HISTORICAL SKETCHES

BY

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HISTORICAL SKETCHES
OF
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

COLLECTED AND ARRANGED BY

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PREFACE

These Sketches are published in the hope of stimulating interest in the past history of the Colonies of Trinidad and Tobago.

K.S.W.

CONTENTS

HISTORICAL SKETCHES

ARTICLE I.

The Capture of Tobago by the French. I.

(1781.)

IN the year 1781 the Island of Tobago had only recently been settled. The first plantation had been begun in 1765, only sixteen years before, and by 1780 the population had increased to 474 Whites (417 males and 57 females) and 10,549 Negroes (5,263 males, 3,784 females, 1,502 children) or a total of 11,023 persons. They had 1,637 working cattle and 946 horses and had cleared 23,935 acres of land, of which 6,019 were in St. Patrick's (Sandy Point Division), 4,057 in St. David's (Courland Bay Division), 3,965 in St. George's (Barbados Bay Division), and 3,249 in St. Andrew's (Rockly Bay Division). The produce in the year 1780 amounted to 35,122 cwts. of sugar, 1,868 puncheons of rum, 1,518,000 lbs. of cotton, 20,600 lbs. of indigo and 1,600 lbs. of ginger.

From an agricultural and commercial point of view the Island of Tobago was not an important possession, indeed was probably one of the least important at that time in the West Indies. The

Island was, however, very important from the military and naval point of view, as it lay well to windward, and any force collected there could easily be launched against any of the Islands, including even Barbados. In addition this Island was out of the usual hurricane area and had excellent harbours for the ships of those days.

Much industry had been expended on extending agriculture in the Island, while measures of defence had been neglected. When Tobago was ceded in the year 1763, two Companies of the 4th Regiment had been sent from Dominica to take possession (it was then uninhabited) and they had camped in temporary buildings at Courland Bay. They were relieved in 1764 by two companies of the 62nd Regiment under Captain Richard Legge.

In December, 1764, Alexander Brown, the first Lieutenant Governor, arrived in the Island and started the first settlement at Barbados Bay. The troops, however, remained in the temporary buildings at Courland Bay and were increased by two more companies of the 62nd in 1766, with Captain Arthur St. George in command. A Lieutenant of Engineers, Patrick Ross, was also sent over and he made plans and estimates for necessary barracks and fortifications amounting to £4,853 Sterling.

By March, 1768, permanent barracks were under construction at Courland Bay, and nearly £1,000 was spent there, but the authorities refused to spend more than £500 in 1769. In this year the four companies of the 62nd departed and were replaced

by two companies of the 70th Regiment, and Captain Harry Gordon, of the Engineers, arrived to report on necessary defences.

In the next few years the slaves rose three times in revolt and, in consequence, an active and efficient Militia of about 350 men was constituted. In addition, the companies of the 70th were removed and replaced by two companies of the 48th Regiment, who moved from Courland Bay into barracks erected at Granby Point, in Barbados Bay. Here, on the windward side of the Island, the troops were said to enjoy good health, whereas on the leeward side, at Courland Bay, they had suffered much sickness and mortality.

In 1774 the Legislature of Tobago petitioned the King for more efficient defence, and in the following year Captain Robert Morse was sent and found the troops at Granby Point very sickly and the barracks in an unhealthy position. After examining the whole Island in detail, he recommended barracks with defences on the top of Scarborough Hill. He also recommended batteries at various bays and an enclosed battery and magazine at Courland Bay. His estimates show a total expenditure of £16,937 Sterling. The authorities in England not unnaturally demurred at these constantly changing proposals of the engineers and little attention was given to these recommendations.

Meanwhile, raids by privateers were causing severe losses to the Planters, so that in 1777 they raised funds voluntarily and erected small redoubts

at the following points: Great Courland Bay, two 18 pounders and one 6 pounder; Little Courland Bay, one 18 pdr. and one 9 pdr.; La Guira Bay, two 6 pdrs.; Queen's Bay, two 9 pdrs.; Bloody Bay, Englishman's Bay and Castara Bay, one 6 pdr. each; Sandy Point, two 18 pdrs. and two 6 pdrs.; Burleigh's Battery Scarborough, two 9 pdrs.; while Granby Fort had two 18, one 9 and four 6 pdrs. with three 5½ inch mortars.

In October, 1777, authority was received to proceed with the erection of barracks on Scarborough Hill (now Fort George), and Captain Morse was ordered to visit and make a more detailed report on the Island. In July of the next year he reported again on the sickness and mortality of the two companies of the 48th in barracks at Granby Point and that he had set out the work for the new barracks. His detailed estimates were now increased, and that for the works at Scarborough amounted to £17,201 Currency, the Coast Batteries to £22,682 Currency and the Battery and Magazine at Courland Bay to £11,591 Currency, or a total of £51,474 Currency. This was equal to £34,316 Sterling, more than double his estimates only three years ago.

The reply of the Secretary of State for War was short and laconic, and he informed the Governor General, Lord Macartney, that "It is the common error of our Engineers to consider every place they are directed to prepare plans and estimates for the defence of, as the only important place the nation

has to defend and that the whole force of the enemy is to be directed against it.

"The reports and estimates of Captain Morse appear to be so much of this kind that I shall take no steps in consequence of them until I receive Your Lordship's observations."

However, part of these works were under construction, and by the early part of the year 1779 the construction of the barracks at Scarborough was well advanced and they were completed in May.

War with France had broken out in 1778 and the Comte D'Estaing was in the the West Indies late that year with a squadron having 9,000 soldiers on board. He was unable to save St. Lucia from capture by a strong force under Admiral Barrington and General Grant, but retrieved his ill fortune by taking St. Vincent and then Grenada on July 2nd, 1779, from the English. This catastrophe struck dismay into the hearts of the inhabitants of Tobago (the Lieutenant Governor called it "a universal panic") especially as Admiral Barrington had given way to the French fleet and avoided meeting them; thus the Planters of Tobago expected to be the next victims of the victorious French arms.

The Lieutenant Governor, John Graham, warned the Secretary of State that he had only 400 men fit to bear arms, including both Militia and the effective men of the 48th Regiment. He considered that the batteries were in good order and well appointed with gunners and mattrosses, while the

Militia were in good condition. He hoped that, being well to windward and protected by adverse currents, the French would find other objects more convenient for their next operations and that Tobago would escape.

A recruiting party was sent to Barbados and obtained 46 men, but Governor Hay disbanded them and refused to allow them to leave Barbados as they could not be spared. Fortunately, during this year 42 men of the 48th, with a Captain and two Lieutenants, returned from North America and were sent to Tobago. Other small detachments were also sent, including Major Hedges, Ensign Macmahon and 41 privates sent as prisoners to France in the Alcamene, captured by the Proserpine and returned. By December there were 170 men of this Regiment in Tobago, 90 at Granby Fort and the other 80 at the new barracks at Scarborough Hill. Fever and ague were still common diseases amongst those stationed at Granby Point.

Supplies also were becoming short and the Lieutenant Governor reported difficulty in obtaining salt provisions and flour (usually obtained from the States now in rebellion) at any price at all. At this time they were dependent solely on the Army Stores at St. Lucia and these supplies were of bad quality, and, because of the great risk of capture, the cost of freight was enormous.

The Lieutenant Governor also suffered from another difficulty, as there was no money either in Tobago or to be obtained elsewhere with which to

pay the troops. He had failed in Barbados as the people there refused to part with any cash as it was used to purchase the prizes brought in there from time to time.

On February 20th, 1780, George Ferguson arrived as Lieutenant Governor in Tobago and he also strained every effort to put the Island in a better state of defence and sent urgent representations to General Vaughan and Sir George Rodney. He managed to secure two companies of the 89th Regiment and a detachment of 160 men of the 86th, which he quartered in temporary barracks at Lambeau.

He now had 456 soldiers of the Regulars, in addition to the Militia, and he felt more satisfied that if invasion was attempted an adequate defence could be made until relief was organised. He wrote, "If the enemy should come in such force to make it impossible to protect the cleared and flat part of the country, I propose to retire with the troops, the inhabitants and the negroes into the interior parts, which are naturally strong, and I flatter myself that if we have provisions we shall not only be able to hold out a considerable time, but that we shall have it in our power to harass the enemy greatly, from our superior knowledge of the country."

He considered that there were places in the mountains where block houses in masonry, if properly provisioned, could be defended by a few men against a very superior force, and where it would be almost impossible to bring up cannon

against them. He recommended that several such should be built instead of further barracks, as the climate in the mountains was cooler and more healthy than that of the low country, "and as they will be at a distance from the towns the officers will be able to prevent them getting new rum, which is the cause of the deaths of one half of the troops that are lost in the West Indies."

ARTICLE II.

THE CAPTURE OF TOBAGO BY THE FRENCH. II.

(1781.)

THE Lieutenant Governor also complained that the Public Debts amounted to £16,000 Currency and that certain Members of Council (Messrs. Gilbert and Peter Francklyn) obstructed any Tax Bills to meet them. Indeed, they went further and refused to furnish their quota of slave labour to repair the defences and even used influence to make others follow their example. He added, "Mr. Robley, another Member of Council, has, it seems, always supported these gentlemen, and it is reported, but with what truth I cannot say, that upon Grenada being taken he had prepared Articles of Capitulation for this Island which he proposed should be sent thither. But I must say that since my arrival his conduct has been much less exceptionable than that of the other two gentlemen."

Though feeling that the suspicion of disloyalty was abroad in the Island, the Lieutenant Governor expressed himself satisfied that though the people had been oppressed with debt, with insurrection and with famine, there were not ten disloyal men in the Colony; though he was constrained to admit that there had lately been some French spies in Tobago and the Messrs. Francklyn were not

altogether free from the suspicion of giving intelligence to the enemy. These two gentlemen were suspended from the Council in November, 1780.

It would appear from information gained in Grenada that an attack in force was planned for August, 1780, but as the Marquis de Bouillé learnt that Sir George Rodney, with the British fleet, had appeared off Guadaloupe, he promptly cancelled his arrangements and returned post haste to Martinique in order to counter any movements of the enemy. The Lieutenant Governor, in reporting this evidence of approaching danger, asked that funds might be sent immediately to take the troops, ammunition, ordnance stores and provisions to a stronghold in the interior.

He further wrote on October 16th: "I am sorry to inform Your Lordship that the troops have been extremely sickly for these three months past. So unhealthy a season was never known in this part of the world. This Island has lost more inhabitants within that time than it did in the ten years preceding it." It was at this time that the detachment of the 89th Regiment was removed and he was left with the companies of the 86th.

The Lieutenant Governor also found an added trouble amidst his harassing difficulties in his relations with the Military in the Island, then commanded by Colonel Cory. The Lieutenant Governor, as Commander in Chief of the Island, claimed general command of the troops while not interfering with the administrative details; the

Colonel, however, maintained there was no connection whatever between the Governor and the Military. This dispute was referred to General Vaughan, who disapproved so much of his conduct, especially at this time, that he recalled Colonel Cory, who, however, died before these instructions reached Tobago.

In January, 1781, the Secretary of State for War indicated his agreement with the policy of retiring to a previously prepared strong post in the interior. He pointed out that the produce of the Island was no longer subject to the usual $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ tax for defraying the charges of government, as it was removed when the Legislature was established; he therefore could not agree that Great Britain should pay the cost of the post or the removal of supplies, and considered that the General Assembly should bear the cost. He added: "You will shortly receive instructions from His Majesty to make a requisition to that effect."

In this month also additional land was bought at Scarborough Hill to extend the barracks and defences. Though no Engineer had arrived (asked for long ago) the Lieutenant Governor proceeded to erect a block house for 33 men, constructed of hard wood, for £400 Sterling. He also pointed out that the promised frigate and cutter allotted to Tobago had not yet arrived.

On April 28th the English and French fleets had met near Martinique and an indecisive action had followed, with the result that Admiral Hood had to retire to Antigua for extensive repairs and refitting, while the Comte de Grasse gained the

freedom of the West Indian seas, tempered by the knowledge that Sir George Rodney had a large fleet of 20 sail of the line at Barbados.

The French now found this a favourable chance for attempting further attacks on the English possessions in the West Indies, and the Commander in Chief, Sir John Vaughan, warned the Lieutenant Governor that an attempt would be made on Tobago in the near future. He also instructed Brigadier General Tottenham in Barbados to send Lieutenant Nepean, of the Engineers, to do what was possible to strengthen the fortifications, and also to send all the troops he could spare. On May 6th, while at St. Kitts, he again urged the Brigadier General to send ammunition and troops; in response to which were sent a company of the Rutland Regiment, under a noncommissioned officer, some artillery and ammunition.

Meanwhile the Lieutenant Governor, George Ferguson, had been actively pursuing his arrangements, and during February and March, 1781, had surveyed several places in the hills which might be suitable for prolonged defence. He finally selected the Main Ridge beyond Caledonia, where he provided temporary buildings and stored ammunition and provisions in readiness.

He was none too early with his preparations, as upon May 22nd some vessels were seen to windward of the Island and on the next day, about 10 o'clock, they brought to off Minister Point and hoisted French colours. This squadron consisted of the

Pluton, of 74 guns, the Experiment, of 50 guns, the Raillieuse and Sensible, of 32 guns each, and four armed sloops, all under the command of Chevalier D'Albert de Rioux. There could be no doubt what this squadron portended, and Captain Barnes, in the brig Rattlesnake, was sent at once to Barbados and two sloops to St. Lucia, all with orders to carry this news to Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan, wherever they might be. They actually received this information about midnight on May 26th-27th from Captain Barnes at Barbados.

