. He himself sought to be his own master with opportunities of wider scope and with a less restricted stage for his talents. To the authorities in Spain he was a man of wealth with resources in San Juan conveniently situated as a base for the conquest of Trinidad, a man of turbulent nature but undoubted courage, dowered with the qualities of leadership well suited to a Conquistador.

Circumstances thus threw the fate of Trinidad into the hands of Antonio Sedeno who was the first to make efforts to plant a permanent settlement in the Island.

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ARTICLE II.

The Arrival of Antonio Sedeno. 1531.

WITH great anticipations and high expectations Antonio Sedeno collected his expedition and left San Lucar de Barrameda in Spain on September 18th, 1530, and sailed for the Canary Islands. He showed his wisdom by recruiting the greater part of his men from these Islands, as they were known to be more suitable for settling in the West Indies than those from the Kingdoms of Castille and Leon.

With two caravels carrying 70 men, Sedeno sailed out to the west across the Atlantic Ocean on his great and joyous adventure to the Island of Trinidad which he hoped to acquire by peaceful methods without dispute or bloodshed. He had a fortunate and successful passage, and as was the custom at that date, made his landfall at the south east corner of the Island. He passed along the south coast and landed at a place described as the Punta de las Palmas. Here he landed, produced his commission and formally read it to his followers who thereupon accepted him as the Governor of Trinidad; no Indians appear to have been present.

Antonio Sedeno then entered the Bay of Paria by the Serpent's Mouth and sailed straight north to seek for the Indian Cacique named Turpiari whose village was on the mainland of Paria near to the Bocas. This Cacique was known to be friendly to the Spaniards, and Sedeno was

particularly anxious to obtain his help and influence towards the peaceful penetration of Trinidad and also to obtain interpreters, as he had no one with him who could converse with the Indians.

A great friendship soon arose between these two leaders which lasted for many years and survived many difficulties and dangers, throughout which, the Indian Cacique was faithful to the cause of Sedeno to the end. When he learnt that Sedeno wished to visit the Island of Trinidad, this Cacique Turpiari with some of his Captains and people went with Sedeno to that Island in his ship and guided him to the southern province named Chacomare. The Chief of this province was the Cacique Maruana who was in command of many Indians and who was described as having a good port facing the Gulf. This may quite possibly have been the site of San Fernando, the hills around which show abundant remains of several Indian settlements and was known to have been the starting place of trails to all parts of the Island.

This Cacique Maruana was also friendly to the Spaniards and ready to meet them with peace and to offer friendship. Amicable relations were soon established and gifts such as knives, scissors and hatchets cemented the goodwill of Maruana and his people. This was an auspicious and encouraging beginning for his adventure and Sedeno must have left the southern province with a thankful heart for the successful results hitherto attained.

Still guided by the Cacique Turpiari, Antonio Sedeno turned to the northern province, which was named Camocorabo, the Indians of which were commanded by three or four Caciques. There were two big villages on the sea coast and several others in the vicinity. Thus, it was at the place now known as Mucurapo that Antonio Sedeno landed and met a people very different from those of the south. These people were inveterate enemies of the Spaniards. They came of a warrior race and were

not prepared to bow obedience to others nor to forget the many acts of cruelty and inhumanity displayed in Trinidad by the Spaniards in past years.

For the time being, however, the peaceful offers of the Spaniards were accepted while the Indians dissembled and pretended to receive the Spaniards with friendship. The Governor, Antonio Sedeno, was not deceived and he realised the treacherous nature of these Indians and that they merely waited for some favourable opportunity to overwhelm and exterminate them. He realised that the offensive acts of previous parties of Spaniards had given these Indians reasons, only too well founded, for distrust and suspicion. It was quite clear to him that any possibility of a peaceful conquest in the north was out of the question.

Antonio Sedeno therefore abandoned his first intention of building a fort in Trinidad, as he knew that the Indians would attack at once and that no effective stand could be made with his handful of men. Sedeno therefore reiterated his desire for amicable relations and withdrew to Paria with the Cacique Turpiari.

Here at Paria in one of the bays on the south coast, Antonio Sedeno built his fort near to the sea and half surrounded by a river, with the consent of the Cacique Turpiari and with the assistance of his Indians. In this fort he left Juan Gonzalez as Alcalde with 35 men and most of the stores which he had brought from Spain. He then sailed for San Juan in order to obtain reinforcements and additional supplies. He took with him the Cacique Turpiari and also some Indians from both Trinidad and Paria.

Alexander von Humboldt, following Caulin (1779), Fray Pedro Simon (1626) and Herrera (1600) has placed the fort which Sedeno built, in the delta of the Orinoco. Oviedo who wrote in 1546 and who obtained his information first hand from persons who had taken part in these

events, definitely placed this fort or Casa de Discordia as he rightly named it, in the Paria peninsula. Throughout this account the sequence of events as related by Oviedo and as reported by Antonio Sedeno himself, is closely followed.

In this same year Diego de Ordas, one of the famous Captains who had accompanied Cortez in his remarkable conquest of Mexico, obtained a commission as Governor of Guayana, including Paria. He had been rewarded for his services by an estate in Mexico worth 7,000 pesos a year, had been raised to the Military Order of Santiago and granted many other honours but his desires were still unsatiated and he sought for this commission and agreed to make this expedition at his own cost, hoping and expecting to reap such another reward as had been found in Mexico by Cortez.

He sailed from Spain with 400 men and 35 horses on October 20th, 1530. His ships, being comparatively large vessels, were unsuited for entering the River Orinoco, and on attempting the entrance they were soon in difficulties on the shoals and sandbanks.

One of the ships, that commanded by Juan Cortejo, was lost with all the people and stores aboard. Diego de Ordas himself managed to extricate his own ship and got safely into the Bay of Paria.

Here he learnt from the Indians that a fort had been built and occupied by some of his countrymen in the north on the coast of Paria. Angry and indignant at such a trespass on his territory, Diego de Ordas promptly captured the fort with all the men and stores. He settled in this fort and prepared for his exploration of the River Orinoco and constructed the necessary shallow draught boats.

Diego de Ordas also sent to San Juan and lodged a complaint before the Alcalde, Gaspar Troche, against Sedeno for having taken Indians as slaves from Trinidad and Paria to that Island. In July, 1531, Antonio put in

his reply to these allegations. He acknowledged that he had carried Indians, both men and women, from these places to San Juan but he claimed that they were brought as free people and not as slaves. These Indians had been lodged with different families in the Island so that they should become accustomed to the ways of the Spaniards and so lose their fear. In this way they would be more easily converted to the Holy Catholic Faith and would later serve as guides and interpreters in his conquest of Trinidad. This defence was supported by three witnesses and as no further process appears to have followed, presumably Sedeno was acquitted.

On June 24th, 1531, Diego de Ordas had completed his preparations and left Paria to enter the River Orinoco with 280 men and 18 horses and with Domingo Velasquez of Cubagua as interpreter. He left Martin Yanez Tafur with a small garrison in charge of the fort at Paria.

On his arrival at San Juan, Antonio Sedeno began recruiting men and collecting supplies. Ignorant of the arrival of Ordas and the loss of his fort at Paria, Sedeno sent men and supplies to this fort to wait his arrival with further reinforcements. These men found that Ordas had possession of the fort, had carried Juan Gonzalez and his men up the Orinoco and had left a strong guard at Paria. They feared to land at Paria and decided to go on to Trinidad and there settle at Cumucurapo to await the arrival of their Governor.

The Indians gave them a good reception and allowed them a place to settle. Impelled by their hatred of the Spaniards and their remembrance of Spanish treachery, the Indians dissembled and waited only eight days before making a surprise attack and overwhelming these unfortunate men. All the Spaniards on shore, 24 in number, were killed and as a pirogue with Indians put off to the caravel to kill those left on board the ship, the three Spaniards in the vessel promptly cut the cable and managed

with great difficulty to move out into the bay and escape. On arrival at Cubagua they sent at once a report of this disaster to Antonio Sedeno still at San Juan.

On hearing that his fort had been seized, Antonio Sedeno forthwith made a formal complaint to the Royal Audiencia at San Domingo against Diego de Ordas for taking his men and supplies. The usual delay ensued and this action was still unsettled four years later.

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ARTICLE III.

The First Battle of Cumucurapo. 1532.

EARLY in 1532 Diego de Ordas returned to Paria, his expectations disappointed and his supplies exhausted. He had found no large population nor any extensive riches although he had heard tales of both being present further on in the fastnesses of the Andes. For such an extended journey he had neither the men nor the supplies sufficient to venture so far. Domingo Velasquez recommended that he should abandon the attempt by the River Orinoco and make a new approach overland from the Gulf of Cariaco and the River Unare on the Main. This appealed to Diego de Ordas as sound advice and he took immediate steps to send his men and supplies ahead to Cumana.

On the 16th March, 1532, the Alcalde of the fort at Cumana found himself surrounded by the men of the expedition of Ordas under the command of Agustin Delgado. As this part of the Main was claimed by Cubagua and was essential to that arid Island as a source of water, the Alcalde ordered these men out of the district and sent post haste to the authorities of Cubagua for instructions and assistance.

The Alcalde of Cubagua himself soon arrived and found that the men of Ordas' expedition were disgusted at the

hardships and difficulties of travel they had endured and were even more disappointed at the absence of prospects of easily acquired wealth. He was able to wean them from their allegiance and loyalty to Ordas in spite of all the efforts of Agustin Delgado. They finally surrendered their arms to the Alcalde and retired to Cubagua.

On April 3rd, 1532, Diego de Ordas himself arrived with a few men in four pirogues at Cumana. He was expected and was promptly seized and sent as a prisoner to Pedro Ortiz de Matienzo, the Alcalde in Cubagua. There Ordas was charged with trespass and with an attempt to capture the fort at Cumana. Ordas resisted these charges and claimed that all these lands along the Main were included in his commission.

The Alcalde with Diego de Ordas and his principal officers all went to San Domingo where these claims and charges were laid before the Royal Audiencia. This tribunal decided in favour of Diego de Ordas and instructed him to proceed with his exploration and, moreover, offered him assistance.

Diego de Ordas, however, was ill, his journey had hitherto been unfortunate, the difficulties had proved unexpectedly great, his men were dispersed and now as a final straw, the authorities of Cubagua appealed to Spain against this decision of the Audiencia. To them the control over the district about Cumana was essential to their very existence as it safeguarded their water supply and also safeguarded their supply of Indian slaves for their pearl fisheries.

The Alcalde of Cubagua, Pedro Ortiz de Matienzo, with Diego de Ordas therefore departed in the same ship for Spain. The latter left instructions with Agustin Delgado to maintain the position in Paria until his return. Unfortunately Diego de Ordas died at sea within sight of Spain.

This important news soon reached the Indies and brought relief to Antonio Sedeno who had temporarily returned to San Juan. Though chafing at the murder of his men by the Indians in Trinidad and anxious to punish them for this treachery, he knew that it was impossible to move against Trinidad with any hope of safety until he had control of the fort in Paria as a source of supplies and a shelter in case of repulse. So long as Ordas held this part of the country and maintained his expedition in existence, Sedeno had to possess his soul in patience and bide his opportunity. With the unexpected death of Ordas, Sedeno sprang into activity and went at once to Margarita to gather men and supplies.

On May 13th he returned to San Juan and nominated Juan de la Puente as Teniente in his post as Contador and left to go to Trinidad. He had managed to collect 80 men and with these he decided to make a surprise attack on Trinidad and punish the Indians for the death of his earlier detachment. In the latter part of 1532 (the exact date is not mentioned) Sedeno crept in at night down the coast of Trinidad with his men in six pirogues with the object of taking the Indians at Cumucurapo by surprise. The Indians were, however, not unaware of the movements of Sedeno and had made defences and maintained a watch.

Suspecting this, Sedeno had suborned an Indian guide, who avoided the usual path of approach and led them through the woods to the rear of the pueblo, and here, at one o'clock in the morning, the attack was launched upon the sleeping Indians. None the less they engaged in a desperate defence and refused to yield. The Spaniards set fire to the huts so as to bring out the men, women and children, and by the fierce light of their blazing homes, this bitter and unequal fight continued to the end. The more the Spaniards offered them liberty and freedom, the

more the Indians refused to yield, deeming it more honourable to die by the sword and the flames. Even the women and children submitted voluntarily to the flames rather than claim the clemency of the Spaniards.

