

***James Williamson***  
**Falmouth Packet Surgeon, 1828-1835.**

*Journal of a  
Voyage  
from Falmouth to Jamaica & Carthagena and back -*

*Sailed 8<sup>th</sup> August - Returned 4<sup>th</sup> December 1829*

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On Saturday 8 of August 1829 - the ***Duke of York*** Packet was appointed to carry the Jamaica and Carthagena Mail to their several destinations but, as is often the case, an order was issued for the detention of the Packet for two days. After that period, as no further delay was ordered, the vessel left her moorings early on the morning of Monday 10<sup>th</sup> of August, and only waited for the receiving of the Mails & despatches, in order to be able to start immediately. The usual scene of hurry and bustle as presented by a vessel on the point of sailing was not “a wanting.” There were passengers, with their luggage just coming off in time, there again were provisions of various descriptions were pouring in, in short to an inexperienced eye, an appearance of bustle and confusion prevailed which would require more time to disentangle, than the near approach of the Mail seemed likely to allow. In a very short time, however, this bustle subsided, and when the commander came on board at ½ past 11 A.M. the decks had been cleared and all hands were ready ‘*dare vela ventis,*’ &.<sup>c</sup> to get under weigh.

For several days previous to 10<sup>th</sup> the wind had been unfavourable - but we were fortunate enough to have a favouring breeze, and weather, which tho’ cloudy, was pleasant. At 5 P.M. we took our departure from the Lizard and committed ourselves to the boundless world of waters, with the opinion that we would no longer see “terra firma,” until we should reach Barbadoes.

Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> - August light but fav.<sup>ble</sup> airs and fine W.<sup>r</sup>

Wednesday 12<sup>th</sup> - strong breezes, with clouds and rain.

Thursday 13<sup>th</sup> - wind and w.<sup>r</sup> variable. Saw a large steam vessel, but too far off to be spoken with, very squally in the afternoon.

Friday 14<sup>th</sup> - very strong & favourable breezes with a heavy cross sea, which scarcely left the decks dry for a moment. Weather variable.

Saturday 15<sup>th</sup> - from this day till Wednesday 2<sup>nd</sup> September we have been favoured with beautiful weather & moderate but favourable breezes. During all this time no particular occurrences happened worth mentioning, the special object of all our passengers was to kill time *que aeuque modo*. For this laudable purpose we had games of chess, cards, backgammon &.<sup>c</sup> Whilst this routine was agreeably interrupted by the call to breakfast, lunch, dinner &.<sup>c</sup> thus time passes away, but still on leaden wings - for the very circumstances that the amusements above mentioned are

necessary or compulsory detracts much from the pleasure, which they would afford, were they voluntarily entered into. Hence ennui can never by any means be excluded from a very long voyage - and the consequence is, that, in whatever they engaged, they experienced an almost positive indifference or want of excitement. In this state of matters, a change of weather which took place was even a sort of relief.

On Wednesday 2<sup>nd</sup> September - the weather was changeable, being alternatively cloudy, rainy & fine. The wind also veered about - to W by S directly against us, and then to other quarters. Towards evening we had nearly a dead calm - the lightning was awfully vivid and extensive & over the horizon brooded a dense mass of clouds, which seemed to portend a sudden storm - so that, altho the hurricane season is hardly arrived (Being 20<sup>th</sup> Sept.<sup>r</sup>) we were uncertain as to what might follow this sudden turn of things, and therefore the Captain ordered the main topsail to be reefed as a measure of precaution, while at the same time both courses were brailed up, and the main & fore topgallant were furled.

Thursday Sept.<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> - weather unsettled - very heavy but passing showers of rain. At 6 o'clock the breeze freshened in our favour and continued steady all night.

For some days after the weather was fine and the wind favourable. Once or twice we encountered a shower, which in these climates is always heavy & short duration.

#### Reach Barbadoes

On the morning of Tuesday 8<sup>th</sup> Sept.<sup>r</sup> early, the island of Barbadoes came in sight. It appeared to be of very considerable extent. Its two extremes gradually sloped from the centre to the shore. The centre itself altho' the most elevated part of the island was but of moderate height and by no means entitled to be called a mountain. But a small quantity of wood is grown, and that too in very detached portions, and this rises, not from the carelessness of the Barbadians or the infelicity of the soil, but purely from motives of prudence. The whole island is cultivated even down to the sea shore, and where wood would have otherwise adorned the landscape, is more profitably occupied by fertile fields and luxuriant crops. With a distant view of this appearance of the country we sailed along the Eastern side of the island, on turning round the extremity, we soon found ourselves in Carlisle Bay, and in front of Bridgetown, the Capital of the island.

At ½ past 2 P.M. we came to anchor and the Captain, along with Messrs. Oviatt Ackers & Hawkin went on shore. As the day was already far spent, & we were certain of not sailing till tomorrow afternoon, I determined not to go ashore, but see what I could on board. The first thing to which I directed my attention was the natural objects which surrounded me.

#### Appearance of Bridgetown & Carlisle Bay in Barbadoes

We were lying in the middle of a beautiful Bay (called Carlisle Bay), which formed the figure of a crescent, along the boundaries of which lay scattered in fine confusion the different streets & houses of Bridgetown the capital of the island. One would have hardly been aware of the existence of a tolerably large town there, for numerous coco & other trees, while they imparted a delightful charm to the scenery, being intermixed

with the buildings, served at the same time to conceal from the view of the Newcomer the real extent of the place. Altogether the scene presented quite a new character to me, different from any thing I had seen, and prepossessed one at once in favour of the natural beauties of the West Indies. Had there been besides a large number of vessels, to fill up the wide space of the Bay, the spectacle would have been still more pleasing - but this is not the proper season for the West Indian and we found only 1 or two vessels at anchor. I can hardly describe my feelings when contemplating for the first time an island in the West Indies, and compared in my own mind of the pleasing reality, with the disagreeable and horrible imaginings with which fire side Travellers at home are accustomed to invest our Western colonies. To the favourable impression this produced by the appearances of the island the weather perhaps contributed not a little, for the clear blue sky, the perfect stillness and tranquillity which reigned around, soothed the mind and prepared it to be pleased and delighted with every thing around.

#### Visited by numerous [*Bum Boats*]

In a short time my attention was withdrawn from the shore, and directed with curiosity to what was going on on board. Numerous boats came along side, in which were women of colour and black slaves. These were freighted with various articles of merchandise, peculiar to the country, and which they arrayed along the deck for inspection and choice. Our decks soon presented the novel sight of a fair, where you might have preserved Tamarinds - preserved Ginger - guava jelly - pickles of every description and various fruits - and all at a very reasonable rate. Of the fruits I purchased several kinds merely for the purpose of tasting what was new to me. With some I was pleased - others I disliked.

#### Preserves – Alligator Pear

There was a large pear, called the Alligator pear, which from the look of it I had expected to find delicious - but how was I surprised when it almost melted in my mouth, and tasted somewhat like cream. In the centre of it was large kernel, which is not eaten, and which will stain white articles so deeply as to serve for marking ink. The proper mode of [eating ?] this pear is to mix it with pepper and salt and eat it with Salt meat, to which in the opinion of its admirers, it communicates a delicious flavour. For my own part I perfectly agree with those who say that it is disagreeable to the taste of him who eats it for the first time - but whether I shall ever become fond of it, after I have tried it several times I cannot say - but if so, so much the better as I shall then have one pleasure more than I have now.

#### The Shaddock and Mangoe

The next fruit I ventured upon was the shaddock, of which you will [have] a very good idea, if you conceive to yourself an orange as large as a mans head. Indeed when I saw them for the first time, such is their resemblance that I really thought them to be such as I say. The insides of them also is like the orange & some are red, others clear - but the taste is different. They are considered one of the finest fruits in the West

Indies - and prove very refreshing in a climate so hot. There are several kinds, but I did not as yet know what is their peculiar differences.

A fruit called the Mangoe next was subjected to the gustatory papillae of my tongue - and I expected to like them well. Their shape was somewhat like our Magnum bonum plums, and some of them had also such colour, and general appearance, but with a thick, & not transparent skin, while others shewed like the fine bloom of our peaches & nectarines. The smell of the Mango I thought approached to that of the strawberry - which rendered me more eager to 'pree' them. After the first mouthful, it would have been difficult to tell whether I like or disliked them - for the flavour combined, in my opinion, that of a vegetable (which formed the disagreeable constituent) and of a fruit, (which formed the pleasant ingredient). A few trials however decided me in liking it - & now I consider it as a most delightful fruit - full of juice, and beneficial to the health.

*[Women at Barbados]*

All the preserves were excellent of their kind, and Barbadoes is famous for them. But what a clatter clatter - what a Babel of voices might be heard among the sellers of them. All talking, talking, yet all looking to their own interest - and as they all belong - I had almost said to the 'fair sex' - but that would be a misnomer to the coloured part of the female population, all were ladies of colour, they screened themselves behind the privilege of their sex & cheated us poor sailors with might and main. Of all sights I have seen abroad this at Barbadoes surpasses every other, and the circumstances attending it would seem to countenance the very general opinion that the restrictions of morality and the grants of female modesty are either very lax or very little attended to here. Night at last put an end to all the squabbling and chaffering and left us some repose from the eternal babbling which had so long stunned our ears.

Country around Bridgetown - Guinea grass - Indian corn

Wednesday 9<sup>th</sup> September. After breakfast this morning I went on shore accompanied by Edward Oke. The weather but beautiful, but the heat had begun to be oppressive as we approached the land, at a sort of key, solidly built, within which there was a narrow space where small vessels might anchor, and lie perfectly secure from all winds. At the landing place were congregated many Black and mulattoes, who, offered their services in a way the most disgusting and offensive. Passing them we struck off to one of the Streets, which conducted us to the country. As we went on, fell in with a very civil mulatto, with whom we went into a field, and examined different productions, which I had never seen growing. We saw Guinea Grass which attains a height beyond that of a man - guinea corn, the grains of which are round, white & not much larger than bird seed. We visited also a large field of the Indian corn, which is an article of very considerable produce thro'out the island. Between the thick stalks of this corn were planted a large quantity of the cotton plant, which was not however, in bearing.

Tamarinds - Mahogany - Sambox & Calabash trees

After looking at the smaller objects, we were directed to the Tamarind tree, which is one of considerable size – to the Mahogany tree, which bears a hard nut like fruit, in which is the seed – to the lofty Sambrox tree, the trunk of which is thickly studded with a short thorn, like a cocks spur, indented as it were into the tree, and effectually preventing all attempts to climb it – and lastly to the Calibash trees, the fruit of which attains so enormous a size. Besides all these, every where around us were flowers, whose brilliant diversified colours, attracted the eye, but whose want of odour or fragrance disappointed the olfactory organs.

Not far from where we had been so highly pleased, we entered a windmill, of a simple yet sufficiently effectual contrivance, in which guinea and Indian corn were a being ground to powder. While we were witnessing the introduction of the corn into a wooden sloping funnel, and its reappearance from a small stroup in the shape of a coarse powder, to which state it had been reduced by the agency of a huge circular stone, which was put in motion by a simple piece of machinery connected with the windmill. A Black overseer, with his indispensable concomitant a whip, but one by no means large or thick, came in, and for a trifling consideration, let us over a considerable [part] of the estate.

#### State of Cultivation of Barbadoes

Every part appeared to be cultivated, so that little or no room was left for woods & shrubberies – and fully justifies the opinion that the Barbadians are so intent on gain, that they begrudge every piece of ground, which is not made to yield a profit by its produce. From this property we proceeded about 4 miles into the country, till we arrived at the foot of a slope which rose gently and led to the higher but less fertile part of the country. Meanwhile the sun poured his scorching rays upon our heads – and the air was so heated, that respiration was sometimes affected. I did not however regret these inconveniences, as I could say they I had seen a good part of the country, so as to enable me to speak of it from sight, and not from report. Of almost all the W.I. islands, Barbadoes is said to be the most fertile, and I truly believe it, both from a certain degree of ocular proof, and from the circumstance which I have heard mention, that it contains a population of 110,000, being a number greater than any island of the same extent, anywhere contains. And besides a greater proportion of the inhabitants are very wealthy, by the sale of the abundant produce of their estates.

#### Bridgetown Capital of Barbadoes

Returning from our walk into the country we bent our steps to the Town with the view of inspecting it more closely. It is built of stone, - and is substantial but has no pretensions to elegance. All the houses are commonplace in their exterior, altho' I have no doubt but that in their interior decorations they are not wanting in splendour. At the one end of the town is a bronze statue of Lord Nelson, and constitutes the only public ornament of the place. The streets are tolerably good. In all the streets thro which we passed, we scarcely saw a white man, but great numbers of Blacks, & Mulattoes. This I am told is no proof that there are few or no whites among the population, as I might have [been] led to suppose, - for there are many – but they are too lazy and too careful of themselves to expose their dear persons to the heat of the

noon day sun. Except in the morning and evening they confine themselves to the house – and pursue their amusement, and take exercise only at those times.

#### Character of the Barbadians

The general character of the Barbadians is that of an industrious, painstaking, money-getting class of people, with a mixture of pride combined with their self interest. If you could ask one, who he is, he will answer with a proper spirit, that he is a free Barbadian. They are disposed to call themselves above the natives of then other islands and claim for their own insular spot, the proud appellation of Little England, either because it was the first of the islands possessed by us, or from some other cause. They boast that if King George should ever be compelled to quit his hereditary dominions, he has only to come to them, and they will support and defend him. To my surprise, also I was told that the name of Scotland was given to a part of the island – so that we have here Little Englishmen and little Scotsmen.

#### Betsy Austin & Hannah Lewis

After our walk was finished we retired to an Hotel (or Board and Lodging House as it is termed) kept by one Betsy Austin a woman of colour. This is more frequented than the only other Inn kept by Hannah Lewis, also a woman of colour. They are both well fitted up - and you have a good display of cut crystal, mirrors & silver plate - for the pleasure of looking at and using which you are expected to pay handsomely. Along with the Hotel department, Betsy Austin, and Hannah Lewis manufacture a vast quantity of preserves which always find a ready sale when the two monthly packets touch at Barbadoes. By these means they have no doubt realised a pretty sum, & in other words made their fortune which here as in other parts of the money respecting world, will secure for them that consideration, which otherwise might be denied to them on account of their colour. At three P.M. we went on board and awaited the arrival of the Captain with the Mail to take our instant departure.