On May 23rd the French immediately embarked their troops in the boats, with the intention of landing in Minister Bay (now Bacolet Bay). They found the sea very rough and the landing dangerous. In addition there was a gun, well hidden and actively served, which did much to annoy them, and the troops returned on board.

The squadron then tried to enter Rockly Bay and force a landing near Scarborough, but the currents carried them to leeward and the ships went round the south end of the Island, where they were joined by the Eagle, of 14 guns. By the next morning, May 24th, they had anchored in Great Courland Bay. Though the landing was disputed, the battery of three 18 pounders had to be abandoned as it was entirely without cover and was knocked to pieces when the Pluton came within 400 yards and trained its broadside upon it. There was a gun well hidden at Black Rock, under the direction of Major Hamilton of the Militia, which

continued to fire for some time and caused some damage and loss to the Pluton.

The Regulars and Militia had been posted on each side of the road leading from Courland to Scarborough, where it climbed up the hill, and, though very much outnumbered, managed to hold their own for several hours and successfully disputed the passage. So successful were they that the French decided that it was necessary to outflank them, and as this would soon surround them the troops abandoned the defence of the road and promptly retired through Providence to Concordia Estate, which had been made the rendezvous for all the forces.

Upon arriving at Scarborough, General Blanchelande, who commanded the troops landed by the French, found the town and the flat part of the country undefended, and thereupon circulated a notice amongst the inhabitants warning them that those who had not returned within 24 hours to their usual occupations would run the risk of pillage and confiscation of their property; at the same time he stated that he intended to enforce strict discipline amongst them and to prevent the troops from committing any offences.

On the same day (May 24th) he sent a Flag of Truce to the Lieutenant Governor and informed him that he had landed, with three thousand men, to conquer the Island, and offered honourable terms if he would capitulate. This offer was peremptorily rejected.

By the 24th and 25th the French had occupied most of the low lying country, had discovered the English troops at Concordia and taken up posts on adjacent heights. On the following four days they threatened attacks, and by marching and counter marching small parties from place to place, endeavoured to draw the English forces from their fastness. On the 28th, as the enemy were occupying Mr. Low's buildings, which overlooked their camp, it was decided to destroy them. This dangerous duty was undertaken by Messrs. Hamilton, McEllen, Irvine and 20 Negroes. They succeeded and the house and buildings were burnt, but McEllen, Irvine and nine Negroes were wounded.

On the 27th and 28th the squadron sailed round from Courland Bay and anchored in Rockly Bay. At this time also occurred an illuminating interlude to the more serious aspects of this invasion. It is recorded that when the Lieutenant Governor learnt that General Blanchelande found it excessively fatiguing to get up to the front for inspection, he sent to the General with his compliments the best horse he possessed, in order to facilitate him and spare him discomfort. Presumably the General could have seized many horses but for his strict orders against the looting of property.

General Vaughan, on receipt of the news of this attack, also learnt that the French fleet of 20 sail was cruising off St. Lucia. He immediately ordered Rear Admiral Drake to proceed to Tobago with

six sail of the line and three frigates to relieve the Island. On board he carried General Skene, with 528 soldiers, consisting of a detachment of the 69th Regiment, a flank company of the 60th and a volunteer company, to reinforce the garrison. This relieving force sailed on the 28th and arrived off Tobago on May 30th. Messengers were landed and sent to the Lieutenant Governor asking for full information about the enemy and where the relief should be landed. Overjoyed at this welcome news, the Lieutenant Governor sent Mr. Ottley and Lieutenant Nepean to General Skene with pilots for the Admiral.

Unfortunately, while waiting, Admiral Drake caught sight of the French fleet of 20 ships, under the Comte de Grasse, under full sail towards him, and to save his ships and men he had to put about and retire as fast as possible. This was a disastrous disappointment to the small garrison at Concordia, who feared that the ships would be captured by the enemy.

On the evening of the 30th General Blanchelande decided to force the issue. Since his arrival eight days had passed, and at any moment the whole English fleet might appear and relieve the Island. He took possession of the estate house of Mr. Cotton (now known as French Fort), from which he could overlook the camp of the defenders. The French formed up that night and set out to capture Concordia and surround or dislodge the small garrison, but their guides lost their way in the dark

and the troops returned the next morning to their headquarters worn out with fatigue.

On the morning of the 31st the defending forces saw the French fleet return from chasing Rear Admiral Drake, and on that evening two frigates and three sloops ran into Courland Bay and landed further troops, consisting of the Regiment d'Armagnac and d'Auxerrois, from the garrison of Martinique. The Marquis de Bouillé, Commander in Chief of the French troops, also arrived to take over command from General Blanchelande.

ARTICLE III.

The Capture of Tobago by the French. III.

(1781.)

A COUNCIL of War was held at Concordia and, while agreeing that it was a strong place and very desirable to hold because of the view of both sides of the Island, it was decided that a strong attack in force would overwhelm them. They considered that the time had come to retire to the inaccessible post on the Main Ridge and to destroy the three howitzers and two field pieces which could not be carried there.

At one o'clock in the early morning of June 1st, the English troops moved out, and by sunrise were all safely at Caledonia, which was described as surrounded by an impenetrable forest for many miles and with a road to the North Coast so narrow that two men could not walk abreast and that one hundred men could defend against all the might of France.

At daybreak on June 1st, believing the troops to be still at Concordia, the Marquis de Bouillé sent a summons to surrender. As the place was empty the French followed as far as Brotherfield, but feared to enter any further into the hills.

The Marquis de Bouillé realised the difficulties and dangers of following an elusive enemy all

through the narrow and dangerous valleys, but intended none the less to make them seek terms by other means. He ordered the Nutmeg and Belmont Estates (where he then was) to be burnt, and in a moment afterwards the buildings and canes were in flames. Orders were issued to burn four plantations more at the end of four hours and to repeat this destruction every four hours until the Island had been surrendered or laid waste.

While the houses of his neighbours were in flames the French required Mr. Orr to guide their troops to Caledonia; he refused, but offered to lead an Officer with a Flag of Truce. He was threatened with death, "but Mr. Orr, equally unmoved by their insults or their threats, refused, although the bayonets were at his breast, to comply to their demands.

"Mr. Turner was then applied to, but that gentleman, regarding his honour more than his interest, peremptorily refused to show them the road upon their attempting to push on a body of men under protection of a Flag of Truce. The Marquis de Bouillé was therefore obliged to send the Flag without the troops."

The Flag of Truce arrived at Caledonia while the Lieutenant Governor was further on at the Main Ridge preparing for the reception of the Regulars and Militia, for whom a week's supply of provisions had been stored there. At this news he hastened back to Caledonia where, to his surprise and mortification, he found that the Militia refused to

continue the defence any longer. Eighteen of the principal officers, including J. Leith, Thomas Fairholme, Joseph Robley, John Hamilton and Peter Francklyn, pointed out the progressive destruction of their properties and begged the Lieutenant Governor to capitulate on the same terms as recently granted at the Island of Dominica.

The Lieutenant Governor remonstrated with them and entreated them to continue, since relief in a few days was certain, as the Admiral, Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan knew how they were situated. He even went so far as to assure them that His Majesty would indemnify every individual for his loss should the Island be saved from capture. All his efforts were without avail.

The Lieutenant Governor then proposed to organise a defence with the Regulars alone and ordered Major Stanhope to take possession of the road up to the Main Ridge and garrison it against attack. To his astonishment the Major refused to obey these orders, as he and his officers all considered that any further defiance of the French was rash and uncalled for and that negotiations for capitulation should be begun.

Thus abandoned by his forces the Lieutenant Governor sent a reply by the Flag of Truce offering to consider terms for capitulation, and the Comte Dillon was deputed by the Marquis de Bouillé to treat. For some time no agreement was possible, as the Comte Dillon insisted that the French deserters and the Negroes, whom the English had

armed, should be delivered up for punishment; this was resolutely opposed and finally a surrender was agreed upon the same terms as given at the surrender of Dominica.

The Marquis de Bouillé then drew up the actual Articles of Capitulation and submitted them on June 2nd, but as they were not exactly word for word those accepted at Dominica, the Lieutenant Governor refused to sign them. The planters, however, urged him to sign as the terms at Dominica were in some cases inapplicable to Tobago and the terms now offered were in many respects more favourable than those of Dominica; he complied with their advice.

Meanwhile, after having been chased by the French fleet, Rear Admiral Drake arrived back at Barbados on June 2nd. On hearing his report General Vaughan immediately went on board the fleet with all the troops available and under Sir George Rodney the whole fleet sailed for Tobago. On the evening of June 4th they sighted the Island and sent an officer ashore for information. On the morning of the 5th they came in sight of the whole French fleet, and at the same time the officer returned with the news that the Island had capitulated on June 2nd.

In writing his official report to the Secretary of State for War, the Lieutenant Governor, George Ferguson, stated: "The only consolation I have at present is the hope that His Majesty will not think his arms dishonoured by the surrender of the

Island." He claimed that the French landed two to three thousand men, which were reinforced later by about fifteen hundred under the Marquis de Bouillé, while the whole French fleet stood by ready to land more troops if necessary. The English forces never exceeded 427 men, exclusive of forty armed Negroes; there were 207 Regulars, 180 Militia, 4 Mattrosses of the Royal Artillery, 15 of the Island Artillery and 20 Seamen.

He stated: "In justice to the Militia it is incumbent upon me to declare that there were never men who submitted to such severe hardships with more cheerfulness. They remained nine nights almost continuously in the trenches, expecting every hour to be attacked, without complaining. It was not until their plantations were in flames and they despaired of relief that they proposed to capitulate. Messrs. Collow and Low, believing that the burning of their canes and buildings would retard the passage of the enemy, offered to do it themselves, and they were consequently reduced to ashes. I have presumed to assure these gentlemen that His Majesty's goodness will not allow them to suffer for their loyalty under whatever government they may be at present. I have appointed eight respectable inhabitants to appraise the loss of any individual who has suffered by the enemy in consequence of deserting their estates to join in the defence of the Colony. I most humbly hope that Your Lordship will be pleased to lay their case before the King so that His Majesty may take it into consideration."

As regards the regular soldiers, he adds: "I am sorry I have nothing to say in favour of Major Stanhope, who commanded the troops, nor of Captain Manners, the second in command. The subaltern officers and men, I am persuaded, would have submitted to any hardships rather than surrender if they had not been swayed by the opinions of these two gentlemen."

ARTICLE IV.

The Capture of Tobago by the French. IV.

(1781.)

THE Articles of Capitulation were signed on June 2nd. The first article allowed the troops to march out with the honours of war; the officers retained their arms but the others were to deliver them up. The second article provided that the troops, with their women and children, should be sent to France, while the officers might remain in the West Indies on parole. The third article granted to the Island the continuance of its Civil Government, Laws, Customs; the present officers would remain in charge.

The fourth article provided that the inhabitants and their ministers of religion would retain all their property and rights therein and would be free to exercise the practice of their beliefs. The fifth article agreed that the people should not be required to pay dues other than those already paid to His Britannic Majesty. The exports and imports would be liable to the dues current in the French Colonies. The sixth article required the people to pay for the reconstruction of batteries burnt or damaged during the attack.

By the seventh article the French agreed to return all slaves taken in the attack to the owners.

The eighth article agreed that ships and vessels would remain the property of the inhabitants. The ninth article provided that absent inhabitants, and even those who had served in the defence, would be maintained in their properties. The tenth article relieved the people from accommodating troops save in indispensable circumstances.

The eleventh article required the people to provide Negroes for corvée, public works and fortifications up to a maximum of four hundred, to be fed and housed by the King while engaged on such works. The twelfth article required the inhabitants to take the oath of fidelity to the King of France. The thirteenth article agreed that the people should maintain strict neutrality and that they should not be required to take up arms against Britain or any other power.

The fourteenth article provided that inhabitants not commissioned in the King's service should not be regarded as prisoners of war. The fifteenth article allowed commercial vessels from England or elsewhere to be admitted during the next six months. The sixteenth article guaranteed full rights to the people to dispose of their funds and property as they may wish. The seventeenth article required the delivery of all artillery, arms and munitions in general and all stores belonging to the King of England. The eighteenth and last article required all inhabitants to declare the presence of any English soldier or sailor in their houses under penalty of 100 moidores.

These Articles were signed by Le Comte de Grasse and Le Marquis de Bouillé on behalf of France and by Lieutenant Governor George Ferguson and Major Stanhope, of the 86th Regiment, on behalf of the Island of Tobago.

The Marquis de Bouillé left General Blanchelande to act as Governor of Tobago, where he continued until the next year, when Monsieur René Marie Vicomte D'Arrot took up the duty, having been appointed by the King of France. It is of interest to know that Philipe Rose Roume de St. Laurent, who had done so much for the settlement of Trinidad, was at the same time appointed Ordonnateur of Tobago and held this post in that Island for over seven years. General Blanchelande in 1790 became Governor General of San Domingo and was in 1792 sent to Paris, a prisoner by the Commissioners. In 1793, on April 7th, he was executed by the guillotine.

On June 6th the Lieutenant Governor left Tobago as a prisoner of war, and at his departure he was presented with an Address signed by thirty-five of the principal inhabitants of Tobago, in which they begged leave "to offer you our warmest acknowledgments of the zeal and impartiality of your conduct as Governor of the Colony, and for the bravery with which you defended it for nine days against a powerful army, to which you were at last induced to surrender by the entreaties of us, the inhabitants, to save our properties from the destruction with which they were threatened."

