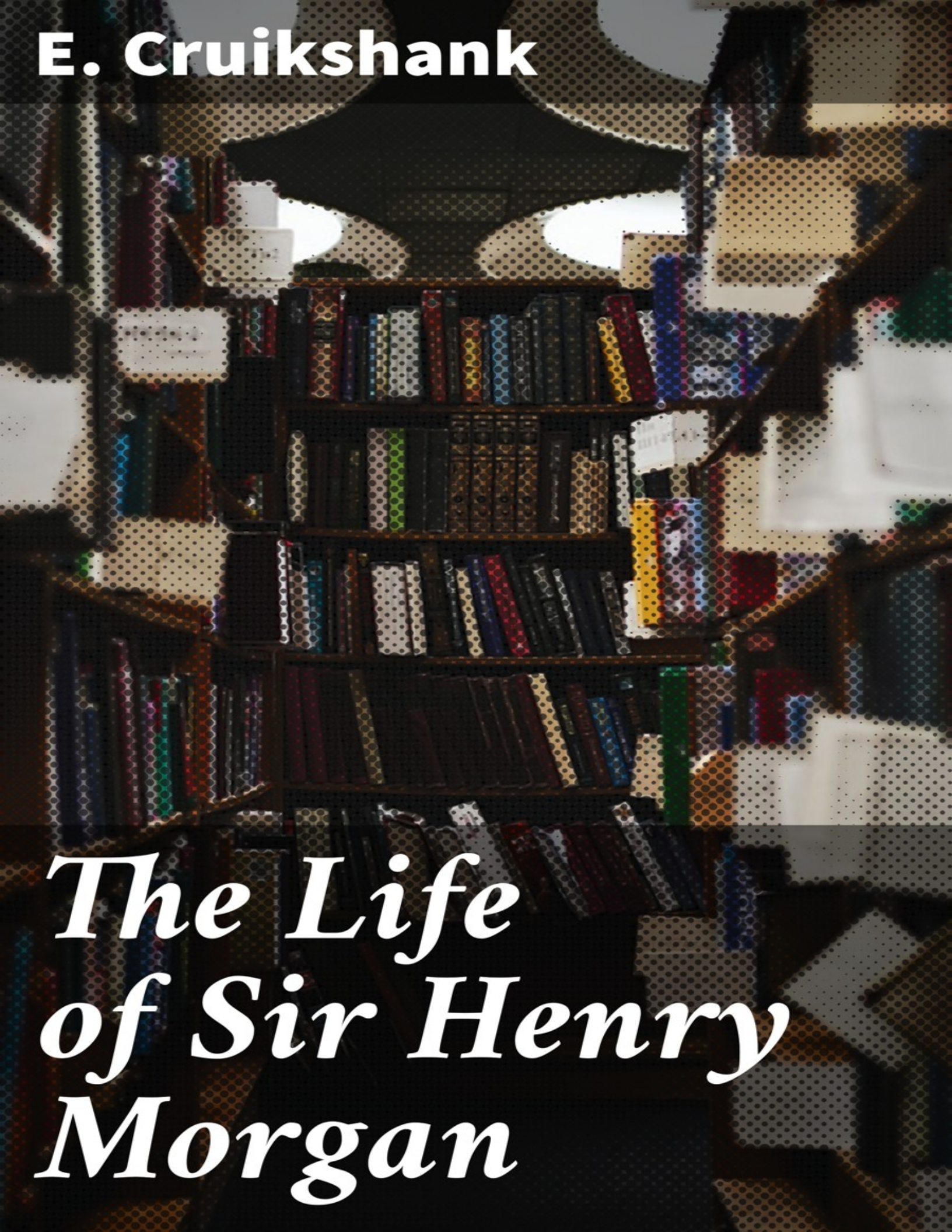

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The Life of Sir Henry Morgan

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Table of Contents

CHAPTER I

Table of Contents

HIS FAMILY AND HIS EARLY LIFE

Table of Contents

The lively contemporary author of *The Bucaniers of America* circumstantially relates that Henry Morgan was the son of a rich farmer or yeoman in Wales, and that at an early age he had been kidnapped and sold, or had bound himself voluntarily as a hired servant for a term of four years to a planter in the island of Barbadoes. This statement has been accepted and repeated by many later writers. Morgan hotly repudiated it, for on the publication of the English version of that book in 1683, it was named in his actions for libel as being false and malicious. The printed apology of William Crooke, its publisher, dictated or at least approved by Morgan's solicitor, declares that Morgan was "a Gentleman's son of good quality in the county of Monmouth, and was never a Servant unto anybody in his life, unless unto his Majesty, the late King of England."