#### *[Ackers & Oviatt Passengers]*

Two of our passengers from England left us at Barbadoes, viz. a M.<sup>r</sup> W.<sup>m</sup> Ackers and M.<sup>r</sup> W.<sup>m</sup> Oviatt. The[y] seemed both to belong to class of commercial gentlemen, and presented good specimens of that intelligence and information which so frequently characterises the English Merchant. The former had resided for many years at Caraccas, situated on the main land, and along with M.<sup>r</sup> Oviatt was on his way to that place, to which they proposed to proceed in a small Boat. They were both pleasant in their manners had seen much of the world, and knew well the regulations of polished society. M.<sup>r</sup> Ackers was a man of a stout make - warmly eager after whatever interested him - and rather choleric - but withal good tempered, and soon appeased. M.<sup>r</sup> Oviatt was not so stout by any means - which could be easily accounted for by the circumstance that he had been long a martyr to gout. From morning till night they spent their time in playing at chess, with which they appeared to be very well acquainted.

At 5 o'clock the Captain came on board with the Mail when we immediately started with a favourable wind and fine weather, for the island of S.<sup>t</sup> Vincent, carrying with us one passenger from Barbadoes, the Reverend M.<sup>r</sup> Barker for Grenada.

#### Island of St. Vincent

Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> September - at ½ past 7 A.M. we were along side of S.<sup>t</sup> Vincents. Unfortunately I was not up sufficiently early to obtain a sight of that side of the island, which we first approached, and which was described to me as being the finest of all, And from it you can see a Volcanic mountain, which is almost always smoking. But what I did see delighted me extremely. I have seldom seen so lovely a scene. There were presented to you hills and slopes covered with the most beautiful clothing of nature you can conceive. Here were deep ravines - there gently declining plains - and the tout ensemble was such that I was perfectly enraptured. In our Brazil voyage I gave it as my opinion that Madeira & Teneriffe were beautiful from their irregularity - but I would by no means compare them with S.<sup>t</sup> Vincent than I would objects the most dissimilar.

S.<sup>t</sup> Vincent's is of small extent, but is indeed a gem which tho' insignificant in size shines with a brilliancy which raises its beauty and its value far beyond others of greater pretensions, in point of size. Embosomed in hills and which from distant view is the small town of Kingston, the principal one in the island, and before is a bay of little extent formed by the jutting out of two portions of hill, on one of which is a romantically situated fort, which commands completely the access to the Town.

I should above all things have enjoyed the opportunity of landing in this paradise of nature, both from the desire of seeing it more closely and also of inquiring after M.<sup>r</sup> Donald M<sup>c</sup>Laurin whom you told me came out with Stewart of Garth as an Engineer. But this my wish several circumstances contrived to oppose - for the stay made does not exceed an hour or two, which short period would have left me unable to proceed to visit M.<sup>r</sup> M. L., and again the weather, being squally, with a heavy swell from the Harbour, it would have been improper in me to have added my additional weight to the gig, which was already sufficiently loaded.

With great difficulty and with much hard pulling amidst torrents of rain and violent gusts of wind, the Capt.<sup>n</sup> returned at 10 A.M. when we made sail for Grenada. During the whole of this we had worse weather than we have had since we left Falmouth. Rain, thunder and lightning with sudden squalls, all combined to throw a gloom over our spirits, which rendered us very uncomfortable.

#### Arrive at Grenada

Friday 11<sup>th</sup> September - The early dawn of this day saw us nearly becalmed off Grenada. This island which is of considerable magnitude was on one side, while a number of islets, thickly interspersed between S.<sup>t</sup> Vincents and termed the Grenadines, were seen around us. We were at some distance from S.<sup>t</sup> Georges, the Capital to which the Captain at first intended to proceed in his gig - but afterwards altered his purpose and when the breeze freshened a little so that we approached nearer the Town, he dispatched M.<sup>r</sup> Geach, with the mail, whom I obtained

permission to accompany. In a short time we had landed on the beach, with the Reverend M.<sup>r</sup> Barker, who is the clergyman of the English Church here.

#### Town of S.<sup>t</sup> George's Grenada

I was not at all prepossessed by the appearance of the town at hand. The beach was a most abominable one, and the quantity of filth which exhaled from the heat a fetid odour, produced an insuppressible sensation of nausea & oppression. The streets & houses were good, but not handsome or elegant - many of the former were very steep, but within well paved. The Church to which we accompanied M.<sup>r</sup> Barker is of very considerable size & capable of containing 1000 people. From its elevated situation it forms a prominent object to the eye of a person lying off the shore. The interior of it is exceedingly commodious, clean and ever handsome with an excellent organ, and pleased me very much. Adjoining to the church is the vicarage, a good substantial building, with fine trees in front which shelter the inmates from the bruising rays of the Sun. From it you have several beautiful views, on the one side of the open sea, and on the other, of the hills in the neighbourhood. M.<sup>r</sup> Barker welcomed us most kindly to his House, where we partook of some refreshments.

#### The Rev.<sup>d</sup> M.<sup>r</sup> Barker, Clergyman at Grenada

During the very short time that we had the pleasure of this Gentleman's company he shewed himself of considerable learning, knowledge of the world, and powers of observation that told me that he had never had a dispute or quarrel with any of his parishioners - but that he had lived for five years in love and concord with all of them - from which I drew the natural conclusion that his manners must be conciliatory and that he must be imbued with the Christian spirit of his office & religion, which calls upon him to love and do good to all men. As we walked along with him we had an opportunity of observing his behaviour to others & his reception from them. To many gentlemen he bowed and paid the usual compliments of meeting, while to many blacks he addressed himself with a kindness, and paternity which seemed to be felt by them, and returned with gratitude.

I was told, also by him, that most of the inhabitants of Grenada were Scotchmen, from whom he received many seasonal acts of kindness, and with whom he lived in terms of intimacy and friendship, and indeed I met three waiting in the manse to welcome him home.

#### Scenery and Market at Grenada

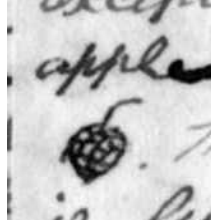
After remaining a short time, M.<sup>r</sup> Geach and myself went out, accompanied by a gentleman a friend of M.<sup>r</sup> Barker's who kindly offered to be our Cicerone. He guided us to a place where we had a prospect admirably adapted for the painter, who might take his station where we stood. Opposite to us were lofty hills, covered with woods, luxuriant with vegetation woods and begannical [?] with cottages & large houses, and at our foot between these hills and our elevated position, was a small narrow arm of the sea, on the borders of which was a little village, and on its bosom several vessels riding at anchor.



The island of Grenada is chiefly hilly, but in my opinion is far from being equal to the scenery of Barbadoes S.<sup>t</sup> Vincent's, altho' it is still superior to Barbadoes.

I saw here more white[s] than at Barbadoes - *et quod magis adminandum, multos pueros atque puellas, itenera in omnium conipechi permeaules P\_\_oli purdon puris naturalibus Prok tempora et mores.*

I visited the market, which is kept in a small square. There I saw the same fruits as at Barbadoes, with the exception of one, which they called, the sugar apple. It is of this form and appearance.



When ripe it is very soft - and its taste is luscious *usque ad nauseam*. All the fruits here are very cheap, indeed they are literally dog cheap, i.e. cheap for a dog. That you may understand my meaning - I must tell you that there is a small coin current here of a very low denomination of value, and which 'tis called a dog, from what cause I know [not]. For one dog you may have oranges & sufficient, to satisfy you at one time, which you must allow is dog cheap. This name for a coin in Grenada reminds me of another equally Curious at Barbadoes. It is called a "kids eye" and is a small piece of silver, of British coinage, and of value 5 pence.

At 12 oClock M.<sup>r</sup> Geach, having received the Mail, went on board the *Duke*, which in consequence of the unsettled state of the w.<sup>r</sup> had been brought to an anchor pretty close to the shore. The anchor was soon weighed, and we made sail for Jamaica with variable breezes, and unsettled weather.

#### Leave Grenada

Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> Sept.<sup>r</sup> - weather unsettled, but generally fine - wind moderate and favourable

Sunday 13<sup>th</sup> Sept.<sup>r</sup> - fine Weather, with fresh and favourable breezes.

Monday 14<sup>th</sup> - fine weather - wind favourable but light.

Tuesday 15<sup>th</sup> - d.<sup>o</sup> d.<sup>o</sup>

Wednesday 16<sup>th</sup> - fine weather & favourable winds. Saw the small island of Alto Vela and, but dimly, the high land of the island of S.<sup>t</sup> Domingo, or Haiti. During the afternoon a large shoal was discovered on our larboard side, which was not put down in the Chart.

Thursday 17<sup>th</sup> - dirty W.<sup>r</sup> in the morning but fine during the rest of the day. The high land of S.<sup>t</sup> Domingo still in view.

## Jamaica in Sight - Scenery of Jamaica near Kingston

Friday 18<sup>th</sup> - at dawn of Day the island of Jamaica was in sight. In a few hours the land became so distinctly visible as to enable us to distinguish its various characters. To our right lay Morant Point, the Eastern extent of the island, from which the country receded low and flat for some space, till it rose up in what are called the Blue mountains, a range of very lofty hills, which run of very unequal magnitude for many miles along the coast, but considerably inland. Right a'head of us is Yallah (pronounced yellow) point, which jutting out intercepts our further view. Between Morant and Yallah points, the country is not so flat but full of eminences of no great elevation, and at the latter point attains a pretty good height. Turning round the Yallahs you see the commencement of another range of mountains called the long Mountains. After some distance the land becomes low and flat, then ceasing soon to be so, the mountains are close to the shore, and being more rugged and irregular than the blue Mountains, they appear much finer and more picturesque. By the time we had reached this length, Kingston and Port Royal could be indistinctly descried, and where they were, there came off from the base of the Mountains a long narrow and flat stripe of land, chiefly sandy, upon which a few bushes and stunted trees contrived to live. Here the mountains turned in, in a semicircular form, so as to constitute the Harbour of Kingston. I shall mention more particularly afterwards.

## Anchor at Port Royal

With a fine wind in our favour we now made rapid progress towards Port Royal, which consists of a collection of forts, batteries and houses, with various public establishments, situated at the very extremity of this neck of land, which is called the Palisado. As soon as our signal was recognised, two guns were fired from Port Royal, to announce at Kingston, that a Packet was coming, which agreeable news we ourselves soon confirmed by dropping anchor in front of the former place at half past four P.M. We were immediately involved in a scene of bustle, consequent upon sending off the Mail, Passengers with their luggage, and the visits of numerous Potato & other merchants from the shore - and so much time was occupied in ships way, that I did not think it worth my while to go to Kingston distant 6 or 7 miles. Very little shipping lay here - indeed only one brig and a few small craft, with the guard ship called the *Magnificent*.<sup>1</sup> In the evening a M.<sup>r</sup> James, son of a boatman at Falmouth, and Commander of the Brig near us named the *Erin* of London,<sup>2</sup> came on board of us, and along with him we went ashore at port Royal - but owing to its being very dark, I can say nothing at present of its appearance.

## Go to Kingston – incidents Palisado

Saturday 19<sup>th</sup> Sept.<sup>r</sup> - having determined to go to Kingston on matters of business, I was doubtful how I could get a conveyance, when luckily M.<sup>r</sup> James gave us a call and offered me a seat in his boat, as he was going to Town. This kind offer I accepted,

<sup>1</sup> *Magnificent*, 4 gun Receiving Ship, Jamaica, Capt. Abraham Crawford. *Navy List*, April 1829.

<sup>2</sup> *Erin*, a 195 ton Merchant Brig, built at Portaferry c.1822. Capt. J. James, London for Vera Cruz. *Lloyd's Reg.*, 1829.

and we proceeded Not by the common road, but by one which led near the Palisado, or sandy bank, which I have already mentioned. The first adventure, we met in with, was our coming plump against a small boat, which was nearly upset by the shock. This accident was indisputable [due] to M.<sup>r</sup> James being blind of one eye, while at the same time he was earnestly engaged in conversation. No damage having been sustained on we went & passed an artificial landing place of wood, raised on the Palisado. Here all the dead are disembarked in order to be consigned to their long home - for the Palisado is the general burying ground of Kingston and Port Royal.

#### Gallows Point – get around – reach Kingston

Almost opposite to this on a low piece of ground stood rather an ominous erection - I mean to him who might have his own particular reasons for not wishing to come into contact with or even to see it. This is a Gallows on which Pirates are wont to be suspended, *in terrorem* of all those who are disposed to engage in the same interdicted profession. Passing these lugubrious objects, which were calculated to call a damp upon the spirits both of the virtuous and the wicked, our attention was soon drawn from the recollection of the fate others to ourselves - for we were aground. However the sailors jumped out and by dint of pushing soon relieved us from our embarrassment. In the further course of our sail we more frequently so situated, owing to the extreme variation in the depth of the water from ½ a foot to many fathoms. At last we approached Kingston, and before landing paid a visit with M.<sup>r</sup> James to the *Sarah* Bark for Liverpool. Here M.<sup>r</sup> James remained to dinner, at which I was glad, as from his mutational intemperance he was more than half slew (i.e. drunk) already. In his boat M.<sup>r</sup> George Williams and myself went on shore and at one o'clock, I put my foot for the first time on the long famed Soil of Jamaica. Several things attracted my attention and excited my curiosity, which I shall not stop to mention here as we shall soon return, and probably make a longer stay.

#### See M.<sup>r</sup> Robertson - Reasonable Charges at Kingston

I took the opportunity of visiting my old school fellow Robertson, who came out a few months ago in the *Spey*.<sup>3</sup> I found him at the Storehouse of his uncle – and was told that he had all along been in good health, and liked Jamaica very much. At 3 as I felt hungry I went to the sign of the Black Bull a decent sort of an Inn, where tho' I could procure nothing beyond corned-beef and a bottle of execrable ale, we were charged most royally, of which judge for yourself – 2 plates corned beef 10/- Bottle of Ale 3/4 !!! Not an article of fresh meat to be had for love or money, which is owing to the rapid putrefaction which the excessive heat of the climate induces. Meat can be kept only for a few hours - & what is not used immediately, is salted for future consumption.

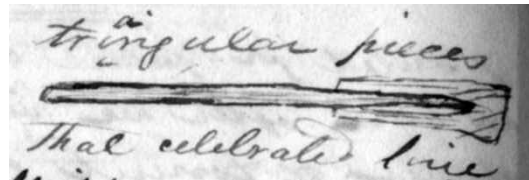
#### Deep [*Puddles*] at Kingston

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<sup>3</sup> *Spey*, 6 gun Brig, Falmouth Packet, Mast.Com. William James. *Navy List*, April 1829.