The flames burnt fiercely and nothing but charred embers remained of the village. The Indians, with the exception of a few who had fled, had all been killed, and of the Spaniards, ten had died "raving with madness" from the wounds of poisoned arrows.

The punishment being now completed, the Spaniards began to look for food, as none had been planted at Cumucurapo with the deliberate intention of leaving invaders without supplies. Ten days were spent in vain in this search and the Spaniards were forced to leave the Island and return to Margarita.

Having arrived at this Island, Sedeno was urged to enlist Alonso de Herrera, who had been with Ordas in the conquest of Mexico and had accompanied him to Paria. This was duly arranged and Herrera, of whom it was said that he knew more how to kill Indians than to cultivate them, was promised the command of the fort to be built in Trinidad.

As the King had ruled that Paria did not belong to the territory granted to Sedeno, the Licenciado Prado nominated Agustin Delgado to command the fort in Paria pending the appointment of a new Governor on condition that he took the prescribed oaths.

In May, 1533, Sedeno set out again from Margarita with 92 men and 8 horses in two caravels and some pirogues. All the vessels but one pirogue arrived safely at the fort in Paria, now named San Miguel. This pirogue had overturned and nine of the men were drowned; the rest managed to swim ashore and succeeded with great difficulty in reaching San Miguel overland.

After some discussion, Agustin Delgado, who was a native of Teneriffe, and 35 of his people agreed to join

with Sedeno in his expedition to Trinidad provided they were allowed to leave if and when a new Governor arrived. Ten of the men refused and elected to return forthwith to the Island of Cubagua. Bartolome Hernandez was left as Teniente with ten men to keep and guard the fort of San Miguel in Paria.

As Alonso de Herrera had remained in Margarita to follow later, Sedeno, Delgado and 127 men with 8 horses landed in Trinidad on June 8th, 1533, for the purpose of making a permanent settlement. The pueblo of the Indians at Cumucurapo who had killed the Spaniards in 1531 was occupied by this expedition, and as this was done without any great resistance, it is probable that only a few Indians had dared to re-establish themselves after the "punishment" of the previous year.

The Spaniards settled down in this village and made a stockade for their protection against any sudden attack and put up buildings more suited to their needs. Until they had arranged for supplies partly from Paria and partly from their friendly Indians in the south, Sedeno and his men, having exhausted the supplies brought in their ship, were reduced to eating roots and herbs collected in the woods around, from which destitution they were relieved by the arrival of a vessel with supplies from Cubagua.

This caravel, however, brought news of serious import to these people at Cumucurapo and they learnt that Herrera had come to Paria and was claiming to have authority to command at San Miguel. This fort had been delivered over to him by Bartolome Hernandez and Herrera had even tried to seize this caravel and stop the supplies reaching Trinidad.

This was grave news indeed and Sedeno decided to go with some men at once. He arrived at San Miguel during the night of June 24th, 1533, and managed to surprise and arrest Herrera. Charges were made against Herrera by Delgado as the Official Alcalde of the fort and forwarded

to the Licenciado Prado in Cubagua for decision. By this Judge, Sedeno was ordered to take Herrera to Trinidad and there keep him under restraint. This was done with all possible kindness and sympathy in spite of the difficulties Herrera had created at Paria.

During this time the Spaniards at Cumucurapo were improving their buildings and strengthening their stockade, as they soon learnt that the Indians, with the exception of those in the south, were collecting and uniting to make a massed attack and drive them out of the Island. Unfortunately many of the Spaniards were sick, which made Sedeno anxious as to the future. He would have preferred to go forth and take the offensive but decided that the circumstances forced him to wait events in the stockaded pueblo. At the special request of Delgado and his men, Sedeno released Herrera so that he could assist them at this crisis of the fighting

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ARTICLE IV.

The Second Battle of Cumucurapo. 1533.

THE following is a verbatim translation of the account of this assault on his camp at Cumucurapo sent by Antonio Sedeno himself to the King of Spain.

"Thus we waited on watch until four o'clock in the early morning of September 13th, 1533, as dawn was breaking upon the pueblo and before the guards were relieved or the rounds made, a great number of Indians, all clothed, swept down upon us with loud cries contrary to their usual mode of attack. They at once surrounded the pueblo on all sides and launched the attack with great courage and persistence as though they had been Turks, and in half-an-hour about 15—20 of our men had been wounded.

"So many were the arrows that they covered the ground. As the horses were stabled in the middle of the pueblo, the Indians were not able to get at them through the defences, but by shooting arrows high up they managed to wound five out of the eight before steps were taken to cover them. These horses were the principal reserve and would be urgently required later, as we felt certain that without them we should all be killed. We all agreed that if these horses were lost, that day or soon after, it would be necessary to abandon the Island with the loss of everything.

"We then sent out the horses to resist and break up this furious attack. As soon as the first horseman was seen, the Indians began to shout loudly, 'Horses, Horses,

Horses,' and to turn and fly. As the other horsemen followed and wounded and killed the Indians, they broke completely and fled to the hills, leaving in their flight on the battlefield many bows, arrows, shields and war clubs.

"We killed about 30 Indians and captured three alive, from whom we learnt that many tribes had united to make this assault. They had agreed to take arms to kill the Spaniards and drive them out of the Island. If this attempt were not successful they had agreed to return again in eight days in still greater numbers to make the Island free of us.

"This was sure to happen sooner or later and our men were depressed at this news, for the punishment inflicted by the horsemen was not sufficiently great. We searched the battlefield and collected our wounded, about 20 or more. Amongst these was the Teniente of Paria who had been one of the horsemen; his horse had been killed by two arrows tipped with poison, so that it died raving mad."

This attack was made according to the usual surprise and assault tactics used by the Indians who relied upon the overwhelming force of the sudden massed attack. If this failed they drew off and scattered to consider renewal at a later date. Oviedo states that the whole affray was over in an hour-and-a-half and it is clear from other accounts that the Indians (estimated at 3,000) succeeded in penetrating the stockade of the Spanish camp and were engaged in hand to hand fighting. It was only the timely action by the horsemen which saved the day and caused the Indians to make a sudden withdrawal.

This practical evidence of the strength of the Indians in the north and the narrow margin by which the Spaniards escaped complete disaster, left Sedeno and his men with heavy hearts and in dire fear for their safety. Fourteen of the Spaniards had been killed and only thirty men remained well and untouched while all the horses had been wounded.

At this time when the affairs of the expedition were at the lowest ebb, Antonio Sedeno justified his position as leader of the expedition and took active steps to restore the health and morale of his people. They started to remove some of the houses so as to provide a wide, clear space all around the camp. They re-erected and strengthened the stockade of prickly palms and began to construct much heavier defences.

To add still further to the serious and dangerous difficulties which now faced Antonio Sedeno, this critical time was chosen by Alonso de Herrera to declare that this conquest of Trinidad was doomed to failure and that he intended to return to Paria with those who might choose to follow him. This mutiny was disclosed to Sedeno and Herrera and others with him in this attempt were arrested before any grave harm was done.

The fortified camp at Cumucurapo consisted of thirty-one houses with kitchens, stables, smithy and storehouses. Before the attack in September it was protected by a single stockade but now a double wall was constructed of heavy baulks of timber filled between with earth. This wall was 180 paces each way, pierced with loop holes and flanked by two bastions mounted with guns from the ships. The strength of the Indian attack had clearly left an indelible impression upon the Spaniards and Sedeno declared that the fort could be defended by 20 men against 50,000 Indians.

This very tangible evidence of safety soon cheered the men and with ample supplies of food they soon regained their health and confidence. During all this period the provision of adequate supplies of food had always given Sedeno much anxiety. From the north of Trinidad but little could be expected and that mainly from fields which the Spaniards could themselves cultivate near their fort. Fortunately the Cacique Maruana in the south continued in friendship and sent regular supplies of food, for which

ample barter was exchanged. This Cacique had given four hostages to Sedeno and the Spaniards went there freely, maintaining this essential goodwill. The friendly Cacique Turpiari in Paria also assisted in the same way, sending food supplies from time to time.

To help themselves Sedeno tried to get fish in suitable quantities at Cumucurapo. He sent Indians captured in Trinidad to Cubagua to be sold as slaves, from the proceeds of which fishing nets were to be purchased. The Royal Officials at Cubagua rightly vetoed any such transactions, as Sedeno had no authority to take the Indians of Trinidad as slaves.

It was fortunate for the Spaniards that the Indians failed to renew the attack and left them in peace to consolidate their position and construct their formidable fort. There was, however, trouble brewing for Sedeno from quite a different direction and a few months after the Spaniards had repulsed the dangerous attack by the Indians, news arrived which led to the departure of the Spaniards from Trinidad to which Sedeno was fated never to return.

The Royal Audiencia at San Domingo had learnt that Delgado had deserted his post at the fort San Miguel to join Sedeno in his attempt to conquer Trinidad and thereupon had decided to appoint Herrera as the Alcalde of this fort in Paria pending instructions from the King. This news was brought by an Alguacil who had travelled by pirogue from Cubagua to Cumucurapo. Apart from conveying the official notice about the appointment of Herrera, this Alguacil also delivered the private news that no assistance nor supplies could be expected in Trinidad either from Cubagua or San Juan, as everyone was now seeking to go to Peru because of the wonderful riches discovered there by Pizarro.

Antonio Sedeno realised that the end of his expedition had been reached. The presence of Herrera at Paria would

cut off all the supplies from that district which were vitally essential to his existence in the Island of Trinidad. None the less he had to obey the orders of the Audiencia and with a heavy heart and dire foreboding he liberated Herrera and delivered him to the Alguacil who proceeded to carry him to Paria and put him in charge of the fort. By this opportunity twenty of the men left to Sedeno elected to leave Trinidad where they had experienced nothing but hardship and privation and had found no hope of riches or reward.

Dissatisfaction and discouragement, enhanced by the absence of adequate supplies of food, grew and spread until in March, 1534, the rest of his men mutinied against Sedeno and demanded to be led away from Trinidad where only death and destruction awaited them. Sedeno, loyal to his duty, refused this demand and was thereupon arrested by his own men. The news of this mutiny was sent to Herrera who thereupon despatched pirogues to bring all the men to Paria. As these men were leaving and as they had attained their object, Sedeno was released and offered a passage with them in the pirogues.

Still loyal to his commission, he refused to leave Trinidad and surrounded by the twenty men still faithful to him, he stood on the shore at Cumucurapo and watched the departure of these mutinous men.

After a few weeks in consultation with the remnant of the men, he reviewed their position. They were fairly safe ensconced in a strong fort with supplies adequate for the needs of the reduced garrison but without hope of reinforcements. The northern Indians were unreconciled and still waited only for a suitable opportunity to overwhelm them, and from time to time managed to cut off those who had strayed too far from protection. The prospect of effective action was more than remote and the men would in the end be sacrificed to no purpose.

Antonio Sedeno decided to leave the Island. Most of the supplies were taken on board the ship but it was found necessary to leave to the Indians not only the buildings and the impregnable fort but also four of their treasured horses. Thus on August 27th, 1534, the Governor and Captain General of the Island of Trinidad left it never to return.

At last the tables were turned and this was the opportunity which Herrera could not allow to pass. On arrival at San Miguel, Antonio Sedeno was taken from the vessel and kept prisoner for several months under strict guard.

News travels rapidly amongst the Indians and the Cacique Maruana from the southern part of Trinidad came to San Miguel to enquire after his friend Sedeno and try to mitigate his misfortunes. They were not allowed to meet and the Cacique reported that the Indians had completely destroyed the fort at Cumucurapo, while he had succeeded in securing the four horses of which two had died and the others were kept well guarded in his pueblo in the south of Trinidad.

This confinement of Sedeno angered Turpiari, the Cacique of Paria, whose friendship for the Conquistador of Trinidad remained undimmed and unaltered. Unable to obtain any remission of the confinement from Herrera, Turpiari collected his fighting forces and on the night of September 25th, 1534, made a sudden attack upon the fort of San Miguel in the hope of rescuing his friend. The Cacique was repulsed and had to withdraw after having killed four of the garrison.