The preface to *The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp*, published in London in 1684, referring to Morgan, remarked that "it is sufficiently known that he was descended from an honourable Family in Monmouthshire, and went at first out of England with the Army commanded by General Venables for Hispaniola and Jamaica."

Welsh genealogists of repute concur however in stating that he was the eldest son of Robert Morgan of Llanrhymney, a small estate in Glamorganshire, near Tredegar Castle, where he was born in 1635.[1] The year of his birth is ascertained with tolerable certainty as an

affidavit made by him in Jamaica on the 21st November, 1671, definitely states his age as thirty-six.

The family of Tredegar was recognized as the head of the clan, of which the Morgans of Llanrhymney were a cadet branch. In a poem, entitled "Prosopoeia Tredegar", believed to have been written by Percy Enderby about 1661, the following lines occur:

> "And so LanRumney yet must bend the knee,
> And from Tredegar fetch their pedigree."[2]

Henry Morgan in fact claimed rather close relationship as in his will he made a bequest to his sister, Catherine Lloyd "to be payed into the hands of my ever-honest Cozen, Mr. Thomas Morgan of Tredegar."

Members of his family had already earned much distinction in recent continental wars, notably Sir Thomas Morgan in command of the regiment afterwards known as "The Buffs", who was governor of the fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom in 1594, and General Sir Charles Morgan, who took part in the siege of that place in 1621. Later two of Henry Morgan's uncles, Edward and Thomas Morgan, younger brothers of his father, had become soldiers of fortune under foreign flags. Both won considerable renown in Germany and Holland and eventually attained high rank in England, having returned to engage in the civil war on opposite sides. Edward Morgan, who figures in Dutch records as "Heer van Lanrumnij", entered the royal army and in 1649 was given a commission as Colonel-General of the King's forces in South Wales under the Earl of Carbery. While in Germany he had married Anna Petronilla, the only sister of Johan Ernst,

Freiherr von Poellnitz, governor of Lippstadt in Westphalia. When the triumph of the Parliament was seen to be complete, he fled to the Netherlands and afterwards lived in exile for several years with his brother-in-law on the family estates at Aschbach near Bamberg. After the restoration he returned to London to seek official favour and compensation for his losses. In a memorial addressed to Mr. Secretary Bennet in 1663, he asserted that he had forty years experience as a soldier.[3]

Thomas Morgan had fought in the wars of the Low Countries and Germany, at one time under the French flag, and at another in the army of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar. On his return to England he took the side of the Parliament. He first commanded a regiment of foot but in 1661 was transferred to command a regiment of dragoons. He became Monck's chief subordinate in the subjugation of Scotland and gained his esteem for sound military judgment and trustworthiness. He was considered an expert in the employment of artillery and the conduct of siege operations. Having attained the rank of major-general and second in command in Scotland he was recalled by Cromwell to act as second in command of the expedition to Flanders, in which the "little, shrill-voiced, choleric man," is admitted to have acted a more important part than his nominal chief. He was wounded in the siege of Saint Venant and again in the successful assault of Ypres, when he commanded all the English troops. Having once more greatly distinguished himself in the battle of the Dunes near Dunkirk, he was knighted by Richard Cromwell in November, 1658, when he was described as "being esteemed in the army next to the

general, [Monck], a person of the best conduct then in arms in the three nations, having been nearly forty years and present in the greatest battles and sieges of Christendom for a great part of that time." After the restoration he was retained in the army and, in 1663, appointed governor of the island of Jersey, then menaced with an invasion by the French.[4]

Little reliable record has been found of the youth of Henry Morgan beyond what he wrote himself in middle life, when, acting as governor of Jamaica, he stated that: "The office of Judge Admiral was not given to me for my understanding of the business better than others, nor for the profitableness thereof, for I left the schools too young to be a great proficient in that or other laws, and have been more used to the pike than the book."[5] This want of education so frankly confessed was probably due to the disturbed state of the country, as he was born too late to take any very active part in the civil war and was still in his twentieth year when the expedition commanded by Venables sailed from Portsmouth in December, 1654.