In half an hour after we went in, a very heavy shower or torrent of rain fell, but ceased shortly afterwards, leaving the streets running with water like so many streamlets, over which it required all our agility to leap & often we were obliged to take a circuitous route in order to reach a place, where the water was narrow enough for us to leap over it or otherwise we must have walked through it to the complete spoiling of our nice white Trowsers and stockings, and to our great discomfort. I am much surprised that no remedy is applied to this evil, which is certainly an annoying one – and wonder how merchants & respectable people contrive to cross. If there were drains or [scythers ?], with a raised footpath at the intersections of the streets, it would assuredly conduce more to the credit of the town in the eyes of strangers and to the comfort of its inhabitants.

At 5 P.M. we were rowed lazily along by 4 negroes, who made every pull as if it were to be their last. Their boat was a large heavy lump of a thing - and their oars were long poles, to which were clumsily fastened triangular pieces of wood as thus



In short I think that celebrated line in Virgil, with a slight variation, might be applied to them. '*Illi inter sese parva vi brackia tollerent.*'

[*Senora Shenton our Passenger*]

Before leaving Jamaica for Carthagera, it only remains for me to notice the Passengers, who have left us here, And find the Lady claims precedence.

Her name was M.<sup>rs</sup> Shenton, wife of a gentleman, who possessed property in the island, as I learn from her often alluding to "our estate of Dover." She had the misfortune to be without one of her limbs, which appeared to have been removed above the knee, and this circumstance confined her to one place. To make up as it were for this corporeal loss, (and probably it was the consequence or result of it) she shewed herself to be possessed of a mind whose intellectual qualities far exceeded those of [a] great proportion of her sex. She was what in fact might be called a clever woman - her language was remarkably correct and rather studied and select in the use of words, & the construction of her sentences. In what she said she exhibited great good sense and what I did not like so well, she discovered rather too great powers of argumentation, which often led her into a wordy but polite war (a logomachy) with the other passengers. She also seemed to be too conscious of her marital superiority to the generality of the female sex - and consequently maintained her positions with warmth and a determination not to be conceived. Into all the relations of life, I have no doubt, she will carry this determined spirit - if I may judge from her treatment of her child. Having gotten into her head certain order and hypothetical opinions respecting diseases, & medicines, she would not consent to follow that plan, when the child was very ill, which both D.<sup>r</sup> Hawkins and myself recommended to be pursued - but contented herself with doing nothing at all & leaving it all to nature. She frequently entertained us with her notions of medical facts & opinions - and having

once imbibed the doctrine of her family practitioner she boldly broached & obstinately upheld them, although contrary to all the practice & theories of modern and improved Physic & Surgery. Like many other persons she held a remedy which had once been successful as a universal panacea - & would be surprised to be told that it had 99 in 100 been found to be worse than useless. If she takes it into her head to act the Lady Bountiful to her slaves and to regulate their medical treatment all I can say is I pity them. She often bothered D.<sup>r</sup> Hawkins & myself with her views - but finding that she was inaccessible to all rational mode of reasoning on that subject, we discouraged and avoided all discussions on medical topics.

In her general manners she was very pleasant - but it was as a mother, that her character shone most in my eyes - for she seemed to be devotedly attached to her son and thought no trouble which she or others could undergo, as too much for his sake - and indeed this feeling frequently led her to the verge of giving trouble & annoyance to others.

Her son, Douglas Shenton will require little to be said. He was generally a fine boy, but too much petted and indulged. He laboured under disease of the lumbar vertebrae, which had produced lumbar abscess. He was totally unable to walk or even stand upright and could crawl on all fours. His age was about 5 - but his intelligence would have stamped him as one who had numbered many more years.

*[Slave of Mr.<sup>s</sup> Shenton – her indolence]*

In attendance upon the lady & her son was a slave, called Margaret, a mulatto, & not very young - about 30. I know not how to describe her character - but I say that if all slaves resembled her, their intellectual moral and religious qualities must be of a very low scale. Her love of ease, or in other words her indolence and dislike to labour, were invariable. One English girl of half her age, and half her apparent strength, would accomplish more than half a dozen Negroes or mulattoes. This lazy disposition is, I believe, partly generated by the nature of the climate, and is partly the result of habit. How provoking it would be for an English Housewife, who is active and bustling herself, to witness the spiritless attempts at work, which are almost universal in the west Indies, And perhaps she would be disposed to try how far a little severity - as to gentle whippings with her own fair hands would accelerate the motions of her slaves - and hence she would soon acquire the reputation of being a cruel taskmistress, & hard hearted proprietor. If a lady is really cursed with a bad temper which will lead her to use the rod whenever she is disappointed or thwarted, I am afraid that the certainty with which the customs of public society and public opinion at home had shackled her, being now removed, she will feel a sinful pleasure in gratifying her spleen upon the persons of her offending slaves - and thus her fiery passions, which nature and over indulgence had engendered, will become so rooted and confirmed as to defy all future [attempts] to restrain or eradicate them - and she will probably prove a female Nero in cruelty to those who cannot protect themselves. Perhaps it is, that by undergoing some such process as this, an opinion is current that the mistress of slaves, who has come from England is more severe in her punishments, more relentless when pardon is asked, than one, who has been all her life, in Jamaica, and is thoroughly acquainted with the characters & powers of the enslaved population.

[Margaret M.<sup>rs</sup> Shentons Slave]

But to return to the slave of M.<sup>rs</sup> Shenton. She did not at all appear to be much attached to her mistress, by whom I was told that this was the general character of slaves. On the subject, however, of slaves generally in hope to be able to say more when I return - but at present I must confine myself to an individual. She was very fond of dress, as all ladies of all colours are - but she was by no means so attentive to [Cleanliness] as one would have wished. *Habitat etiam alia inclolis no-naturalis signa quae potius. Latura quam anglica diceuda putavi. Ardor amoris animalis omnino cor tenerum (atinderum) arebata, complexius virorum sine allo discrimine reherentissime concupis cebat-omni imodestia ac pudore carebat. Quod ad corpus – statiera grandius – pulcredudo faciei mediocus – oculi languidi, sine expresse.*

[Nine or ten lines of Latin?] - so presumably none to complimentary]

[M.<sup>r</sup> Hawkins our Pasenger]

Having dismissed the lady with her concomitants, D.<sup>r</sup> Hawkins will come next to be introduced to you. I hope you will not consider me as swayed by too great partiality for him, as one of the associated Brotherhood, when still you [consider ?] that of all the passengers I have yet met, I have never found one more pleasant or more agreeable. Without stiffness or repelling reserve he entered into conversation, and spoke his sentiments freely. From him I learned that he had been for 20 years in practice in Jamaica, and that upon his first coming out he was laid under great obligations by Scotchmen, who took him by the hand, and advanced his interests. In consequence of the state of his health he came to England in March, but not finding the climate to agree with him. He has returned with us.

The disease under which he often suffers is “*Vigilantia*,” or sleeplessness. When he is thus, no fatigue however great has any effect in inducing sleep - and he has often very large doses of narcotics without [they] produced the slightest effect. He has consulted many Physicians [&] each recommended a different treatment. What is strange there are no collateral symptoms to guide you to the cause of this disease - for it comes on when the stomach, liver and bowels are perfectly regular and healthy in their actions - and therefore the suspicion must be it is dependant upon a peculiar state of the brain, but of what nature it is impossible to determine. After this *vigilantia* has been experienced for several nights, it produces a most depressing effect upon the spirits - and might in persons of weak minds, lead to suicide. No remedy has been found to give permanent relief and what succeeded in one attack will fail in another. If he does get rid of this tendency, D.<sup>r</sup> Hawkins has resolved to retire to England altogether - which I should think he can easily afford to do, as I have heard he has met a competency during his long residence in the West Indies.

M.<sup>r</sup> Williams passenger

The last of our passengers whom I have not yet mentioned, was M.<sup>r</sup> George Williams, a relation of our Commander. He was a young man of very agreeable manners and lived on terms of sociality with the officers in the old *Duke*. He had been in different parts of the world, and had been engaged in commercial speculations.

In the room of our late passengers we received on board for Carthagera a lady of colour, her servant & child, and two French men, who spoke English very well.

### Leave Jamaica for Carthagera

Sunday 20<sup>th</sup> Sept.<sup>r</sup> - at 4 oClock A.M. the men began to haul up the anchor, in order to be ready, as soon as day light appeared, to take advantage of the land breeze in getting away from Jamaica. For some hours we proceeded with the land breeze, but just when we were outside of the Palisado the wind failed us altogether, and a dead calm prevailed. Hitherto I had not complained very much of the heat - but now when not a breath was stirring to cool the heated air it was most oppressive in the strongest sense of the term. The air was so hot and as you inhaled it you felt it to be so that a feeling of suffocation came over you - and with heaving chest you gasped for breath. Most anxiously were our eyes turned sea-wards to watch the expected approach of the "Doctor" as the sea breeze is significantly termed. Time never seemed to go on more slowly in the opinion of the impatient lover, than it did to us. Every moment seemed an hour, every hour an age. With such feelings and such sensations it will require no great stretch of imagination to conceive how joyfully we hailed the first faint aspirations of the Doctor, and how ecstatic was our delight, when he came with all his energy-returning power. But I am forgetting *mia cara Madre* that you are ignorant as yet of the full extent of my meaning, since I have not explained to you what takes place with regards to the winds - which I shall now proceed to do.

### Sea and Land Breezes at Jamaica [Explanation of Land and Sea] Breezes

In the islands situated in the torrid zone a regular rotation of land and sea breezes prevails, which are occasioned by the temperature of the air. During the hottest part of the day, a cool refreshing wind sets in from the sea, and is called, as I just mentioned, the Doctor. But in the evening & night its direction is completely changed, for it then blows from the land, and is named the land breeze. However, extraordinary and wonderful this natural phenomenon may appear to an ignorant person, it admits of a very simple and easy explanation. During the day when the sun's rays are very powerful great heat is produced every where on sea and land - but more particularly on land, because the heat of the sun's rays are greatly increased by being reflected from the land. The consequence is that the air which lies over the land, being more heated than that over the sea, its specific gravity is altered, being lighter, and when in a state of great rarefaction by the laws of nature, it ascends into the upper regions of the air, while at the same time the less heated air over the sea immediately rushes from all sides to fill up its place, and thus to produce the Sea breeze. Again as the land becomes cooled in the night time, that portion of the air which during the day has ascended will by becoming condensed begin to descend again and by spreading and equalising itself will produce a breeze from the land towards the sea, which is called the land breeze.

I trust that the explanation which I have given will be intelligible to you, and that you understand how severely felt must be the absence of either the one or the other, in a climate so hot as Jamaica.

### Dreadful Squall with Lightning

After this short digression, which I thought necessary, I proceed to tell you that as soon as we felt the reviving influence of the Doctor, our vessel, which but a moment before lay like a log in the water, began to move, and, with all sail set, advanced with speed thro' the liquid waters. In the latter part of the day the sky became overcast with clouds, and several dreadful squalls caused us to take in all necessary sail. In particular at 8 P.M. a deep gloom prevailed - the wind, in fitful gusts shook the ship to its centre, while flashes of lightning the most awful and fierce combined to heighten the horrors of the night. When in the Mediterranean I thought I had witnessed the grandest display of lightning which it was possible to see - but I find I was mistaken. Out from the murky gloom, shot with the velocity of thought, broad sheets of fire, which enveloped the men and ship, in such a blaze of pale lurid light that every thing from stem to stern was discernible for the time, as at noonday. The brightness also was felt so intensely by the eyes, that we were obliged occasionally to shut them, in order to exclude it altogether. If any one neglected to do so, their vision was impaired for a few minutes. At times instead of this broad sheet of open lightning, as it is called, you would see long forked lines, which traversed the clouds with inconceivable speed and brilliancy, then trembling as it were for an instant disappeared amidst the dark mass. Occasionally I observed that after a vivid flash of open lightning, a small streamlet would run from the conglomerate clouds into the ocean as if like molten gold it went to be cooled and condensed into solidity by the coolness of the waves. After all no words not even the poet with all his licence can convey an idea of the grandeur, the appalling sublimity, of such a scene as I witnessed this night - and therefore I shall say nothing more than that we have had nightly displays of lightning for many nights past, even though hardly a cloud was visible in the sky.

Monday 21<sup>st</sup> Sept.<sup>r</sup> - unsettled, rainy and squally throughout

Tuesday 22<sup>nd</sup> - dirty squally Weather. Wind variable.

Wednesday 23<sup>rd</sup> - weather fine but wind foul.

Thursday 24<sup>th</sup> Sept.<sup>r</sup> - fine weather and favourable breezes.

Friday 25<sup>th</sup> - fine W.<sup>r</sup> and wind variable.

Saturday 26<sup>th</sup> - weather generally fine with occasional squalls, and showers. Land thought to be visible.

### In sight of Columbia

Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> - was ushered in by thunder, lightning and rain - Peal succeeded peal, flash followed flash and the torrents descended till about noon, when to our joy the horizon, which had been cloudy and obscure began to be cleared up, and disclosed to our view at no great distance, the land of Christopher Columbus. With even a very moderate breeze we should have reached it in a few hours - but unfortunately a light wind - which had just sprung up, died away and disappointed our hopes. The calm



continued all day nearly all and night - and yet we made some little progress towards the land by the agency of a current, which set in towards it. From *Punta de Canoas* to about 10 miles from Carthagen a, to la *Papa*, a lofty eminence, which lies a little above that city and indeed commands it, we saw the land, that it was a moderate height, and no ways peculiar as seen from the distance where we were.

#### Anchor in front of Cartagen a.

Monday 28<sup>th</sup> Sept.<sup>r</sup> - altho' not 18 miles from Carthagen a, we were obliged to content ourselves the whole day with the view in the distance - a dead calm prevailed during which we had some amusement in catching young sharks, which were swimming about in great numbers. In the evening a fresh breeze sprung up, by the aid of which we came to Anchor in front of Cartagen a at 10 P.M.

Tuesday 29<sup>th</sup> - rose at 5 this morning in order to see how we were placed, and found that we were right in front of the Town, & not more than two or three miles off. When I say that we were so close to Cartagen a, you will naturally suppose that we had reached the end of our voyage - but no, as you may judge from the following description.

#### Appearance of Cartagen a

From our present situation Cartagen a seemed to be built along the foot of a hill called *La Popa* (the People), which, rising gradually, terminates in a lofty point, on which a convent is erected called *Nuestra Senora de la Popa*. Altogether to us that figure of this hill then resembled our Salisbury Crags - but as I shall afterwards mention, a change of our position altered its figure. The Capital of Columbia, as we now are, appears rather pretty & indeed almost all foreign places do when seen from a distance. It has in sufficient abundance the usual appurtenances of Towers steeples &<sup>c</sup> *aexcleomnia hujins generio*. The houses are close to the sea side, and are surrounded and protected by substantial walls, before which on this side no vessel can anchor without being exposed to the artillery on the ramparts.

