

CAMBRIDGE LIBRARY COLLECTION

Books of enduring scholarly value

History

The books reissued in this series include accounts of historical events and movements by eye-witnesses and contemporaries, as well as landmark studies that assembled significant source materials or developed new historiographical methods. The series includes work in social, political and military history on a wide range of periods and regions, giving modern scholars ready access to influential publications of the past.

The History of the Maroons

Born in Jamaica, Robert Charles Dallas (1754–1824) was a prolific author in a variety of genres, dedicating all of his work to 'the defence of society and reason against Jacobinism and confusion', having been forced to leave his residence in France by the Revolution. Despite 'an ardent tendency in my heart to disapprove the slave-trade', *The History of the Maroons*, published in 1803, offered a qualified acceptance of the institution of slavery in a fallen world, and addressed criticisms of planters' behaviour and the government's conduct against the rebellious Jamaican Maroons – runaway slaves who formed their own communities in the West Indies. They settled the mountainous inland areas of Jamaica and resisted assimilation by the British; two Maroon Wars were fought in the eighteenth century. They were deported by the British to Canada and then to Sierra Leone, but many returned to Jamaica, where they remain.



Cambridge University Press has long been a pioneer in the reissuing of out-of-print titles from its own backlist, producing digital reprints of books that are still sought after by scholars and students but could not be reprinted economically using traditional technology. The Cambridge Library Collection extends this activity to a wider range of books which are still of importance to researchers and professionals, either for the source material they contain, or as landmarks in the history of their academic discipline.

Drawing from the world-renowned collections in the Cambridge University Library, and guided by the advice of experts in each subject area, Cambridge University Press is using state-of-the-art scanning machines in its own Printing House to capture the content of each book selected for inclusion. The files are processed to give a consistently clear, crisp image, and the books finished to the high quality standard for which the Press is recognised around the world. The latest print-on-demand technology ensures that the books will remain available indefinitely, and that orders for single or multiple copies can quickly be supplied.

The Cambridge Library Collection will bring back to life books of enduring scholarly value (including out-of-copyright works originally issued by other publishers) across a wide range of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences and in science and technology.



The History of the Maroons

From their Origin to the Establishment of their Chief Tribe at Sierra Leone

VOLUME 1

ROBERT CHARLES DALLAS





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paolo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo, Mexico City

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108024143

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2010

This edition first published 1803 This digitally printed version 2010

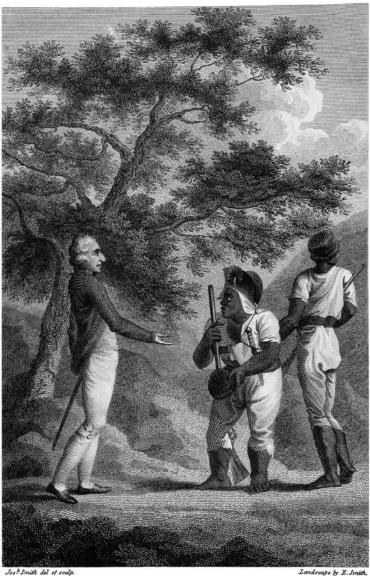
ISBN 978-1-108-02414-3 Paperback

This book reproduces the text of the original edition. The content and language reflect the beliefs, practices and terminology of their time, and have not been updated.

Cambridge University Press wishes to make clear that the book, unless originally published by Cambridge, is not being republished by, in association or collaboration with, or with the endorsement or approval of, the original publisher or its successors in title.

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-02414-3 - The History of the Maroons, Volume 1 Robert Charles Dallas Frontmatter More information



Landscape by E. Smith.

Old Cudjoe making peace O.

Letter 2

Published for Longman & Rees April 5.1803.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

MAROONS,

FROM THEIR ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT

OF THEIR CHIEF TRIBE AT

SIERRA LEONE:

INCLUDING THE

EXPEDITION TO CUBA,

FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROCURING SPANISH CHASSEURS;

AND THE

STATE OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA

FOR THE LAST TEN YEARS:

WITH A

SUCCINCT HISTORY OF THE ISLAND

PREVIOUS TO THAT PERIOD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

By R. C. DALLAS, Esq.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY A. STRAHAN, PRINTERS-STREET,
FOR T. N. LONGMAN AND O. RBES, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1803.