Leslie must have relied on local tradition when he wrote fifty years after Morgan's death:

"His Father was a Farmer of pretty good Repute, and designed his Son for the same Way of Life; but his Inclinations were turned on another way; and finding his Father positive in his Resolution, bid him adieu and rambled to *Bristol*, where he bound himself a Servant for Four Years and was transported to Barbadoes; there he was sold and served his Master with a great deal of Fidelity."[6]

There may be some truth in this account and Morgan may have enlisted in Venables's command at Barbados, as Ludlow relates that "they [Penn and Venables] made proclamation there that whosoever would engage in the undertaking should have their freedom, whereupon about two thousand servants listed themselves to the great distress of the planters."[7]

In Colonel Thomas Modyford, speaker of the House of Assembly, Venables found a most ardent and influential supporter, who persuaded that body to offer sixty horsemen for the expedition, and give him permission to recruit by beat of drum in public places, by which much ill will was excited among the planters, some of whom did not hesitate to denounce Modyford as a traitor to the interests of that island. But war with Spain was always popular, as it was usually profitable, and many volunteers were enrolled in the hope of plunder, expecting to take "mountains of gold". Venables reported that he had raised three thousand men but was unable to arm more than thirteen hundred. At Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Kitt's smaller bodies were recruited, numbering in all between twelve and thirteen hundred more and increasing his force to seven thousand ill-trained and ill-armed men. Henry Morgan's name does not appear in the list of officers which has been preserved, and his service must have been in the ranks, but it seems likely that the nephew of Thomas Morgan would be entitled to special consideration.

Owing to the misconduct of a considerable part of this hastily assembled mob the invasion of Hispaniola failed disgracefully and even a month after its successful landing

in Jamaica an officer made the distasteful confession: "We now find by sad experience that but few of them were old Soldiers, but certainly most of them were Apprentices that ran from their Masters, and others that came out of Bridewell, or one Gaol or another, so that in our poor Army we have but few that either fear God or reverence man."[8]

Yet several of the officers had sat as judges at the trial of the King and had signed his death warrant, and among both officers and soldiers there was a fair sprinkling of "Ironsides".

Cromwell's commission to Admiral Penn took the form of an incisive and passionate manifesto, justifying his contemplated attack upon the Spanish possessions in the West Indies as a rightful measure for exacting reparation for past injuries and ensuring security for the future. It fiercely denounced "the cruelties and inhuman practices of the King of Spain exercised in America, not only upon the Indians and natives but also upon the people of those nations inhabiting in those parts, whom he hath, contrary to the common right and law of nations, by force of arms driven from those places whereof they were the rightful possessors; murdering many of their men, and leading others into captivity; and to this very day doth not only deny to trade, or to have any commerce with us or the people of those countries in any part of America, but, contrary to the treaties between the two States, doth exercise all acts of hostility against us, and this people there, as against open and professed enemies, giving thereby and [by] the claim he makes to all that part of the world by the colour of the pope's donation, just grounds to believe that he intends the ruin and destruction

of all the English plantations, people and interest in those parts."[9]

His peremptory demand that English merchants should be allowed the free exercise of their religion in the Spanish dominions and that English colonists and traders should no longer be treated as pirates in the West Indies had in fact been curtly rejected. "To ask for liberty from the Inquisition and free sailing in the West Indies", said the Spanish ambassador, "was to ask for his master's two eyes", and no concession would be made on either point. Venables was consequently given full liberty of action. "The design in general", he was told, "is to gain an interest in that part of the West Indies in the possession of the Spaniard; for the effecting whereof we shall not tie you up to a method by any particular instructions."[10]

From Hispaniola the baffled English commanders made their way to Jamaica, thinly peopled and weakly garrisoned, where they had better fortune. Inefficient as the land forces were, the conquest of the inhabited part of the island was easily accomplished, with the exception of a considerable portion of the hilly pasture lands on its north side to which the governor with most of the Spanish planters and their slaves retired, and with the aid of reinforcements from Cuba and Porto Rico, waged an intermittent but tantalizing and costly guerilla warfare with the invaders for five years before they were finally expelled. From the first the Spanish court had recognized the distressing prospect that undisputed possession of the island would enable the English "to obstruct the commerce of all the islands to the windward with the coasts of the mainland and of New Spain.

The fleets and galleons will run great risk in passing Jamaica."[11] Its immediate recovery was seen to be an object of vital importance. In fair weather with a favouring breeze the passage from Cuba to the northern coast of Jamaica could be made with ease and safety even by small undecked boats. Soldiers and workmen were sent over in small parties, and several small forts were built by them. Bands of maroons and negroes were encouraged to harass the invaders, with some success, under the command of a mulatto, Juan Lubolo or Juan de Bolas, whose memory is still perpetuated in the name of a river and savanna. But although they thus succeeded in maintaining a substantial foothold behind the central range of hills, they failed to recover any lost ground.