#### Approach to the Harbour of Cartagen a

At the Southern extremity, is an entrance of the Harbour, but which will only admit small boats. Beyond this opening there is a barrier formed by a small narrow low slip of land intervening between the sea and the Harbour. This neck of land continues for a little distance, when it is broken by what was formerly the principal entrance to the Harbour, and is called *Boca Grande* (i.e. Large Mouth), but which is now so artificially shut up, as to be impassable to all but vessels which draw very few feet of water. Still going Southward you have land again, which swelling out constitutes an island of tolerable elevation, named *Isla de Tierra Bomba*. Round the SW end of this island we came to the only entrance for large vessels, called the *Boca Chica* (ie narrow mouth) and this is well defended on the one side the *Castillo de San Fernando*, and on the other by the *Castle of S.<sup>t</sup> Joseph*.

### Come to Anchor in Harbour of Cartagena

By this entrance of the *Boca Chica* you enter first a large sheltered Bay, of great beauty - thence the east Coast of *Tierra Bomba*, inclining to the mainland, leaves a channel of a mile in width. Having passed thro' this you come into a second Bay, opposite to the *Boca Grande*, which again narrows into a strait, by which you are conducted into the Harbour. From this lengthy account you will see that before coming to anchor in the Harb.<sup>r</sup> (where the packets always anchor) we have to make a circuit of 14 or 16 miles, which often require many hours to accomplish.

At 2 o'clock P.M. we came to anchor in the Harbour of Cartagena, after being much pleased with the beauty of the scenery, which we saw as we gradually advanced. I ought to have mentioned, however, that at 7 this morning the captain went on shore with the Mail, leav.<sup>g</sup> us to go forward under the direction of a Black Pilot.

### Monsieur Boyere [*Passenger – Story told by Him*]

In the morning one of our Passengers a Monsieur Boyere accompanied our Captain. He is a native of France, but from a long residence in England spoke our language with considerable fluency and little foreign accent. His character was that of a young well informed gentleman, who had both seen and observed much. I know nothing of his history or occupation, but suppose him to be as almost all in these countries are engaged in merchandise. '*Allo audore, fabulaur arte quidine administrandam audivi, " home nempe quondam albam ex nigra generationem formasse; (id est prince mulattos et femina nigra procreasse deinda ex filiabus suis Quadronos procreasse et postrenio e filiabus sudrum filiaru. A --- procreatis albos liberes produxisse. Oh tempora, oh mores ! Broh pudor – humani generis- faedum infandum negotium. Haud dulicto quin Dominus. Boyere mihi versum dixerit- at ad verba firmanda declaravit, hominem supra dictum in Santa Marta Columbiae provincia diu vixisse, et onnes ibi habitantes hane em bene cognovisse.*

[Which seems to focus on mixed procreation resulting in the different degrees of colour : a subject that he revisits when reviewing slavery at Jamaica later in this voyage.]

### Difficulties presented to the landings of strangers at Cartagena

Our other passengers were under the necessity of waiting on board until the Harbour Master had visited us and taken down their names; Nay more Monsieur Maurel, a Frenchman was not permitted to land until he had procured some Columbian on shore to become security for his good behaviour and for any intermissions. This restrictive regulation applying to every newcomer of a foreign nation, and also to any one who, altho' he has lived at Cartagena, happens to have gone out of the country for a few days or weeks, must be considered as very oppressive and hurtful to the interests of trade.

In the observance of it they are exceedingly strict - and in consequence, strangers, ignorant of this and unacquainted with a single inhabitant, have been obliged to remain on board, until by some means or other, a Columbian can be prevailed upon to sign his name as his security, upon which he receives a pass, and must present himself before the Police, and have a thousand questions asked of him. If

you cannot obtain a security & venture to smuggle yourself into the Town, you have hardly a chance of escaping the vigilance of the lynx eyed police, who have various means of finding you out. A discovery is followed by a fine of 100 dollars and imprisonment in jail for a certain time.

#### Monsieur Maurel Passenger

Fortunately for our passenger Mons.<sup>r</sup> Maurel, he received his pass in the course of the day, and presented himself to the public officers appointed for the purpose - which had he not done in a day or two, the Captain (at least such is the case with captains of Merchant vessels) would have been required to produce him. Mons.<sup>r</sup> Maurel was about 37 years of age, very tall, and having his right cheek sadly disfigured by an ugly scar, left by a sabre wound. He spoke English tolerably well - well enough at least for me to be able to understand the account he gave me of himself. He had been a soldier, a professor, and is now a *merchand*. He had served several years in the army of Napoleon, in whose praise he was most enthusiastic, and consequently very much against the Bourbons, and he had been present at the battle of Waterloo, which he would not admit to have been gained by British valour, but the mistakes and treachery of Bonaparte's generals. When tired of "wars alarms," he turned himself to literature and became a *professeur de Rhetorique*, in one of the "*Cours Royale*" (royal colleges) of Paris, in which he included Latin, French and Greek, in fact he was Professor of Humanity as we say. What caused him to leave the trade of teaching the young idea how to shoot, I know [not] of - but so it was, that he left "*la belle France*" for painful travel in foreign lands. His political & ultra liberal opinions I suspect rendered him unfit to be instructor of the youth of Paris, whom it was natural for the Government to wish to be educated in sentiments of obedience and loyalty to the legitimate House of Bourbon.

Be the case what it may, he visited England, then Martinique, then Guadeloupe, next Jamaica and lastly Cartagena. In his travels he had already consumed eight years, trafficking here and there as opportunity offered. His mercantile adventures, however, were on a small scale, and judging by his dress, and the circumstance that he went with us only as a steerage passenger, altho' being a Mason the Captain was kind enough to allow him to mess at the cabin table. Judging I say by all these things they had not apparently enriched him. As might be expected I found him well acquainted with the Latin language - & but so so with the Greek, *which* he had much neglected - often we spouted together to the great delight of us both.

#### [Other passengers]

The other passengers, whom we brought here, were a Miss Mary Ann Creighton, a lady of colour and her young slave Fanny, and her child. [*The former proved to be the chere amie of a Senor Thomler, a Merchant in Carthagen a.*] That lady was indisposed during the whole voyage, but she appeared to be very pleasant in her manners.

#### Disturbances in Columbia - General Cordova

The prescribed time of remaining at Cartagena is 48 hours, but it is usual to detain the packet one day longer. In our own case, we expected a longer detention, as only four days before our arrival the country had experienced one of those political disturbances, which are of such frequent occurrence in infant states, and ill established governments. It appeared from general reports that a General Cordova, clearly the companion in arms of Bolivar, the Liberator of Columbia, concealing his own ambitious designs of personal aggrandisement, had raised the standard of rebellion and revolt under the flimsy pretence, that Bolivar entertained the purpose of subverting the liberties of his country, by converting the republic into a monarchy, of which he proposed to be the founder. The reason of advancing such a charge against the Liberator, is said to have been that the army under his command had offered him a crown - which he refused as proceeding only from his troops, and not from the people in general. Whatever truth may lie in this statement Cordova, it is certain, took advantage of Bolivar's absence in Peru, where he was endeavouring to recover from that republic the expenses of the war just concluded, to leave him and raising a few hundred men, to proceed to certain fastnesses in the mountains, the which Bolivar must of necessity pass before he could reach Bogata - and this pass is said to be such by nature that a few men of resolute spirits could defend it against thousands, and effectually preclude their farther progress. Here Cordova prepared several proclamations claiming to himself high pretensions as a patriarch and representing the conduct and intentions of Bolivar in the most odious light. These manifestoes, altho' so plausible and indubiously circulated did not appear to create much preposition in his favour - but on the contrary the general sense of the country was against him. With respect to Cartagena itself, the Governor of it is a General Montilla, an adherent of Bolivar - and hence it may be easily guessed that he would not be slack in his endeavours to quell the present disturbances. Two days before our arrival the whole disposable regular troops were sent off, partly by land and partly by water - so that only a few ill disciplined and worse equipped militiamen of all colours black, white & brown, were left for the protection of the Town. The Governor himself proposed to proceed to the seat of war in a short a time as some necessary previous arrangements would permit.

Such is a very slight sketch, which in have thought it necessary to give you, that you may understand, and several circumstances here after to be mentioned.

#### Visit the fruit & vegetable market at Cartagena

Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup> Sept.<sup>r</sup> - at dawn of day I arose for the purpose of visiting the market, which always begins by day light. Passing by an account of the city, I may mention that the market for country produce is held outside of the city gates, on a narrow stripe of land connecting the suburbs with the Town. Close to this are anchor[ed] large unwieldy market boats, laden with the various producing of the country, which at the present season are very few, consisting chiefly of Indian corn, coco nuts, eggs, & plantains. It is no less true than surprising, that, altho' the soil is so favourable, the inveterate laziness or prejudices of the natives have never permitted them to cultivate many articles of luxury and convenience with which nature would lavishly furnish them at a very small expense of labour and time. No fruit, could/was to be obtained except a few limes and water melons - no oranges, grapes, or pine apples - nor any substitute for them.

Destitute, however, as the market was of articles which we would wish to purchase, still there was a bustle and a liveliness, which made amends for our disappointment in other respects. Old gentlemen were seen taking their morning walk, and slowly inspecting the various items, but evidently without the slightest intention of buying. We noticed, likewise, also several ladies of '*a certain age*,' who advanced with mincing steps among the baskets &.<sup>c</sup> of the different sellers having their heads uncovered and their feet encased in a pair of neat light coloured shoes. While looking at them we occasionally were oblivious of the purpose which had brought us where we were, until we were reminded of it by the shrill invitation of an Indian girl, to lay out some money in purchasing from her. In dealing at markets, people I believe are the same all over the world. When a stranger is perceived his question as to the price of any article is generally answered by a demand many times beyond what they would make to an acquaintance or a Townsman. We at least were not exceptions to this demand - our dress, our broken and inexpert Spanish soon betrayed us to be Newcomers and just six times as much as they would ask of friends, was seriously demanded of us, and in most instances paid, without grumbling, for such is the cheapness of the produce here, that while the natives are all laughing in their sleeves at having sextuply over charged us, we ourselves are perfectly self-content because we have made a good bargain.

#### Flesh Market at Carthagen a

From the fruit and vegetable market we next proceeded to the flesh market, which is in the Town - but at no great distance from the former. The first sight of it was quite sufficient to so put to flight any lurking desires which I might have had for a nice piece of roast beef to which we had been a stranger - since a few days after our departure from England. Many pieces looked as black [anaal ?] and far advanced in a state of putrescence - the newly killed meat was flabby and discoloured and such a filth and want of cleanliness prevailed that I became sick of the scene which I left with all speed. I need hardly say that during our stay in the Harbour we had never set before us any of this precious dogs meat, but were better satisfied with the excellent fowls of the country, which indeed for flavour and plumpness surpassed any I had ever seen.

#### Appearance of the country opposite our anchorage.

Shortly after quitting the markets, I went on board to breakfast, to the great comfort of my limbs and stomach which perhaps had felt not a little the fervent heat reflected from the narrow streets - I did not venture to go on shore to the town during the day, but in the cool of the evening the Master and I went to that part of the country, off which we were more immediately lying. At a little distance it appeared to be a delightful spot covered all over with trees, in the interval of which several negro huts reared their modest heads. An actual visit to it, however, took away much of its apparent attraction - but still enough was left to make us much pleased with it. The soil is very sandy, and unpleasant for walking. The trees are very numerous and afford a pleasing shade - and here and there you see the habitations of the country people.

### Negro Huts near Carthage.

Into one of these, which was kept by a Creole, we entered, and from him we learned that these are built of canes first of all, then well plastered with clay, which the heat of the sun renders perfectly hard. The roof is thatched with a kind of long grass, and is impenetrable to the heaviest showers of rain. In each of the huts there is generally a door facing the sea to admit the cooling influence of the sea breeze, and another in the direction of the land wind. Thus, notwithstanding the mean appearance and homely construction of the negroe huts, they are I have no doubt, better adapted for the climate & comfort of the people than if they had [been] raised of stone and mortar. To my own feelings they seemed cooler and more agreeable than any of the houses in the Town. The furnishings of them are in the extreme simplicity - a small stool - a rude bench & still ruder apology for a table are sufficient to satisfy the wishes of the humble habitants.

The houses or hut into which we went was set forth in a far superior way to the rest as well as another one at a short distance from it. These however were houses of entertainment and most frequented by the crew of the Packets & other vessels - consequently they possessed the luxury of good chairs good tables & many other *et ceteras* necessary to the comfort of wayfarers. Here we procured some *vino seco* (dry wines) an abominable kind of stuff - and also *vino tinto* (ie coloured wine) which being sweet was more pleasant than the other altho' it was far from being good.

### Fire-flies in Columbia - Sound made by Lizards

We had expected the pleasure of a walk in the cool of the evening, but were disappointed as in this country, as well as in the West Indies, you have very little, or I should rather say no twilight - but as soon as the Sun has set darkness comes most rapidly on. However, we enjoyed the cool of the evening breeze, while the mild splendour of the moon added to the charm. Our eyes and ears also were saluted with sights and sounds of an unusual kind. At first my attention was attracted to what I supposed to be sparks of fire traversing the air, in every direction - and from their occasional contiguity to the dry combustible thatching of the houses, I was apprehensive lest some injury should arise. I was almost on the point of mentioning the circumstance to the landlord, when from observation I was led to believe these apparent sparks of fire to be nothing or less than fire-flies, whose phosphorescent bodies emit a bright light, the effect of which in a dark night is singularly beautiful. Upon saying I found I was right - and afterwards derived much pleasing amusement in watching the wayward flight of the little creatures - sometimes alighting on the ground and looking like a small lump of burnished gold - sometimes perching on the branches of the trees from whence they glistened with the radiance of stars.

Our ears too were no less attracted than our eyes - for a very loud chirping sound filled the air, rising above every other. This proceeded from the long and lean lizards, which every where abounded here. I cannot describe the effect of this sound - in the midst of habitations and living creatures, in my opinion the song, if you may so call it, communicates the idea of cheerfulness - but amidst the solemn silence of the night and when heard amidst the dreary stillness of a large burial ground in the neighbourhood, a feeling of indefinable horror would be created in the mind.