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ARTICLE V.

The Conquistador Gives Up Hope. 1535.

WITH everything against him and no ray of hope to be seen, disheartened and disappointed, there is little surprise that Sedeno broke down under the rigorous imprisonment. For a time his life was despaired of and his men demanded his release. At last, fearing the consequences of his death, Herrera consented and Sedeno left San Miguel on October 10th with his men in three pirogues for Margarita. Here he transferred to a caravel and reached San Juan where he regained once more his vigorous health after a slow and difficult recuperation.

During the year 1534 Geronimo de Ortal, who had accompanied the expedition of Ordas as Treasurer, obtained a commission as his successor in the Government of Paria. He left Seville on August 18th and made his landfall at the mouth of the River Essequibo. From there he travelled along the coast and entered the Gulf of Paria by the Serpent's Mouth. Geronimo de Ortal knew that Sedeno had settled in Trinidad more than a year ago, so having arrived in the Gulf in October he followed close to the coast of Trinidad in the hope of finding him and relieving his necessities. Ortal failed to obtain any

news of Sedeno until, on October 30th, he reached the fort at San Miguel and there learnt that Sedeno had abandoned his settlement in Trinidad and retired to San Juan.

Geronimo de Ortal in his report to the King expressed his opinion that the conquest and settlement of Trinidad would be of great value, but that the number of men collected by Sedeno was far too small for this purpose; it would require at least 300 Spaniards with adequate support of horsemen.

The tide of affairs had become too strong for Sedeno, the fabulous discoveries in Peru had filled the soaring imagination of everyone in the Indies and it was impossible to recruit men for any other purpose than an expedition to the new El Dorado. As for Trinidad, where only misery, hunger and hard fighting were to be found, Sedeno frankly reported that the people "simply laugh at the idea of going there."

In 1535 Sedeno reported to the King all the efforts he had made to settle Trinidad. He claimed to have spent over 20,000 pesos de oro and made bitter complaints about the persistent opposition of everyone from Diego de Ordas and the Officials of Cubagua and San Juan to Herrera and now Geronimo de Ortal.

As he found it quite impossible to collect men for an expedition to Trinidad, he had managed to raise men, horses and three vessels on the understanding that he would lead them to the Province of Meta, adjacent to that of Peru.

In January, 1535, he had offered to join with Ortal and assist him in making a successful exploration towards Meta. Included in this proposal was the erection of a fort in Trinidad as a base for future conquest and the riches resulting from the expedition were to be used to finance extended efforts in Trinidad.

Geronimo de Ortal refused this offer. Sedeno reported to the King that the men he had collected were deter-

mined to go to Meta and nothing he could do would divert them to Trinidad. As this expedition could not succeed and would only fail were he not there to lead it, he had finally given in to what he regarded as overpowering circumstances and had agreed to take them to Maracapana on the Main and set out in search of the fabled riches of Meta.

Sedeno also complained to the King that as he could not be allowed the control of the fort at Paria, it was impossible to gain any success in Trinidad and he therefore requested to be relieved of his commission.

Meanwhile in July, 1535, unable to obtain sufficient food for his men in Paria, Ortal crossed over to Trinidad and was amicably received by the friendly Cacique Maruana in the south. Here he took over the two horses which remained of those left at Cumucurapo more than a year ago. Here also Ortal learnt of the death of Herrera and the failure of the expedition which he had sent up the River Orinoco in December under the command of Herrera.

Antonio Sedeno also made complaint that during these visits, Ortal and his Spaniards had behaved so badly that all these friendly Indians had been so antagonised that "only the whole strength of Your Majesty would be able to gain any success in Trinidad."

Evidently Sedeno wanted his share of any riches to be discovered and any excuse was useful to explain why it was necessary to abandon any further attempt on the Island of Trinidad and why he was forced against his will to go to the Province of Meta. He waited several months for the requisite permission from the King and, weary of waiting, he began to get ready to leave San Juan.

The Royal Officials knew perfectly well what Sedeno was intending to do and after consulting the Audiencia of San Dommgo early in 1536, they bluntly ordered him

to proceed to the Island of Trinidad and carry out his commission, in default of which the half of his property would be liable to forfeit.

The Officials reported all this to the King and charged Sedeno with intending to desert his duties in Trinidad, with failing to provide for his duties as Contador in San Juan and with depopulating the Island to a dangerous extent by taking people on unauthorised expeditions.

In keeping with his character Antonio Sedeno decided to defy the Officials and on July 9th, 1536, he went to the Main, where he met Geronimo de Ortal and in revenge seized his men and supplies. Ortal managed to get to San Domingo, where he complained against Sedeno in person. He was granted the Licenciado Juan de Frias, the Fiscal, who was ordered to follow Sedeno to judge between these two leaders and if necessary to call Sedeno to order.

Juan de Frias and Geronimo de Ortal left San Domingo in November and by March, 1537, had overtaken the expedition of Sedeno which was headed for the Province of Meta. Believing that it was as well to be hung for a sheep as for a lamb, Sedeno again decided to defy all lawfully constituted authority and refused to obey the Licenciado and added insult to disobedience by depriving them of their men and supplies, of which he was sadly in want. Frias and Ortal, with very great difficulty and after grave dangers, returned to the coast and on reaching San Domingo reported this insubordination.

In December, 1537, another Officer, the Licenciado Castaneda, was sent, this time with adequate military support to settle definitely with the rebellious Sedeno and to bring him to justice. The expedition was again overtaken, still on the way to the Province of Meta, about the end of Lent in 1538. It was then learnt that Sedeno had died from sickness only three days before.

With the death of Antonio Sedeno, the Governor and Captain General, any claim to the conquest and settlement of the Island of Trinidad lapsed, and the next attempts to pacify and settle this Island were made under the encouragement and supervision of Fray Gregorio de Beteta, the Bishop of Catagena, and Fray Francisco de Montesinos, the Provincial of the Order of St. Dominic. This attempt was naturally governed by the principles constantly recommended by the famous Fray Bartolome de las Casas, the Apostle of the Indians.

Antonio Sedeno was an ambitious man. He was also of indomitable courage and perhaps turbulent, the description of him used by his colleagues. The Royal Officials of San Domingo and San Juan considered him unable to obey and therefore unsuited to command and when the Licenciado Castaneda brought back the news of his death from the Main, these Officials reported somewhat tersely that the community of San Juan had gained greatly by his death.

It must be remembered that Conquistadors required exceptional qualities if they were to be successful, qualities which were by no means necessarily suited to the reliable and faithful administration of civil affairs nor likely to be appreciated by bureaucratic authorities.

Antonio Sedeno had certainly envisaged clearly the essentials of the problem of successful settlement in Trinidad and had approached it from a sound and correct point of view. He arrived with comparatively few men, eighty in all, a number which he himself and all other observers agreed was quite inadequate for any conquest by force. He not only secured amicable relations with the Cacique Turpiari and again with the Cacique Maruana in the south of Trinidad, but kept their friendship and respect throughout four difficult years—no mean feat in those times—a success which should give Sedeno a notable place in the ranks of Conquistadors.

Antonio Sedeno was at best unfortunate in his colleagues and assistants and had his relations with Diego de Ordas, Alonso de Herrera and Geronimo de Ortal been less strained, his attempts to pacify and settle the Island of Trinidad by peaceful penetration might well have been successful.

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ARTICLE VI.

The Illustrious Cabildo of Trinidad. (1)

LOCAL Government in Trinidad may be said, in one sense at any rate, to have come of a long and ancient lineage and to have long antedated the Assemblies and Councils of the other British West Indian Islands.

The Illustrious Cabildo was founded in the Island of Trinidad at St. Joseph in the year 1592, when, acting on the instructions of their Commander, Don Antonio de Berrio, then in the Island of Margarita, the Maestro de Campo Don Domingo de Vera y Ibargoen with thirty men landed in Trinidad and made the beginning of the first permanent settlement.

This band of adventurous pioneers landed at Mucurapo on May 15th and set up a wooden cross forty feet high under the directions of Fray Domingo de Santa Agueda of the Order of St. Francis. Don Domingo de Vera with due formality declared the Island to be added to the Dominions of the King of Spain and that he would defend this possession against any challenger, armed or unarmed. This act of annexation was performed in the presence of Captain Alvaro Jorge, the second in command; Captain Juan Marquez, the Sargento Mayor; Captain Phelipe de Santiago, Captain Diego Diaz de Azevedo and Juan de Mexia de Prado, the Royal Standard Bearer.

Meanwhile the Indians had collected and Don Domingo explained through an interpreter that he had taken possession of the Island in the name of the King of Spain so as to bring them the Light of the Faith, to prevent their capture and sale as slaves in Margarita and to protect them from the murderous raids of the Caribs from Grenada, Martinique and Dominica.

These Indians, who, in earlier years, had repeatedly driven the hated foreigners from their shores, appeared at this time to be strangely lacking in vigour and strength and unusually docile in manner, since these Caciques promised obedience to the King and acknowledged subordination to the Spanish Government.

After this success on the coast, Don Domingo proceeded with the principal object of his visit, which was to make a permanent settlement in a suitable and safe place. On the advice of the Indians he took his boats up the River Caroni until he came to the open savana and reaching higher land obtained from the Cacique Guanaguanare a site which he named San Josef de Oruna. This place had as its boundaries on the east a high hill bare of trees, on the south the flat vega, on the west rolling hilly land and on the north a high mountain with a pass into the valley.

Here at St. Joseph in the latter part of May, 1592, Don Domingo de Vera marked out the site of the Church, Nuestra Santa Fe de la Concepcion, on which spot (probably the same as that on which the present Church stands) Fray Domingo de Santa Agueda forthwith celebrated Mass.

Don Domingo then selected sites for the Governor's residence, the Cabildo building and the Prison. These were all situated around the open space to the west of the Church, a space which is now partly occupied by buildings erected since the capitulation in 1797.

All the Spaniards present then took part in the formal election of the members of the Cabildo and this Illustrious Body was duly constituted in Trinidad for the first time as follows:—

Alcaldes Ordinario: Alvaro Jorge; Diego Diaz de Azevedo.

Alguacil Mayor: Josef Nunez Brito.

Procurador General: Antonio Pinto Leal.

Regidores: Juan Marquez, Phelipe de Santiago, Juan Mexia de Prado, Josef Nunez Brito, Alonso de Medina, Juan Gomez.

Thus three hundred and forty years ago began a long and uninterrupted course of local government in Trinidad which continued in much the same form and scope until the cession of the Island to Sir Ralph Abercromby. From that time on the exercise of the powers and privileges of the Cabildo brought it into conflict in several ways with the established system of British administration. Sincere efforts on both sides managed to secure the continuance of this Illustrious Body for forty-three years, but the changing composition of the general population and the diminishing proportion of those to whom the methods of Spanish administration were familiar, led in 1840 in Port of Spain and in 1845 in San Fernando, to the introduction of measures of local government more in consonance with British practice.

The origin of the Cabildo as an administrative and deliberative body is claimed by some to extend as far back as the tribal assemblies of the original Iberian peoples in the Spanish Peninsula, prior to the arrival of the Romans. Be that as it may, during the Roman occupation of Spain there was introduced the usual annual assembly at which the residents of any settlement elected their magistrates and their municipium for each year to manage their local affairs. This annual assembly also legalised or

censured the proceedings of the provincial Governors, at times even denouncing their deeds to the central authorities at Rome.

From 400 A.D. to 700 A.D. under the Visigoths and from 700 A.D. to 1000 A.D. under the Muslims, the conditions in Spain favoured the rise of the great War Lords and the large territorial owners with special privileges.

From 1000 A.D. to 1400 A.D. occurred the great struggle for power in Spain between the King, the nobles and landowners and the towns. In an attempt to balance the growing powers of these Spanish Magnates, the Kings of Spain granted special administrative powers and privileges to certain towns by charters known as "fueros." This struggle for power and autonomy by both nobles and towns continued until the end of the reconquest from the Muslims in 1480, when Spain was suffused with a great wave of spiritual exaltation and of political unity.