It will be clear that though there was little fighting, in fact it would be folly to pit the meagre forces in Tobago against the powerful army landed by the French, the retreat to the hills and entrenchment of the narrow passes was a correct and effective defence of the Island. The protection of home and country is a powerful motive, and to die for this purpose is extolled as the height of patriotism. The Marquis de Bouillé had a very shrewd knowledge of human nature, and when he burnt the houses and properties of the inhabitants he was aware that no Militia could long continue in opposition knowing that capitulation would end the destruction. From that moment the defence of the Island started to crumble. The Militia urged the Lieutenant Governor to yield and in all but words refused to continue the defence. The Lieutenant Governor then expected the Militia to retire and make its peace, while he, with the Regulars, continued to hold the Island. To his amazement they also refused, and hence the condemnation of these officers which he expressed to the Secretary of State.

Had they continued there might have been a notable and decisive naval battle off Tobago; as events occurred, however, Sir George Rodney, doubtless quite wisely, refused a risk and waited to join Admiral Hood, with the result that on April 12th, 1782, they caught the French fleet, under the Comte de Grasse, off Martinique and inflicted a severe defeat on the French, which led to the end of the war and the Peace of Paris in 1783.

In the latter part of 1781 George Ferguson reached London and found that an official letter from Sir George Rodney to the Admiralty had been published in the London Gazette commenting on the surrender of Tobago. On September 24th he communicated his view of the matter to the public press: "Sir George Rodney observes 'That something extraordinary must have happened to induce Governor Ferguson to capitulate,' but I apprehend the world will think it more extraordinary that a British Admiral, with 21 ships of the line under his command, should allow an enemy squadron of four ships, a frigate and a few sloops, to besiege for ten days together a British Colony within 24 hours sail of him, without either relieving or endeavouring to destroy the squadron, than that an Island defended by only 427 men, without even covering sufficient to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather, should be unable to hold out longer than ten days against an army of veteran troops above five times their number.

"And it will appear perhaps equally extraordinary that the whole French fleet and army should arrive at Tobago from Martinico before the squadron from Barbados, although my express to Sir George Rodney sailed 26 hours before General Blanchelande despatched the cutter for his reinforcements, when it is well known that the voyage from Tobago to Martinico, going and returning, is more than double the voyage from Tobago to Barbados and back." To this letter no reply was given.

On September 27th the Lieutenant Governor asked for a Court Martial on his conduct, and at the same time supplied details of his complaints against Captain Manners. In due course it was decided that no enquiry was necessary into the conduct either of the Lieutenant Governor or of Captain Manners.

The case of Major Stanhope was different and a Court of Enquiry was ordered, before which he was to appear and "vindicate his conduct relative to the surrender of the Island of Tobago." The Court sat during March, 1783, and consisted of Lieutenant General the Earl of Eglintoun, Major General Wynyard and Major General Phillipson. These general officers, having heard Major Stanhope state his case, unanimously were of opinion that a Court Martial should be held for the justification of his conduct.

The Court Martial was duly appointed and assembled at the Horse Guards, Whitehall, between June 3rd and 19th, 1783. It consisted of Lieutenant General James Grant as President, two other Lieutenant Generals, two Major Generals, six Colonels, two Lieutenant Colonels and three Majors. The Honourable Major Henry Fitzroy Stanhope, of the 86th Regiment, was charged with refusing to obey the orders of Lieutenant Governor Ferguson, terming the orders rash and saying that he would consult his officers.

The late Lieutenant Governor gave evidence and was followed by K. F. McKenzie, a Member of His Majesty's Council and late Attorney General of

Tobago; Thomas Carry, a planter and doctor of the Island; Edmund McAllister, Assistant Surgeon to the General Hospital; Alexander Gordon, a planter; Charles Ashwell, Treasurer of the Island and Duncan Forbes, acting Ordnance Storekeeper.

Major Stanhope replied that there had been no disobedience of orders and that he was asked to have his troops ready to march to the Ridge, which he did. He pointed out that he had 200 men, of whom 45 were convalescent and had just been discharged from hospital; his troops had marched 12 miles the first day and for four nights had been frequently turned out for false alarms by the Lieutenant Governor; on the night of May 31st-June 1st they had marched eight miles over an impossible road on a dark, tropical, rainy night; forty had fallen out on the way and were missing; his troops were so exhausted that he had but 60 capable of marching to the Main Ridge, and that they were without proper supplies of ammunition or provisions. He also claimed that he had consulted his officers in the presence of the Lieutenant Governor and they had expressed themselves freely as unwilling to continue the defence, which was regarded as desperate.

His submissions were supported by Richard Hodgson, Surgeon; Lieutenant James Wilson; Lieutenant Christopher Jefferson; Quartermaster John Lowry; Ensign Robert Burne and Captain Robert Manners, all of the 86th Regiment.

On June 19th, 1783, the President of the Court,

Lieutenant General James Grant, delivered the following judgment: "The Court Martial, having duly weighed the evidence given in support of the accusations preferred against the Prisoner, Major Henry Fitzroy Stanhope, with that which has been adduced by him in his defence, is of opinion that he is not guilty of the Charges nor of any part of them and doth most honourably acquit him."

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ARTICLE V

Government House, Trinidad. (I.)

THE situation of the residence of the Governor in the Island of Trinidad has changed from time to time as economic or other reasons required, and in the following pages some account will be given of these various changes and the circumstances associated with them.

St. Joseph. 1592-1757.

The Spaniards were the first to make a permanent settlement in the Island of Trinidad, when in 1592 they landed at Cumucurapo, passed up the River Caroni and found land on one of its branches suitable for their purposes. Here they established the town of San Josef de Oruna and the actuarial record, which is still in existence, gives in detail these proceedings and relates how the Commander, Don Domingo de Vera y Ibargoen (on behalf of his Chief, Don Antonio de Berrio) first marked out the site of the Church which he named Nuestra Santa Fe de la Concepcion and then indicated the sites of the residence of the Governor, the Cabildo Hall and the Prison; the four outward symbols of civilised settlement.

In all parts of the western world the old Spanish

towns were formed originally with a central square, around which were placed the Church and other necessary public buildings; this record shows that Domingo de Vera followed the usual practice when he founded this town in Trinidad.

The town of San Josef had a very chequered career; sometimes it prospered and sometimes it fell on evil times; sometimes it was raided and destroyed but equally at times it managed to make an effective defence. Through all its vicissitudes it has survived and still exists on the original site and with the same name in the more English form of St. Joseph.

So far as can be ascertained from available written records, it would seem certain that the successive Churches which, from time to time, it became necessary to erect, were all built on the same site, and that the present Church in its commanding situation stands on the spot selected in 1592 by the early pioneer, Don Domingo de Vera, and where the Franciscan Fray Domingo de Santa Agueda celebrated the first Mass.

In front of the Church, to the west, was the open square and on one side, almost certainly the northern side, was built the original Spanish Government House. This open square was maintained as such until the capitulation (1797) and probably also the house or the remains of the house used by the Spanish Governors.

The houses now standing around the area where the square had been and those built upon a part of

this open space show, by their design and construction, that they were erected during the British occupancy and since 1797. If traces of the Spanish buildings in this area remain, any evidence of Government House must be hidden in the foundations or interiors of the buildings.

The town of Arima was founded as a Mission Settlement for those Indians evicted from Tacarigua, Caura and Arouca by the Spanish Government in 1784. This town was laid out in similar fashion around a central square, which is still maintained at the present day. The Catholic Church is at the east side and as the Spanish Protocols show, the Casa del Rey was on the north side.

So also in the case of the town of San Fernando, which was founded in 1786, the Casa Real is described as being situated on the north side of the central square, the Plaza de San Carlos.

The Government House at San Josef was at that time, and for a long time afterwards, not only the actual residence of the Governor, but also the office where public business was transacted and public records maintained. This house was destroyed, the Governor taken prisoner and carried away by Sir Walter Raleigh on April 4th, 1595, when he raided and burnt the town of San Josef, leaving it entirely in ashes.

In 1606 the town, with the Church and Government House, was rebuilt by the labour of some four hundred slaves whom the Spaniards had bought

from the Dutch, as this was a period of comparative prosperity founded on a profitable trade in tobacco illegally carried on with foreigners. This prosperity did not last long as this contraband trade was soon brought to the notice of the King of Spain, who directed a Special Royal Commissioner, Don Sancho de Alquiza, to proceed to Trinidad, where he was to bring the Governor and his people to order and to stamp out the pernicious and dangerous trade with the English and Dutch.

So successful was the Royal Commissioner that in 1625 the Cabildo reported that the people of San Josef were very poor indeed and could only afford to provide the Church with a thatch roof. Presumably the Government House was in no better position and it must have been of very moderate construction; especially as the population of San Josef for very many years varied between forty and a hundred Spaniards.

However, in course of time, cacao was developed as a staple product and started the long and profitable association of the Island of Trinidad with this valuable product. A brighter economic outlook began to appear and the town of San Josef again started to look prosperous, and it was presumably able to maintain the Governor in more comfort and decency.

The "blight" which struck the cacao trees in 1725 put an end to this happy position, brought the Island into acute difficulties and again the people found themselves faced with hard times. As usual,

public works and public buildings suffered from the necessary severe economies attendant on a contracting revenue, until at last in 1733 the Governor deemed it urgently necessary to subject his people to a special tax to provide funds for the repair of public buildings, including the Church and Government House.

The circumstances of the people were so urgent that this impost led to a constitutional crisis and they made a piteous appeal for relief to the King of Spain. This dispute was still continuing in 1740 when the people of San Josef felt impelled again to represent their complete destitution, the injustice of the special taxation and its insupportable burden. Their opposition augmented to such a degree that in 1745, frenzied at the absence of any prospect of relief, they brought their case prominently to the notice of the authorities by taking the extraordinary course of deposing the Governor, arresting him and imprisoning him in Trinidad for alleged oppression and vexatious taxation. A Special Commissioner was sent to the Island from Cumana with adequate military forces, who quelled the mutiny, released the Governor and restored order.

The public buildings, including Government House, must by this time have been in a parlous condition, especially as a petition from the inhabi-

tants of San Josef in 1750 declared that affairs in the Island of Trinidad were at the lowest ebb, that the people were leaving the Island, that the cacao industry was almost dead, that the countryside was

a desert and that food was almost unobtainable. What a tragedy that so beautiful and fertile an Island should ever have come to such a condition, so described not by a passing visitor but by the very people themselves.

At last, however, the King of Spain himself granted them some relief, and with the arrival of a new Governor in 1752 the affairs of the Island of Trinidad began to show a brighter outlook. Evidently this turn for the better was not adequate to supply funds for the restoraiton of the Government House at San Josef, since when Colonel Pedro de la Moneda arrived to take up duty as Governor in 1757, he remained in the town of Port of Spain as there was no suitable house available at San Josef. By this time Government House must not only have been out of repair but wholly beyond repair and in ruins, since he considered that a new building was absolutely necessary at San Josef.

The people, however, still steadfastly refused to submit to the essential taxation and maintained that they were in a much impoverished state and unable to bear any such impost. With the knowledge that the burden of taxation is always a burning question and with the example of the temper of these people, as exhibited in previous years before him, the Governor desisted from pressing this tax while maintaining his position by continuing to live in Port of Spain.

In the year 1766 the authorities at San Josef, with meticulous rectitude, record the occurrence of

severe shocks at that town (connected with the great earthquake of October 21st, which destroyed the town of Cumana) and that great damage was done to the Church and the Government House (already a ruin) and thus, on their part, maintaining their position.

ARTICLE VI.

Government House. Trinidad. (II.)

Port of Spain. 1757-1788.

THE house in which the Governors lived during this period is not known; it must, however, have been of much the same construction as the original house at San Josef, since the town of Port of Spain in 1766 was described as an irregular collection of thatched houses. It is quite possible that more than one set of premises were occupied by the Governors during that period. In any case that main part of the town in those years was collected around Duncan, Nelson and George Streets, which were at that time named, respectively, Calle del Infante, del Principe and de San Josef, and it is probable that Government House faced the open space, the site of which is now occupied by the Catholic Cathedral.

As years progressed there was a steady drift of the only too small population from San Josef to Port of Spain, in spite of repeated appeals from the Cabildo, which maintained that San Josef was the capital, the seat of government and the place where the Governor should reside.

Realities will not be denied, and in due course the seat of government was formally removed to Port of Spain in the year 1774 and the Governor decided to reside permanently in that town. This

act was bitterly resented and strenuously opposed by the Cabildo, which remained in arrogant pride at the ancient city and contented itself in fostering factious opposition, culminating, in 1776, with the allegation of the Cabildo that its members were unable to travel from San Josef to Port of Spain to pay their respects at the celebration of the King's Birthday and suggesting that it was the rightful and proper duty of the Governor to appear at Government House at San Josef to receive them.

The Governor was far too busy to attend to petty pinpricks. Don Martin de Salaverria had been sent to Trinidad by Don Jose de Abalos, the Intendant at Caracas, a man of the new generation, to sweep away the cobwebs of the past and to initiate a progressive agricultural and economic policy which should lift the Island out of a long depression. He continued living in Port of Spain, not so much now for want of suitable accommodation at San Josef as because the developing affairs of Trinidad and the accelerating movement of the people at the port of the Island required the presence of the principal executive authority at that town.

In 1777 the residence of the Governor must have been a building of material size, since available records show that in that year the Governor, Don Martin de Salaverria, entertained simultaneously four distinguished guests and was enabled by happy fortune to lay thereby the foundations of a policy upon which was developed the future prosperity of Trinidad. In this year there arrived in Port of

Spain from Grenada Monsieur E. M. Noel, subsequently a large landowner and a Commandant of Carenage, and Monsieur Philipe Roume de St. Laurent, who was such a successful advocate of the great immigration to Trinidad in subsequent years. Both were lodged and lived with the Governor in his residence.