In chattering, drinking, seeing the flies and listening to the music of the lizards, time flew on, and we returned on board at a late hour. As I've paid several visits to

this part of the shore I think it will be best to mention what we farther observed, in this point, that it may not interfere with the City.

#### Burial Ground near Cartagena

In one of our rambles M.<sup>r</sup> Geach and I stumbled by chance upon an extensive burying-ground. It was completely surrounded with a solid wall of stone, ornamented at regular intervals with small pilasters. The interior was full of horrible tomb-stones, which were erected to the memory and for the soul of the deceased, and to the honour of the virgin Mary. The whole ground was overgrown with much weeds, intermixed with some aromatics & a few flowers. In the centre was a tomb of much larger dimensions, than the rest, which we were told had been raised to the Commandante. It was of a square form - and on each of the four sides was an aperture for the reception of the body, which when deposited there was immediately walled up. When we were there - and the others had either been opened by force or time had done the work of dilapidation. In one of them we found the skulls of two adults, and in the other that of a child, which were placed in such a situation, as to be visible to all. In another part of the ground, I saw a grave partly open, and perceived the rude coffin had not been lowered to the bottom of the grave, but that it rested on several planks placed crossways. As we were about to leave these relics of mortality we discovered an Indian woman engaged in lighting up a lamp which hung suspended over the large entrance to the burial ground. Whether this act was done by this individual only, from a regard for the memory of some friend, and whether she was employed by the public in general to light the lamp, we from our imperfect knowledge of Spanish could not ascertain - nor what the reason at all for the observance of such a custom.

#### Negro dance in Columbia.

As life is a mingled yarn of joy and sorrow, happiness and misery - and as a journalist is allowed to change from grave to gay, from lively to severe, you will not be surprised if I take you along with me to a very different scene and what widely different emotions were excited in our minds. We were at a negroe dance or ball - I must be more methodical. We had been enjoying ourselves on shore as usual and were preparing to return on board when the sound of the heat stirring drums saluted our ears. Guided by this, after a long walk we came in front of a large hut, at which the ball was kept. Before the door and under the open canopy of heaven were arranged in various attitudes a pretty large party of coloured girls, with one or two negroesmen. Some were sitting quiet spectators of the proceedings - others were standing clapping their hands, in time with the music, while one or two girls were performing a very slow dance to the sound of a drum, and a large tin pan. All of them were dressed for the occasion and most of them in white, and one wore a very neat chaplet of flowers. Our arrival did not seem to disturb them in the least - the mirth and fun grew fast & furious while ever and anon the services of the different drummers were put into requisition. To the beaux and belles of our country villages, who have no idea of dancing beyond kicking up their heels and moving rapidly to the merry sound of the lively fiddle, the dance of the Negroes would appear to be no dancing at all. With an air of voluptuous languor the blacks moved their bodies and were never incited to go \_\_\_ thro' their part at more than a snails pace. This is either the character

of their national dance or the exclusive languor induced by the heat of the weather forbids those active movements which are the delight of the English. I must however confess that the Negroes & coloured people in general dance with a great deal more grace than is to be found among the lower ranks at home - and they are so fond of the amusement that they have been known to continue it right into the night for a whole month together. Wherever the drum sounds the note of preparation, thither all the lads and lassies congregate to enjoy their favourite pastime. The character of the dance is essentially [*indelicate*] and unfit [*for the modest society of our fair country women*]

I have mentioned that the sound of the drum attracted our attention, and not of the fiddle. A common tin pan, in conjunction with the drum are the only artificial instruments from which the music is elicited. The latter is an object of curiosity. In construction it is extremely simple, and rude. The form somewhat resembles that of an egg, and at one of the ends is covered with skin while the other is perfectly open, and when the instrument is used, is placed against the ground. In the middle part is a very rude apparatus for rendering the skin tense. They have no drum sticks but, in room of them they bend the fingers at the third joint and thump with all their might upon the skin of the drum. I don't think much science is or can be displayed - a succession of rub-a-dubs, with a few straggling variations seems to constitute the whole of their notions as to music & harmony. The efforts of the drum to enliven the dance were amply seconded by the voices of the women, many of which evidently contained the elements of good singing - one of them in particular possessed a voice of wonderful sweetness and power. I cannot pretend to put down exactly in letters the sounds they uttered - it resembled this *lee, la, la, los, lu, lee, ill, la, le, lee*, in various keys, sometimes high, sometimes low. The harmonious combination of the different voices had an effect indescribably pleasing - and the unusual mode of regulating the movements of the dance seemed to answer the desired purpose most effectively. The tripping on the light fantastic toes was kept up with unabated delight until midnight, when all, forming themselves into a procession, departed to their respective homes, to the sound of singing shouting and blowing on shells.

Revert to a description of Carthage.

I have been so far led away by the mentioning of our visit to the country and by the necessity in order to preserve connection, of relating every thing which had occurred concerning the country, as to have lost sight for a time of the Town. I propose now to revert to this at length and to let you know the impressions which I received from my visit to it.

And first of all I should tell you that the sketch which I have just given you of Carthage when we first saw it although correct as to the appearance then presented, I mean in reference to the hill called the *Popa*, I found to be wrong when we were moored in the Harbour. The Town is not exactly built at the foot of it - a distance of several miles intervenes between them - but a distant or a side view leads you to the supposition that they approximate more closely than in reality they do. Of the *Popa* I shall speak more afterwards - but, I thought it necessary to premise the mistaken opinion I had formed as to the position of Carthage, before I described the Town itself.

Account of Carthage



Carthagen a, then as far as I could judge is divided into two portions, each of which is surrounded by water - and thus they form two islands. One general wall surrounds the Town, and the two divisions of it are connected by the vegetable market and by a draw bridge - & hence the enemy may be in possession of one part and yet be excluded from the other. The walls seem to be excellently and solidly built, and tolerably well mounted with cannon - I mean only with regard to numbers, for as to quality, that is quite a different thing. Many of the cannon are good and efficient, particularly some long pieces of brass, which were cast in Segovia & in France - but a great number are useless and threaten destruction to those who should be so daring as to discharge them. These seem to be shamefully neglected and their very stocks are going fast to decay. What a contrast is here to the care which is taken of our guns, balls &.<sup>c</sup> Numerous dismantled cannon are lying in the streets near the ramparts and hear to them in glorious confusion are thousands of cannon balls which are knocked about or carried at the pleasure of the people. Each of the brass pieces have inscriptions or names, as "*Intrepido*" "*Victoria*" "*Ultima catio requim*" &.<sup>ca</sup> throughout the whole circumference of the walls I don't believe there [were] 4 Sentinels, and these ill dressed and ill armed - & perhaps without either powder or ball.

#### Houses of Carthagen a.

By a narrow passage between the two parts of the Town you come to the market places where you generally land, unless you want to go to the Custom House, close to which you can disembark. Suppose you prefer the former place, you see before you two gateways, with sentries in each. These are designed the one for those passing out of the City to the market, and the other for those entering the Town from the market. This arrangement is a most excellent one and is strictly enforced. Accordingly, by the proper gateway, we entered the principal portion - division of Carthagen a, and proceeded thro' the various streets, & alleys, which constitute it. In general the streets are very narrow and indifferently paved. I saw no very elegant private abodes - but all the houses may I think be entitled to be called very substantial. As such they are being built - many years ago by the former inhabitants. Most of them were furnished with strong massy doors, ornamented or I should rather say, armed with large hobnails and numerous fanciful devices. These doors were of immense size, long and broad - and in their whole appearance vividly reminded me of such expressions as are to be found in the psalms "*Ye everlasting doors,*" & "*Ye doors that last for aye.*" Within these is generally a lobby, leading to an open court, the sides of which are formed by the various apartments of the House. In this Court there is generally a well or handsomely ornamented fountain, which is both convenient and cooling to the air. The windows of the respectable people have all balconies, but are not at all to be compared to those at Cadiz. The lower orders have their windows guarded by an inelegant piece of wood work, very substantial, in imitation of small pillars - and there is such a complete resemblance, that they seem all to have come from the hand of the same workman.

#### Custom House - Inquisition & Cathedral at Carthagen a

There are not many public buildings - and none of these are prepossessing in their external appearance. The custom house is of considerable length - but has no other recommendation.

The Inquisition Office is a lofty and very substantial piece of architecture, situated in one of the best squares, and at but a very short distance from the Cathedral. It was with very great interest that I viewed this monument of the superstition and cruelty of the Romanish Church. All that I had heard or read respecting this terrible institution occurred to me and rendered me anxious, if possible, to see the interior. But lack of time and different circumstances prevented the gratification of my wish - nor, I was told, ought I to regret the disappointment, there is really nothing to be seen. It is now occupied by the counting house & business of a M.<sup>r</sup> Bianch, one of our principal British Merchants in Carthage. Passing however, one day, I saw the interior court - several rooms and the different staircases, on each landing place very small strong doors for the admission, I opine, of the prisoners to their cells. Every part bore the impress of strength & durability, as if it was contemplated by the founders, that this Unholy, iniquitous and abominable office would last for ever.

#### Cathedral – Confessionals at Carthage

A few yards from the Inquisition offices the Cathedral presents itself. We entered it by [an immense door at one extremity, and immediately within it was a marble basin of holy water. The centre of this very large Church was occupied by an enclosed space having seats, a throne or pulpit, for the monks, grand Inquisitor & Bishop. The sides were adorned with portraits of various saints, with pictorial representations of the events of their history, with vivid shewings both of the suffering of poor souls in purgatory, and with numerous images of our Saviour, and the Virgin Mary. But a greater curiosity than all these in my opinion, were 20 or 30 confessionals. These were large boxes, well painted & gilded - and in them was a seat for the reverend Confessor. On each side were two apertures like small windows, which were filled up, by what appeared to be a piece of tin pierced with innumerable holes. Around the box was a narrow platform, on which the penitent knelt opposite to the above mentioned windows, and poured in, a whisper the whole catalogue of the faults, which he had committed since last confession day, while in the meantime the holy fathers, if the history were long and tedious, might unperceived indulge in a considerable nap, till the running sound of the sinner's voice ceasing aroused him. What crimes had not been confessed on the very spot, which I was then beholding? What tales could not these Confessionals unfold if they had tongue to tell them?

#### Curious tomb stone – Black Christ & Virgin

The opposite extremity to that which we entered was occupied by a large altar, above which were several large pictures, which had once been richly ornamented with gold - but which were rather disfigured & shewen to disadvantage by the tarnished state of the gildings. When we were on the point of leaving the Cathedral we remarked a small marble seat, in front of the enclosed space, which I have mentioned, on which was an inscription stating that the person, who lay beneath it, had died on a certain day of a particular month at  $\frac{3}{4}$  past 8 P.M., aged so many years, months, weeks, days & hours. How particular & Minute! The reason of this it is difficult to guess at. May it

not be from an apprehension that another person might be mistaken for the Don in this Cathedral by rigidly at the same time and by the certainty that no other person of the same name city & nation could have corresponded I all the particulars of his death. However that may be "*requiescat in pace.*"

Besides the Cathedral there are several Churches, which upon the whole are very good. You may observe here, as in Brazil, that the negroes have chosen to represent our Saviour & his Mother, as Blacks, from a natural predilection for their own colour, which predilection they scrupled not to qualify, at the expense of truth & history. But what are truth and History to them, if they believe that a black Christ & a black Virgin will be more propitious to their prayers, than either the one or the other - of the same colour as the Whites. These sacred images are decked out with all the tinsel & finery which they can muster - and in some cases, they have black priests & servitors of the Church.

### Carthagen a commanded by San Felipe & la Popa

Before leaving the description of the Town altogether, I may mention that it is commanded completely by a large fortress, built on a hill several hundred feet in height, and about a half a mile distant. It is called the fort of *San Felipe*, and appears to be of considerable strength - so that any party being master of it, if they cannot make the City capitulate, they can annoy excessively. This fort is again commanded, or rather may be commanded by artillery placed on the summit of that lofty hill called *la Popa*, which I have already mentioned, as forming so prominent a feature in the scenery around Carthagen a. At present there are no fortifications on it - but only a large convent dedicated to *Nuestra Senora de la Popa*. I have been told that no forts are allowed to be erected on it since these would give an enemy a decided superiority.

Such then is Carthagen a in its appearance, its houses, churches, and strength and weakness - from these I shall now pass to the consideration of circumstances relating to its inhabitants.

### Slaves in Carthagen a

As may be expected from the history of the place its inhabitants as to mixture are kind of human *olla podrida*, prepared from Indians, Negroes, mulattoes and whites. The number of true whites is comparatively trifling and the greater proportion of the population are descendants of the aborigines of the country & the Spanish settlers. The Indians and Negroes, altho' their colour assimilates entertain a great antipathy to each other, and shew it on every occasion. In the estimation of the Whites, the Indians rank higher and, indeed from what I observed myself they always appeared better dressed and better off than the blacks. Notwithstanding this the Negroes seemed not to be in a bad condition - and at least they appearance is far superior to that of the same class in the Brazilian Empire. There are now indeed very few classes in Columbia, and, if the present constitution and slave regulations should exist long universal emancipation will be gradually brought about. For, after the establishment of the present government, it was declared that all born after that period, should be restored to liberty, as soon as they reached the age of 18. This regulation is considered to be a hard one, since it deprives the master of the valuable services of his slaves, exactly at that time when they are most essential, while at the same time, he is bound

to support, and cloth, him when he can obtain no equivalent for his outlay in the value of his services. Besides this very important clause in their favour, the achieved condition of the slave is not conformable. He is even fed and clothed at his master's expense - he is treated with great gentleness and his services are regulated in the kindest terms so that in fact a footing of families of reciprocal kindness already exists between Master and Slave which could hardly have been expected between persons in such opposite relations of life.

### Militia at Carthagena

I am not aware that any of the Indians are slaves - I believe not, and I observed that the militia, who in the absence of regular troops, who had been sent against Cordova, mounted in the city, were either native Indians, or of Indian extraction. By the bye, the militia presented a curious appearance, from their total disregard of all regularity in dress. I met a party passing along the streets, some with jackets ragged or with holes, more with none at all - some with white, some with blue shirts, some with shoes or their apologies for shoes, many with none at all. Their arms too were in very bad order, old and rusty - and I suppose that many of them consisted of muskets, which had been rejected, as no longer fit for service in the British army. This I judge from seeing several old worn out pieces of artillery, with the well known marks of **G R** on them. Whilst on duty before the Custom house, and other stations, they consulted only their will & pleasure in walking, standing, shouldering their arms or grounding them. Altogether they were an awkward squad, and if they should ever come to the crush, would rather be a subject of ridicule to an enemy, than an object of serious apprehension. They did however very well in keeping order among the unmannerly rabble towards whom they carried themselves with a great deal of importance and superiority.