During this period, from 1480 A.D. to 1520 A.D., the King, with the support of the municipal councils (Cabildos) gained the upper hand and the great landlords were despoiled of many of their privileges and territorial powers. At the same time the primary principles of the constitution of the Cabildo, possibly based on those of the old Roman Municipium, were regarded with disfavour by the Royal Power, and the King was strong enough to intervene in the Cabildos and obtained the right to nominate members and to sell positions in these Illustrious Bodies.

The next period, from 1520 A.D. to 1700 A.D., chronicled the decline of Spanish power generally and was associated with a period of economic misery which deeply affected all phases of life in the Iberian peninsula. The Cabildos found themselves in a distressful state and eventually were brought to parting with cherished privileges and powers. In order to raise money not only were offices sold to the highest bidder but even the fueros, their ancient charters

of liberty, were sold to the adjacent nobles, and the Cabildos became subservient to the great landowners.

Fortunately, from 1700 A.D. onwards, a notable revival took place and the Cabildos were again supported by the Crown and were enabled to extricate themselves from this unfortunate position and to resume their rightful position in the administrative system of the Spanish Government.

With the discovery of the New World and with the comparatively rapid settlement and phenomenal development of these new dominions, it was inevitable that the Spanish authorities should take with them their system of government and establish Cabildos in suitable cities and towns.

In the New World, however, the whole conditions were different in many respects from those in Spain. There was no struggle for domination between the King and the great war lords and territorial owners. This counterveiling weight was absent and with the Illustrious Cabildo alone in the administrative field, it was inevitable that these bodies should come into conflict with the King as represented by his Governors and to claim and to press for extended privileges. These were granted or withheld apparently capriciously, though a more extended knowledge of this special subject might well show that such decisions followed regular and carefully considered principles.

The composition of the Cabildos remained remarkably constant over a long period of time and however varied the privileges and powers in different places and at different periods, the number of members and officers continued the same as in the far distant past.

ARTICLE VII.

The Illustrious Cabildo of Trinidad. (II.)

THE Governor of Trinidad was ex officio President of the Illustrious Cabildo which had two Alcaldes in Ordinary who were elected each year by the majority vote of the Regidores. In this election of the Alcaldes, the Viceroys, Presidents, Oidors and Governors were precluded from taking any part or using any influence or interfering in any way. To do so was a serious offence with severe penalties.

The number of Regidores varied according to the size and importance of the town. In Trinidad the Cabildo began in 1592 with six Regidores and so continued until 1797, when the Governor, Colonel Picton, increased the number to ten. Twelve Regidores was the maximum for any Cabildo.

The position of Regidor was gained by purchase or by nomination by the Crown. If the purchase was confirmed by the King of Spain, the purchaser held the position of Regidor for life. The position of Regidor was regarded as part of the Royal Patrimony of the Sovereign on whose account these posts were sold as often as they became vacant.

Five other offices were included in the Cabildo of Trinidad; that of Alferez Real or Standard Bearer; Alguacil Mayor or Chief Constable; Fiel Executor or Controller of Weights and Measures; Alcalde Mayor Pro-

vincial with judicial powers and the Depositor General or Controller of Funds. They were held by Regidores who were hence known as Regidores Dobles and were also obtained by purchase or nomination by the Crown.

In addition there were two essential officers, the Syndic Procurador, or Attorney General, and the Escribano, or Secretary.

It would seem that this fundamental constitution of a Cabildo was to be found in existence in early times not only in Spain, but also over a wide area of Europe. Even in England the actual type of constitution in towns in mediæval times was composed of two Bailiffs and a Common Council, elected annually. In those days a Bailiff meant any King's Officer, especially a Sheriff or a Mayor, and is still the title of the principal Magistrate of certain areas; e.g., the High Bailiff of Westminster and the Bailiff of Dover Castle. Such constitutions were replaced in time by Royal Charters, which provided for Mayors, Recorders, Aldermen and Councillors.

The meetings of the Illustrious Cabildo were not held in public. No one who was not a member of this Body had the right to sit at the Board or to be present at the deliberations, and the members were sworn to secrecy.

The Governor had the right to preside himself or by his Lieutenant, the Assessor or Auditor. In the absence of both of these, the Alcalde of the First or Second Election presided, and in the absence of all these the chair was taken by the Regidor with the oldest commission, the Regidor Decano or Dean of Regidores. The Governor could join in the proceedings but had no vote, except a casting vote when the voting was equal. An appeal could be made against any decision of the Cabildo to the Governor, who had the power to upset or veto any decision or even to give effect to the minority view.

The Alcalde of First Election went out of office every year and the Alcalde of Second Election, without any

further procedure, took his place, while another Alcalde of Second Election was chosen by the votes of the Regidores. The law provided this arrangement so that there should be always in the Tribunal of the Alcaldes one who was perfectly informed of all pending proceedings. The Alcaldes could not be re-elected until three years had elapsed from their last appointment.

The two Alcaldes were the Judges, whom the people entrusted with the administration of Justice in the cities and towns. They had full powers to judge and determine all causes whatever, civil and criminal, within their jurisdiction. Each Alcalde formed a tribunal entirely distinct from that of the other, and every individual in the community was at full liberty to carry his cause before whichever of the tribunals he pleased.

The Governor never interfered with the decrees or sentences of either of the Alcaldes, nor could he order the proceedings to be transferred from either of the Alcaldes to his own tribunal.

At the same time the Governor, as Juez Politico, formed a third distinct tribunal with his Assessor, who was styled the Auditor. While the tribunals of the Alcaldes were the people's Court, that of the Governor was the King's Court and had the same authority in civil and criminal causes as those of the Alcaldes. Any suitor could bring his cause before any one of these three tribunals.

In actual practice in Trinidad, all causes in the towns of Port of Spain and St. Joseph were brought before the Alcaldes and all causes in the country were brought before the tribunal of the Governor.

In all criminal causes in which any capital or corporal punishment was to be inflicted, or such as affixed infamy on the guilty person, neither the Governor nor the Alcaldes could carry such sentence into execution without first having obtained the approval of the Audiencia of Caracas. After 1797 the powers of this Audiencia in this and other

respects became vested in the Governor. If a subject found himself aggrieved by the decision of any of the above tribunals, he had the right of appeal to the Royal Audiencia at Caracas.

The Alcaldes and Regidores were required by law to be of white race, of good character and to be able to read and write; those persons occupied in servile occupations or guilty of crime were excluded. Merchants and artificers could be appointed, but were not allowed to follow their occupations while holding the office of Alcalde or Regidor. All those elected were bound to carry out the duties and could not be excused, save by special favour of the King.

The Syndic Procurador or Attorney General was the special representative of the people, and his duty was to check any proceedings in the Cabildo by which the interests of the people might in any way be endangered, and to encourage and promote everything which could contribute to the public good. He could address the Cabildo, take part in the debate and give his opinion, but he could not vote.

The Alcaldes de Barrio, though common appointments in Spanish towns, were little known in Spanish America. Port of Spain was unusual in having such officers, of which eight were appointed to assist the administration of justice and the preservation of order.

At the date of the capitulation in 1797, the Alcalde of First Election was John Nihell and the three principal offices were held by Michel de Gourville as Alferez Real, Bartolome Portel as Alguacil Mayor and Philip Langton as Alcalde Mayor Provincial. Each of these three had purchased their position for the sum of $2,000 and had been confirmed therein by the King of Spain.

The British Crown was not prepared to allow the sale of any such positions to continue and Regidores were in

future nominated. At the same time, however, the Crown did not interfere with such rights as had been obtained before the cession. In 1815 Philip Langton died and by 1821 the other two positions had become vacant. The Escribano had also purchased his post for the sum of $2,000 and in 1814 this officer was retired and other arrangements made for filling this office.

The fundamental duty of the Cabildo was summarised by John Nihell as follows: "Although the Sovereign has the power of making laws and appointing such Magistrates as he may please, nevertheless the people retain certain rights which, though they are subordinate to those of the King and his tribunals, it is the duty of the Cabildo to support and represent."

In the general interests of the people the Illustrious Cabildo had the right to address the King of Spain through the Governor. If their representations were against the actions of the Governor himself, the Cabildo was required to obey the orders of the Governor until the pleasure of His Majesty might be notified.

The Cabildo could not make laws for the public; it could only recommend regulations for its own procedure and for the control of municipal matters to the Governor. In the Spanish times these also required the approval of the King.

The members of the Cabildo had certain privileges, including the right to wear special uniform and insignia. They were exempt from Militia duty and could not be confined in the common gaol, any necessary confinement by process of law was effected at their own house or in the Cabildo building. They could not be cited before a Judge, it was the duty of the Escribano to wait upon them and take any necessary sworn declarations in their own house. Furthermore, they had a preference in the public markets in the choice of purchases.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Illustrious Cabildo of Trinidad. (III.)

THE scope and extent of the practical duties of the Cabildo are best exemplified by detailing the items of revenue and expenditure.

The revenue of the Cabildo was obtained from a variety of sources, some of which have continued in practice to the present day. The following is a summary of the general heads of revenue and the average yield in the early years of last century.

(1). Licences to sell spirituous liquors. About $10 each a month. There were fifty licences in Port of Spain and the yield was about $6,000 a year.

(2). Licences for billiard tables. $4 a month. There were four tables and the annual yield was about $192.

(3). Rents for stalls in the public flesh and fish markets. The yield was about $1,100 a year.

(4). Rents of land on the Islands at the Bocas for planting cotton, provisions, etc. These Islands were Monos, Huevos, the Perroquets (now the Five Islands), the Diego Martin Islands (now Carrera and Cronstadt), and El Pato. These Islands had been granted to the Town of Port of Spain by Governor Chacon. The rent was from 4—6 reals a quarree; the total yield was about $100 a year.

(5). Rents of lots in Marine Square and in the Grass Market. The yield was about $1,000 a year.

(6). Rents of lots at the western extremity of the town called Puerto Cacao. These were granted to the town by Governor Picton; the rate was $1 a month each and the yield was about $120 a year.

(7). Rent of the Cocal. This strip of land on the east coast of the Island of Trinidad had been granted to the town by His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain. It had been rented for about $300—$500 a year, but for a few years past had been without a tenant.

(8). Rents of the new lots east and west of the new mole made by filling at the end of Frederick Street and which formed a new part of the town. These were granted to Port of Spain by Governor Picton. They were let at an annual rent of $50—$150, according to the situation. The yield was about $2,400 a year.

(9). A grant of one quarter of one per cent. on inward and outward cargoes at Port of Spain. This was in addition to the three and one quarter Custom dues and was collected at the same time by the Customs Officers and forwarded by the Government from time to time to the Cabildo. This was granted to the town by His Catholic Majesty and the yield at this time was about $2,500—$3,000 dollars a year.

(10.) Payments for the use of water from the public well and for the use of the pump and aqueduct by ships in the harbour. The yield was about $1,000 a year.

(11). Fines imposed on delinquents in the tribunals of the Alcaldes. This source of revenue varied very greatly from year to year.

(12). Tax on carts. This tax was $2 a month each cart. The yield was about $1,400 a year and was wholly spent on the maintenance of the streets.

(13). Duty on foreign liquors, rum, brandy and geneva (gin). The yield was about $1,000 a year.

The annual revenue of the Cabildo was thus about $17,000, exclusive of varying amounts collected as fines

in the Courts of the Alcaldes. The population of Port of Spain at this time was about 7,000.

The following is a summary of the general heads of expenditure of the Cabildo.

Salaries. Escribano	$300	
Interpreter	$400	
Chief of Police	$912	
Gaol Keeper	$365	
Police, 7	$1,680	$3,657
Collector, 3 per cent. on collections ..		$800
Rent of gaol and maintenance of prisoners unable to keep themselves		$2,700
Rent of Cabildo building		$960
Maintenance of properties		$400
Celebration of the Feast of St. Joseph ..		$400

The necessary expenses to keep the streets in order were variable from year to year, as also were the expenses of maintenance of slaves employed on works of public utility.

Any excesses of revenue over expenditure were required by law to be expended on fixed property so as to increase the revenue of future years. In 1802 these amounts were expended in building a flesh and fish market. Later $20,000 was spent in building a new gaol, which was completed in 1805. After this a beginning was made in erecting a hospital for those found ill in the streets, while in 1809 $5,000 was spent in extensive repairs to the mole at the foot of Frederick Street.