TO THE HONOURABLE

WILLIAM DAWES QUARRELL,

OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAIGA.

My DEAR SIR,

Dedications, in my opinion, should be devoted to the gratification of an author's feelings; either as marks of private affection, or as tributes to public merit. When I have an opportunity of combining both these objects, I cannot consent to forego it. Your desire that I should, for the advantage of the A 2 work,



(iv)

work, inscribe it to some person in this country of greater influence than yourself, does you more honour than can be derived from a dedication; but as I have all the honour of it in view for myfelf, I know not how better to fecure it, than by prefixing to these volumes the name of one whose exertions have been publicly acknowledged to have faved his country, and whose friendship for myself has outlived the united attacks of time, absence, and adverfity.

Your having had so important a share in the transactions I relate, and



(v)

and your having furnished me with fo large a portion of my materials, are additional reasons for my requesting your acceptance of a work, which without your assistance and encouragement would never have appeared.

I am, my dear Sir,

With the highest esteem,

And warmest affection,

Your sincere friend,

R. C. DALLAS.

London, March 1st, 1803.



CONTENTS.

PREFACE.

SUCCINCT HISTORY.

LETTER L

Subjects proposed.—Brief Account of the State of Jamaica at the Commencement of the French Revolution.—Prosperity.—Agriculture.—Trade.—Population.—Military Force.—Slavery.—Consolidated Act.—Affairs of St. Domingo.—Emigrations from that Island.—A Tribute of Gratitude and Admiration.—Overtures of the St. Domingo Planters to the British Ministry.—Expedition in Consequence, and Force detached from Jamaica.—All Manner of Slavery abolished by the French.—General Williamson, Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, succeeded by Earl Balcarres,—Page 1

LETTER II.

Jamaica relinquished by the Spaniards.—Spanish Slaves left.—Juan de Bolas.—Origin of the Maroons.—Clarendon Insurrection.—The Depredations of the Rebels.—They elect Cudjoe their Chief.—The Maroons increase in Number.—Division of the Cottawood Party.—A Body of them join Cudjoe.—The whole Party united



(viii)

united under him.—Keneuffees.—Cudjoe joined by the Madagascars.—The Appellation of Maroons extended to Cudjoe's Party.—Their Mode of obtaining Arms and Ammunition.—General Interest established among the Maroons of the different Parts of the Island.—The Government establishes advanced Posts.—Musquito Indians employed.—Cockpits described.—Maroon Mode of War.—Cudjoe changes his Position.—Increases the Party under his brother Accompong.—Progress of the War.—The Government makes formidable Preparations.—Determines first to offer Terms of Peace.—Guthrie and Sadler march to Cudjoe's Town.—Russel sent in.—Description of Cudjoe.—Peace concluded.—Copy of the Treaty, ——Page 22

LETTER III.

Party sent to discover the Windward Maroon Town under Quao.—Burn some Huts.—Ambushed.—Party under Captain Adair sent to negotiate Peace with Quao.—Description of the Windward Maroon Settlement.—Savage Spirit of Revenge.—Dispute between the Regulars and Militia.—Peace concluded.—Difference in the Articles of the Treaty and those of Cudjoe's, - 66

LETTER IV.

Maroon Towns.—Trelawney-Town described.—The Perfons of the Maroons.—Perfection of their Senses.—Distant Communications by a Horn.—Smell and Taste.— Language.—Superstition.—Government of their Chiefs. 4—Office



(ix)

-Office of Superintendant. - Laws relative to the Maroons. - Neglect of Regulations. - Existence of the Maroons as a distinct Body. - Useful to Individuals and the Public. - Provision. - Grounds and Produce of their Tillage. - Food. - Stock. - Traffic. - Marriages. - Daughters. - Reception of White Visitors. - Funerals. - Observation on the Difference of the Towns. - Population, - Page 78

LETTER V.