### Great passion for dancing & Gambling

I have seen nothing of the domestic life of the Columbians and consequently can not speak of it from actual experience. From several quarters however, on which I can rely I have heard several particulars, which I shall communicate to you. Their great amusement is dancing, and their great vice is an immoderate love of gambling, which infects all ranks of society! From the King to the beggar as we would say. At particular times such as the feasts of their Saints, these passions are displayed in their greatest extreme.

For days and nights (for the feast of *la Popa* lasts nearly a month) they give themselves up to unrestrained enjoyment of their favourite propensities. At a village in particular situated at the foot of *la Popa*, the grandest display is presented. It is a considerable length and throughout it gambling tables are ranged while large ball rooms are close at hand for those who tired of gambling, prefer the animating and wanton fandango, the national dance of the Spaniards.

### Gambling at Carthagena

At the gaming tables are to be seen all manner of stakes from a real (6d) to a doubloon (£3-£4). Here immense sums are alternatively lost and won, or as it might be subtly termed, exchanged possession. Here many are utterly ruined whilst others are suddenly raised to the possession of a large fortune. At one and the same table may be witnessed the curious spectacle of the master & slave, of the black & white, of grandee & peasant, risking their money in common. So far as this passion of gambling carried, and so general in its influence, that even some of the reverent clergy may be seen hazarding, without scandal, the hard earned money which the poor man had accumulated for the pious purpose of having masses said for the repose of the souls of his children or relations. This season of relaxation is certainly very profitable for the priesthood, since most of the women always consider it an act of imperative deity to give a portion of their gains to the church in order that they may still have the same good fortune in their future speculations.

During the whole of the month of February I believe, this entire devotion to pleasure is continued - nothing is heard but mirth and jollity, the sound of the drum among the Negroes, and of more refined instruments among the whites & rich. I have heard several stories of immense losses sustained, & fortunes made - that general Santander in one night lost 30,000 dollars, and that another person had netted in one week, 200,000 dollars. Here observe I only report from hearsay, but, I have no doubt of their general correctness.

[State of morality – Smoking &c.]

From all the circumstances just mentioned, it will require no great stretch of fancy to conceive that a very lax state of morality is prevalent. *Exquodam audio omnes phellas ase sine ulla imodestiae sensum et magis verbis imprudicis quam pudicis delectari. Omnium bonarum literarum penities ignarae – scientiae musices modice etudent praesertim citherae. Vultu imm---- et audie—t et dicunt turpia dictia, et (quod expectandum est) faeda factu perpebrant. Audivi quoque in quenbus dam insulas, haud procut. A Carthagena comin-urcium, inter seeus sine ullo discriminae fiere nee ab ullo conquigium sacrum desiderari.*

[another long passage of underlined Latin – obscuring some of his more candid comments?]

I was much pleased with the general dress adopted, which consisted of light jackets, clean white trousers & cotton stockings. Very few wore long coats which are certainly very oppressive for the climate. Every person here smokes, black white & brown - nor is the taste confined to age, for I have often seen boys and girls scarcely able to walk toddling about with a lighted cigar in their mouths. This love of smoking is often a great retardation in business, for as I have been told, by a clerk in one of the principal houses here, they often come to his Master, and instead of proceeding to business they sit down and finish several cigars and tell numerous stories, or engage in indifferent conversation, before they come to the main object of their visits. Viz. to make extensive purchases with ready money.

Umbilical Hernia – [Tumethactio Testio] Common in Carthagena.

Many of the young children here go about *puris naturaltus*, which circumstance enables me to observe a medical fact, viz. that a very great proportion of them are affected with umbilical Hernia. Some of these *Herniae* were of immense size, and if they should continue to increase, must ultimately prove very inconvenient, if not fatal. In none did I ever see any precaution used to support the hernia or prevent its enlargement. In one of the houses I visited saw a fine stout white boy affected with this, and upon enquiring into the causes of this appearance, and why it was so general, was told, that it was owing to the prejudices of the Columbian nurses, who remove the bandage from the umbilicus too soon, so that should the child be attacked, by a violent fit of coughing, the umbilical aperture not being sufficiently closed, gives away to the pressure of the intestines forcing outward. Another medical circumstance concerned with Carthagera is (altho' the cause is unknown) *testem saepe caeslere in miram magnitudinem sine dolores et sae colore mulato Istius \_hase esse, causa dicitur. Agua, propter quasdam qualitates, adhuc incognitas, tumores glandularum, A presertim glandulae testes afficere videtur. Caeli ardor quoque ad hunc effectum haud parvo grado valere, fasile eredatur. Hinc multi et Columbiani et peregrini suspensoris testum atuntur-nec quovis alio remedio.*

[more Latin – but this time apparently of a medical nature.]

#### Dogs of Carthagera

Besides the curious admixture of the inhabitants which attracts your attention so forcibly, there are one or two other living objects, which I remarked. In the neighbourhood of Carthagera there are immense numbers of dogs to be met with of a very handsome appearance, but with nothing else to recommend them. They are very cowardly and fly from the least shew of resistance, in short and in truth 'their bark is worse than their bite.' For no sooner do you approach a negroe hut at night, than your ears are completely stunned with their discordant bow-wowling - and, if ignorant of their qualities, you may feel alarmed when you see them advancing by dozens yelling with open threats - but you have nothing more to do than to shake a stick at them, and immediately they run off. I must mention here, that a gentleman who accompanied us back to Jamaica brought a Scottish terrier with him, whose body exhibited numerous scars marks of wounds. Of this animal he told me that when he had first arrived at Carthagera no single dog would dare to face him - but that many of them would combine together to attack him, and even would have the worst of it - by which means his prowess was well known that with whatever odds, they would now never venture to call upon them. Do not the dogs in this respect only imitate their masters?

#### Turkey Buzzard – Bat called the Vampire

There is a very useful bird which I have frequently seen here and which is well deserved of notice. It is named among us as the Turkey-buzzard - is nearly of the size of a hen and of a black colour, and graceful form. Their utility is such, that they are never permitted to be killed - and but for them fevers, plagues and every disease which might arise from dirt, filth, and the fetid exhalations from putrescent animal & vegetable matter, would rage with fury. If any filth is left in the Streets you will perceive large numbers of them flocking to the scene as to a dinner or a feast - and

they are the scavengers of Carthagen a and well entitled to the public protection for the highly important services, which they render to that same public.

### Vampire Bat in Carthagen a

Directly opposite in character to this useful bird, Carthagen a is infested with one, which is a great curse & nuisance as the other is a blessing and a benefit. The bird I allude to is that species of bat, which by naturalists is called the vampire. You must have often heard of the vampire bat - but our conceptions of it are widely different from the reality. This bat is of large size and is to be found in large numbers in almost every house. Suppose that overnight, you lie down fatigued and anxious for repose - Your sleep, we shall suppose, has been unusually sound, and you do not awake till late in the morning, when all at once you are sensible of great weakness and an unusual sensation in the feet, generally the big toe. A transient look will fill you with alarm and enable you to account very naturally for the unpleasant effects which you feel. From an aperture not much longer than the bite of a leach an immense quantity of blood has welled out, leaving the sheets & with the matrass soaked in blood. And all this mischief has been wrought by the vampire, who coming when you are asleep, pierces your toes, and drink[s] greedily your life's blood. Strangers are more subject to the visitations of this horrible monster than, the natives and unless they use sufficient precautions they will suffer in the same way at many different times, and experience a considerable extraction. What is it in all the world, that causes these noxious animals, as well as the mosquitoes, to prefer tormenting a European than a South American. Is the blood of the former richer more plentiful and more delicious from that of the latter? Or is there any thing in the influence of the climate which acts upon the blood or skin, so as to prove disagreeable to these pests? These questions are questions, which can only be attempted to be resolved by conjecture, and I am afraid we must wait, until we attain a knowledge of the language of animals, and learn from the mosquitoes and the vampires themselves why they are such epicures in the article of blood.

### *[Seizure of Captain's Money]*

Having now furnished all that I had in mind to tell you of Carthagen a, [and] its inhabitants, I shall before leaving it, I shall relate one or two circumstances - of a more personal nature. You must know, then, that the Custom House here are very strict in observing the state regulations, respecting the export of Columbian coin. So much per cent must be paid before exportation is allowed - and all found otherwise in your possession is forfeited. Gold in coin or bars may be exported - but gold dust cannot at all. Well, our Captain, having a good deal of business on shore sent to have his escritoire brought to his lodgings. It so happened that there were (I think) 40 doubloons in it, which, when it was carried to the custom House to be examined, were there seen by the searching officer who, after enquiring if they were the personal property of the Capt.<sup>n</sup> and receiving an answer in the affirmative allowed them to pass without scruple. A few days after the writing desk was required to be sent on board - and in it were the same doubloons and a very few more.

*[Captain and his money]*

The same officer as had allowed them to pass before now detained the desk and money, because [there] chanced to be a few more doubloons. The seizure of so considerable a sum (about £180) the private property of the Captain and which, having received it as passage money, he made no attempt to conceal, excited, as may be suppose[d] no slight uneasiness to our Commander. About the same time too, a M.<sup>r</sup> Teague, a passenger, had 250 silver dollars seized thro' ignorance of the laws here, and, when he made application for their restitution, he was put off from day to day, and might never have discovered them, had he not applied to the [same] person as the Captain, viz. M.<sup>r</sup> Watts the British Consul. He, upon being informed of the circumstance of the seizure, waited upon the proper authorities, and by the cogent arguments (whatever they were) which he used, he procured the whole money to be restored at the expense of only 1 doubloon (£3-£4)! To the great disappointment I have no doubt of all the parties who had expected to have shared in the fortunate Capture, for I think, it will be easily supposed that little or none of the money would have gone into the public coffers.

*[Personal adventure at Carthage]*

One day, when M.<sup>r</sup> Geach and I happened to be ashore - about this business, as the Capt.<sup>n</sup> was confined by the Gout, having some time left on hand, we determined to take a stroll - and see the nakedness of the land, our choice lay at first along the parapet wall which surrounded the city. We proceeded very leisurely examining and remarking upon the different pieces of cannon, which were planted there. Some were as I have already mentioned, in a wretched condition, whilst others were quite of a superior character. The latter, chiefly were brass, and cast either in Spain or France, and in general had either names or inscriptions on them. With the sentiment expressed by one inscription in particular, I was much struck and fearful lest I should forget it. I inconsiderately, and forgetful that I was not now in England the land of liberty, but in a country, where every thing at the present moment was viewed with an eye of suspicion, pulled out my pocket-book and jotted it down. The inscription was a quotation, if I mistake it not from Horace, and was in these words, *ultima ratio regum*. While the last argument of Kings intimating that when powerful states failed to convince their weaker allies by words, they have recourse to arms, as a last & incontrovertible argument. After having noted this down I restored my memorandum book to its former place and turned my attention to some other pieces. Happening to turn round in order to see some object, we were sensible to the rapid approach of a soldier, who upon coming up to us halted all at once and commenced a long harangue in which the words "*Commandant* and *cannonen* were all which were intelligible to us. We guessed however that he meant to tell us that the Commandant, whom we had passed seated in the miserable guard house, a few hundred yards from where we were, had observed me writing something respecting the cannon, and wished us to return to the Guard House. After he had delivered his message, he stood with an air of attention, awaiting our reply. Of course, as we were ignorant of Spanish, we could neither answer in the affirmative nor negative - but sheltering ourselves under the plea of "*No Entiendo*" (I do not understand), and asking him if *Habas uestest Inglese*, we continued our route, looking as innocent, and unconcerned as possible, although our very vitals quaked with fear, lest he should attempt to enforce our attendance upon the



Commandant, in which case we should have been placed in a precarious predicament; as you may readily guess from what I [am] going to tell you. In my memorandum book I had written a few notes respecting the situation and appearance of Carthage, which coupled with the very suspicious circumstance of having been seen making observations on the cannons, might have produced a confinement in the prison for an indefinite period, besides some other judgement not even so agreeable. When people are prejudiced in any opinion, it is so far from being an easy matter to disabuse them that even every trifling circumstance is exaggerated and heightened twisted and perverted to suit their previous sentiments. Hence the unimportant and often inaccurate details which I put down might easily have been misconstrued and the innocent intention of affording amusement and information to friends at home, might certainly have been magnified into a desperate and nefarious attempt to expose the true state of Carthage as to weakness and strength to those who might [seek] the possession of it .

From all the considerations, you may easily conceive the pleasure, nay the ecstasy which we felt, when we perceived that no obstruction was intended or offered to our onward course - and I promise you we did not spend much time in examining the remainder of the cannon, but on the contrary we proceeded with rather considerable speed looking neither to the right nor to the left, until after taking the most unfrequented streets and at times glancing backwards from fear of pursuit, our distance dispelled our fears and restored the equilibrium of our minds. Perhaps you may imagine that our fears were groundless, and that we were frightened at a shadow - but no, I have heard from persons long resident there that we ought to have esteemed ourselves exceedingly fortunate in escaping so easily, for in the present excited state of public feeling when one man can hardly trust his friends it would not at all have been a subject of surprise, if we had been most severely punished. In confirmation of this I was told the story of a young English gentleman who had been as thoughtless and imprudent as ourselves. He it seems was possessed of a fine talent for drawing, and in the course of his pictorial excursions, had thought that the view of Carthage from the elevated heights of the *Popa* was a very fine subject for the pencil. Having once formed this opinion, he lost no time but set about the undertaking with great spirit. For some time, being unobserved, he got on most swimmingly, and much to his own satisfaction - but at last his object being discovered, his labours received a most disagreeable interruption, as he was suddenly arrested and conveyed to the public prison, from whence he did not escape / but with the utmost difficulty, and the most urgent intercession on the part of the British residents, and not till he had suffered a confinement of many months, and paid a heavy fine. To me, altho' the consequences of my indiscretion turned out so fortunate, yet the apprehension, which I so deservedly felt will always serve to remind me to use more carefulness and circumspection in future.

The usual time of a packet's stay at Carthage is 3 days, but in consequence of the disturbed state of the country and the non arrival of the Bogata Mail, we were detained five days more.

#### Leave Carthage - Menagerie

On Tuesday then, the 5<sup>th</sup> of October, at 4 P.M. we left the Harbour of Carthage, and at 7 P.M. came to an anchor in the night.