The owners of houses in Port of Spain voluntarily paid a tax for the establishment and support of fire engines. This system was begun by Governor Picton and the tax was collected by the Alcaldes de Barrio and paid over to the Director, who, up to the time of the Great Fire in 1808 was Vincent Patrice.

The duties of the Cabildo also included the swearing in of the Governors, Lieutenant Governors and all persons holding public office; the inspection and approval of the qualifications of Physician, Surgeon and Apothecary, and the prevention and control of contagious and epidemic disease.

The Cabildo also provided a physician and surgeon to attend to poor persons and a schoolmaster for their children. In times of public calamity the Cabildo had power to spend its funds in aid of those unable to help themselves.

The control of the funds of the Cabildo was vested in a Committee of Public Funds—a Junta Municipal—consisting of the Alcalde of First Election, two Regidores and the Syndic. There were three keys to the Chest, one kept by the Alcalde of First Election, one by the Escribano and the third by the Depositor General. In Spanish times all the proceedings of this Junta came under the revision of the Junta Superior de Hacienda of the Government, which, after 1797, was replaced by the Governor in Council.

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ARTICLE IX.

The Loppinot Valley. (I.)

THE Loppinot, with its winding road and river, is one of the several beautiful valleys in the Northern Range of hills, and owes its name to a famous pioneer of the past, Charles Josephe Comte de Loppinot, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, Lieutenant General of the French Army and Brigadier General of the Militia of the Colony of Trinidad. This is one of the comparatively few cases in which a geographical feature of the Island has retained the name of some honoured settler who helped to initiate that development on which the present prosperity of Trinidad is founded.

Available histories generally dispose of this distinguished colonist by a brief statement that he was a zealous Royalist who left France at the dawn of the Revolution, became a proprietor in San Domingo and when trouble spread to that Island, fled for his life with wife and children to seek shelter in Trinidad. This terse description is so far from the actual course of circumstances that it entirely fails to do justice to the memory of a gallant French gentleman of notable character whose courage and persistence opened up the prosperity of a new district in the Island and whose memory is yet kept green in this beautiful valley more than a hundred years after his death.

Monsieur de Loppinot left France long before the beginning of the Revolution, since he was a junior officer in the army in Louisiana when it was a French possession. This province was ceded by France to Spain at the end of 1762 and on leaving Louisiana Monsieur de Loppinot decided to try his fortune in the Island of San Domingo, another part of the French Colonial Empire. With his wife, Madame Cécile Dannoy, he acquired a large grant of land at Grande Anse in the Province of Artibonite, and though still on the active list in the French Army, he developed extensive and profitable estates.

Here in 1782 was born his only son, Josephe Cécile Jean, and here in 1783 Monsieur de Loppinot was commended for his success in sanitary work, as he had accomplished much for the health of the inhabitants near to his estates by "filling in low areas which were spreading infected emanations into the air." This striking incident is to be found recorded as a notable event in the Annals of Medicine in Haiti.

At Grande Anse, Monsieur de Loppinot was successful, since sugar at that time was a valuable commodity which soon brought wealth to the planter. His estates were estimated to be worth a hundred thousand livres at the time when the disastrous revolutionary troubles broke out. The first rising was in 1791, at which time the movements of this gallant officer are not quite clear. It may be that he fled from the Island of San Domingo, as did so many of the French Royalist planters, until it is said that ninety per cent. had departed by 1793.

Miss Charlotte M. Yonge, in her charming Book of Golden Deeds (1864), described the Comte de Loppinot as a kind and considerate master to his slaves, who had so won their affection and respect that when the revolution reached his estates in 1793 and he was in danger of being taken and killed, his slaves did not revolt but

protected and hid him from the threatened dangers and left the Island with him voluntarily to go to Trinidad. Another account described how his faithful slaves had succeeded in carrying him on board a vessel and out of the country by hiding him in a hogshead and passing it off as part of a cargo of sugar.

In any case the Comte de Loppinot was in San Domingo in September, 1793, and promptly joined with the English troops which were then being landed to dispute the possession of the Island of San Domingo with the French Republicans.

On joining the English troops he had abandoned all his property and later claimed that by his immediate capitulation to the English and by joining His Majesty's Forces he had placed all his property under the protection of the English Flag. As the value of his estates was still placed at one hundred thousand livres, it would appear that mob violence had not taken over or destroyed his plantations nor had he fled from the Island.

The Comte de Loppinot had found before him a choice only between joining the rabid republicans or supporting a British annexation. He had without hesitation chosen the latter alternative and throughout the subsequent five years during which these campaigns lasted, disastrous to both sides from the ravages of a deadly form of yellow fever, he served loyally and spent himself without reserve, never sparing himself in the service of His Majesty.

He was principally engaged in the southern part of the Island, where the district was familiar to him. He served in succession under Generals Bowyer, Spencer and Churchill while the opposing Commander in Chief and Governor General of the South from 1793 was General Andrew Rigaud, a man of colour, a capable and successful leader and a doughty opponent.

After five years of disastrous and unsuccessful efforts to obtain control of San Domingo and after the loss of incredible numbers of men from virulent and fatal yellow fever, it was recognised that this campaign could not be continued at this terrible price and the British decided on withdrawal.

During the year 1798 all the troops were removed and by October this operation was completed, leaving the unfortunate Island of San Domingo to a murderous civil war between General Rigaud and General Toussaint L'Ouverture.

The remainder of the French Royalists withdrew with the British troops and the Comte de Loppinot, the Baron de Montalembert and others similarly placed, found themselves transported to the British Island of Jamaica.

ARTICLE X.

The Loppinot Valley. (II.)

WITH the end of all their hopes for San Domingo and the loss of all their estates, the French Royalists had to consider starting a new life in a new land.

From Jamaica the Comte de Loppinot, with three of the principal French planters from San Domingo, petitioned the King of England through the Duke of Portland. In this petition the Count based his claim for favourable consideration on his services to the Crown in San Domingo, on his immediate capitulation to the British forces, by which he claimed that his property thereby had been placed under the protection of the British flag.

On February 5th, 1799, Mr. Dundas, then Secretary of State, replied to this petition and informed the Comte de Loppinot that he had instructed Lord Balcarres, the Governor of Jamaica, to arrange for his transport to Trinidad with his wife and family and the one hundred loyal negroes who had accompanied him, and that arrangements had been made for Colonel Picton, the Governor of Trinidad, to make him a suitable grant of lands in that Island.

The Island of Trinidad had then been recently captured and was known to have large areas of fertile virgin lands, whereas the lands of Jamaica and of other West Indian Islands were regarded as overcultivated and worn out.

The Count and his family therefore welcomed this offer and set out with renewed hopes and expectations to settle in this promised land and once more to build up extensive and profitable estates.

The Comte de Loppinot, his family and the one hundred faithful negroes were duly conveyed in an armed convoy under Admiral Sir Hyde Parker and arrived at Port of Spain on April 29th, 1800. Here his high hopes were dashed to the ground and he was overwhelmed by the information that Colonel Picton had received no news or instructions to make any grant of land to him.

He was, however, well received by all and everything possible was done to help him under these unfortunate circumstances. He grew to like the Island, so he made the best of his disappointments and determined to rise superior to his ill-fate and took steps to negotiate for a sugar estate. He selected the Tacarigua district, where sugar had already been well established, and purchased a part of the Orange Grove Estate then in possession of Edward Barry.

These lands he had obtained on credit and hoped from the proceeds of his planting not only to maintain the estate, but also to pay off the capital debt. Unfortunately the following years were not a good period for sugar and the Comte de Loppinot experienced heavy losses, which, coupled with unexpected deaths amongst his negroes, led to serious financial embarrassment.

Edward Barry had died, but his heir, James Barry, foreclosed and in 1805 brought action for the payment of four thousand joes, the agreed price for one hundred quarrees of the Orange Grove Estate. The Count in reply required Barry to take back and resume occupation of the land.

This case eventually went to appeal before the Governor in Council, where it was decided that James Barry could not demand payment nor could the Count oblige him to resume the land until the famous case of Barry and Dawson, which had begun in 1787, was finally settled, because the title to the estate of Orange Grove was involved in that dispute.

In 1805, faced with this failure in sugar planting, the Comte de Loppinot again appealed to the Crown for a grant of land adequate for himself and his son, both of whom had served the King in recent wars. He again referred to the promise given by Mr. Dundas as Secretary of State and asked for its fulfilment.

In 1806 the Comte de Loppinot had been appointed as Brigadier General of the Trinidad Militia and lived on a small grant of occupancy at the east end of the savana at Arouca. This is the district where so many of the French noble families had settled and made their estates and it is about this time that the Count obtained his lands in the Arouca Valley.

Miss Yonge relates how the Count took with him a bodyguard of his faithful negroes to cut a passage for him through the impenetrable tropical forest. The spot that he chose was well situated, fertile and well watered, but the road, or rather track, was so rugged and impractible as to be unfit for the transport of sugar, and he therefore laid it out for cacao upon a design peculiar to himself. She states that the outline of his grounds represented on a gigantic scale a French General Officer, épaulettes and all, upon whose prostrate form were ranged cacao plants about fifteen to twenty feet apart. To this curiously planned estate he gave the name of La Reconnaissance (which it bears to this day) and on the first day when he brought his Countess and installed his negro families he celebrated a solemn thanksgiving for the rebirth of his fortunes.

Though no such record is actually known, it is very probable that these lands in the Arouca Valley, which were opened up by the pioneering efforts of the Count, were a free grant to him from the Government, as other such grants were made about this time in Trinidad to other persons in return for military and naval services rendered to the Crown.

Here at last he seemed to have settled happily and prospered, while his lands extended and developed into valuable properties. As an outstanding and notable member of the community Sir Ralph Woodford claimed his services on the Council of Government, as it was then named, and the Comte de Loppinot remained a member from 1813 until his death in 1819.

He was buried on his estate and the grave is still in existence and is pointed out to those who are sufficiently interested to make a pilgrimage to La Reconnaissance. According to Miss Yonge, the Count had so endeared himself to his negroes and was so much beloved by them that even twenty years afterwards they kept an annual holiday regularly in his memory.

His eldest son was Josephe Cécile Jean de Loppinot, and following his father's footsteps he spent his early years in the army. At the age of sixteen he was an ensign with General Spencer in the campaigns in San Domingo. On transferring to Trinidad with his father he joined the volunteers and at 23 years of age rose to the position of Captain and Brigade Major. He accompanied Colonel Hislop in the unsuccessful expedition against Guadeloupe in 1810 and two years later was Lieutenant Colonel and Commandant of the Trinidad Light Infantry Battalion.

At this time he was also Aide de Camp to General Munro, then acting as Governor of Trinidad, and he was sent on January 14th, 1813, to Chacachacare to find out

whether "a number of people of colour and vagabonds" had collected there in order to attack the Spanish Main under Santiago Marino, one of the principal proprietors of that island. With him was sent Captain Nixon and a detachment of the First West India Regiment in order to disperse any people there assembled, or if any expedition had actually left, to take charge of Marino's property.

On the 15th Lieutenant Colonel Jean de Loppinot reported that he had been to Chacachacare and had found no signs of any expedition and that though Marino was absent, five of the principal residents had denied any knowledge of any such expedition.

Two days afterwards Don Juan Gavazzo, Commandant of Guiria, informed the Governor of Trinidad that he had been attacked on the 13th by Marino, Carry, Bermudez, Bideau and others, who had collected and armed at the Island of Chacachacare. With this report before him Major General Munro proscribed Santiago Marino and confiscated his estates.

The office of Escheator General was created, or rather revived, for the purpose of dealing with these estates of Marino, and perhaps with sardonic humour this appointment was given to Lieutenant Colonel Jean de Loppinot, who had recently visited Chacachacare and been so readily deceived by its inhabitants.

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ARTICLE XI.

The Defences of the Island of Trinidad. (I). Under the Spanish Government.

IN the latter part of the eighteenth and the earlier part of the nineteenth centuries, the wars of the various world powers brought anxieties to the administrators of the Island of Trinidad. This Island does not lend itself easily to defence as was readily realised during the recent great war. The efforts and attempts to meet the dangers and difficulties of those times are an interesting phase in the history of the Island.