Causes of the Maroon War .- Previous Occurrences .- Description and Character of Major John James .- Old Montague. - Major James negletts the Office of Superintendant. - Superfeded by Captain Crafkell. - Infubordination of the Maroons.—Hopes placed on Lord Balcarres.— Craskell driven from the Maroon Town. - The Punishment of Two Maroons by the Hand of a Slave. - Infolent Letter from the Maroons to the Magistrates of St. James's. -The Trelawney Militia proceed towards the Maroon Town .- Smith's Meffage. - Mediators go up to the Town.—Their Reception and Proceedings.—The Refult of the Meeting.—Sensation produced in the Capital.— Opinions respecting an immediate Accommodation.— Peaceable Disposition manifested by the Maroons.—Their Humiliation and Submission .- The Militia discharged, and Regulars recalled .- Observations,

LETTER



(x)

LETTER VI.

The Maroon Captains set out for the Capital.—Alarming Reports .- Martial Law .- Murenfon's Declaration - The Lieutenant-Governor fets out for Treluwney. -The Success Frigate recalled .- The Maroon Captains arrefled .- Proclamation .- Post at Wemys Castle .-Lord Balcarres establishes his Head-Quarters at Vaughan's Field. - State of the Marcons. - Johnson and Smith called in .- Their Settlements burnt .- Surrender of a small Body of Maroons .- Their Reception. -Palmer and Parkinson sent back to Trelawney Town. -The Maroon Towns burnt .- Ferment of the Public. - Force collected. - Commencement of Hostilities. - Colonel Sandford advances to the Scite of the Old Town. - Consequence. - Colonel Gallimore killed. -The Marcons retire to Guthrie's Defile .- Progress of the War .- Dunbar, the Maroon .- The Troops take Possession of the Scite of the Old Town.-Chambers, the Accompany, shot .- A select Party of young Men offer to go in Pursuit of the Marcons .- Why rejected .- Major James leads a Party to the Entrance of Guthrie's Defile.—He is infulted by Mistake, -Page 166

LETTER VII.

Plan of Operations.—Command given to Colonel Fitch.—
General Reid advances with the Militia to Vaughans,
field.—Parley between Colonel Fitch and the Marcons.—
Dunbar and Harvey fuffered to visit the Marcon Pringeners in Montego Bay Harbour.—Consequence.—Party
protesting



(xi)

protesting working Slaves ambushed.—General Animosity of the Slaves towards the Maroons.—Lieutenant Tomlinson.—Colonel Fitch and a Party go to Lee's Post.

—The Party ambushed.—Brisset and others killed.—Colonel Fitch killed.—Captain Lee mortally wounded.—Character of Colonel Fitch.—Lord Bolcarres's Speech.—Murenson and Count La Fitte brought before the House of Assembly.—The former denies every Part of his Declaration.—The House of Assembly recommend to Lord Balcarres, that they and all the French be sent off.—Grant to Lord Balcarres during Martial Law.—Grant to the Accompong Maroons.—Two Companies of Free People of Colour raised.—Rewards for killing or taking a Trelawney Town Maroon.—State of the War.—Gloom cast over the Island,—Page 211

LETTER VIII.

General Walpole appointed to the Command.—His System.

—His first Operations.—Godly's Post attacked.—Lieutenant Richards engages a Party of the Maroons.—

Fatal Error of his Serjeant.—General Walpole establishes Posts to the Eastward and Southward.—Arrival of a Reinforcement.—Colonel Skinner.—Stores and Coffee Houses at Nairne, and the Works at Amity Hall, burnt by the Maroons.—The Maroons, dislodged from the Cockpit at Guthrie's, take possession of another.