The Madrid Government had sent out two distinguished Engineer Officers, Brigadier General Agustin Crame and Lieutenant Colonel Juan de Catella, as a sort of Board of Development to report and recommend measures for the economic development of the various Spanish possessions between the River Orinoco and Mexico. In March, 1777, they arrived at Port of Spain and were housed by the Governor in his residence. Thus, by great good fortune under the same roof in Port of Spain, and at the same time, were gathered the men most interested in the active development of the Island and most capable of concerting effective and practical proposals.

The growing importance of the town and the rapid increase in the number of residents led to the erection of a Church (the first Church in Port of Spain) in the year 1781 on the site known now as Tamarind Square. The customary open space before the Church is now occupied by the present Catholic Cathedral, and somewhere on the northern side must have been Government House, which at this period still contained the early equivalent of the modern secretariat.

Still immured in stubborn obstinacy at San Josef, the Illustrious Cabildo finally realised that the inevitable changes of modern economic progress are not to be denied and, nobly swallowing its pride, in 1783 it abandoned the ancient capital and removed to Port of Spain to hold its first meeting there on August 21st of that year.

Port of Spain. 1788-1803.

In 1784 Don Jose Maria Chacon arrived as Governor. The rapid increase of the population, the growing importance of the Island and its great economical development led to the necessity for adequate and appropriate accommodation for the Governor. Wise in his generation, Chacon did not attempt a direct tax for that purpose and so avoided the difficulties of his predecessors. From 1786 he imposed and collected a special additional customs duty of 2½ per cent. on all imports to provide funds for the erection of public buildings. One of these public buildings was a new Government House, which was completed about 1788 and was erected in accordance with the usual practice, on the northern side of the open space before the Church of 1781.

Lionel M. Fraser, in his interesting History of Trinidad (1781-1813), writes of Colonel Picton: "At that time he lived in the house which had been used as an official residence by Governor Chacon. It was situated in the street now known as King Street and near to the south-eastern corner of King and Charlotte Streets. In those days Marine Square,

and the houses and quays to the south of it, did not exist, and where now a double avenue of stately trees affords a grateful shade from the burning rays of a tropical sun there then stretched a long, low, muddy strand dotted here and there with a few huts and hucksters' shops, but which was, nevertheless, named by the grandiloquent Spaniards the Calle Marina."

The Spanish Protocols in the Trinidad Registry of Court refer to the Casa de Gobierno, on the Plaza de la Marina; so also the evidence in the famous case of Louise Calderon shows that the residence of Colonel Picton was on Marine Square. It must have been in the Square opposite to these premises that Colonel Picton had erected the permanent gallows which he used as a terrible sign and portent to revolutionaries and evil doers.

References to Public Buildings scattered through the deeds comprising the Spanish Protocols show that Government House, as stated by Fraser, was near the east corner of Charlotte Street and Marine Square, while the Government Offices were at the south-west corner of Charlotte and Queen Streets, the office of the Contador (Don Manuel Sorzano) was at the east corner of George Street and Marine Square, the office of the Treasurer was on Marine Square, midway between Nelson and Duncan Streets, and the Artillery Quarters were opposite Government House at the west corner of Charlotte Street and Marine Square.

In 1803, on June 15th, Colonel Picton left the Colony and this Government House became vacant,

as the First Commissioner, Colonel Fullarton, had established his residence at 29 Brunswick Square. This house was therefore used as a residence for the Commander of the Forces and was occupied for a time by Brigadier General Maitland. After a short period, however, the house was leased to the Cabildo and used for some years as the official premises of this Illustrious Body.

The building was much neglected and repairs were continually shelved. Certainly the Government was in a difficult financial position in these years due to lavish expenditure during the period of the Commission Government. The Cabildo made repeated complaint and threatened to leave and go to other premises, but without avail; the remonstrances of the Cabildo were ignored and the old Government House was allowed to remain still unpainted and unrepaired.

The Council of Government then suggested that the building should be sold to provide some assistance towards the expenditure recently incurred in new premises for the Governor. The house was therefore put up for sale and was acquired by Messrs. Monier and Peschier Frères for seven thousand dollars, who established their dry goods business in that building. Mr. John Black, a Member of the Council, was authorised to transfer this property on behalf of the Government as from January 1st, 1807, and the deed of transfer describes the premises as 29 King Street with 1 and 2 Charlotte Street. It must be realised that these numbers do not necessarily correspond with the present lots

or numbers, since many changes have occurred in the intervening years.

The lot at the east corner of Charlotte Street was 30 King Street and 29 was the next one to the east along King Street. Lots 1 and 2 Charlotte Street were the first two lots after 30 King Street going north up the east side of Charlotte Street. These premises therefore occupied the whole of the eastern corner for two lots either way, save and except the actual corner lot, No. 30 King Street. The frontage on Charlotte Street was 60 feet and on King Street 30 feet, while the total area was about 6,000 sq. ft.

Within six months of the transfer the whole amount of the purchase price had been paid over to the Government by Messrs. Monier and Peschier Frères while, unfortunately for them, these premises were completely destroyed by the Great Fire of March, 1808.

ARTICLE VII.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE. TRINIDAD. (III.)

PORT OF SPAIN. 1803-1808.

WHEN the Government of Trinidad was put into Commission, the First Commissioner, Colonel Fullarton, lived in Brunswick Square (now known as Woodford Square) and Colonel Picton remained in the old Government House on Marine Square. The Third Commissioner, Commodore Hood, was only resident in Port of Spain for comparatively short periods, being engaged in the intervals in naval duties.

Colonel Fullarton reached Port of Spain on January 4th, 1803, and was housed at first in temporary quarters which had been arranged for him by Colonel Picton. Almost immediately Colonel Fullarton negotiated for permanent premises and he removed with his family on February 3rd into a house which, till then, had been occupied by William Whitmore, the Resident Assistant Commissary of the Army, who had used the outhouses as a Commissary's store. There is on record a very courteous acknowledgment by Colonel Fullarton of the readiness with which Mr. Whitmore accommodated him by removing at short notice.

These premises were 29 Brunswick Square and were situated on land which is now part of the open space leading to the Anglican Cathedral. In these earlier days Chacon Street continued on northwards through the present site of the Cathedral to meet Brunswick Square on the south side. Facing the square, between Abercromby and Chacon Streets, were four lots, No. 28 at the corner of Abercromby Street and the Square, then to the east successively Nos. 29 and 30, and then No. 31 at the corner of Chacon Street and the Square.

These premises at No. 29 had belonged to Hugh Lacoste, who had acted as Assistant Commissary, and as he had owed large debts and was a considerable defaulter to the Crown, his assets had been realised and the Government had taken over the house. The Army authorities then purchased it from the Government for $14,367 and on the arrival of William Whitmore, early in 1801, to take up his duties, these premises, with the addition of No. 30, subsequently purchased, were allotted to him as residence, office and store.

In February, 1803, Colonel Fullarton moved into these premises, which henceforth became known as Government House, and for the period February to June, 1803, there were two official Government Houses in Port of Spain, the one in Brunswick Square occupied by Colonel Fullarton and the other in Marine Square occupied by Colonel Picton.

As is usual, the incoming tenant found many

changes and repairs necessary to suit his convenience and by June, 1803, a sum of $8,043 had been spent on repairs and alterations. As the building was leased from the Army authorities and the Government wished to repurchase it, an agreement was made fixing the same price as at the original transfer to the Army, viz., $14,367, with interest from February. Unfortunately Hugh Lacoste decided now to contest the original proceedings and a settlement of the matter could not be completed until a clear title was obtained. No decision had been given by 1808 when the Great Fire destroyed this house.

Meanwhile, in August, following the instructions of Colonel Fullarton, the adjacent lot, No. 30, was purchased from the Army for $3,000 and in December, 1803, No. 31 was also bought from Florent Tocty. In 1806 No. 28 was also acquired and the whole block of four lots between Abercromby and Chacon Streets were occupied as the residence of the Governor (Colonel Fullarton, followed by Colonel Hislop) and also as Government Offices, until 1808, when the Great Fire of March 24th-25th reduced these premises to ashes, a loss estimated to the Council of Government at $22,000. These premises had a frontage of 260 feet on Brunswick Square and an area of about 26,000 square feet.

Those who would claim that the residence of Colonel Fullarton had been on the north side of Brunswick Square must consider the following

statements in official documents. First, Colonel Hislop reports that his official Government residence was burnt in the fire of 1808; second, Colonel Hislop wrote that he occupied the official Government residence of Colonel Fullarton in Port of Spain; third, the official map of the Great Fire made by the Surveyor General shows that no single house on the north side of the Square was burnt, only those on the south and east sides.

The principal Government Offices which, at St. Joseph, and in the earlier days at Port of Spain, were accommodated in the Governor's residence, with the increase of population and of agriculture and commerce gradually outgrew such restricted limitations, and separate and larger premises had to be made available. During the Spanish period this removal took place to premises at the south-west corner of Charlotte and Queen Streets, or of the Calle San Josef and Calle San Luis, as then known. When Colonel Picton left in 1803 and the premises of Government House on the south side of Brunswick Square were being enlarged, the Council Room and Secretariat were moved from Queen Street to the Square and remained there until the Great Fire.

Belmont Hill. 1803-1820.

The First Commissioner had spent much of his earlier career in India and doubtless had learnt there the art of making himself comfortable in the tropics. He decided that the position and dignity of his post required a suitable country house (at the

expense of the Government) away from the dust and heat of Port of Spain where he could obtain quiet and relaxation from the anxieties and difficulties of his office. For this purpose he selected the premises at Belmont Hill and was in actual residence there as soon after his arrival as February 17th, 1803.

This house belonged to Edward Barry and as such was subject to the famous law suit between Barry and Dawson which had begun in 1785 and was still undecided in 1817. In the year 1803 all Barry's property was in the hands of the Court and this house was being occupied by Don Gaspar de la Guardia, the Trustee and Manager appointed by the Court. This property consisted of 41 acres with some small wooden buildings valued at £400, and the whole was leased to the Government for Colonel Fullarton's occupation for a rent of $100 a month.

At Brunswick Square and at Belmont Hill Colonel Fullarton and his family lived until he left the Island of Trinidad on July 18th, 1803, in order to go to England to pursue his personal and vindictive vendetta against Colonel Picton.

Colonel Hislop, who took over the government from Colonel Fullarton, decided to reside in the same premises in Brunswick Square, and also to occupy Belmont Hill as a beautiful and restful retreat from official duties. After March, 1808, when the Great Fire completely destroyed the Government House and Offices, Colonel Hislop established his permanent official residence at the Belmont Hill premises. He then described the

house as a hut, neither wind nor rainproof and much decayed. He proposed to pull it down and construct a new and more suitable building.

The town of Port of Spain in the intervening years had been rapidly extending, especially to the north and along the St. Ann's Road, so that Belmont Hill in 1808 was not, or did not appear, so far from Port of Spain as in the days of Colonel Fullarton. Being a delightful spot on a hill with commanding views, Colonel Hislop consulted his Council as to purchase and two members, John Nihell and James Rigby, were deputed to examine and report upon the lease of these premises. In accordance with their recommendations Colonel Hislop offered to purchase Belmont Hill provided a clear title could be given so that new buildings could be erected. Unfortunately, this property was still involved in the suit of Barry and Dawson, and until a final decision was given, the ownership was uncertain.

Colonel Hislop continued to live here and extensive repairs continued to be made from time to time. On his departure to England in April, 1811, to take up special military duties, Major General Munro, as Acting Governor, also made Belmont Hill his residence. In November, 1812, Colonel Hislop resigned as Governor of Trinidad in order to go with the troops to India and Sir Ralph Woodford was appointed in his place. He arrived to take up his duties on June 10th, 1813, and also lived at Belmont Hill as the official Government House.

ARTICLE VIII.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE. TRINIDAD. (IV.)

EVEN among the multiplicity of affairs and changes which he initiated and which must have fully engrossed him, Sir Ralph Woodford managed to find time to try and secure a suitable permanent residence for the Governor, owned by the Crown.

In 1814 he was in communication with the Secretary of State and recommended extensive expenditure on public works including a Government House and Offices. It was decided, however, that the financial position of the Government of Trinidad at that time did not justify a large capital outlay. Later in 1814 Sir Ralph Woodford offered £1,500 to purchase the rights of both parties to the law suit in the property at Belmont Hill, but the offer was refused.

As a consequence of difficulties with titles to land in other parts of the Island, instructions were issued for a careful examination into the title to Belmont Hill. It was then found, as in so many other cases in Trinidad, that while the preliminary proceedings to obtain title had been duly initiated by the owner in 1785, no actual official title deed had been issued by the Spanish Government. With the additional knowledge that no written agreement to pay rent was ever made and that £1,200 Currency had been

spent by the Government on repairs and alterations, Sir Ralph Woodford refused the payment of any further rent in respect of the land or buildings at Belmont Hill, and went so far as to claim the property as unalienated land and, in consequence, belonging to the Crown. He furthermore instructed the Attorney General to move the Court to make an order for resumption of this property by the Government.