For many years the Spanish Government left the Island of Trinidad to its own devices and rested apparently satisfied with the decision of the Council of State in 1677 presided over by the Duke of Medina Celi. This Council had been informed that the Island of Trinidad was a very unhealthy place for Europeans. It was supposed that the French had not occupied it recently for that very reason. Though the Council was further informed that there was every expectation of the Dutch settling in these parts and that the River Orinoco was a highway to the Spanish Provinces of Venezuela and New Granada, the Council was satisfied to decide that "the Island of Trinidad defended itself by its bad climate and the barrenness of its soil."

It was over a hundred years before any material steps were made to relieve Trinidad from the effects of such a

malign stigma. In 1777 two Spanish Engineer Officers, Brigadier General Agustin Crame and Lieutenant Colonel Juan de Catella, visited Trinidad at the instructions of the Spanish Government in Madrid as a kind of Board of Development, to report on measures necessary to encourage agriculture and commerce. By a happy and fortunate chance they met Monsieur Philipe Roume de St. Laurent in Port of Spain and no happier nor more fateful meeting for the development of Trinidad could have been conceived. As a result of their discussions the Island of Trinidad began to awake from its long sleep and to take its rightful place in the van of West Indian progress.

Peace and security are the fundamental essentials for happiness and prosperity. For this reason the administrators of Trinidad early gave their attention to measures for protection and defence.

In 1780, when the town of Port of Spain consisted of a few streets of houses to the east of the course of the Tragarete or St. Ann's River, boats made their landing across the mud of the foreshore to the east of the river mouth. Plans were made for the construction of a fort to command that landing place and it would have stood roughly on the present site of the Royal Bank of Canada. This proposed fort was to be protected by a moat communicating with the sea and by an earthen parapet and stockade all round. The entrance was to be over a wooden bridge and the fort had emplacements for guns as well as barracks and the necessary offices complete.

This proposal was not approved, as a new Governor with special instructions was being sent to Trinidad. With the arrival of Don Josef Maria Chacon, the appearance of the town of Port of Spain soon began to change, and in order to allow a regular expansion of the town and to eliminate the unhealthy swamps, the St. Ann's River was straightened out and its waters led along the present line

of the Dry River. The old meandering course was filled in and a mole made to provide a convenient and suitable landing place for boats.

In the same year 1787, at a cost of $27,000, a small stone fort with a battery en barbette was constructed in the water. It communicated with the mole by a wooden bridge and was defended on the town side by a stone wall in which was a narrow gate. In this fort, named San Andres (St. Andrew), were mounted five pieces of cannon which were regarded principally as a measure for maintaining good order amongst the shipping and for preventing unauthorised landings at the mole.

In 1788 Captain Ricketts of the British Navy, who was at Port of Spain in H.M. Sloop Bonetta, reported that the only mounted guns in the whole of the Island were those at the mole. He considered that these were of no use as a defence against a general attack, as the fort was ill kept and easily commanded from the neighbouring hills.

This fort is still in existence to the south of the present Harbour Constabulary Station and has been surrounded by land owing to the reclamations made from time to time.

The Spaniards continued their policy of providing defences against minor attacks and internal disorders and constructed two batteries of masonry near the foot of the Laventille Hills on the east of the town, one of which commanded the town itself and the other overlooked the approaches from St. Joseph. As these two redoubts were commanded so easily from the slopes above, they were dismantled by the English after the capitulation in 1797 and abandoned. The Spanish Government also maintained a permanent redoubt at Cocorite near the foot of the Fort George Heights, intended to check the advance on Port of Spain of any disorderly bands from the western valleys.

It will be seen that none of these defences could be effective against a determined and well organised military attack on the Island as was fully recognised by the Spaniards themselves. The records of the War Office in London show that amongst other plans for the development of Trinidad, the Spanish Ministers had under consideration the establishment of a Royal Dockyard in the Bay of Paria and the construction of extensive defences similar to those at Porto Rico and the Havana.

The St. David's Tower with a battery of four cannon or Picton's Fort, as it is now known, was constructed by the British after the capitulation. This also was regarded as of use only in case of internal disturbance and insurrection. The report dealing with this Tower states that hitherto no defences had been made on the Laventille Hills, then called Abercromby Heights, on account of the extreme unhealthiness of this district. Hence it must be concluded that the building on the Laventille Ridge known as Chacon's Fort and so described in a plan of La Pena Estate made in 1888 and which at one time was believed to be the Fort of San Andres, did not exist in Spanish times.

Josef Maria Chacon, as Governor of Trinidad, lived through troublous and anxious times. He was charged with the duty of keeping the Island in the possession of the Spanish Crown and of maintaining the peace and security of its inhabitants, yet at the same time, the means necessary for doing so were not supplied to him.

The population which had flocked to Trinidad in response to the terms offered in the famous cedula of 1783, was made up of people with conflicting views and sympathies. To maintain peace and order amongst such a heterogenous community required tact and abilities of and exceptional character. The outbreak of war between France and Spain in 1793 accentuated very greatly the

numerous difficulties with which Chacon was faced in Trinidad.

He was glad to take advantage of any possible source of assistance and arranged for Don Cosme Damian Churruca y Elorza, a Spanish Naval Officer with two ships who was at Trinidad engaged in astronomical observations, to cruise around the coasts of Trinidad as a protection against minor attacks of the enemy.

Early in 1795 the British in Grenada were in grave difficulties as the people had risen in insurrection under the encouragement of Victor Hugues and the French Republicans. Chacon was always favourably disposed towards the British, owing, it is said, to kind and honourable treatment he had experienced when captured by that nation in earlier years. In spite of his grave responsibilities in the critical state of Trinidad with over two thousand French people of different political opinions, Don Chacon decided that he ought to do his best to help the British in Grenada and therefore sent Don Cosme with his two brigs, the Descubridor and the Vigilante, carrying forty Spanish troops from his garrison who rendered valuable assistance in this dangerous crisis.

Similar attempts had not been wanting in Trinidad and in this same year a plot to revolt and seize the Island had been developed amongst the French republicans. Jean Baptiste Richard of La Brea had made arrangements with his two brothers-in-law, Messieurs Savannes, on the Main to bring over large numbers of men with whom to start an insurrection and overthrow the Spanish Government.

The news of this dangerous movement was brought to the Governor at a moment when to his great relief and satisfaction a Spanish Fleet had arrived in the Bay of Paria. These ships were commanded by His Excellency Señor Don Gabriel de Aristizabal, Lieutenant General of the Royal Armada, who was then on his way to San

Domingo to carry the remains of Christopher Columbus from that Island to the Cathedral Church at Havana in Cuba.

With the possibility of a sanguinary insurrection immediately before his eyes, Don Chacon begged the Naval Commander to remain and secure the Island of Trinidad from such a horrible fate. The Commander was unable to agree to any such delay but offered to take and hang any of the conspirators from his yardarm.

The arrival of these ships had, however, been obvious to the leaders of this revolution and they had promptly fled from the south of the Island and they had disappeared across the Serpent's Mouth and were lost on the Main.

In October, 1797, another attempt was made to raise the banner of revolt but on this occasion the revolutionaries had to deal with Colonel Picton. He took prompt and vigorous action and sent Colonel de Sofer with sufficient force to La Brea, where he captured Jean Baptiste Richard, who was forthwith hanged at Port of Spain.

ARTICLE XII.

The Defences of the Island of Trinidad. (II.)
Under the Spanish Government.

THE declaration of peace between Spain and France in September, 1795, brought relief to the harrassed Governor of Trinidad but there still remained many other causes for anxiety.

The extensive damage to British merchant vessels in West Indian waters from French privateers, grew to such an extent that special patrols had to be organised to provide reasonable protection. In the southern part of this area the vessels detailed for this purpose were the Frigates Alarm, under Captain Vaughan, who was described as "remarkably active on his station," and the Sloop of War Zebra, under Captain Skynner.

In this type of warfare, the fortunes of war naturally varied. In the month of March, 1796, however, the privateers suffered serious reverses, as the British Admiral at Martinque was able to report that Captain Vaughan in the Alarm with Captain Hurst in the Zebra had succeeded in destroying three privateers in the Bay of Paria and in retaking four of their captures.

These privateersmen escaped to the town of Port of Spain. Having suffered the complete loss of both their ships and their prizes, they were in no mood to meet those who had thus despoiled them with anything but dire hatred and revenge. The opportunity soon arose in May when the Alarm and Zebra anchored off Port of Spain

and Captain Vaughan with the Third Lieutenant, Purser and Surgeon of the Alarm landed to pay a visit to Madame Mallevault at the Coblentz estate in the St. Ann's Valley.

The privateersmen did not fail to take this opportunity, and collecting three hundred men, they attacked the English Officers as they returned to Port of Spain. The Officers had to take refuge in the house of Madame Griffith. After considerable disturbance they managed to escape back to their ship.

In making his report on these incidents to Madrid, the Governor complained that "our garrison is weak, we have no fortifications and the lack of buildings of lime and stone leave me without a prison, barracks, magazine or storehouse, in a word, I am dependent on the good will of a public composed of people of other nations with but few of our own." He reported the occurrence of many disputes and disorders and referred especially to an affray on March 21st which began between English and French sailors and spread to the whole of the town which resulted in two persons being killed and six seriously wounded. Verbatim reports of the disturbances on the 8th and 9th of May both by Captain Vaughan and by the Governor, Don Josef Chacon, have been published by the Trinidad Historical Society.

The naval patrols continued and were intensified until most of the privateers had been driven off the seas and any losses by merchant ships were dimmished to nominal proportions. The patrol for Grenada, Tobago and Trinidad, four vessels on duty and two off duty, was maintained by the Alarm, Zebra, Victorieuse, Mermaid, Favourite and Tourterelle.

To Chacon's dispatch of May 16th, 1796, reporting the disturbances of the 8th and 9th May, there is a note added subsequently which states that the English Government, disavowing this action of Captain Vaughan, had

deposed him from his command and imprisoned him in a fortress, where full of despair, he had committed suicide. The records of the Admiralty show that on June 24th, 1796, Captain Vaughan died at sea on the Alarm off Grenada. This is reported by Captain Wood of the Favourite and there is nothing in the report to suggest his death was other than a natural one. From this date Captain Fellowes took command of the Frigate Alarm.

The remonstrances made by the Governor of Trinidad seem to have borne fruit, since on September 6th, 1796, he informed the Captain of the Tourterelle, then at Port of Spain, that he had received dispatches advising him of the approach of a Spanish squadron which he had long expected and which carried recruits for his garrison. On clearing the Bocas on the next day, this Captain passed the ships of Admiral Apodaca, one of which he reported as having chiefly soldiers aboard.

This fleet anchored in the Bay of Chaguaramas and this addition to his garrison must have brought the Governor some hope that the worst of his troubles were past. Unfortunately, on October 5th, 1796, war was declared by Spain on England and this was almost immediately followed by a raid on the shipping of Trinidad amounting almost to a blockade.

During November, 1796, six vessels from Trinidad were captured off the Bocas carrying mules, hogs, corn and in one, a lump sum of nine hundred dollars. The Flora, the Prince of Asturias, the Rosario, the San Jose de Animas and the Del Carmen were bound for Grenada while the San Nicholas was on its way to St. Vincent.

An additional capture of grave importance to Trinidad was that of the Spanish brigantine corvette Galgo which was captured by Captain Fellowes in the frigate Alarm off Grenada on November 23rd. This vessel was bound for Port of Spain with eighty thousand, three hundred and fifty-five dollars from Mexico and a cargo of pro-

visions, all for the Government. As a consequence of this misfortune the Governor found himself without the necessary means to maintain supplies for his garrison. He therefore ordered the Contador, Don Manuel Sorzano and the Treasurer, Don Jose Ramon de Muxica, to make use of a sum of seven thousand, seven hundred and seventy-four dollars then lying in the treasury as deposits into Court, the disposition of which was awaiting the final decision of the King of Spain. This amount was, therefore, used for the purchase of flour and other provisions with which to feed the garrison.