After venting his displeasure upon the unlucky commanders of the expedition for their failure to take Hispaniola, Cromwell decided to retain and colonize their actual conquest and published a proclamation describing Jamaica as "spacious in extent, commodious in its harbours and rivers within itself, healthful by its situation, well stored with horses and other cattle, and generally fit and worthy to be planted and improved to the advantage, honour, and interest of this nation." Laws and ordinances for its government were promulgated. Surveyors were appointed to lay out lands for desirable settlers. It announced that all "planters and adventurers to that island" would be exempted from paying any excise or custom duty "on goods and necessaries transported thither for seven years, and that no customs or other tax or impost would be laid upon any product imported from thence into any other English

possession for the next ten years," dating in each case from the following Michaelmas, and that no embargo would be imposed during that period on any ships or seamen sailing for Jamaica. The struggling colonists of New England, who had begun to despond, were invited "to remove themselves or such numbers of them as shall be thought convenient, out of those parts where they now are to Jamaica."[12]

Many English people were firmly convinced that Spain was a cruel and implacable national enemy. Cromwell proclaimed this doctrine insistently in his speech to Parliament on 17th September, 1656.

"Abroad," he said, "our great enemy is the Spaniard. He is a natural enemy, by reason of that enmity that is in him against whatsoever is of God." No satisfaction could be obtained either for the denial of freedom of conscience to the English traders in Spain or for "the blood of our poor people shed in the West Indies. The truth is that no peace is possible with any popish state. Sign what you will with one of them, that peace is but to be kept so long as the pope says 'Amen' to it.... The Spaniard hath an interest in your bowels. The Papists in England have been accounted Spanielised ever since I was born. They never regard France; they never regarded any Papist state. Spain was their patron."[13]

In his opinion the contest was a just and holy war. He promised liberal supplies to General Fortescue, to whom Venables had turned over the command of the troops. "We think it much designed and it is much designed amongst us," he assured him, "to strive with the Spaniard for the

mastery of all those seas." His mind had been strongly impressed by proposals for an easy conquest of other Spanish provinces in America, laid before him by Thomas Modyford of Barbados and the renegade priest, Thomas Gage.[14]

His instructions to Admiral Goodson, Penn's successor, declared that the war must be carried on in the spirit of a crusade. "Set up your banners in the name of Christ," he wrote to him with his wonted fervour, "for undoubtedly it is his cause. And let the reproach and shame that hath been for your sins and the misguidance of some lift up your hearts to confidence in the Lord, and for the redemption of his honour from men who attribute their success to their idols, the work of their own hands.... The Lord himself hath a controversy with your enemies; even with that Roman Babylon of which the Spaniard is the great underpropper. In this respect we fight the Lord's battles."[15]

He intended to make Jamaica the base for very extensive offensive operations against the Spaniards both by land and sea. These were delayed by frequent unforeseen changes in the command. Fortescue died after holding it only for three months. Colonel Edward D'Oyley was chosen to succeed him by his fellow officers. Major Robert Sedgewick soon after arrived from England to replace Winslow, the Protector's civil commissioner, who had also fallen a victim to disease, and superseded D'Oyley. The army was much reduced by sickness and desertion. Being warned by letters from England, confirmed by statements of prisoners, that a great "armado" was under orders to sail from Spain for the West Indies, both D'Oyley and Sedgewick gave some attention to

fortifying the excellent harbour of Cagua, afterwards known as Port Royal.

Attacks by parties of fugitive slaves gave them much annoyance and sometimes inflicted serious loss of life. "They have", so Sedgewick reported, "no moral sense, and do not understand what the laws and customs of civil nations mean; we know not how to capitulate or treat with them; but be assured they must either be destroyed or brought in upon some terms or other, or else they will prove a great discouragement to the settling of the Country."[16]

Fortescue had described the island as "a fruitful and pleasant land and a fit receptacle for honest men." Sedgewick had confirmed this report, and on the 4th of January, 1656, he published a proclamation jointly with Admiral Goodson, urging the soldiers to cultivate plots of land which would be allotted for them. Some of the officers opposed this by presenting a petition in the name of their men, advising the entire abandonment of the island. But Goodson kept his squadron of ships actively employed. His cruisers lay in wait for Spanish ships and brought in many prizes. Embarking some soldiers he took Santa Marta and Rio de la Hacha, two ports of some importance on the mainland of Veragua. But Sedgewick gave him grudging support in these distant excursions, which he did not fail to condemn as both impolitic and unprofitable.

"We are not able", he complained, "to possess any place we attack, and so are in no hope thereby to effect our intention of dispensing anything of the true knowledge of God to the inhabitants. To the Indians and blacks we shall make ourselves appear a cruel, bloody, and ruinating

people, which will cause them, I fear, to think us worse than the Spaniard."[17]

Intercepted letters and the admissions of prisoners soon convinced him that the negro guerillas would be reinforced by Spanish soldiers, who could land on the north shore of the island unnoticed and unopposed.