This was much too easy a solution of the problem. The Heirs of Edward Barry (who had died in 1805) showed and proved by the production of the respective deeds that Belmont Hill had been owned in small parcels by several Spanish proprietors until, in 1780, they were bought out by Monsieur de Riviere, who was one of those persuaded by Monsieur de St. Laurent to come and settle in Trinidad. In 1781 Monsieur de Riviere went further afield and sold the property to Francisco Pasqual de Soler, from whom, in 1784, Edward Barry had acquired it and after the addition of some other parcels of land, had held it ever since. In 1785 Barry had made application for title and the land had been surveyed by J. B. Jaillet; unfortunately, those concerned had not completed the necessary official procedure and the deed was not actually issued.

The Heirs further represented to the Court that Barry and his Heirs had enjoyed twenty-nine years of undisturbed possession and that the Crown itself had actually paid rent from 1805 to 1814. The Attorney General challenged the suggestion that an

uninterrupted occupancy of 29 years gave a prescriptive right and claimed that under the Spanish Law the necessary period was 40 years. Chief Justice Bigge overruled the Attorney General on this particular point and, in addition, gave it as his decision that Edward Barry had a good and valid title.

In truly Gilbertian style the Attorney General, surely with his tongue in his cheek, by due and proper legal process, carried an appeal to the Court of the Intendant of Lands, which Officer in the Spanish days was stationed at Caracas, but was now the Governor of Trinidad. Thus the appeal was brought before Sir Ralph Woodford, who was himself the virtual prosecutor, and, as was not surprising, the Intendant reversed the decision of the Chief Justice and declared that as Barry possessed no legal right to Belmont Hill it relapsed to the Crown.

In March, 1817, not unnaturally aggrieved by the decision of the Intendant, the Heirs of Edward Barry had collected their case and had laid it before the Lords of the Privy Council and had appointed Joseph Marryat, a Member of Parliament, as their representative in London.

Such legal affairs move slowly nowadays, but in the early part of the nineteenth century they moved even more slowly. It was not until August, 1818, that, on the suggestion of the Secretary of State, the Governor of Trinidad decided to lay the whole case before the Solicitors to His Majesty's Treasury in England and to abide by their opinion. In

November these Law Officers gave it as their opinion that a good defence by the Government of Trinidad could hardly be made to the appeal in the face of the repeated recognition of the title by the Government itself and of the length of undisputed possession. They further suggested that even if there might be a good defence under the laws of Trinidad, it was inadvisable in the particular circumstances to defend and that it would be best to attempt a compromise and buy out all claims.

In accordance with this opinion Sir Ralph Woodford, in January, 1819, offered £6,000 Currency (about £3,500-£4,000 Sterling according to the rate of exchange at the time), but Mr. W. H. Burnley, the Trinidad Attorney for the Heirs, refused the offer and demanded £9,100 Currency. As a consequence of this refusal the Attorney General in March informed the Court that the Government relinquished all right and title to the Belmont Hill lands and would forthwith proceed to remove the buildings and improvements at its own expense.

This decision brought the sole Heir, Edward S. Barry, hurriedly to Trinidad in order to repudiate the action of his Attorney and to express regret for the refusal of the Government's offer. Negotiations were reopened in April, 1819, and Edward S. Barry finally accepted £5,157 Currency as full discharge of all claims and rights, £3,757 in respect of rent and £1,400 for all other claims. By 1817 the famous case between Barry and Dawson had reached His Royal Highness the Prince Regent in

Council on a point of law, and as decision had been given in favour of Barry, his Heir was able at last to transport Belmont Hill with a good title to the Government in the latter part of 1819.

Just as the Governor had to move as a consequence of the destruction of the premises at Brunswick Square, so also were new premises required for the Offices. These necessarily had to be situated in the town itself and the Government hired premises situated at the corner of St. James (now Frederick) and Duke Streets from Dr. A. Clarke at a rent of 25 joes (200 dollars) a month and there housed the Council Room, Secretariat, the Treasury and the Surveyor General. In a few years further space was necessary and the Government moved the Council Room and the Secretariat to a house at the north-west corner of Brunswick Square at a rent of 160 dollars a month, while other premises were found elsewhere for the Treasury at 32 and the Surveyor General at 24 dollars a month. The premises at St. James Street were then used from 1813 as a Court House and Judges' Offices.

Dr. Clarke found himself involved in an unexpected difficulty when a claim was made requiring him to give up these premises, which he had bought in 1808 for £2,000 from William Whitmore. This gentleman will be remembered as the Assistant Commissary for the Army from 1801 to 1807, during which period he purchased over twenty properties, some for the Army and some on his own account, but as they were all transported in the

deeds in his own name it is difficult to be certain in every case on whose behalf he acted. After his departure his Attorney was engaged in disposing of some of the properties and amongst others sold these premises, 16 St. James Street with 21 and 22 Duke Street to Dr. A. Clarke, the purchase money of £2,000 to be paid in instalments. In August the payments were completed and the title was vested in the doctor. Meanwhile, apparently himself in doubt as to the actual ownership of the various properties, the Attorney, Mr. Byam Redhead, had by mistake paid over the £2,000 to Army Funds.

Evidently the rigid financial rules of the present day had not been evolved in these early days, and it was not until 1811 that the accounts of Mr. Whitmore came under audit. Serious errors and defalcations were then detected and proceedings were taken against him in the Court of Exchequer in London. The actual amount of defalcation is not known, but Whitmore had provided a bond for £100,000 for good behaviour and this Court issued an order sequestrating all his property as from the date of the defalcations in order to reimburse the Army to that amount.

The provisions of the Spanish Law bound as a guarantee the property of all public officers receiving or collecting the rights of the King, hence Dr. Clarke was faced with proceedings to dispossess him of the property. Similar process was taken against others such as Dr. Alexander Williams, Rachel Jeffers, William Woolward, all of whom had purchased between 1806 and 1808, and also against the

Carapichaima Hall Sugar Estate, in which William Whitmore had a large share.

Dr. Clarke appealed to the Governor and subsequently petitioned the Secretary of State begging that the proceedings should be stayed and that he should not thus arbitrarily be deprived of both the property and the purchase price, especially as the latter had not been received by Whitmore but actually by mistake had been used to provide supplies for the troops. The petition was supported by Sir Ralph Woodford, who pointed out that Dr. Clarke (and the others) could not possibly have been aware at the time of purchase of the defalcations of Whitmore, and that he was worthy of clemency and substantial relief. By 1816 this matter had been finally decided by the Government which, as it required property of this nature, retained the premises and as an act of grace, and also of justice, paid to Dr. Clarke the sum of £2,000 with interest.

ARTICLE IX.

Government House. Trinidad. (V.)

DURING these negotiations about the property of Dr. Clarke, Sir Ralph Woodford in 1814 asked authority to purchase land and erect proper Government Offices but, as in the case of an official residence for the Governor, the Secretary of State decided that the unsatisfactory financial position precluded any extensive public works. By 1816 these financial troubles had been smoothed out and the Governor received approval for the purchase of land for offices, but made it very clear that no pecuniary assistance could possibly be expected from the Treasury of Great Britain. At the same time the Secretary of State withheld permission for actual building until the Anglican Cathedral was nearly completed.

In 1814 the buildings which the Army was erecting at Cocorite (used from 1845-1926 as a Leper Asylum) had been completed and the Ordnance Department removed from its premises on the west side of Brunswick Square to these new buildings. This land in the Square was acquired by the Government and the wooden artillery store on Lot 26 was used temporarily as Government Offices so as to reduce the high expenditure on rent.

Sir Ralph Woodford proceeded rapidly with the

purchase of the lots in the block between the west side of the Square and St. Vincent Street. In January, 1817, deeds were passed for eleven of these lots purchased from Ann Payne, Balbin Darcueil, the Widow Marotte, Filette Flandinette, W. Perry and F. Ducasseau. In February two more were acquired from the Widow Boucaud and Magdalen Smith and the purchase of all the lots was complete by August, 1817.

On this block of land were gradually gathered the various Government Offices and the official buildings, as known to all in Port of Spain up to the time of the fire of 1903, were begun in February, 1844, and opened in November, 1848, by the Governor, Lord Harris.

St. Ann's. 1820.

Now, after all the prolonged negotiations that had taken place, Belmont Hill was at last in the possession of the Government; Sir Ralph Woodford occupied it but a short time longer, since in September, 1820, he left this house and moved into the new Government House at St. Ann's. Thereafter the Chief Justice resided at Belmont Hill, and within a few years about £2,400 Currency had been spent in repairs and improvements to the premises.

Though occupying the House at Belmont Hill for all these years, Sir Ralph Woodford was far from being satisfied with the accommodation, and made repeated complaint. He described it as a hut, neither wind nor watertight, there being scarcely a

dry spot during heavy rain; the floor and joists were decayed and caution was required to walk in safety; in fact the premises were really untenantable.

When, in 1815, the Chief Justice rejected the motion of the Attorney General for the resumption of Belmont Hill by the Crown, the Governor turned his attention to other properties which might possibly be suitable for an official Government House.

In the latter part of the year he advised the Secretary of State that the house and land known as Champs Elysées in the Maraval Valley, and which were conveniently situated near the citadel of Fort George, would make suitable premises and asked for authority to negotiate for its purchase. He reported that the property had a large amount of land which was worn out from over cultivation and only fit for pasturage, and that on it were some old dilapidated buildings. He proposed to erect an entirely new house, which would be facilitated by the presence on the estate of the more important building materials; the balance of land not required could readily be sold for pasturage. He added that there were 80 negroes on the estate, which had a known salubrity of air and an abundance of water. The proprietors were asking $76,000 for the whole property, but the Governor felt sure that they would be prepared to accept $44,000, payable over four years.

In 1779 Monsieur Philipe Roume de St. Laurent was in Trinidad and obtained from the Governor,

Don Martin de Salaverria, a grant of 209 quarrees (670 acres) in the Maraval Valley on behalf of Madame de Charras (née Rose de Gannes de la Chancellerie), who was his mother. She subsequently bought five other parcels of land to enlarge the property and invested over $33,000 in development. When Madame de Charras died, the estate of Champs Elysées came into the hands of Thomas Maturin, Chevalier de Gannes, who administered the property, and of Louis François de Gannes, who lived in Grenada.

Evidently the estate did not prosper, since in 1803 the owners gave instructions to Joseph Marryat, in London, to place the estate of Champs Elysées on the market for sale. No suitable offers appeared and as the estate was getting into still deeper difficulties funds for maintenance were borrowed from time to time on mortgage from Jean de Boissiere and his brother, Elias de Boissiere.

In August, 1816, the Secretary of State signified his approval of this purchase, but Sir Ralph Woodford regretfully had to abandon what he regarded as an excellent bargain because local funds were much reduced by the expenditure necessary to settle the freed slaves brought to Trinidad in Naparima. This settlement had cost £23,000 Currency and the Governor feared to engage the Colony in additional heavy capital commitments. At the end of these transactions, when all hope of purchase by the Government had disappeared, Jean de Boissiere put pressure on the owners of Champs Elysées and

during 1816 Louis François de Gannes and in 1817 Thomas Maturin de Gannes, transferred their half shares in the estate to Jean de Boissiere, who in that year became the sole owner.

In 1818 Sir Ralph Woodford was satisfied that the finances of the Colony had recovered and that the outlook justified a further effort to obtain appropriate premises for the Governor, but Champs Elysées was unfortunately no longer for sale. Negotiations were thereupon opened with the Heirs of Henri Peschier and the property at St. Ann's was purchased. The old estate house was tumbling down and in such disrepair that it had to be largely pulled down and reconstructed. The new framing of this Government House was begun in 1819 and completed in August, 1820, with the assistance of a portion of the buildings at Belmont Hill for the construction of outbuildings.

Sir Ralph Woodford described this new official residence as not yet adequate, but better than anything in the past. He wrote: "I do not offer it as a specimen of taste in architecture or of convenience in arrangement or design, for there was originally not any of either, nor would the cost contemplated admit of such consideration." However, he described the work as rough but substantial. The total cost during 1819-1821 was £13,950 Currency, of which £9,160 was the purchase price of the land and old buildings and £4,790 for the reconstruction.

This "rough but substantial" building with periodical repairs (in 1823 over £2,500 was spent)

continued in use till 1867, when it was destroyed by fire. Money was provided for re-erection, but the Governor of the day, being careful over financial commitments, decided to delay such extensive works and it was not until July 24th, 1873, that the foundation stone was laid for the present Government House at St. Ann's. In 1876 this new building was occupied by Sir Henry Turner Irving, having cost £44,630 sterling.

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ARTICLE X.

The Murder of Don Nicolas Gervasio. (I.)

IN 1729 the Island of Trinidad was quiet and peaceful, since, although the staple crop of cacao was suffering from a blight, the Government was in the hands of a capable and active Governor. Don Agustin de Arredonda had guided the destinies of this Island for the past four years and his efforts to improve conditions both in Trinidad and Guayana had borne good fruit.

As a Lieutenant in the Royal Spanish Navy, he had doubtless often to deal with illegal trading and was familiar with the methods necessary for this purpose, and he had recently been successful in maintaining the sovereignty of Spain at the mouth of the River Orinoco and in excluding the hated Dutch from these favourite and prolific fishing grounds.

Everything pointed to a continuation of peaceful development when, on February 10th, the Governor at San Josef received a letter from the Illustrious Bishop, Don Nicolas Gervasio, which reported his arrival at San Thome, on the River Orinoco, and his intention, as Apostolic Commissary, to establish Missions among the Indians of this river, the Paria Coast and the Caribbean Islands. He claimed the

right to do this by virtue of an Apostolic Bull from His Holiness the Pope.

Dignitaries of the rank of Bishop were very uncommon visitors to these parts; in fact, far too uncommon. Even the Bishop of Puerto Rico, whose duties included pastoral visits to the Island of Trinidad, a part of his diocese, failed to venture on the long and dangerous journey through Carib infested waters save at very rare intervals, and even then sometimes only after receiving direct commands from His Majesty the King of Spain.