It was stipulated at the capitulation of Trinidad in February, 1797, that the existing money and effects in the treasury should be handed over to the British. The Governor, Colonel Picton, therefore called upon Don Manuel Sorzano to produce the treasury accounts, and upon inspecting them, required him to replace the missing 7,774 dollars. Sorzano maintained that this amount had in effect already been delivered, since if it had not been spent in purchasing provisions so much the less in provisions would have been delivered to Picton. This explanation did not satisfy the Governor and Sorzano and Muxica were warned that they would not be allowed to leave the Island until this sum was duly replaced.

At the request of these gentlemen Don Josef Maria Chacon intervened, and both by word of mouth and in writing, gave a full explanation of the transaction. Colonel Picton still maintained his decision and Chacon, accompanied by his Officers, left Trinidad on April 17th with this matter still unsettled. By April 19th, Sorzano and Muxica managed to raise this amount, and on paying it over, they left shortly afterwards for Spain where they laid their complaint before the Government in Madrid.

The garrison, of which Chacon wrote, was the usual "provincial" or fixed regiment appropriated to the defence of each of the Spanish Colonies. At Trinidad in 1797,

this consisted of one regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Don Miguel Herrera with Lieutenant Colonel Don Matias de Letamendi as second in command. There was also an Adjutant, two Captains, two Ensigns and fifteen subalterns with a Surgeon, a Chaplain and 504 non-commissioned officers, drummers and men.

Colonel Picton described this regiment as "of very indifferent formation and appointment, the rank and file having been transferred from the galleys and the officers, young and inexperienced creoles of the Governor's recommendation to serve noble families of ignoble pretence." He further remarked that from continual and prolonged residence in the place of appointment, they had become perfectly domesticated and were little else than an enregimented militia of the worst class.

There was also a detachment of artillery under the Engineer Captain Don Andres Gonzalez y Davila and a Lieutenant.

This outbreak of war between Spain and England caused the fleet under Admiral Apodaca to interrupt its passage along the Main to Caracas and Cartagena and to remain and assist the Governor in keeping possession of the Island of Trinidad. In order to secure its anchorage, the Engineer, Captain Don Andres Gonzalez, and Monsieur J. E. Maingot were employed by the Spanish Government in making fortifications on Punta Gorda and at the eastern end of the Island of Gasparee.

The men on these ships at the anchorage of Chaguaramas soon suffered severely from fever. The Governor and the Admiral invited Dr. Alexander Williams, who had for many years been one of the principal practitioners in Port of Spain, to enquire and report upon this disastrous outbreak. On November 20th the Doctor reported that this disease was the ordinary fever of the country (malaria) and was not infectious nor arising from any contagion

existing on board the ships but from "the noxious vapours which are constantly exhaled by the heat of the sun from the marshy lands in that neighbourhood." He was of the opinion that "the present disease and the great mortality can only be effectually remedied by changing the situation from where the ships are now anchored to some other where the men would breathe a more salubrious and pure air or by taking a cruise out to the sea, either of which measures he strongly recommends to the Admiral to adopt as soon as possible from a conviction that little benefit can be expected from the skill of the Physician or from any other means which might be advised if the ships and seamen remain where they now are."

There is nothing to show that any action was taken to give effect to these recommendations during December or January. In February, when the British Fleet arrived in the Bay of Paria, the Spanish ships were still at the same anchorage with 91 Commissioned Officers, 581 Marines and 1,032 seamen; a total of 1,704 of all ranks on board.

The British Fleet consisted of nine men of war, three frigates and five corvettes, accompanied by 40 transports carrying 6,750 soldiers. The Governor Chacon and the Admiral Apodaca must have known at once that any serious military or naval defence of the Island was wholly impossible and the subsequent operations leading to the capitulation of the Island to Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Abercromby and Rear Admiral Henry Harvey, have often been described.

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ARTICLE XIII.

Raids on the Island of Tobago. (I). (1777-1781).

IN September, 1774, the American Continental Congress met at Philadelphia with Peyton Randolph as President. An Address was sent to the King of England and memorials to the peoples of Great Britain, Canada and elsewhere, stating the claims and rights of the peoples of North America, while at the same time a formal Declaration of Rights was proclaimed.

In the year 1775 Lord Chatham and the Opposition in Parliament tried to procure the repeal of harsh measures towards the Colonies in North America but without avail and the two countries drifted into the War of Independence.

The West Indies were affected in many different and sometimes very serious ways especially as a great deal of trade had been carried on with Baltimore and other ports in the States. In addition, actual fighting was at times necessary in the West Indian Colonies, as stout privateers were early fitted out to prey upon the commerce, ravage the plantations and seize the Negroes in these Colonies.

The Island of Tobago was not neglected by these sea rovers and some of the raids are described as illustrating this period of the history of the Island.

In general the other Colonies were in sympathy with the attitude taken up by the States. They were also prepared to express this opinion publicly, and in January, 1776, the Acting Governor General of Grenada, William Young, had to suspend five Members of Council (amongst whom was Monsieur Roume de St. Laurent) for passing a resolution of sympathy with the American rebels.

Perhaps such an attitude might not be unexpected from a Colony inhabited so largely by foreigners (the previous French settlers) but almost simultaneously the very British General Assembly of Tobago in public session passed a similar resolution, and in consequence, were in January of that year at once suspended by the Acting Lieutenant Governor, Peter Campbell.

The public expression of such views did not, however, prevent privateers from operating upon these coasts and the first instance of this character occurred in the year 1777, on the night of March 19th to 20th, at Queen's Bay. A private schooner came up to the bay under the cover of darkness and sent armed boats to seize whatever they could find. In this case the raid was successful as the surprise was complete. Without meeting any resistance they cut out a sloop belonging to Messrs. Hackett and Company loaded with goods and having on board several sailor Negroes. They also took a schooner belonging to Messrs. John and Alexander Campbell loaded with 30 hogsheads of sugar from the Betsy's Hope Estate, sundry other goods and with six prime sailor Negroes of great value.

The raiders went off with these valuable prizes, valued at about £2,500 Sterling, before anyone on shore became aware of what was taking place. The owners were left without any knowledge of the perpetrators of this nefarious act nor of where they had departed with their illgotten booty.

A raid so successful to the pirates and so easily achieved was certain to be followed by others. Moreover, this was not the only danger to the Colony, as privateers were waiting around the coasts to capture vessels engaged in the coastwise trade. The whole situation was very serious and the Lieutenant Governor of Tobago, Peter Campbell, reported to the Governor General in Grenada "We are at present in a most disagreable situation. The greater part of our crops are made and ready for shipping but there are no droghers to carry produce from the windward parts of the Colony to the leeward bays where the ships lay. The risk is now so great that the merchants cannot afford to keep such vessels although the want of them is the greatest obstruction to their trade. Without an armed vessel stationed around this Island during the shipping season the produce cannot be shipped from the windward parts of the Island during this year.

"This Colony can by no means afford the expense of an armed vessel at present, and were it in circumstances to afford it, we might be ruined before such ship could be equipped and fit for service."

Unfortunately the British Government was too deeply immersed in difficult and urgent affairs to be able to detach an armed vessel to guard Tobago, so the risks had to be taken, and it is satisfactory to learn that the crops were moved successfully and the ships were able to join the homeward convoy.

The planters of Tobago realised that their only remedy was to be prepared and to concert their own measures to protect their property from seizure and removal. Before 1777 there were no guns mounted in Tobago except those at Granby Fort. The inhabitants abandoned any hope of immediate action by the home government and proceeded to raise sufficient money amongst themselves to obtain the necessary guns and erected redoubts at the more important bays.

At this time there were stationed in the Island at Granby Fort (on Granby Point, Barbados Bay, now Studley Park Estate) two companies of the 48th Regiment, consisting of a Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, Quartermaster, four Sergeants, five Corporals and Drummers and 55 men. They were in a very sickly condition and wholly insufficient to protect the numerous bays from which produce was shipped.

There was, in addition, an active and efficient Militia in which practically all the white men were enrolled. This consisted then all told of 360 men; one Colonel, one Lieutenant Colonel, one Major, seven Captains, seven Lieutenants, seven Ensigns, seven Sergeants and 329 Rank and File. It was this force that was now used to organise nightly guards and to mount the necessary men in the batteries, or rather small redoubts, containing one or two guns thus established at Courland Bay, Little Courland Bay (Mount Irvine), Sandy Point, La Guira Bay, Rockly Bay (known as Burleigh Battery, Scarborough), Mangrove Bay (Richmond), Queen's Bay, Bloody Bay, Englishman's Bay, and Castara Bay.

With these active and practical measures for defence, the planters felt safer and more at ease as regards future attacks. Their measures were very soon tested, as in May, 1777, the Lieutenant Governor, Peter Campbell, reported that there were a number of privateers about whose intention was to cut out the vessels now loading in the various bays ready to go with the next convoy of ships from the West Indies to England.

On Tuesday, May 14th, a large ship was seen off the south west of the Island in the direction of Trinidad and it was hoped that it might be one of His Majesty's ships making for Sandy Point. Later in the evening of that day, a topsail schooner was sighted off Queen's Bay. Warned by the previous raid only two months ago, the two minute gun alarm was fired from this battery; this

was taken up by Granby Fort, this by the Burleigh Battery at Scarborough and so on to Courland, Little Courland and Sandy Point. By eleven o'clock at night the whole Militia was mustered, 150 men of whom were at Scarborough and Courland.

The Militia and the troops stood by all night but no attack materialised and in the morning the ship and schooner were seen together off Sandy Point apparently in communication with each other. There they remained all day.

About midnight of Wednesday, May 15th, the guard at Sandy Point saw a boat with twelve oars, apparently muffled so as to move as silently as possible, and with at least twenty-five men, approaching the shore. A shot from a six pounder was fired over their heads with the warning that the next would be in the middle of the boat. It turned round and darted off at once. The alarm was fired from this battery and taken up round the Island and once more the Militia mustered and stood to their arms all night. The vessels off Sandy Point put up lights to recall their boats, and as the Captain realised that the inhabitants were wide awake and prepared for defence, they sheered off.

On Thursday, May 16th, the two vessels were seen leaving the Island and they finally disappeared over the horizon to the west. In this case the honours of war belonged to Tobago and it had, by its efficient means of defence, succeeded in avoiding what might have been a very serious depredation.

The scene now changed to St. George's in Grenada, where on May 24th, His Majesty's sloop of war, Beaver, Captain James Jones, brought in the Oliver Cromwell, a privateer. These ships had met to the northward of Grenada and an engagement of three-quarters-of-an-hour followed between His Majesty's sloop of 14 six pounders and 100 men and the privateer of 12 nine pounders, 6

six pounders, 6 four pounders and 135 men. The sloop suffered little damage and only three men were slightly wounded. The Oliver Cromwell was severely handled, a number of shot had passed through and through, 30 men had been killed outright and 18 wounded.

From this privateer it was learnt that she had with her a topsail schooner, the Rattlesnake (which had escaped) and that they had gone to Tobago with the intention of landing men and pillaging the town and plantations. Their boats had been fired on, and finding the Island provided with an active and efficient defence, they had abandoned their objects.

The Governor General, Lord Macartney, wrote to the Secretary of State and reported that the inhabitants of Tobago had distinguished themselves in a very particular manner in their own defence; they had raised a very considerable sum by voluntary subscriptions to put their batteries into order and had established patrols and watches of their Militia throughout all the different quarters of the Island.

ARTICLE XIV.

Raids on the Island of Tobago. (II). (1777-1781).

TWO attacks in one year might be regarded certainly as a fair share of misfortune but the Island of Tobago was evidently an attractive temptation to pirates and privateers. Indeed, Lord Macartney in this year wrote as follows: "Tobago seems to be one of the most extraordinary instances of British enterprise and industry.

"Twelve years ago it was an absolute desert covered with woods neither inhabited nor frequented except by a few straggling Indians from Guiana who came to fish upon its coasts in the summer season.

"Almost a third of it is now cleared. There are actually 600 whites and 12,000 negroes upon it. It produces upwards of 5,000 hogsheads of sugar at 1,500 pounds each; 30,000 pounds of indigo and near a million-and-a-half of cotton.