"If neither soldiers nor planters do come hither," D'Oyley gloomily declared in April, 1656, "we cannot long keep the place, the advantages of the enemy being able to poise the difference in numbers."

The mortality among officers and soldiers was appalling. Sedgewick's sudden death in June replaced D'Oyley in command for a few months, until he was again superseded by the arrival of Major General William Brayne with a thousand raw recruits.[18] This did not greatly improve the situation, as Brayne reported in the following April.

"The soldiers are forced to neglect the strictness of their martial duty by rambling abroad to seek a livelihood; so that if the enemy from Spain should attempt us in this condition, I greatly fear the soldiers would make but a weak resistance, their spirits have been so dejected for want of necessary food and raiment. But many of the officers seem resolved (through the assistance of God), to sell their lives as dearly as they can."[19]

Brayne died early in September, 1657, leaving a blank commission given him by Cromwell, filled in with the name of D'Oyley, who was at once obliged to make active exertions to repel an invasion. Small bands of Spanish soldiers had landed from time to time and placed themselves under the orders of Don Christoval Arnaldo

Yssasi, who had been given a commission as governor of Jamaica. One company of these men came from Havana, another from San Domingo, and a third from Porto Rico. They were joined by two companies of zealous volunteers formed of refugees from Jamaica at Santiago de Cuba. The whole body did not much exceed five hundred of all ranks. Still, it formed a substantial reinforcement to the guerillas, who had already given so much annoyance.

Many years before the Spaniards had opened a bridle path and rough cart track quite across the island at nearly its widest part, connecting Sevilla Nueva (St. Ann's Bay), on the northern shore with Puerto de Esquivella (Old Harbour), on the southern. It wound through dense woods and rocky gorges and was little known and very difficult. Vestiges of it are still pointed out as the "old Spanish road". Their war parties had generally advanced by it. The steepness of the passes and dangers of ambushes were sufficient to discourage effective pursuit by this route. The only prudent manner of reaching the enemy was by the sea.

Major Richard Steevens accordingly embarked, and passing around the eastern end of the island attacked one body of Spaniards at St. Ann's Bay, D'Oyley reported, at the head of a party "of Stout, Well, and Willing men, to whom about Sixty of our Officers joyned, Volunteers, exceedingly desirous of action after so long a cessation." On their approach the Spaniards dispersed in a complete panic and hid themselves in the neighbouring forest. "So finding the vanity of following them in the Woods and Mountains, we left them," D'Oyley concluded.

Many privateers and buccaneers of several nations, who had long haunted the petty island of Tortuga and the adjoining coast of Hispaniola, had gladly availed themselves of the safer harbour and more convenient base of operations at Cagua, and some of them had been given letters-of-marque against Spain by Brayne or D'Oyley. Yssasi, who was vigilant and alert in gathering information, reported that in "that port there were generally fifteen or twenty vessels, some entering, some leaving, with a reserve of eight ships of war." He added that D'Oyley had held a general muster and review of all his troops in March and found that he had three thousand foot, many of them boys, and the greater part serving through compulsion.[20]

A prisoner taken in a canoe on his way to Cuba told D'Oyley that three hundred Spaniards were forming a magazine at Las Chorreras (Ocho Rios) and fortifying it in the expectation of being reinforced. Leaving one hundred men to guard their plantations, he promptly embarked the remainder of the troops under Steevens in a small warship and sailed to attack this party. A ship just coming over from Cuba with soldiers and supplies was driven off before it could reach land, and D'Oyley then disembarked his force in a bay six miles further west, as he found no suitable landing place nearer the enemy. Marching through the woods he was attacked from an ambush, but his men being well prepared for this by his orders, fired a single volley in reply and instantly charged, routing their assailants and pursuing them so fiercely that few were able to regain the shelter of their stockade, which was built "with great Trees and Flankers". Placing a third of his force in reserve D'Oyley

advanced to its assault with the rest. There was "a stiff dispute" for three-quarters of an hour, until the storming party cut a passage through the palisades with their hatchets, when most of their opponents tried to escape by running out over the rocks and throwing themselves into the bay in spite of the desperate efforts of their officers to rally them, "yet made not such haste", D'Oyley wrote, "but that they left One hundred and twenty or thereabouts dead on the place, and many wounded, amongst whom were most of the Officers; the Mastre del Campo, Don Francisco de Prencia, by means of a Prisoner of ours, whom he kept by him, got quarter, and some others whom we found in the Rocks whom (though we had received barbarous usage from them) we could not kill in cold blood."[21]

Eighteen prisoners were taken, but according to the Spanish account, D'Oyley had greatly exaggerated the number killed. They lost nearly all their arms and ammunition, as well as the whole of the provisions they had so laboriously collected, including large quantities of dried beef and cassava. Many fugitives were believed to have perished miserably in the woods, and some surrendered in despair in a state of starvation. The English lost only four men killed and ten wounded.