Wednesday 6<sup>th</sup> - early this morning we weighed anchor, passed the *Boca Chica*, before mentioned, and lay off and on before the Town waiting for the Mail. At 12 A.M. the Mail was brought on board, when we finally sailed for Jamaica. Our deck resembled a complete menagerie. We had about 20 parrots and as many parraquets, 6 black monkeys, a tiger cat - and a racoon, which three last were sent by the British Consul to his friends. Beside these animals our captain himself had received a very peculiar animal, which the Columbians called "Coco-coco. It is covered with a smooth greyish-brownish skin, its fore and hind parts are perfectly denuded of hair, and as soft smooth and white as the human hand. His appearance in the head resembles that of a fox, tho' the snout is rather short, and his tail seems to possess the same power as that of monkeys. During the day he is buried in profound sleep - but in the night season he is all life & activity. He is very tame, and very affectionate - an universal favourite with the ships company, and goes by the familiar name of Bobby. Which he has learnt to recognise. His principal food is biscuit - but he will eat animal food and has once or twice killed some poultry by entwining his long tail round their necks thereby producing strangulation.

One of our passengers, the Duke of Montebello, brought a bird called a the *Toucan* peculiar to South America, and remarkable for the size and strength of his bill, and a beautiful one with yellow plumage, named the *Thoupiar/Troupiar* [?]. This last was a fine singer and full of roguery like the magpie. Our collection of animals was completed by two Macaws, or large parrots - a reptile, not poisonous, called the "*Cuano*" - a curious species of duck, named "*Muscovy*" ducks, which had a peculiar appearance about the head and their feet were armed with long sharp claws - two wild turkeys, which were as different as possible from what are seen at home - and two large turtle, weighing each about 200 lbs weight.

With this miscellaneous cargo we now entered our voyage, having the wind pretty fresh but unfavourable. The Weather was fine.

Thursday 7 October - fine strong and nearly favourable breeze - W.<sup>r</sup> fine.

Friday 9<sup>th</sup>, Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> and Sunday 11<sup>th</sup> - breeze variable and W.<sup>r</sup> favourable.

Monday 12<sup>th</sup>, Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup> - fine W.<sup>r</sup> but nearly calm.

#### Arrive at Port Royal

Wednesday 14<sup>th</sup> - fresh breezes and favourable anchored a Port Royal at ½ past 2 P.M. and in answer to our inquiries we were told that we would sail on Saturday morning early, this leaving us only 5 or 6 hours to look around us, instead [of] the week we had expected.

Owing to our unusually long passage to and from Carthagen, and our prolonged stay there, we were prevented from taking advantage of a weeks detention by the Earl of Belmore at the request of the Merchants. According to the existing regulations the packet should sail from Jamaica for England, at the end of 14 days, counting from the day she first touched there. In addition then to this limited period, the Governor had consented to detain us for another week, making our time in all three weeks - whereas you have seen that we were absent from Port Royal nearly 4

weeks. No one regretted more than I did this unfortunate circumstance, since it completely deranged my intended plan of spending a few days with D.<sup>r</sup> Hawkins, who had given me a most kind & pressing invitation, to go to his country house, and who, as he informed in a letter left for me, had come twice to town with the view of learning whether the packet had arrived. If we should again visit Jamaica soon, I shall be happy to visit him and see all the curiosities in natural scenery and productions, which he promised to point out to me.

*[Land our Passengers at Port Royal]*

Soon after coming to anchor we discharged M.<sup>r</sup> Ffowler one of the principal Merchants in Carthagen a, a hearty jolly old cock, who rubicund visage bore unequivocal marks of his plentiful and numerous libations in the worship of Bacchus - M.<sup>r</sup> Grott his Clerk, a very quiet, sedate, demure looking person to outward appearance, but shewing upon acquaintance that he knew & had seen more of the world than would at first have been imagined. A distressed subject, an Englishman too poor to pay his passage, and who had been sent by the British Consul was the only other Briton, whom we sent ashore.

*Spanish [Passengers landed at Port Royal]*

Besides these there were three Cabin Passengers, Columbians, viz. a stout little comical sort of fellow, who eat [sic] and drank like John Bull, perhaps as he supposed, out of Compliment to us - a tall, thin oldish man with a thin slim youth his son. All these came from Chaco, a province of Columbia, and were bound for Kingston on mercantile business. The stout Spaniard had also a servant called Valentine of negroe descent - a pretty impudent rascal, and very lazy and dirty withal - a great contrast was presented to him by an Indian lad named Cassimero, and servant to a Spanish gentleman in Kingston. He was cleanly, active, and obliging, and was infinitely better dressed than the negroe, whom he seemed to hold in very great contempt. The catalogue of our Columbian passengers was completed by a stout, middle sized fellow, who made his appearance rather suddenly, as we were leaving Carthagen a. He was an adherent of Cordova, and a stirrer up of sedition. A kind of William Cabbott among the Columbians. The only reward, however, which he had received for his zeal was a civil order from general Montilla, Governor of Carthagen a, to leave the city, and turn his activity elsewhere. This uncivil treatment the fellow took very coolly, and possessed so much of the true spirit of the Stoical Philosophy, that he never suffered his spirits to be downcast for a moment - and it was also plain that his appetite & digestion were not affected since he eat and drank as heartily as the rest. I suppose he must have been a great orator - for I have seen him holding forth with much & violent gesticulation for hours together - and when by himself he used to be constantly reading some manuscript papers, doubtless some eloquent effusions from his pen in favour of the doctrines and party which he upheld.

*[Characters of Spaniards] – description of Kingston*

The same love of dirt, and hatred of cleanliness characterised these Spaniards much as the Portuguese, whom I had seen. The three principals had hired the After Cabin, and my conscience! When they left it, it was in a most horrible state of filth. At table their behaviour was much on a par with their breeding and their notions of politeness – they eat hugely and fast, and adopted a very injurious plan by which they endeavoured to secure the best of everything. They first sent one plate to one dish, and when they had been served they put the plate aside and sent another for some other dish & so on till, as it happened, they had two or three plates alongside of them, the contents of which they made to disappear in rotation. It mattered not to them, when in a hurry, to clap into one receptacle, boiled beef, roasted fowl, vegetables, &c. Whatever they wished they helped themselves to without scruples, or saying by your leave, as if they were afraid, that our voracious maws would not leave them a morsel, unless they took care of themselves.

Dismissing the subject of these Columbians, of whose company we were but too glad to be rid. I shall return to Kingston, and what I observed during our two days sojourn here.

### Street & Shops in Kingston - Negroes

The Town of Kingston is very picturesquely situated, with lofty mountains, behind & on either side, and a fine harbour in front. At a distance it appears like a confused mass of houses thickly intermixed with trees, but a closer inspection shews you good houses regular streets, and well filled shops. There is here an admirable arrangement in the build of houses, and that is, that in the principal streets a covered footpath extends the whole way, and thus protects you from the heat of the sun, or violent showers of rain more effectually than an umbrella would. In addition to the undoubted convenience of such an arrangement, beauty and neatness are also its advantages. Under these piazzas, you will see, many fine shops, set out as elegantly and gaily as at home – and many a shop window bore testimony to the multifarious produce of Europe, and indicated very significantly that the Mother country exerted no less influence over the domestic manners & dress than over the political economy of Jamaica. Those shops are opened early in the morning, continue so all day and are shut at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, after which time all business ceases, and the wealthy merchant retires to his cool country house, while those who cannot afford such a piece of luxury or comfort, call it what you will, indulge them in taking exercise on horseback. I say on horseback, for here none but negroes walk, and you would descend very low in their estimation, if you should imitate their example. As a stranger I did not at all like this practice – after three the streets are very dull, nay almost deserted, and thus you can have no interest in remaining in Town afterwards.

If from being in one of the fashionable shops and after listening to the common place of the shopkeepers, you should be cheated into the belief that you were quite at home, the delusion would at once be dispelled by the first glance you cast towards the street. There you observe nothing but black faces, & black faces *ad infinitum*, that is, to the end of the Street.

### Markets in Kingston

In the long Street, where M.<sup>r</sup> George Burrell Smith, who generally furnishes the Packets with what ever they require, resided, both sides were lined with black women, who exposed to sale various articles of produce and manufacture. These women are either free or slaves, who sit patiently awaiting the chance of a customer & cheating strangers, as we ourselves experienced - & on one occasion, when they ventured to make an exorbitant demand on the strength of our ignorance, they instantly lowered one half, when a person, who was with us, told them that he was too well acquainted with Jamaica to be taken in. The principal article of sale is fruit – and almost the whole of that is in the hands of the negroes, so that even their masters have to purchase it of them. It not infrequently happens, that they refuse to sell vegetables & fruit to their masters, who employ their whole land to the culture of sugar cane, and prefer carrying them to the public market, where they can always command a greater price. The fruit market, when I saw it – and I saw it to disadvantage – was a pretty sight – the heaps of oranges – forbidden fruit, a species of orange – shaddocks – limes &.<sup>ca</sup> were very pleasing – and every thing was cheap to us, tho considered dear at Jamaica.

The flesh market is open all day – and large numbers of sheep and cattle are killed daily. Tis not here, as in Edinburgh, where you have two or 3 market days in the week – but on the contrary it is impossible to keep meat fresh beyond a few hours, in consequence of the heat & the weather inducing rapid putrefaction. In the morning, therefore, if you require fresh meat, you will have to purchase the still warm limbs of the sheep, the goat or the pig – and also for dinner you will have the same, as they kill in the afternoon likewise.

#### Repasts in Jamaica – different orders of Society.

By the bye talking of markets reminds me to mention that the mode and time of dieting are different from those of Europe. The West Indians have four or five meals a day. At 8 oClock or even earlier they partake of a slight repast, generally coffee and biscuit or some light thing. At half past 11 or 12 they have what they call a second breakfast, consisting of meats, fish, wine, rum, and other agremens. In fact you may call it an early dinner from the substantiality of its setting forth. At 6 or more generally at 7 the respectable classes of society sit down to dinner, which is also very substantial. One ignorant of the fact, would imagine that to persons living in so hot a climate, so keen an appetite as is experienced by the natives of a colder, and more stomach-strengthening region, would not be felt. But the reality of the case is quite contrary to such a supposition, for in Kingston they both eat and drink in immense quantities. I myself was sensible that my appetite had not been diminished – but, if any thing had increased, so that [I] did ~~gøøð~~ ample justice to the good things, set before me at a second breakfast.

I shall now speak of the different orders of inhabitants in Jamaica. Society in Kingston may [be] divided into two great classes – the white and the coloured population – but the latter is subdivided into different branches, as those who are free, and those who are slaves, those black, and those of a lighter complexion. I believe that the general character of the Whites is that of a frank and hospitable people. If any person visits Jamaica, even without letters of introduction, he is most kindly received, and overwhelmed with numerous invitations. None of the Whites ever walk any distance on foot – but hire or keep gigs or horses – it is a great disgrace to act the pedestrian, and make that use of your lower extremities, which nature intended – and

if you ask the reason why, you are immediately told that none but negroes walk a comparison with whom indicates the slightest degree of manners and contempt.

### Orders of Society in Jamaica.

I have said that there exists but two great grades of society, the whites and the coloured population. On this point I propose to speak more fully. Between these, then, there exists a boundary of separation, which while the present taste of manners continues can never be passed without the worst consequences to the transgressors: By sharing with the prohibited class of coloured people in all the social relations of life, a white person would inevitably lose his caste (and the term caste is here as powerfully binding upon public and private opinion as in the regions of Hindustan) and would be for ever debarred from the intimate intercourse, which he had formerly held with his brethren. In particular if a white should marry a lady belonging even to the lightest shade of the debased colour – by such an act he virtually renounces his title and claim to rank in white society, and reduces himself to the level of the class a member of which he has, foolishly for himself, espoused. Hence you see that motives of self-interest will always operate against such a connection – and rare indeed are the instances in which white men have ventured to brave public opinion, and to link themselves indissolubly to the outcast race. To us, who view human society, apart altogether from the prejudices of West Indian Planters, and who live amidst a society where no such invidious distinctions prevail, the idea of excluding free persons, of considerable wealth, intelligence, and respectability, from any participation in the universalities, and rights, which we enjoy, appears absurd, and unreasonable.

### Manners in Jamaica

In my own opinion much allowance is to be made, in consequence of the feelings in which the Planters have been brought up, and the influence which such restrictions secure to the whites – but still it is hard to go so far as is done. In the class of coloured people there are very many possessed of great property – and among the ladies there are not a few, whose polite and elegant attainments, and sensible minds would draw admiration from the best company in Europe. And is it not a severe law to deny them domestic communion, and social intercourse, with whites, many of whom by their vices and crimes are a disgrace to the colour which is so strictly honoured and are far inferior in intellectual acquirements to those upon whom they look down with contempt.

From the above mentioned feelings and manners, it will not, I am sure, excite your surprise, when you are told, that altho no lawful marriages are permitted, no derogation of character is attached to the very common practice of keeping a mistress chosen from the despised class. To be the Protector of one, or two mulattoes excites no animadversion even in the minds of those, who are accounted moral and religious – and I question if even a clergyman were in that situation, neither such a disgraceful circumstance would operate in his disfavour. In such a case the white man is invited without scruple to festive entertainments, as if no such connection ever existed.

You will perhaps think that comparatively few women will be found who would be content to barter virtue for so poor a price as a white man's unlawful love. Strange it I to tell, that but too many are anxious to do so – and the principle upon

which they act is a spirit of pride, in being raised as it were from above their despised class to a share however small and disgraceful, in the society of a White. In no other part of the world does the colour of a man's skin affect his rank and privileges so much as in West Indies. It is truly the mark of honour and distinction impressed by the Creator, to all the coloured population. Thro'out the various shades of colour, from jet black, to a very slight brown, or rather pale white, the same opinion is entertained, that a white man is a superior being, and that any association with him is to be preferred to the advantages, which can be offered by any of their own class. Hence black and mulatto girls often choose rather to live in a state of concubinage with a buckra man than to enter into lawful marriage with one of their colour.

### Manners in Jamaica – among Coloured People

Whilst there then exists two grand divisions of society, into Whites and coloured people – there are besides in the latter class many varieties and subdivisions. Many are free, many are slaves – some are brown, some black – some nearly white. The free people in their turn look down with contempt upon their less fortunate brethren, and equally with the whites refuse to associate with them – nay will consider themselves as highly insulted by any comparison either bodily or mental. But besides the important distinction of freeman and slave, the coloured generation go some steps farther in their opinions – for those farthest removed from the blacks are consequently nearest the whites assume to themselves when addressing them, as great an air of superiority as the Whites shew towards themselves. It must be under very peculiar circumstances indeed that a mulatto or a mustee will consent to marry a free black, however wealthy – as thus their descendents would retrograde and [have] lost caste, such as it was. If they cannot advance they will not recede and thus an almost insurmountable barrier is erected among the negroe & Quadroons.