"The principal planters are younger sons of gentlemen of good family in Scotland who have undertaken their settlements upon borrowed funds but which in a few years they will probably be able to discharge."

Once more in this year, on September 20th, a third raid was made. On this occasion a well-known pirate, Pascal Bonavita, a Corsican, landed at night at Man of War Bay (he was doubtless aware that no guns had been mounted there) and though opposed by the comparatively small force of militia there, carried off by force of arms a small schooner, thirty-seven Negroes and two Carib Indians with which he sailed to Trinidad. The schooner belonged to Captain Wilkinson and the Negroes to Messrs. Myers and Kelly who owned the two plantations just opened there and it would appear that the stubborn defence prevented any damage to the buildings and other property.

Charles Myers promptly went to Grenada and laid his complaint before the Governor General, Lord Macartney. The Favourite, His Majesty's sloop of war commanded by Captain William Fooks, was then lying at St. George's and was ordered to go to Trinidad with dispatches from the Governor General to the Governor of Trinidad making a claim for the restitution of the schooner, slaves and Indians. With the Favourite went Charles Myers to give details of the claim and to identify the property.

The Favourite left Grenada on October 8th, 1777, and arrived at Port of Spain on the 10th, when His Excellency's letter was presented to Don Manuel Falquez, the Governor of Trinidad. Lord Macartney represented that the protection of such a villain as Bonavita would be contrary to the law of nations and to the peace and good understanding between their respective sovereigns. He asked Don Manuel to return the stolen property and to deliver up Pascal Bonavita or to punish him according to his deserts. It would appear that Bonavita had committed many piracies in the West Indies as Lord Macartney states that "there is not one of the West Indian Islands, whether English or French, in which he would not immediately be hanged if he were caught."

On landing Charles Myers soon learnt that some time before, Bonavita had landed the slaves, sold six of them to the Parish Priest of Port of Spain, had made a present of one woman and two children to the Governor himself (the obviously necessary douceur) and that the remainder were then at work on a plantation in the vicinity belonging to one Vidal and Bonavita in partnership. He also learnt that the Caribs were on board the schooner which had been fitted out as a privateer and had already sailed away.

Charles Myers appeared before the Governor and claimed the slaves, but received a flat denial that they had ever been brought to Trinidad or landed there. Myers boldly insisted that they were there repeating the information he had received and added that the woman and two children actually had been seen that very day in the Governor's house. The Governor then became highly indignant, threatened Myers with imprisonment in irons, but declared that in any case he would make special enquiries and endeavour to find the schooner and slaves and that if they were in Trinidad he would seize them for His Majesty. Myers, still persistent, asked permission to go to Vidal's estate and bring the slaves before His Excellency, in which case he would be satisfied to see them detained until the decision of the King of Spain were known. The Governor refused.

Charles Myers also learnt in Trinidad that Pascal Bonavita was under the protection of Don Manuel Falquez and that neither Bonavita nor his Chief Officer, Joseph White, an American, had any real Commission; all they could produce was a copy of an American Congressional Commission in White's own handwriting, which had been used by three different pirates whose names were scratched out with a pen and the other inserted. He also learnt that no justice could be expected from the Governor by any of His Britannic Majesty's subjects in

a case of this nature. He thereupon left for Grenada and reported accordingly to Lord Macartney.

Under date October 18th Don Manuel Falquez replied to Lord Macartney and informed him that on enquiry he had found that Pascal Bonavita had a Commission which his interpreter in the English language had informed him was a sufficient authority for these deeds. However, as both the Governor of Martinique and Lord Macartney had made complaint "I advised the said Captain to repair to Martinique in order that the Agent of Congress might determine upon the matter not being fully empowered myself."

Don Manuel reported that neither Bonavita nor White had landed or sold Negroes at Port of Spain, but as they might have disregarded his orders and landed some on other parts of the coast of Trinidad, he had issued a special Commission to the Justices to search all quarters and if found to apprehend the Negroes and punish any who had acted contrary to the Royal Laws.

No restitution was ever made and so the matter ended. Lord Macartney wrote to the Secretary of State, "But unless the Court of Spain sends orders to the Governor of Trinidad to observe a different conduct, I am very much afraid that the people of Tobago will take upon themselves to retaliate, and though I should certainly use all my power and authority to prevent anything of the kind, it might be very difficult to fix the fact upon the proper person."

It should be noted that in January, 1773, the Court of Madrid had issued a Cedula instructing Governors to retain any runaway Negroes who reached their jurisdiction. It is doubtful whether these slaves could be regarded as runaways, but this Cedula may well have given Don Manuel Falquez sufficient colour for his actions in this matter.

The year 1778 also supplied the people of Tobago with anxiety and fear of attack, this time on a very material scale. It was no sudden dash of a pirate schooner expecting to succeed by a surprise attack nor a planned descent by a duly commissioned privateer, but the approach of an actual fleet, consisting of two ships, three brigs and a schooner. These six vessels had sailed from the New England States with the avowed intention of making a formal attack on the Island of Tobago and of retaining control of it long enough to obtain extensive and valuable booty.

Unfortunately for this fleet, but to the everlasting relief of the inhabitants of Tobago, His Majesty's ship Yarmouth, Captain Vincent, of 60 guns, was then cruising to the windward of Barbados and caught sight of the ships.

He approached to make investigations and a sharp engagement followed, with the result that the Randolph, of 36 guns and 315 men, was blown up and the other vessels escaped by scattering and flying from the field of action.

ARTICLE XV.

Raids on the Island of Tobago. (III.)
(1777-1781.)

THE most notable raid on this Island occurred in January, 1779. On the 17th of that month, just after midday, the guns at Queen's Bay fired the alarm and the St. Paul's Company of the Militia turned out at once and formed up under Lieutenant Colonel Stewart. They then learnt that the alarm was due to a message from Man of War Bay reporting an attack by an American ship. At two o'clock a party left Queen's Bay on its way over the intervening ridges. The party consisted of Lieutenant Colonel Stewart, Lieutenant Oswald Clarke, one Ensign, Sergeant Wallace, eight privates and Captain Lincoln of the local artillery as a volunteer.

By four o'clock, when near Speyside, they met some men coming from Man of War Bay under the command of Mr. Gordon. They reported that 50 men had landed from the American ship about half past ten that morning who had erected two batteries, one on the shore and one on an eminence just above. They had opposed the landing and in doing so had killed three of the invaders, but they had been driven back and had decided to retire for reinforcements. The party of St. Paul's Militia was joined by Mr. Gordon and four others, while the rest, greatly fatigued, went on under Mr. Dugald Campbell to Mr. Guise's plantation.

By half past five that afternoon, Lieutenant Colonel Stewart and his party had reached Man of War Bay. They saw the vessel lying off the north point just outside Pirate's Bay and also heard the enemy on the beach. Both sides soon discovered each other and the Militia formed up three abreast on the shore. In the first line were Lieutenant Colonel Stewart, Captain Lincoln and Lieutenant Clarke; they advanced to 40 yards and then fired. The enemy at once replied with fire from swivels, blunderbusses and muskets, by which Lieutenant Colonel Stewart was mortally wounded in the head and Captain Lincoln received bullets in the upper part of the thigh which fractured the bone.

Under Lieutenant Clarke the other files advanced and, by firing alternately, maintained a constant and rapid offensive which led to a steady retreat of the enemy. They shortly abandoned first one battery and then the other, and after dark they left the shore and returned to their ship, which then sailed away. John Taylor had been wounded below the knee; James Reid had received a slanting wound across the back and a Negro named Mump was shot in the hand.

The raiders had found an active and organised defence and had been unable to seize any of the Negroes from either Observatory or Belmont Estates. But they had managed to burn all the buildings at Observatory and had captured three of the Whites from this Estate as prisoners.

It is not known what casualties were caused among the enemy, but the Militia captured one seaman named Thomas Mudridge, who supplied the information that the ship was the Governor Turnbull Oldham, Captain Henry Billings, from New London, with 20 guns (six 9 pounders, ten 6 pounders and four 3 pounders) and 106 men. The Pilot was James Hastings, who was a deserter from H.M.S. Roebuck.

The report of this raid reached Lord Macartney in Grenada on January 28th and he immediately notified the Admiral, then at St. Lucia. The news was much too late, as the privateer had long ago sailed out of reach. The Governor General informed the Secretary of State of what had happened and added, "I understand that there are several stout privateers fitting out from North America for this particular purpose of plundering these Islands and I flatter myself that what happened at Tobago will discourage them from any new attempts of that kind."

In this attack Captain Lincoln had received two severe wounds in the thigh and a fractured thigh bone. He was two years confined to bed, with little hopes of a perfect cure and prospects of being a cripple for life. In 1780, on July 6th, the Legislature of Tobago voted him £200 (and incidentally £100 to Sergeant Wallace) as a mark of gratitude from the public for his services generally and especially for his assistance in repulsing the attack of the American privateers. With this sum he visited England to seek more experienced surgical skill and also, if possible, to obtain lucrative service under the Crown.

His petition to the Secretary of State showed that he arrived in Tobago in 1767 and was soon after appointed a Member of His Majesty's Council and later a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, without emoluments. Though he had invested £50,000 (according to his own statement) in making plantations, he was unfortunate and failed for a variety of unforeseen causes. He was made Manager and Trustee for the Crown of two extensive plantations (one of them Studley Park) which had been seized by the Crown for a large revenue debt due by Mr. Gedney Clarke, late Collector of Customs in Barbados. Mr. Lincoln claimed that by great labour and unwearied attention to these estates he had very nearly

extinguished the debt, having remitted to the Commissioners of Customs about £17,000; yet he had received no emoluments from the Government.

From 1772 he had also been a Commissioner for Roads and had also from that date taken an active and valuable part in the organisation of the Militia and the associated artillery section; all without any payment. He petitioned for some mark of approbation for all these services "such as to His Majesty, in his great wisdom and goodness, shall seem meet."

Apparently his infirmities yielded to treatment and his claims to some reward were duly recognised, since in January, 1784, he took up the appointment of Lieutenant Governor of St. Vincent, where he died and was buried in 1786.

It is well to record that occasionally the people of Tobago were able to enjoy some success on their part. In August, 1779, the news that Spain, by the Pacte de Famille, had followed France into the American War of Independence, was brought to Tobago in a copy of the London Gazette. Three days after, on August 10th, the Lieutenant Governor, Joseph Graham, sitting in his house saw four Spanish lanchas sailing over from Trinidad. He hastened down to the nearest battery and as these lanchas passed down the coast, they were brought to by the guns and captured. They had 45 men on board and were carrying 48 mules to Martinique.

The Lieutenant Governor seized them as property of the Crown and wrote to the Secretary of State, "I flatter myself that Your Lordship will approve of what I have done and I shall be happy to receive it under your hand as it is the fate of West Indian Governors to be censured for most of the measures they cannot dispense with as acting for the Crown.

"A foolish idea prevails that by allowing them to go away with their property, the whole savage inhabitants

of the Spanish Main contiguous with us, would have been bound in gratitude not to harm us. I wish our safety could have been secured by so small a sacrifice, but it is so absurd an idea that it would not make me deviate from what I considered to be my duty.

"There is not money in the Island to pay for even five of the mules, and I shall be obliged to sell them on credit with the best security I can get."

In July, 1780, the Lieutenant Governor, George Ferguson, reported that the Experiment and three other French frigates were reported as cruising to windward of Tobago, and also that Paul Jones, in a 64 gun ship, was in these seas. As he had resided in the Island he was well acquainted with all the bays, so they were momently expecting an attack.

The Island was, however, left in peace, and in March, 1781, Lieutenant Governor Ferguson reported the capture of an American schooner on the 8th, which had come within range of the guns at Courland Bay. It had been brought to, ordered into the bay and so captured. The vessel, with its cargo of corn and 12 hogsheads of tobacco, was forthwith sold. The proceeds in this case, after rewarding those on the battery at this time "as an incitement to them to do their duty upon other occasions," were credited to the funds of the Colony.

Two months later the French, under the Marquis de Bouillé, appeared before Tobago with a large force, and after overcoming a spirited resistance, captured the Island. Thus ended this phase of the history of the Island.

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FOUNDED : JUNE 23rd, 1932

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