Forced to retreat.—Take a Position on a Height.—Driven from it.—Establish their Head-Quarters in Ginger Town Bottom.—Post at Guard Hill.—John-sow's Activity, and arbitrary Disposition.—Surprised,



(xii)

and compelled to fly.—A Party of Brown Men fall in with the Maroons.—Gallantry and Zeal of the Regiments of Militia in general.—Action between Captain Drummond and Johnson.—State of the Public Mind.—Council at Falmouth.—Petition of the Maroon Prifoners.—General Anxiety for a Termination of the War,

Page 233



PREFACE

THE magnitude of the objects which have engaged the attention of the world during the last thirteen years; the revolution of empires, the destruction of states, the extinction of whole classes of men, the alteration of established customs, the facrifice of millions of lives, the general convulsions throughout the earth, the terrific though unavailing ambition of groveling upstarts, the unnatural policy and feeble efforts of the most powerful governments, the wonderful exploits of British arms in every quarter of the globe; the return of France to absolute authority, and the extraordinary feats and good fortune of the man who, big with the intent of Cæsar croffing the Rubicon at the head of the flower of the Roman armies, croffed the Mediterranean without a foldier, and feized upon the empire; have accustomed the minds of men to gigantic contemplations. We have Vol. I. feen a



(ii)

feen a pious and beneficent monarch perish on a scaffold; another, virtuous, ardent, and heroic, publicly affaffinated; a third, privately put to death; a fourth and fifth, chased from their capitals; and a fovereign Pontiff torn from St. Peter's chair, hurried into foreign lands, and dying in captivity; a Queen, bereft of her crown. thrust in tatters into a common jail amongst the vilest of criminals, kept awhile alive on the forriest food, and at last, with an heroic firmness becoming a Queen, yielding her life to the public instrument of execution. We have feen a chain of opposed armies extending from the north to the fouth of Europe; the navy of a small island blockading all the ports of all the maritime powers; a. Russian issuing from his frozen region, chasing victorious armies before him through Italy, and fcowering the Alps: and an Englishman blowing up navies, one after the other, beneath the line and at the pole; in fine, we have feen all the passions in a tempest, and nature herself struggling against the chaos which threatened her very existence. But the contemplation of stupendous objects, far from disqualifying



(iii)

the mind for the relish of less extensive views, heightens its fatisfaction in them, as the eye, after poring over the unbounded expanse of the ocean, is relieved and delighted by a streamlet and a dell. raged by this reflexion, I undertook, at the request of a friend, to write the history of a fhort war, carried on by the government in Jamaica, against the body of black people called Maroons, long established in the interior of that island; a subject I the more readily adopted, not only on account of its uncommon nature, but because the result of the contest was of great importance to the colony. My task, however, would have been very brief and incomplete, had I confined myself to the events of the war; a war in which ambition, aggrandizement, and the usual incentives to hostility, had no part; but which originated in private refentment on one fide, and was profecuted on the other from the necessity of fettling the internal fecurity of the country: I have, therefore, thought it proper to extend my plan, by including in it the whole hiftory of the Maroons, the expedition to Cuba for the purpose of obtaining Spanish chasseurs, a 2



(iv)

chasseurs, and an account of the state of Jamaica since the French revolution, by which I hope the whole subject has been placed in a clearer and more interesting light.

When I fay that it is of an uncommon nature, I am not ignorant of the notice that was taken of it in parliament, nor of the account given by Mr. Edwards; but it does not appear to have been understood or detailed. Far be it from me to speak lightly of the works of Mr. Edwards; I shall only observe here, that I have been able to derive little or no affistance from the curfory narrative published by him in the year 1796. Confulting it, as incumbent upon me, I found very few of the particulars which I purposed to detail; and faw, with some pain, that in those few, my information did not concur with his: a circumstance that renders it doubly necessary for me to state the authorities on which the following pages are founded. The gentleman, to whom I have dedicated the work, and who was indeed the friend that fuggested it, is the chief source of my information;



(v)

ation; an authority that will have full weight when it is known that he ferved in the Maroon war; that he was the commiffioner fent to Cuba for the Spanish chasseurs; and afterwards the commissary entrusted with the removal of the Maroons from Jamaica to Nova Scotia, where he remained some time with them; that he has a considerable property in Jamaica, where he was a member of the House of Assembly at the time of the war, and is now a member of the Council. The conversations I had with this gentleman, convinced me that the fubject would be highly interesting to the public; and I found it a duty, as well as a pleasure, to comply with his desire. To make myself master of the subject, I not only repeatedly talked with him upon it, but I requested and obtained copious notes; and I wrote the greater part of the book while we were under the same roof. The notes were fo full, that I wished him to arrange and publish them under his own name; but to this he was averse, and I therefore undertook the task. While, however, I fortify myself with his authority and friendship, I must not leave him exposed to any a 3 cenfure



(vi)

the language, observations, and reasonings I have to answer; though, of the two last, I own I have adopted much from him. Mr. Quarrell was indeed but too scrupulously anxious not to be personally made prominent: he requested, where it was necessary to speak of him, to be mentioned as commissioner or agent, and forced me to draw my pen through passages which he thought complimentary, and some of which, since his departure from England, I have restored.