"The King of Spain's affairs do very much fail in these parts," D'Oyley added exultantly in his official letter, "and his Trade is almost brought to nothing by the many private Men of War of *English* and *French* and ours are still abroad to annoy them."

Among the ships thus taken or destroyed were three loaded with supplies for the Spaniards in Jamaica.

The Spanish government was goaded into making still greater efforts to recover its lost possession. The governors of Havana, Santiago, Porto Rico, and San Domingo were all instructed to send immediate assistance to Yssasi, who clung obstinately to his foothold in the recesses of the hills. The viceroy of Mexico was given supreme control of these operations. Two small squadrons of ships were equipped, conveying 950 soldiers with provisions and other supplies, which were safely landed at the mouth of the Rio Nuevo on the northern shore of Jamaica some time in May, 1658. Yssasi had been instructed to make every effort to hold his ground. The number of soldiers actually landed was reported to be only 557 of all ranks, under command of Sargento-Mayor Don Alvaro de Rasperu, formed into thirty-one companies of foot. They began at once to fortify a strong position on a steep, rocky hill overlooking the bay, now known as "the Cliff", which they called the Camp of the Conception. Yssasi joined them with his followers and there they remained undiscovered and unmolested for twelve days, when some English warships, cruising along the coast, observed three strange sail anchored near the land but were prevented by calms and variable winds from attacking them closely. In the night these Spanish ships made their escape unseen, having landed six small iron guns for the defence of the camp. When this news reached D'Oyley at Cagway, he lost no time in assembling a council of war which began a discussion, he wrote, "whether it were most advantageous to assault them presently, or let them partake of the distemper and want of the country; and when sickness weakened them to attempt them then, though much might

have been and was urged, how invaders were to be used with delayes, &c., the exceeding desire of the officers and soldiers to be doing with them cut off all debates and termed a sudden resolution to fall on them before they were fortified."[22]

Seven hundred and fifty men were embarked in six of the ships in the service of the Commonwealth, which sailed from Cagway on June 11. Eleven days later this expedition, commanded by D'Oyley himself, anchored in the little bay of Rio Nuevo, and the soldiers were landed under distant gun-fire from the Spanish camp. They were opposed near the shore by two companies of Spaniards and a band of fifteen or twenty negroes, who defended an advanced post with great obstinacy until a third of them were killed and many others wounded. At the same time the guns of the English ships bombarded the camp with little effect, "the place being of so vast a height, they could bear to doe them little harme."[23]

Ladders were made for the escalade of the stockade, which was plainly seen to be of considerable height on the face nearest them. In the evening a drummer was sent with a summons to the commandant to surrender, assuring him of honourable terms and a safe passage to his own territory, but partly also to sound the depth of the river, which he was obliged to ford. This man was civilly received by Yssasi himself, who gave him twenty-five pieces of eight and sent a jar of sweetmeats to D'Oyley with the reply that he was well provided with provisions, ammunition, and brave men "that knew how to dye before they be overcome."

Next morning, after instructing two of his ships to move to leeward as a feint to distract the enemy's attention, and all the others to warp inward as close to the shore as possible and keep up a brisk fire upon the enemy's camp, D'Oyley began his march through the tangled woods to get at the other side of the intrenchment. After fording the river higher up, his advanced guard surprised a working party occupied in building a breastwork, who ran away crying that "all the world was coming." The hill was then climbed with great difficulty on its steepest side, and the storming party discovered with great joy that the rampart had not been built to its full height on that front. "Wee ordered our business with our forlorne ladders and hand grenades," D'Oyley stated, "and without any further dispute received their shott, and rann up to their flankers, which in a quarter of an hour wee gained. Many of them made a shift to runn out of the works, and ours followed their chase about three or four miles. The seamen likewise seeing them runn along the rocks, came out with their boats, and killed many of them."

A battle in those days, as soon as either body took to its heels to escape, almost invariably became a pitiless butchery of the panic-stricken fugitives. D'Oyley reported that about three hundred Spaniards were killed, including the sargento-mayor, several other officers, and two priests. About a hundred, including six captains, were made prisoners. All their cannon, many muskets, a great supply of ammunition and provisions, the King of Spain's standard, and ten other flags were taken. In the assault six English

officers and twenty-three soldiers had been killed and thirty-four were wounded, some of them mortally.