The presence of a foreign Bishop in his territory, for the Province of Guayana was then part of the Government of Trinidad, was evidently a matter of great concern, since Don Agustin de Arredonda forthwith summoned in due form at San Josef an Assembly of the Cabildo, conjoined with the highest Ecclesiastical Representatives in the Island. At this Junta this strange event was fully discussed, and finally it was agreed unanimously that the Governor himself should go at once to San Thome to deal in person with the exceptional complications which might well arise.

Accordingly, on March 22nd, 1729, the Governor duly arrived at San Thome and there met the Illustrious Bishop, who presented his papers of authority and identification for inspection. From these it appeared that the Bishop was a Frenchman, being a Canon of Lyons and Titular Bishop of Oran. Included in these documents was a Bull

from Pope Benedict XIII, dated July 27th, 1726, authorising the Bishop to establish Missions; included also was a letter from the Marquis de Champignon, Governor General of Martinique, dated January 8th, 1729, showing that the Bishop had arrived by way of the French Antilles.

Unfortunately, nowhere was the document essential for residence in the Spanish Dominions, a certificate that the permission of the King of Spain had been specifically granted. The Bishop, in his zealous desire to begin his ministrations and perhaps ignorant that such permission was obligatory, had failed to secure it before leaving Europe. The duty of the Governor was plain, and he refused the Bishop any facilities to proceed with his duties and forbade him to found Missions anywhere within his Government.

Anxious, however, to assist the distinguished visitor so far as lay within his power, Don Agustin offered the Bishop the accommodation of a house at San Josef, in Trinidad, where he could wait until the Royal Pleasure should be made known. The Bishop, however, decided to decline this generous offer. He was eager to begin his Missions; he had found insuperable difficulties in other lands, including the French Antilles, and now he had found similar obstructions in the Spanish territories. He thought it best to go still further afield, and he therefore asked for facilities to go to the Dutch Settlements on the Essequibo River, where he hoped for a better reception.

The Governor very readily provided these and on April 21st, 1729, a boat and men were placed at his disposal and Bishop Gervasio left San Thome on his way to the Essequibo River.

With good reason perhaps, the Governor returned to San Josef, in Trinidad, pardonably satisfied that he had dealt tactfully and successfully with what might have been an awkward situation. His peace of mind did not, however, survive many months, since on November 11th the Teniente at San Thome sent to inform him that Aruac Indians had brought the news that the French Bishop Gervasio had been to the Essequibo and even further, to the Surinam, but that at neither place would the Dutch receive him or allow him to begin his religious obligations. Whereupon the Bishop had returned along the coast and had settled on the River Aquire, at the mouth of the Orinoco, and within the Spanish Dominions. The Teniente adds very significantly that his camp is only one day's journey from the Carib villages.

The Bishop of Puerto Rico, Don Lorenzo Pizarro Sebastian, had taken alarm at this unheralded and unauthorised intrusion into his diocese, and instructed Don Agustin to arrest this French Prelate who claimed to be an Apostolic Commissary. This arrest, however, he explained, was to be done with all respect due to his sacred dignity, nevertheless courteously and firmly; the Bishop Gervasio was to be removed from Guayana to Trinidad, there to await the arrival of Don Sebastian, who had forthwith decided to make a pastoral visit.

The Bishop of Puerto Rico also wrote to the King and reported: "This Province is the key to the New Kingdom of Granada, to the Provinces of Santa Fe de Bogota and to the Kingdom of Peru. There are very few inhabitants to oppose any nation which might attack, notwithstanding the forts which it is proposed to erect, so making the passage of the river impregnable and securing the Kingdoms and Royal Dominions of Your Majesty.

"This will be greatly prejudiced were the intrusion of the said Bishop allowed on the pretext of converting the Indians. His expulsion is essential, as experience has shown that his arrival in this said province has brought French vessels there with food and supplies for the said Bishop. This has resulted in contact between the French and the Carib nations of this part of the Orinoco, who trade with the French and other foreigners because of the wine and brandy, to which they are much attracted.

"This trading leads to a sort of alliance against the Missions for the Indians, in which the Capuchin Fathers of the Catalan Province are engaged by the special orders of Your Majesty."

In compliance with the instructions of the Bishop of Puerto Rico, the Governor of Trinidad, Don Agustin de Arredonda, was preparing in April, 1730, to make again the long, dangerous and weary journey up the River Orinoco to San Thome in order to effect the removal of this importunate Bishop when the Teniente in Guayana sent the unwelcome news that the Caribs had risen and

murdered the Bishop and his two Chaplains, captured the two Negroes in his service and destroyed the holy vestments and the other property. The Aruac Indians had brought the news to San Thome, and it was believed to be correct, since these Indians had with them some of the ornaments recognised as belonging to the Bishop. The Aruacs said that they had buried these unfortunate people on the banks of the River Aquire.

The Caribs were an intractable and warlike people; they were proud and dominating and preferred death to subjection. Throughout history the Caribs have always been indomitable and implacable opponents of all invaders. The early Conquistadors, such as Ordaz, Herrera, Sedeno, Juan de Urpin and many others, found in the Caribs valiant and worthy opponents, and only too often the Spaniards suffered disastrous defeats.

In the year 1730 the Caribs had ample reason for revolt. The Cumana Missions, started in 1656, had invaded and settled increasing areas of their lands in Nueva Andalucia and this, in spite of repeated attacks and frequent destruction of the Mission centres. Later in the year 1723 the Capuchin Fathers had re-established their Missions in Guayana, making another focus from which their ancient privileges would gradually be curtailed.

As a final straw the Jesuit Missionary Fathers in November, 1729, had descended the River Orinoco from Casanare and started Missions at Cabrutu, right on the great main highway of the

Caribs—a direct challenge to their free and unrestricted movements up and down the river.

The Caribs are not noted for that union which brings forth strength, but necessity matures many unexpected changes. The Caribs were fully alive to this danger—an increasing and a menacing danger. The crisis, as so often is the case, produced the man, and under this hero, Taguaria, the Caribs were slowly mustering all their strength from every part of the country in order to make an overwhelming attack on the Missions and to break once for all this strangling encirclement.

Into this highly inflammable situation the innocent Bishop Gervasio unwittingly thrust his well meaning efforts, despite the peremptory refusal of Don Agustin de Arredonda, and by an odd quirk of fate he chose to begin his unwelcome missionary work on the River Aquire, close to some of the strongest settlements of the implacable Caribs!!

What could this missionary invasion mean to the Caribs but a deliberate and calculated challenge to their boasted sovereignty? How could they regard it but as an exceptionally welcome opportunity for revenge upon their hated enemies? The opportunity was not one to be missed, and the Caribs fell in full force upon the unsuspecting victims and all perished save some accompanying Aruac Indians, who escaped and carried the news to San Thome.

ARTICLE XI.

The Murder of Don Nicolas Gervasio. (II.)

THE Capuchin Missions were only three days' distance from the site of this Carib outburst and from previous experience the Fathers naturally expected an extension of this violence, so they urged the Governor to come over to Guayana to protect them as their Indians were very disturbed and a serious rebellion was certain unless immediate steps were taken. The Teniente also reported that conditions were serious in Guayana, since even the Spaniards themselves now refused to venture on the river even to fetch provisions and supplies from their farms, because "of the free and impudent way in which these Carib Indians have rejected the obedience promised to the King of Spain."

The King of Spain in due course received the news of this misfortune and was indignant at this insult to the peace of his realm. He ordered "that you should proceed to punish the Indians who have committed these murders. You should proceed with all the care which it is possible to take and adopt such steps against them as may be suitable to this end and requisite to achieve this object and to prevent the recurrence of similar disasters.

"You should report to me by the earliest opportunity offering all that you have done and also all

that you may consider necessary to attain these objects.

"You should prevent any other Bishop or any other person whatever from entering or passing through these dominions unless they are able to produce for this purpose my licence in writing and appropriate despatches."

In compliance with this order, the Governor set out from San Josef in January, 1731, and arrived safely at San Thome. He issued a proclamation requiring all the Caciques of the Carib nations to appear at San Thome, warning those who failed to comply that they would incur the consequences of the Royal displeasure. The response was satisfactory and most of the Caciques attended with large numbers of their people.

This must have been a critical time, but the Governor seemed sure of his ground and held an open conference at San Thome. He warned the Caribs of the grave consequences of this breach of the peace and required them to deliver up to him those responsible for the murder of the Illustrious Bishop. The Caribs all protested their innocence and laid the whole blame on their Chief Taguaria who, they said, had fled with his people to distant and unknown parts.

The Governor, doubtless aware of the value to be attached to such protestations, nevertheless chose to accept their plea and placed upon them the obligation of following the murderers, capturing

them and delivering them over to the Spanish authorities.

The report from the Governor to the King described how the Caribs were so impressed with the Majesty of His Royal Power and the Sanctity of His Piety that they unanimously declared themselves content to accept the protection of His Majesty and no longer to give cause for complaint to the Capuchin Fathers.

Apparently pleased with the harmonious atmosphere of the meeting, Don Agustin adopted the Dutch practice in dealing with Indian Caciques of borderland areas. From the assembled Caciques he appointed territorial Captains to be in charge of selected areas and to each was given a patent in the name of His Majesty, a staff of office badged with silver and some small presents, which, he considered, would add to the pleasure of their obedience to the King.

The Governor little knew that one of the very Caciques whom he had thus selected for signal honour was Araguacare, the accomplice of Taguaria in the infamous murder of the unfortunate Bishop.

Ignorant of this deception, he departed down the river accompanied by Father Benito de Moyo, Prefect of the Capuchin Missions in Guayana, to visit the site of the inhuman attack. At the beginning of December, 1729, a Dutch trader from the Essequibo River, Jan Ravensburg, had been going to the River Aquire to trade with the Caribs when he found the dead body of the prelate and had it

buried in the most reverent manner possible. The Indians had thrown the other bodies into the stream. Jan Ravensburg brought back to Esscquibo certain books and ornaments which he found in the hut nearby, but reported that the plate and other valuables had been carried off by the Indians. Here the Governor disinterred the body of the Bishop, which he brought reverently to San Josef, in Trinidad, where it was buried in the Church of that town.

During 1732 Taguaria was captured and brought to justice, but not by the efforts of the Caribs. The report of the Alcaldes of Trinidad informed the King: "It is well known that he (the Governor) has killed the Indian named Taguaria, a notorious Cacique of the Caribs, with whose death the disturbances in the Province of Guayana have ceased. This was considered as an adequate completion of the Royal Orders, as any further punishment would result in new revolts and troubles in Guayana." This incident is then regarded as closed by the Spanish Officials.

Taguaria, however, had a son, and revenge is regarded not only as a duty but is a virtue in the savage Carib breast, so that by September, 1732, the Teniente at San Thome began to receive reports that Taricuri was assembling the Caribs to ravage the Capuchin Missions in the Lower Orinoco. The blow actually fell elsewhere, since on January 24th, 1733, the Caribs destroyed the Jesuit Missions recently established on the Middle Orinoco at Cabrutu. Further attacks developed on March 29th,

when 27 war canoes, commanded by Taricuri himself, swept down over the same area and completely destroyed the two remaining Missions. Fortunately the Fathers had been withdrawn in time by a special military escort.

Father Josef Gumilla, the well-known historian, was then in charge of these Jesuit Missions and he wrote urgently to the neighbouring Governments asking for protection from these repeated overwhelming attacks and for assistance in maintaining their Missions in that area.

This appeal was duly received in Trinidad and the Alcaldes, Don Antonio de Robles and Don Josef Felipe Navarro, recognised at once the serious danger to all concerned, including the people of Trinidad, should this defiance of the Caribs go unchecked and unpunished and this rebellious spirit spread to the Indians of their own Island.

They summoned a General Assembly of the residents at San Josef, and after due deliberation it was unanimously decided to send an expedition from Trinidad to punish the Caribs in accordance with the Laws of the Indies. The Alcaldes also complained to the King that the Caribs were allied with the Dutch, who taught these savages the use of firearms, instructed them in strategy and even accompanied them and directed them on their larger and more important raids. In return the Caribs supplied the Dutch with Indian slaves, who were thus led to spiritual ruin.

Don Agustin de Arredonda (now no longer

Governor of Trinidad and waiting in that Island for his "residencia" to be completed) was given the command of the expedition, which was composed of sixty-four Spaniards; with them were forty-eight Indians, who went as boat hands and were armed with bows and arrows. In gallant array this expedition left Port of Spain on July 28th, 1733, in numerous boats and canoes, crossed the Bay of Paria and made its way up the River Orinoco to San Thome.

Meanwhile the appeals by the Jesuits to other places had also been answered and other bodies of soldiers converged on this town, so that when Colonel Sucre, Governor of Cumana, arrived there on March 17th, 1734, he found about 500 men at his disposal.

The Governor had come at the urgent request of the people of San Thome, who reported that eleven thousand Caribs were massing to attack them and that everyone was preparing to leave the town and the Missions and emigrate to Trinidad. Colonel Sucre proceeded to make preparations to defend the town, to protect the five Capuchin Missions in the Lower Orinoco, to punish the Caribs and to erect a fort on Fajardo Island (as proposed by the military engineer, Don Pablo Diaz Fajardo) so as to control the waterway and obstruct the free passage of the Carib fleets.