After the manuscript was sent to the press, it was my good fortune to be introduced to Mr. Robertson, who had just arrived from Jamaica for the purpose of publishing the highly finished maps of that island which he had completed under the patronage of the Assembly of the country. These maps are now in the hands of the engraver, Mr. Neil, and are acknowledged by all acquainted with Jamaica, to whom they have been shown, to be not only of very superior execution, but of striking accuracy. I had been furnished

by



(vii)

by Mr. Quarrell with a small sketch of the feat of the last Maroon war, which he had himself penciled from imagination: this I showed to Mr. Robertson, who was highly pleafed with the powers of recollection it displayed; but, having minutely surveyed the spot, as will be feen on his large maps, he kindly undertook to draw a precise plan of it, with which my readers cannot but be highly gratified. Nor is this the only obligation I am under to Mr. Robertson; who, having ferved as an officer in the Maroon war, enabled me to extend my detail of the events in which he personally shared, and who also favoured me with a journal written by Dr. Tate, of the last expedition into the woods with the Spanish chasseurs, which terminated the war.

Clear and certain as are these sources, I have not confined myself to them, but have always had recourse to the acts of the Legislature, and to the journals of the House of Assembly for whatever they contain relative to my subject. If any passage implies information that could be gained only from the Maroons themselves, let it be remem-



(viii)

bered, that for more than two years the commissary who went with them to Halifax in Nova Scotia, had frequent opportunities of converling with them, of observing their character, and of judging of the truth of their affertions. If I have not caught the zeal of Edwards, in painting these people as tygers; if I own that I have read of more favage casts, and that I have known fome distinguished by complexions less dingy, more barbarous; and if I allow them the portion of defert which appears to me their due; I trust I shall not therefore be mifunderstood, and proclaimed the apologist of their rebellion: my opinion respecting it is fully stated at the conclusion of the fifth letter. Having formerly refided some years in the island of Jamaica, the subjects of this work are far from being new to me: and, with the affistance that has been afforded me, I flatter myfelf that I may, with confidence, lay it before the public. It is of the execution alone I am diffident. The reader, who has been accustomed to the pure diction of a Robertson, and the energytic style of a Gibbon, becomes nice in the language of history; whoever



(ix)

whoever pretends to tread their paths, should remember their powers, and fully weigh his own: therefore, although my task is of an historical nature, I was ready to persuade myself that it was one that did not require all the dignity of history, and I was glad to take shelter under the ease and familiarity of epistolary writing.

To render the work complete, I have prefixed a general history of Jamaica, previous to the period of the French revolution; and I have thrown into an appendix, such papers as I thought necessary for elucidation. The fuccinct account of Jamaica prior to the revolution it was my intention to have compiled from the best authorities, while the body of the work was going through the press; but, being visited by Providence with an affliction that suspended my application, and rendered me for a confiderable time unable to purfue my work, I requested a friend, to whose sympathy and kind attentions I am indebted for much consolation, to undertake the previous history. He has composed it with a spirit that is only equalled by the ardour of his kindness.



(x)

kindness. To give a general knowledge of the country to which the subjects of these volumes relate, was the object in view; and this he has accomplished at once so concisely yet so completely, so elegantly yet so simply, that I am highly gratisted in thinking the reader will have gained by my having transferred the composition of it to the pen of Mr. Cutting*.