"Thus hath the Lord made knowne his salvation," D'Oyley devoutly affirmed, "His righteousness hath so openly showed in the sight of the heathen."[24]

His victory was largely due to his own efficient leadership.

William Burrough, "stewart-general" of the expedition, related that he had "seen a great deal of bloody work in his time, both by land and sea, but never saw any action carried on with so much cheerfulness as this was, the Commander-in-Chief, Colonel D'Oyley telling the soldiers that a great deal of England's glory lay at stake, and therefore hoped they would consider it accordingly, going himself from party to party, and following the forlorn in a very signal habit. His gallant behaviour was answered both by officers and soldiers with a silent cheerful obedience, and through God's gracious goodness there was found such a joint unanimous willingness to the work that the truth is it was of God and it hath exceedingly endeared us to one another since we came here."[25]

Colonel Samuel Barry, being "an eye-witness and principal actor herein", was chosen by D'Oyley to carry his letter and the captured flags to the Protector, but when he arrived in England he learned that Cromwell was dead, so that he "never had one syllable of anything that was grateful from the vastest expense and greatest design that was ever made by the English."[26]

In fact D'Oyley's success was so complete that although Yssasi escaped unhurt, he was never able to collect more

than 150 followers and was obliged to hide among the hills, wandering from place to place near the north coast in the vain hope of relief. His most active adherent, the negro, Juan Lubolo, deserted him and joined the English. He then became extremely disheartened. "This", he wrote, "is very serious news, both because twelve slaves had been taken prisoners from the defeated settlement as well as because all these negroes are very capable and experienced, not only as to roads, but as to all the mountains and most remote places, are hunters and ready for anything."

After enduring an extremity of hardship, hunger, and privation, Yssasi's worst forebodings were fulfilled. On the 26th of February, 1660, Lieut.-Colonel Tyson with a party of only eighty men, guided over the mountains by some of these negroes, surprised his camp at Rio Hoja, near Moneague, killed his chief lieutenant and fifty others, took a few prisoners, and dispersed the rest of his men beyond recall. The English leader reported that Yssasi "ran so nimbly as to save himself from being taken."

Negotiations were begun for a treaty of surrender, but failed. A boat bringing supplies from Cuba was captured in the bay of Ocho Rios, making further resistance all but hopeless. Two large canoes were fashioned out of cottonwood logs, sails were improvised from hunters' sheets, Yssasi embarked with his remaining adherents at the little harbour, which has ever since been known as Runaway Bay, and safely crossed the hundred miles of tranquil water that separated him from Cuba. Spanish dominion over any part of Jamaica had come to an end. Some hundreds of impoverished fugitives found an asylum

at Bayano, Santiago, and Trinidad, where they obtained lands and continued for the next ten years to cherish hopes of regaining their lost possessions, and form fruitless plans for that object. They seem even to have been officially informed that the exiled King of England had promised to restore Jamaica to Spain if he regained his throne.

Admiral Goodson had returned to England, but he had been succeeded in command of his small squadron by Captain Christopher Mings, who was not less active and enterprising and received cordial support from D'Oyley, who was not troubled by the conscientious scruples of Sedgewick. Taking on board his ships a few hundred soldiers, Mings sailed for the Spanish Main, where he easily took and sacked the flourishing and wealthy towns of Coro and Cumana, returning, it is stated, "with more plunder than ever was brought to Jamaica", which enriched many of its inhabitants. The privateers were encouraged in consequence to undertake other expeditions. More private ships of war were equipped and provided with commissions by the governor.

The astonishing news of the restoration of the monarchy became known in Jamaica late in July, 1660, and must have caused serious alarm and anxiety in the minds of many veteran officers and soldiers of the Commonwealth. Some of them had faithfully served the Parliament or the Protector for nearly twenty years. Two or more were liable to be denounced and brought to trial as regicides. Lands in proportion to their military rank had been assigned to all of them, but no patents had been issued. Were they now to be

deprived of their hardly-won conquest, completed only a few months before, and lose the rewards promised them?

There were, in truth, good grounds for their fears. The King of Spain lost little time in sending the Prince de Ligne as an ambassador extraordinary to demand in due form, under the terms of a secret treaty, sanctioned during his exile by King Charles II, the restitution of the island of Jamaica and the fortress of Dunkirk, wrested from him by the armies of the Commonwealth. This envoy made his entry into London with great pomp, "accompanied with divers greate persons from thence, and an innumerable retinue. Greater bravery had I not seene", John Evelyn wrote with his accustomed candour.