The Governor was also faced with the problem of feeding so many men in so small a town, which could only support 200 men. In spite of supplies

from Barcelona, Trinidad and other neighbouring places, he found it necessary to apply to the hated Dutch, and in September, 1734, obtained four falcas of food and supplies in exchange for horses sent to the settlements on the River Essequibo.

As the Caribs had completely destroyed the Missions which the courageous Jesuit Fathers had established in the Middle Orinoco region and as Colonel Sucre was unable to re-establish or protect them in that area, the Fathers proposed to move lower down the river and establish themselves where protection from San Thome would be easily available and where other and more amenable Indian nations existed.

The Capuchin Fathers had already planted their Missions in the Lower Orinoco and they opposed vigorously any invasion of their sphere of influence. Their Procurador, Fray Josef Antonio de Vique, appealed to His Majesty the King and based his opposition to this invasion by the Jesuit Fathers on the release of any claims on this area which had been given by the Jesuits on June 16th, 1681, when the duty of establishing Missions and converting the Indians there was handed over formally to the Capuchin Fathers, with the approval of the Audiencia of Santa Fe and of the King himself, as shown by his Cedula of February 6th, 1686.

The King allowed this appeal from the Capuchin Fathers and required the authorities to delimit and mark out appropriate areas for each of the Missions in or adjacent to the Lower Orinoco and ensure that

no discord should arise amongst these religious bodies, and that no dispute should dissipate energies which should be devoted to duties of so valuable a character.

This partition duly took place in 1734 at San Thome in the presence of Colonel Carlos de Sucre, the Governor of Cumana, Lieutenant Agustin de Arredonda, recently the Governor of Trinidad, the Very Reverend Father Francisco de las Llagas, Commissario of the Observantins, the Reverend Father Josef Gumilla, Superior of the Jesuit Missions, the Reverend Father Aguila de Olod, Prefect of the Capuchin Missions, the Teniente Vicente Mayano, the Alcaldes, Captains and others.

Meanwhile the Caribs had maintained frequent raids upon the Missions and Colonel Sucre had done his best to protect them and to punish these persistent Indians. While the Spaniards looked for definite attack and defence, or at least hand to hand encounter, the Caribs had learnt how to produce the maximum of damage with the minimum of exposure.

Colonel Sucre by 1735 reported that formal warfare against these Indians was without avail. As he advanced towards them they dispersed and faded away into the illimitable forests, and when he retired to San Thome, they also returned to ravage the Missions. As an experienced soldier he considered that the River Orinoco was the key to any of their major movements, and if this great arterial highway

of the Caribs could be controlled their capacity for destruction would be greatly limited.

Colonel Sucre reported that the temporary fort on Fajardo Island was inadequate, as it could only command one section of this great river and left another undefended. He urged the Government to adopt Angostura (now the site of Cuidad Bolivar) as the most suitable spot for sitting astride the main line of communications, and asked for an early decision to establish a military post there with 150 men. This was approved later and proved a success and finally ended the organised massed attacks of the Caribs for the time being, and a six-year wide-spread revolt of the Caribs came to an end.

The expedition which left Trinidad so gallantly in July, 1733, returned about a year later in 1734. The Alcaldes of Trinidad made a long complaint to the King of the great inconvenience of such operations. A material and active section of the population had abandoned their families and their occupations for about a year to the severe loss and detriment of Trinidad; whereas the result of such extensive effort was highly unsatisfactory. Any punishment of the Caribs had only a short effect and before long the Caribs renewed their depreda-tions. The Alcaldes urged also that preventive measures were necessary and that the only effective check was to control the passage of the River Orinoco by fortification.

The Alcaldes also made representations on behalf of the Indians who went with the expedition to San

Thome. Forty-eight in number, they were drawn from the Missions of San Agustin de Arauca (now Arouca), San Pablo de Tacarigua (now Tacarigua) and from the Partido de Quare (now Caura). They were of the Nepuyo Nation, a part of the Carib stock who had generations before migrated from the Lower Orinoco and settled in the northern part of Trinidad and particularly between San Josef and Matura.

The Alcaldes reported that "These Indians have been unable to prepare and plant their provision grounds to supply themselves and their families and are unable to pay the yearly tribute to Your Majesty.

"This was found out by the Corregidor when he went to collect the tribute and it has caused him to request us to relieve them of the tax for this year as is certified in the minute herewith.

"As this Island is different from other places, being very poor and with but few inhabitants, we have the greater reason to keep the Indians happy and contented, especially these Nepuyos, who are the only Indians who will supply men to oppose the enemies of Your Royal Crown and who are always in the forefront of battle.

"We know well from experience the loyalty and zeal with which they have always served Your Majesty, and to encourage others we did not hesitate to concede the remission of this tribute to those who had gone on the expedition, hoping that Your Majesty will be pleased to approve and order

that we should proceed in future in a similar way and foster the best interests of these Indians."

The Corregidor of these Missions in 1734 was Don Juan Estevan Farfan. He pointed out that these Indians had not been able to obtain the booty they had expected to collect. In due course the King approved the temporary exemption from taxation.

Thus ended this expedition to punish the Indians for the murder of Don Nicolas Gervasio, and this appeared to have been the last occasion on which the Government of Trinidad sent assistance to Guayana, as this Province was henceforth severed from Trinidad and attached to the Government of Cumana.

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ARTICLE XII.

The Slave Insurrections in Tobago. (I.)

(1770-1774.)

THE Island of Tobago was ceded to Great Britain in the year 1763 by the Peace of Paris, and steps then were taken by the British Government to populate and settle it.

Unlike the other ceded Islands, Grenada, St. Vincent and Dominica, Tobago was uninhabited and when it was decided to survey and sell out the available lands in all these Islands to the highest bidders, the Commissioners found in Tobago a tabula rasa without any of the complications of settled inhabitants with genuine or fictitious claims.

On January 19th, 1765, a Proclamation of the Sale of Lands in these Islands was published in Barbados and other neighbouring West Indian Islands. The first deed of sale in Tobago was dated March 20th, 1766, and was for Lot I, Courland Bay Division, of 500 acres, to James Simpson; though he had actually occupied and cultivated these lands from 1765.

During the first year 4,000 acres were sold in Tobago at an average price of £1 0s. 1¼d. an acre; during 1766, 11,096 acres at £1 0s. 2d. an acre; during 1767, 14,975 acres at £1 9s. 2d. an acre; during 1768, 4,632 acres at £1 10s. 4d. an acre;

during 1769, 5,183 acres at £2 15s. an acre; during 1770, 9,362 acres at £5 17s. 7d. an acre and during 1771, 8,160 acres at £4 13s. 11d. an acre.

These land sales were comparatively extensive for an Island the size of Tobago and required the introduction of a material labour force to settle and develop them. This inevitably meant, at that period, the importation of slave labour on a comparatively large scale to do the clearing and cultivation.

These changes developed gradually, since the first sugar was not shipped from Tobago until 1769 (by Mr. Gedney Clarke from Studley Park) and in 1770 there were 78 planters, who had in cultivation some 2,100 acres. Though 5,184 acres had been cleared, the greater part of the lands sold was still covered with woods. In this same year there were 238 Whites (of whom 29 were women, 25 in Scarborough and 184 on the plantations) and 3,093 Negro Slaves (of whom 3,063 were on the plantations).

It was in the year 1770 that the first insurrection of slaves took place, and though L. G. Hay, in his Handbook of Tobago, places this outbreak at Queen's Bay, he is certainly mistaken as accounts written by those present make it clear that this disturbance started at Courland Bay and then spread over to the Mount Irvine and Riseland districts. The following account of this outbreak is based upon the official report from Robert Stewart, President of the Council of Tobago and

Acting Governor (since the death of Roderick Gwynne in 1769), to the Governor General in Grenada.

The exact day when this outbreak began is not mentioned, but it probably started on Tuesday, November 11th, 1770, and was led by Sandy, a slave belonging to Messrs. Hall and Gibb, with whom were associated six other dangerous slaves from adjacent estates. Their intentions were kept very secret and the initial attack upon the small military post at Courland Bay was a complete surprise, and it was only with great difficulty that the Sergeant and his ten men beat them off. In this action the Sergeant and one man were killed and two more wounded, of whom one afterwards died.

The rebels, thus disappointed in their expectation of obtaining at once arms and ammunition, raided the Courland Bay Estate, owned by Messrs. Hall and Gibb, which was also taken completely by surprise and was wholly without defence. At this Estate they obtained thirteen more adherents from the new Negroes, while the older hands refused to join them and remained loyal or at any rate neutral. They captured Mr. Hall, a Member of His Majesty's Council, and after some inhuman treatment by the second in command, Sandy murdered him in cold blood. Then they collected some weapons and ammunition and burnt the buildings.

The insurgents then rapidly moved on the Quarter Estate, owned by Sir William Young. The news of this revolt had already preceded them and here they

met the first opposition, as the Manager had used the time at his disposal in organising what defence was possible. A long range and desultory attack ensued, from which the rebels retired after wounding the negro driver, who afterwards died.

The rebels, finding themselves repulsed, moved on rapidly that evening to Surveyor's Hill Estate (now known as Mount Irvine) owned by Messrs. Leith and Irvine and here again, much to their disappointment, they were met by active opposition, as Mr. John Leith, with the assistance of Mr. Lucas and Mr. Piggott, was determined to protect his property and drive off the invaders. Again fusilades were exchanged and the rebels were preparing to burn and destroy the buildings when a stray shot killed the second in command and the rest, dismayed by this misfortune, immediately withdrew.

The insurgents now began to see failure staring them in the face, with all the terrible consequences. They had hoped to capture the Courland Bay Fort, with its supply of arms and ammunition, but had not succeeded. They had managed to wreak their vengeance on the Courland Bay Estate and obtain a few arms, far too few for their purpose. They had failed to produce any effect at the two following estates; on the contrary, had been easily driven off. They had failed in their next great object, which was to stimulate a general rising of the slaves over a wide area. Actually, by November 12th, they had only succeeded in enlisting thirty-three slaves, of whom about ten were really dangerous characters;

of the rest most were new negroes and a number were women. Fourteen belonged to Messrs. Hall and Gibb (Courland Bay Estate), five to Sir William Young (Quarter Estate in the Courland Bay Division), five to Mr. Hamilton (Riseland Estate in the Rockly Bay Division), four to Messrs. Carew and Brown (Friendship Estate in the Sandy Point Division) and four to Mr. Kennedy (The Cove Estate in the Sandy Point Division).

Finding themselves in this desperate situation and without hope of finding estates unprepared and taking them by surprise, the rebels decided on what might be described as the critical attack, success in which would lead to additional reinforcements and better arms, while defeat would herald the end of the outbreak. After remaining quiet all Wednesday, November 12th, they made a sudden descent that evening about ten o'clock on the Risland Estate belonging to Mr. Hamilton, hoping to sweep all before them in the first onslaught.

The authorities, however, had been actively engaged in concerting suitable measures, and when the news was brought early on the 11th to the Acting Lieutenant Governor, President Robert Stewart, it found him at Scarborough. He immediately warned Captain Patrick Ferguson, who was in charge of the detachment of troops at Fort Granby, which consisted of two companies of the 70th Regiment. Unfortunately the Captain was suffering from severe dysentery, which kept him to his bed during the whole period of the outbreak. He sent

Lieutenant John Sharpe to Courland Bay Fort to rescue the men there and to arrange patrols and to station armed men on the various estates in that area. Similarly Lieutenant John Phipps was sent with men for a similar purpose to the Sandy Point District.

The President himself hurried to the disturbed area and stopped at the Mount Pleasant Estate, belonging to Mr. Campbell. Here on the evening of the 12th was brought the news of this desperate and daring attack on the Riseland Estate.

In addition to the owner and his staff, there were also three soldiers billeted in the house at Riseland, and in spite of this the rebels were still courageously pressing forward. This so alarmed Mr. Hamilton that appeals for help were sent to Mr. John Leith and to Mr. Campbell. The former arrived first and with his people joined actively in the defence, but the rebels still refused to admit defeat or withdraw and maintained their active attack.

The President wrote on the 29th: "I was at Mr. Campbell's, where we had a Sergeant and eight men, and we marched up from thence through the deepest and worst road that can be conceived. It was very dark, but we got up in time to come upon them in the rear before they desisted, which so frightened and dispersed them that I believe they have been only scattered parties since."

In this attack, a desperate and courageous one, Mr. Hamilton himself was wounded slightly in the thigh, while a carpenter, a valuable man, received wounds

of which he afterwards died. Two soldiers were wounded, of whom one died. The rebels lost one killed and several wounded.

This exhibition of force and leadership seriously disturbed the authorities, and, little knowing that it was actually the last desperate effort of the rebels, they feared that it might lead to a general rising far beyond their power to control. By the first opportunity, which was November 16th, the President wrote to the Governor General in Grenada and to the Governor of Barbados asking for assistance in this emergency and especially for a supply of small arms and ammunition, in which they were deficient.

ARTICLE XIII.

The Slave Insurrections in Tobago. (II.)

(1770-1774.)

ON Saturday, November 17th, by good chance, a vessel bound for Florida put in at Tobago for wood and water; amongst other goods on board it had a large quantity of small arms and ammunition. The President managed to persuade the Captain to land these in Tobago and so relieve one of his more urgent difficulties.

Meanwhile the various patrols had managed to surround and capture two groups of rebels, eight in all. On Sunday, the 18th, on Mr. Hamilton's Estate, Riseland, two of the principal offenders were tried, condemned and executed. The evidence in these trials was given by four slaves (two of whom were women) who had been taken prisoner.