There is fomething in the explanatory nature of a preface which occasionally calls upon a writer to mention himself to the reader: this is expected, and for this he is forgiven. But I have in the body of the work been led to admit a paffage which, though totally irrelevant, my feelings would not allow me to separate from the points relative to my subject. allude to a letter, which will be found in the following pages, and which I received from the Bishop of Meaux, in answer to one I wrote to him respecting the propagation of Christianity among the negroes by the French missionaries. I was too much gratified with the beginning of his

* John Browne Cutting Efq. of Boston, in America..

letter



(xi)

letter to omit it; but, though I am sensible of the egotism, I will not beg pardon of my readers, lest I should happen to offend by an affectation of extenuating what a feeling mind may think stands in no need of pardon. Proud of the friendship of the Bishop of Meaux, I wished much to speak of him in my preface, and to express the sentiments with which he has inspired me; but he has forbidden me to indulge the with: "If you mention these circumstances," fays he, "fpeak little of me, except to make it known that I am your friend; give me no other praise:" thus delicately gratifying my feelings, while he shuns even the legitimate enjoyment of a tribute due to him. In obeying his injunction, however, I have a delight in observing, that the letter itself displays the spirit and character of the writer more forcibly than could the warmest language of my pen.

It is well known to my friends, that I early professed my abhorrence of the cruelties attendant upon the state of slavery, and of slavery itself, as it appeared to me in my youth. Lest the tendency of my sentiments

in



(xii)

in these volumes should expose me to the charge of inconsistency, I beg leave to observe, that it is not my opinions but things that are changed; I am still an enemy to cruelty. Previous to the French revolution, I was an enthusiast for freedom, but I very soon after learned to substitute the words happiness and order, for liberty and right. The former are unequivocal and proceed from God; the latter are ambiguous, and too often become means in the hands of the devil and his agents.

Throughout the work, but particularly in the last part of it, umbrage may possibly be taken by some men who will meet passages and facts, of which they will deem the exposure a kind of facrilege. Truth and general good, not individual interests, are the objects I have in view; but, in stating errors, in exposing injurious practices, in showing where a large community is made unwarrantably subservient to personal aggrandisement, I declare that I make no particular allusion, and am swayed by no motives but those which should sway every man who takes the pen into his hand. That

the



(xiii)

the faithful history I have written may be gratifying to the public; that the circumfantial account I have given of the Maroonwars may be of use in preventing similar disasters, by turning the minds of the colonists to the interior security of their country, and to a thorough knowledge of the relations and government of the various classes of its inhabitants; and that the display of the state of the island of Jamaica, while in most instances it gratistes, may in others lead to reslexion, and conduce to the general improvement of its morals, religion and happiness, are the objects of my book, and the sincere wishes of my heart.



A

SUCCINCT HISTORY

OF

JAMAICA.

JAMAICA, or, as the early Spanish historians wrote it, Xaymaca, (signifying the land of springs,) is a link belonging to that chain of islands, which, under the denomination of the West Indies, extends from the shore of Florida north, to the mouths of the Oronoko south. It is situated in the Atlantic ocean, about four thousand miles southwest of England. At the distance of thirty leagues to the north, lies the island of Cuba. About the same distance to the east, is Hispaniola; to the west, the Gulph of Honduras; and to the south, Carthagena, on the great continent of South America, distant one hundred and forty-sive leagues.



(xvi)

The centre of Jamaica lies in about 18° 12' north latitude, and in longitude about 76° 45'. west from London; it measures in length one hundred and fifty miles; and in breadth not quite one-third of its length. It was discovered by the great Columbus during his fecond voyage to the new world, on the 2d of May 1494. The day following, he landed and took possession of it, after an inconfiderable conflict with the natives, whom he foon found means to conciliate. From this period, the condition of the island and its inhabitants for nine years is totally unknown. Afterwards indeed, its illustrious difcoverer, taking refuge in it from a florm, remained during a whole vear on its fhores. Christopher Columbus purfuing his last voyage to Hispaniola, encountered fuch tempeltuous weather off Cuba, as compelled him, on the 24th of June 1503, to feek shelter in one of the fmall harbours on the north fide of Jamaica. This harbour still retains the name of Christopher's Cove. But he did not escape this tempest without loss; two vessels, out of a small squadron consisting but of four, perished at sea; and those with which he escaped.