But the merchants of the city at once combined to oppose the cession. Ten days later the King received their addresses in his closet, "giving them assurance of his persisting to keepe Jamaica, choosing Sir Edw. Massey governor." The Privy Council readily confirmed this decision. The Spanish ambassador was informed that His Majesty did not find himself obliged by the terms of any treaty "se rendre ces deux places de Jamaique et Dunquerque." The House of Commons declared its hearty approval.[27]

Nothing was known of this in Jamaica until 29th May, 1661, exactly a year after the King's return, when D'Oyley received his commission and royal instructions as governor. He had already sternly suppressed a republican insurrection, whose leaders, Colonels Raymond and Tyson, had been tried by court martial and shot as mutineers. The publication of a proclamation in the name of Charles, "King of England and Lord of Jamaica", greatly relieved the fears of the people. By

it they were informed that the governor had been instructed to encourage agriculture and commerce and allot and register grants of land. A census of the population and land under cultivation, taken soon afterwards, showed a total of 2,458 men, 454 women, 44 children, 584 negroes, 618 arms, and 2,588 planted acres.[28]

Negotiations with Spain were still being carried on for a treaty of amity and commerce. On the 5th of February, 1662, D'Oyley, in accordance with later royal instructions as General-in-Chief, published a second proclamation at Point Cagway, addressed to "all Governors of Islands, captains of ships, officers and soldiers under his command", announcing that "His Majesty having commanded a cessation of hostilities, they are hereby ordered to cease from all acts of hostility against the King of Spain or any of his subjects", and all captains of ships of war at sea with his commissions were required to return with all speed to receive further orders. The actual effect of this document was probably insignificant, as its circulation must have been limited, and the privateers of that day had a convenient habit of turning a blind eye on all such instructions when it suited them and were accustomed to announce bluntly that "there was no peace beyond the line."[29] As the Reverend Thomas Fuller quaintly put it, "The Case was clear in sea-divinity, and few are such infidels as not to believe doctrines which make for their profit."[30]

A legislative council of twelve members, including a secretary, was formed under the presidency of the governor, which proceeded to enact ordinances and levy taxes for the expenses of the civil government, estimated at

first at £1,640 per annum. Judges and justices of the peace were appointed, most of them as a matter of course being officers of the army. Colonel Philip Ward was commissioned as chief justice, to be soon succeeded by Colonel Samuel Barry. In confirming a sentence of death passed by the court, D'Oyley grimly remarked that it was necessary "to let them see that the law could do as much as a court martial." [31]

Immigrants arrived in considerable numbers from Barbados, Nevis, Bermuda, and even from New England. They were allotted tracts of land and began planting and breeding horses, horned cattle, and hogs. The willingness of many persons to migrate then from one colony to another whenever they became discontented with their condition deserves notice. At the end of the civil war and the subsequent hostilities with Spain, many soldiers and seamen had been discharged and were obliged by debt or poverty to seek a living out of England. Numbers of adventurous, reckless men gradually made their way to the West Indies in the hope of making a fortune as planters or privateers, preferring as a rule the latter occupation.

Such a man of "desperate fortune" was Sir Thomas Whetstone, a nephew of Oliver Cromwell, but a royalist of such unquestioned fidelity that he had been employed by the King while in exile on a special mission to the Baltic squadron to win over its commander, Edward Mountague. After the restoration he had become extremely dissipated, and in September, 1661, he humbly petitioned Secretary Nicholas for assistance to save him from perishing miserably through starvation, being then confined for debt in the Marshalsea prison, without any prospect of release. Nicholas

advised the Lord Chancellor that it was expedient to advance Whetstone a hundred pounds to enable him to obtain his liberty and remove to Jamaica. This must have been done, as two years later Whetstone was in chief command of a small squadron of Jamaican privateers, and in October, 1664, he was elected a member of the newly constituted House of Assembly, for the parish of St. Catherine, and was chosen as its first Speaker.[32]

D'Oyley was worn out by a long term of arduous service in the tropics, and soon requested to be relieved of his office and given permission to return to England. Early in the summer of 1662, he was informed that his application had been granted and that Thomas, Lord Windsor (afterwards Earl of Plymouth) had been appointed to succeed him. The new governor was given new royal instructions, by one article of which he was directed to "grant such commissions as to you may seem requisite for the subduing of all our enemies by sea and land, within and upon the Coast of America."[33]

His additional instructions, dated a few weeks later, contained the following significant and outstanding article.

"You shall endeavour by all fitting means to obtain and preserve a good correspondence and free commerce with the plantations and territories belonging to the King of Spain, for all such our subjects as shall trade there with security to their persons, ships, and goods, and with regulations for the benefit of trade as shall seem to you and the council most advantageous to the same; but if the governor of the King of Spain shall refuse to admit our subjects to trade with them, you shall in such case