On the two following days, November 19th and 20th, the rebels again raided Mr. Leith's Estate, in each case being easily repulsed. They managed, however, on the second night to reach some outlying negro huts and killed a sickly old man, a woman with a child at her breast and wounded another man who were isolated there suffering from yaws.

During the next week gangs of the rebels were

heard in the woods in different places, particularly during the night, but they did not show themselves in the open nor attempt any attack of consequence.

On Wednesday, November 21st, H.M.S. Quebec arrived at Courland Bay. Captain Reynolds, having heard at St. Vincent on the 19th of the trouble in Tobago with the slaves, had immediately made for the Island to give relief. He took over the control of the Courland Bay District, which he patrolled until the 29th, when he had to leave. His assistance in this way enabled Mr. Gibb to return to his estate and to begin to put affairs into order.

On Friday, the 23rd, the President, with Mr. Brown, Mr. Campbell and two others, after a search in the district, were returning to Mr. Campbell's house through the Carnbee Estate at about eight o'clock at night when the rebels fired at them from the house. When the fire was returned the rebels fled and left behind in the house their ammunition and booty.

On Monday, the 26th, the Government sloop Grenville arrived from Grenada at Granby Fort with an additional two companies of troops, military supplies and provisions. Shortly afterwards a vessel arrived from Barbados with a party of volunteers and a supply of arms.

On Tuesday, the 27th, while some of the negroes from Mr. Leith's estate were bringing sand from the seashore, one of the rebels, from behind a tree, shot and killed the driver, one of the best negroes

in the Island. The gang was frightened and ran away, so that in the confusion the murderer escaped.

On this day also a party discovered five dead bodies in the woods. They were believed to be the bodies of those who had destroyed themselves or had been killed by the more desperate to prevent them being taken and giving evidence.

By Wednesday, the 28th, nearly half of the rebels had been accounted for; six had been captured, five found dead, two executed, one returned voluntarily and one was known to have been killed (possibly more). The President wrote: "Sandy, the most daring and dangerous villain, and some others who have been chiefs from the beginning are, I am afraid, still in existence, and we can never be safe until they are either taken or destroyed."

There is no further record of what happened or of the fate of the remainder, except that the patrols were maintained for another month and that Sandy was never captured. He managed to escape across the sea to the Island of Trinidad, where he received protection. Even as late as 1776, William Young, the Acting Governor General, informed the Secretary of State that the Governor of Trinidad still refused to deliver up runaway negroes and "we have the greatest reason to believe that the negro who had murdered his master, a Member of His Majesty's Council, and began an insurrection which had been likely to prove fatal to the establishment of the Colony in 1770, is protected by him."

In due course the authorities in the Colony

began to count the cost of this insurrection and found themselves faced with a public debt of over £2,100, a large amount for the infant colony and a severe tax upon its resources. In this amount were included the cost of relief from Grenada and Barbados, the purchase price of the small arms taken from the vessel en route to Florida and the value of the negroes judicially executed and those lost in opposing and pursuing the rebels.

To meet this debt the Legislature agreed in 1771 to a tax of four shillings currency an acre on all lands granted "subject to a deduction in favour of inhabitants actually carrying on settlements, by whose industry the owners of unsettled lands had their possessions every day increasing in value without contributing anything to the good of the community." This deduction for every resident proprietor was £30; for his wife £20; for each of his children not under twelve years £15; for each white man servant £15 and for each white woman servant £10. The total sum collected was £5,274, of which £2,200 went to meet the expenses of the insurrection, £2,100 for the construction of public roads and the rest for the immediate expenses of the Colony.

The authorities were equally concerned with steps to resist internal disorders and external aggression. The recent outbreak had shown how inadequate were the two companies of soldiers for any practical defence and had shown how easily indeed the Colony of Tobago could be taken and ravaged by a comparatively small body of determined men.

They at once petitioned the Governor General and the Home Government for six or at least four companies of troops, and well aware that other more imperative claims might render this impossible and that at the best any additional garrison could only arrive after a long interval, they proceeded to organise at once an active voluntary Militia, which later became compulsory as soon as the necessary Ordinance could be passed and approved by the Government.

It was fortunate that this body was raised and equipped early, since only six months later, in June, 1771, a second insurrection of slaves took place, starting on Mr. Fowler's Estate in Bloody Bay.

On June 7th at two o'clock an old negro came to Parlatuvier Bay and informed Mr. Rogers, the Manager of that estate, that the slaves at Bloody Bay had risen at noon that day and murdered the Owner and Manager.

On Saturday, the 8th, Mr. Rogers and his Overseer, Mr. Marr, went in a boat to see if the information was correct, but they could not land in Bloody Bay as the negroes appeared with arms upon the point. As they were fired upon they turned round and rowed to Castara Bay, where they discussed this outbreak with Mr. Mackenzie, the Manager of Captain Ferguson's Estate. They concluded that the blacks would have found in the Manager's house twelve stand of arms, two pairs of pistols, one blunderbuss, two kegs of powder and a great quantity of buck shot.

On Sunday, June 9th, Mr. Rogers travelled to Little Rockly Bay (near Lambeau) and arrived there at five in the afternoon and reported all the circumstances to the Lieutenant Governor, William Young, who immediately set out for Granby Fort. On Monday morning at eleven o'clock he embarked on a small schooner with ten soldiers from the garrison and sailed for Bloody Bay. The current was unfavourable and he was unable to get there before Tuesday evening when he found that thirty-eight out of the forty-two negroes on Mr. Fowler's Estate had left it, after having killed the Overseer (the Owner had been absent) and that they had taken with them a great quantity of clothing, provisions, arms and ammunition.

ARTICLE XIV.

The Slave Insurrections in Tobago. (III.)

(1770-1774.)

ABOUT an hour later Messrs. Hamilton, Gordon, Balfour and Alexander Campbell arrived as volunteers to assist in dealing with this revolt. Mr. Hamilton, being very well acquainted with this part of the country, on Wednesday, the 12th, led the detachment up the river (along the line of the present Bloody Bay to Roxborough road) and traced the rebels on to the central ridge of mountains, where they found the negroes in a camp consisting of seven houses, which appeared to have been there for some time, inhabited by other runaways.

The Lieutenant Governor and his party immediately formed up for the attack and they were so near each other that after a mutual exchange of fire the Lieutenant Governor ordered a bayonet charge without stopping to reload. The slope of the hill near the houses was so steep and so close that in a moment the rebels had disappeared over the edge out of sight. Mr. Campbell was wounded in the breast and thigh but no one else was touched.

The party burnt the clothing and provisions, destroyed the houses, arms and ammunition and took away with them one keg of powder to fill cartridges for the soldiers and any volunteers who

might come to Bloody Bay to help in the pursuit of the rebels. It was believed that the destruction of this camp would deprive the rebels of their base and supplies and it would be only a matter of time before they would have to give themselves up or starve.

The Lieutenant Governor therefore settled down at Bloody Bay and on Friday, the 14th, went along the coast to warn the other estates to be upon their guard and prevent any rebels stealing provisions from their grounds. Mr. Hamilton again led a party up to the Ridge and again met the slaves. After exchanging shots the negroes fled into the woods and while trying to follow them Mr. Hamilton had the misfortune to lose a valuable negro, killed by a musket shot.

On receiving this news the Lieutenant Governor decided to force the issue by intensifying the pursuit and went up to the Ridge on Saturday, the 15th, and built some temporary huts for shelter. There he remained with Messrs. Guise, Phillips and Gibb, with other volunteers and a detachment of negroes.

On Sunday, the 16th, the Lieutenant Governor sent out two parties. One, under Mr. Guise, searched the woods to the east and by the evening had come out at Mr. Stewart's estate at Queen's Bay. The other, under Mr. Phillips, the Surveyor, searched to the south and came out on Mr. Campbell's estate at Prince's Bay (near Roxborough). Both parties had failed to make contact with the rebels.

The Lieutenant Governor was persistent and remained on the Ridge for five days and only then returned to Bloody Bay, on the 20th, because Mr. Gibb reported information from two negroes who had been captured that the runaways were ready and willing to return. There he met Mr. Fowler, who had just come back from Barbados. Satisfied that all serious danger was past the Lieutenant Governor returned to the Windward side of the Island and left six soldiers with Mr. Fowler.

As expected, on Saturday, the 22nd, eight of the rebels surrendered and informed Mr. Fowler that they, as well as others, had been forced to remain away by the ringleaders. The return of all those not principally concerned was now confidently expected, and as in the case of the last insurrection the final fate of those still at large is not mentioned.

The Governor General, Robert Melville, in reporting this outbreak to the Secretary of State, wrote, "but by the quick and judicious measures of Lieutenant Governor Young against them, they were so speedily routed and dispersed into the woods as to be prevented from doing further mischief, and it is thought those which are out and do not exceed thirty will soon perish or submit."

Again serious expenditure had been involved and again a special tax had to be levied to raise adequate funds. This tax was increased to five shillings currency an acre on all lands granted before May 15th, 1771, subject to deduction of £15 for each proprietor and each of the white servants who

were actually resident upon the respective plantations between October 1st, 1770 and 1771. About £9,500 was raised.

No further serious outbreak occurred until 1774. On March 10th in this year forty-eight slaves, belonging to Sir William Young and the late President Stewart on their estates at Queen's Bay, rose in rebellion. This rising was also sudden and unexpected, and at the first onslaught three of the eight white men on the two estates were killed, while the other five managed to escape.

The slaves wreaked their will upon the properties, destroying and burning some of the buildings until, the first frenzy having passed, they began to consider the consequences. They took six serviceable firearms, a barrel of powder and some shot and retired to the woods.

The news soon spread and the Militia were mustered immediately to prevent any extension of the insurrection to neighbouring estates. Meanwhile the Licutenant Governor, William Young (who had also dealt with the last outbreak) acted promptly and brought to the scene a strong party from His Majesty's 48th Regiment at Granby Fort.

The procedure resembled very closely that adopted on the opposite side of the Ridge in 1771. Various parties were formed and traversed the woods in different directions to track out these unfortunate people.

The inevitable result followed and in the course of a week two had been killed in a skirmish, two

had been found dead from wounds, two had hanged themselves and thirty had surrendered or been captured, among whom were the principal offenders. The other twelve still at large were expected to come in soon.

In addition the Governor General in Grenada, hearing of this outbreak, had sent an additional company of the 48th. They arrived after the outbreak had been quelled and were returned without even landing.

The sequel to this rebellion is recorded in Hay's Handbook on the authority of William Mathison's Tobago Almanack of 1849. It would appear that charges of murder and destroying property were brought against seven of the principals, who were executed. Their right arms were chopped off and then they were burnt to death, while the ringleader, Sampson, was hung alive in chains and took seven days dying. A savage judgment indeed, but no more so than those enacted in England at that time.

The Legislature met on April 7th, 1774, not, however, on this occasion to raise additional revenue, but to place the position of the Island before His Majesty the King by petition. The Council and Assembly joined in relating the circumstances of the recent insurrections of the slaves and in referring to the great losses incurred not only by additional expenses but also by the loss of valuable lives and the disturbance and interruption of plantation work.

They related how they "began their settlements

and put on a great number of slaves; but from the unhealthiness of the country and the want of accommodation, they generally lost the first white men they sent and found it difficult to replace them.

"By these measures the Island became insensibly overstocked with slaves in proportion to the number of white inhabitants (over twenty to one in 1774) and from these circumstances, as well as from the nature of our woody country (which affords concealment and sustenance for runaway slaves) have arisen all the insurrections which have cost us so much trouble and expense and which for some time retarded the settlement and even seemed to strike at the very existence of the Colony itself."

They ended by invoking the "immediate exertion of Your Royal Bounty" so as to furnish them with defence from external attack. They also asked for aid in establishing the necessary roads of communication, erecting churches, a court house, prison and other public buildings.

In the year 1775, on August 12th, the Council and Assembly forwarded another petition, this time to the Secretary of State and the Lords of Trade and Plantations. In this they repeated their representations of a year previous and stated that they were still paying off the debt incurred by the slave insurrections.

They again urged that the people of Tobago were exhausted by repeated losses and expenses and that it was impossible to continue longer unless the Government were prepared to supply additional

defence against the attacks of privateers and assistance towards erecting public buildings. The petition asked in addition for a suspension of payments due by instalments to the Crown upon lands sold "or such other encouragement (such as to Your Lordships it shall seem meet to advise) whereby new settlers can be invited to this declining Colony."

From this time forth, at any rate for about thirty years, the relations of masters and slaves, despite the extraordinary happenings in neighbouring French Islands and despite imported propaganda, appeared to have been harmonious and free from serious insubordination.

In the year 1792 Sir William Young, visiting Tobago (then in French hands), was able to write: "Indeed the Negroes are generally treated as favourite children by their masters in Tobago.

"The necessities of the Island have demanded the residence of the planters, and the critical state of the French Government and the wild notions and conduct of the French people in the Colonies have brought the old English settlers in Tobago and their Negroes to a system of reciprocal regard and mutual determination to resist particular wrongs or a general attack. The planters here talk of the Negroes as their resort to be depended on against either a licentious garrison, an arbitrary Governor or the mad democracy of French hucksters."

Moreover a Committee of both houses of the Legislature of Tobago in the year 1799 wrote a

remarkable report on Negro Slavery and its amelioration, in which were incorporated all the best principles which, seventy to eighty years later, extended experience of Indian Indentured Immigration to the West Indies had shown to be reasonable and necessary.

This report was later printed by command of the House of Commons and is said to have had great influence on its debates at that period. It was certainly framed and dictated by men of humane character and very liberal minds.

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INDEX

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FOUNDED : JUNE 23rd, 1932

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Objects

Publications

Form of Application for Membership

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