### State of Manners in Kingston

Again – Not to be behind hand, the free negroes will treat with violence and contempt one who is enslaved - & so imitates the ill manners of his superiors – nay I have heard, that a negroe who is possessed of a slave or slaves exercises towards them a far greater degree of severity than even a white man would, in so much that nothing will grieve a slave more than to be purchased by one of his own colour.

Of such a heterogeneous combination of materials is the population of Kingston composed – and it is wonderful indeed how well the mixture works. Tho' the population of blacks and mulattoes infinitely exceeds the numbers of the whites, yet the acknowledged superiority and dreaded powers of the latter, have hitherto prevented any attempt to over power them – destroy their authority – and to raise the influence of their former on their ruins. What may have been the cause of the revolt of the negroes at S.<sup>t</sup> Domingo and their final success, I know not – but their example has not produced any effervescence of negroe feeling in Jamaica, which may be attributed to this additional cause, besides the one above mentioned, that the condition of the slave and the status of the free coloured population has been so improved to leave no ground of dissatisfaction to the former, and the prospect of a complete emancipation from their present thralldom and a participation in all the rights of the whites to the latter.

### Slavery in Jamaica.

In confirmation of the re improved condition of slavery now alluded to, I propose to make a few remarks upon slaves and slavery. To us, who live far from the West Indies and know nothing of slavery but the name, the condition of a slave must be one of the utmost misery and hardship - and our sympathies, misled by our ignorance, naturally and innocently too, are granted to the unfortunate wretch. In the accounts given us by the abolitionists we hear of the whip and the lash - the separation of the tender infant from its despairing mother - and the prison or the stocks. Now I have no doubt but these are either misrepresentations altogether, or partial statements, to suit a particular purpose - atho' they were indeed so plausible and so Christian like, that I used heartedly to side with their views. I do not mean by this to advocate the slavery in its abstract - but merely in reference to West Indian slavery, to say that slaves there are happier in their present circumstances, than they would be, if, as some inconsiderate persons propose, they were presented with the gift of universal emancipation. For let us examine a little into the matter, entering into comparisons, and we shall see the truth of this opinion.

Tis true, that the slaves are forced to work for their masters, and that the engagements under which they come in the character of slave are strictly enforced. Tis true they possess not the freedom of will of our hardy & independent peasantry, who can be idle and refuse to work, if not under positive articles, at the risk of starving but with perfect freedom. Whilst the negroe is never permitted to be idle or to have a choice of his own. Tis true that the slaves can be punished with the whip, if he is disobedient and refractory - and tis also true that when [one] absconds and is caught, he is put into prison - which indeed is no more than would be done to any one who had violated his duty.

What then can be a sufficient compensation for all this hardship and suffering - what can be an equivalent for sacred freedom? Surely nothing - say the Abolitionist - consider the case fully, before you make this assertion exclaims the Abolitionist. If the slave is well fed - properly clothed - and furnished with a house and ground - but all this at the expense of his master, is his master not entitled to the value of his labour and time for these important advantages? And if a slave, in such a case, should refuse from idleness to give his labour and time, to the Master who feeds. Clothes, & houses, is it not right that punishment should follow this act of disobedience? Among many hundreds of slaves, it is contrary to human experience to suppose, that there are not some of wicked dispositions, of depraved & idle habits; and shall they indulge in their indolent propensities unpunished, while the active and the diligent, enjoying precisely the same benefits, are not otherwise rewarded? The supposition is monstrous - and therefore it is but just that the rogues and tyrants should suffer, and the well disposed are safe.

With regard to the comparison between our poor and the slaves of Jamaica. The scale of preponderance is in the side of the latter, as to the solid advantages they possess. Consider that if the poor man will not labour or cannot procure work - or is overtaken with sickness and disease, he stands in a very great chance of starving - or at all events, being encumbered with numerous progeny, he is but scantily supplied with the means of subsistence for so many mouths - consider too that if, as we have supposed he is attacked by sickness, he may die, and often does die, from want of proper medicines and the requisite medical assistance.



Now contrast this state of things with the conditions of the slave. If he is sick, he is immediately excused from all labour - he is furnished with what ever medicines are judged necessary and with medical attendance - and should his case require it, he has wine - fresh meat - fruits &c - in short nothing is omitted which may be conducive to his comfort and complete recovery, without one farthing of expense on his part, or the least anxiety as to the state of his wife and children. How many are there, who would cheerfully consent to an easy slavery on such terms?

In addition to abundance of food & clothes, the proprietor of a slave is obliged to give him a house and a piece of his ground (as far as I can learn) he carries the slaves own property to a certain extent - that is, he cannot sell it, but he can bequeath it to whom he pleases - & thus one slave may be the owner of two or three grounds. I know not exactly what times are set apart for cultivating these - but it is but just to suppose that a sufficient time is allowed for that purpose. They are I know always encouraged to labour for their own advantage - and are supplied with seeds, plants, &c from their masters. The produce of their grounds is exclusively their own and is sold by them for their own benefit. In order to be able to dispose of their fruit &c they have every alternate Saturday and every Sunday - which is more than can be said of our hard working & free countrymen, who can call not day but Sunday their own and who can enjoy no ground without a proportional rent - a rent the amount of which often exceeds the whole produce of their labour.

Now let us suppose that universal emancipation were granted and the warmest wishes of the abolitionists realised, - and how would the matter stand with the new made freemen? In truth they would be even in worse condition than our labourers - and would probably under its influence commit excesses fatal alike to their former masters and to themselves - Their masters being now exonerated from all obligation to maintain them in health and sickness, might perhaps refuse them employment altogether - and if they had no employment, how were they to be supported? Murder, robbery, and rebellion would rage with uncontrolled fury - and Jamaica would become a scene miserable to contemplate - and all for what - that a name forsooth, may be erased from the vocabulary of an Englishman. Indeed the very slaves themselves know better and laugh at the abortive efforts made to procure freedom to uncomplaining slaves at the expense of doing manifest injustice to freemen born. They have the good sense to be content with the comforts of their present situation - and even many, who are able enough to purchase their own freedom refuse to do so - declaring that they are much happier as they are than they would ever be, if they were their own Masters.

From all these circumstances it is, that I have been led to alter my opinions respecting slavery, and emancipation - and I think, if you consider them attentively, you will come to the same conclusion. The only difficulty to you, perhaps will be do all the slaves enjoy these privileges? And may I not have given an Utopian account of the comfortable conditions of some favoured slaves? I answer, that all, as to the essentials which I have mentioned above are treated alike & indeed must be - for they are all affirmed by law and a slave can compel his master to grant them to him. There are no longer those arbitrary proceedings and capricious punishments which existed in the infancy of slavery - the laws recognise only certain offences which are punishable, and that only to a certain extent - as for instance the number of lashes must not exceed forty. If a slave is aggrieved by his Master in his property or person, the law is open to him as well as to the white man, and I am told, & I doubt it not, that justice is equally administered to both.

No longer too do you see such heart rendering disruptions of all the usual and affectionate ties, which bind together the parents and the child - the husband & the wife - the brother and the sister, which was so common an occurrence formerly. It is now imperative upon the Master, who parts with his slaves, or upon the Executors of a deceased proprietor, to sell the whole family together - and they strictly enjoined not to dispose of them separately.

#### Differences of the colored population of Jamaica

I shall now conclude the subject of slaves & the diversities of condition in society, with a very few words respecting the genealogy of the Coloured population, as it were. First of all we have Blacks & pure whites - the child of a Black and white is called a **Mulatto** - the child of a white and mulatto goes by the name of a **Quadroon** - the descendant of a Quadroon and a white is known as a **Mustee** - and lastly the generation of a white and a **Mustee** is defined by the term a **Mustee-fino**. The children of all these descriptions of colours, born in slavery are the Masters property but the offspring of a **Mustee-fino** and a White, are considered to be white and consequently, from the virtue of their colour, are in the eye of the law, free. For my own part I could never recognise the shades of difference and all I could tell was whether a man was black, brown or white. I believe however that the Kingstonians can pronounce upon the difference at once - and woe be to him who, thinking his slight shade of colour would not be discovered from the pure white, refuses to acknowledge the supremacy & dignity of the true white, by the most submissive conduct, as by never venturing to sit in his presence, or to use any but the most civil style of address.

I had always imagined that the word Creole implied that the person was one of colour - but I find that I am mistaken. For by the term Creole is meant one who has been born in Jamaica - and is precisely equivalent to our word Cockney. It matters not whether native of Jamaica are born of black, brown, or white parents - for the circumstances of their birth place determines them at once as a Creole.

#### Leave Port Royal – land Mail at Crooked Isl.<sup>d</sup>

Saturday 17<sup>th</sup> - October Early this morning we weighed anchor from Port Royal - but by night we had advanced only as far as the Yallas. Weather fine.

Sunday 18<sup>th</sup> - calm all the morning - in the afternoon a fresh breeze sprung up, which enabled us to tack about from the shore - fine weather.

Monday 19<sup>th</sup> - fine weather and moderate breezes.

Tuesday 20<sup>th</sup> - fine weather and moderate breezes - heavy squalls at night.

Wednesday 21<sup>st</sup> - fine weather and moderate breezes, still in sight of Jamaica.

Thursday 22<sup>nd</sup> - this morning Domingo and Navaza (which is a small uninhabited island) in sight.

Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> - fine weather - wind unfavourable - sometimes a calm - off Cape Tuberon in S.<sup>t</sup> Domingo.

Saturday 24<sup>th</sup> - fine weather and strong breezes.

Sunday 25<sup>th</sup> -           d.<sup>o</sup>                           d.<sup>o</sup>

Monday 26<sup>th</sup> - Tuesday 27<sup>th</sup> - Wednesday 28<sup>th</sup> [&] Thursday 29<sup>th</sup> - we have had very fine weather, but wind generally unfavourable during these four days - we saw the islands of Cuba, of Tobago, and the greater Inague.

Friday 30<sup>th</sup> - fine weather and favourable breeze.

#### Land at Crooked Island

Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> - fine weather - fresh breezes. In the morning saw Castle Island and Fortune island, upon which our vessel struck last voyage she made to Jamaica, and at 12 A.M. landed with M.<sup>r</sup> Geach on Crooked Island. Had I not been anxious to go on shore, the immense Swell of the sea and the heavy surf on the beach would otherwise have deterred me. As it was, I soon became completely wet from the waves dashing over us while at the same time, our hands were obliged to be constantly bailing, as the water came in rapid thro' large seams in the boat. When we approached the beach, we put the gig stern foremost and thus by presenting her sharp bows to the advancing billows, their force was cut as it were and in this manner we eventually succeeded in landing. We found a young man waiting for us, who conducted us to the house of his Uncle, a M.<sup>r</sup> Moss, whom we found to be a very pleasant old gentleman & somewhat eccentric withal. He had lived upwards of 30 years on the island and, had scarcely had a days illness. He set himself up as the Insular Doctor and talked very learnedly and I must say sagaciously on Medical subjects, the knowledge of which he had picked up from Buchari. He is looked upon by the very few inhabitants of the Island, as the patriarch, or father and none incline to dispute his decision. He shewed himself very attentive to me, which I probably owed my profession & partly to my country, for he is a Scotchman to.

After partaking of refreshments at his house, we proceeded with the mail to the Post Office - which is a small building on an eminence lying about 3 miles from the shore. The road to is most abominable, being stony, irregular, and traversed in several parts by pieces of water, ankle deep. The walk however was not unattended with advantage, since we saw better the nature of the island. It is essentially stony, with but little soil - and the Guinea Corn, which we saw in great quantities seemed to be thriving very well. There is also a great deal of wood, some of it very valuable. But after all, no man would ever think of coming here to make his fortune - if he were tired of the world and wished to be remote from all society, the situation is admirable. I have been told, that at one time even larger fortunes could be made - but then the honesty of the means was very questionable.

In gales of wind & thro' the ignorance of those who navigated them many unfortunate vessels have been totally lost and the crew` drowned. When such an event happened, the inhabitants of Crooked Island used to take to their boats and seize what they could from the devouring ocean, which in their opinion became their lawful prize, and was appropriated to their use without any scruple or misgivings. Thus many

became possessed of considerable property - but now there is a person appointed to look after the Cargoes of wrecked vessels.

At ½ past 4 we returned on board by which time the fresh breeze had nearly failed us and we made slow progress

Sunday 1<sup>st</sup> November - morning rainy and day fine - moderate breezes.

Monday 2<sup>nd</sup> - weather variable - fresh breezes.

Tuesday 3<sup>rd</sup> - fine weather and favourable breeze

Wednesday 4<sup>th</sup> - wind unfavourable - Weather Cloudy with much rain.

Thursday 5<sup>th</sup> - pleasant by cloudy weather - wind unfavourable.

Friday 6<sup>th</sup> - wind nearly favourable - weather pleasant - at night much rain.

Saturday 7<sup>th</sup> - fine weather - fresh and favourable wind.

Sunday 8<sup>th</sup> - fine weather but cold - wind very fresh and favourable.

Monday 9<sup>th</sup> - fine weather - wind moderate.

Tuesday 10<sup>th</sup> November - fine weather and very strong and favourable breezes.

Wednesday 11<sup>th</sup> - gale of wind during the night - much clouds and rain in the morning, wind favourable and fresh.

Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> - fine cold weather and favourable breeze.

Friday 13<sup>th</sup> - d.<sup>o</sup>

Saturday 14<sup>th</sup> - fine weather - wind unfavourable.

Sunday 15<sup>th</sup> - variable weather - wind shifting but favourable.

Monday 16<sup>th</sup> - weather cloudy with rain - wind foul.

Tuesday 17<sup>th</sup> - fine cold bracing weather - wind unfavourable in the forenoon but favourable in the afternoon.

Wednesday 18<sup>th</sup> - fine weather and favourable breeze.

Thursday 19<sup>th</sup> - thick foggy weather - favourable breeze.

Friday 20<sup>th</sup> - d.<sup>o</sup> d.<sup>o</sup>

Saturday 21<sup>st</sup> - beautiful weather in the morning and cloudy in the afternoon - wind favourable.

Sunday 22<sup>nd</sup> - w.<sup>r</sup> variable - wind favourable.

Monday 23<sup>rd</sup> - squally weather, with rain & hail - very fresh unfavourable breeze.

Tuesday 24<sup>th</sup> - d.<sup>o</sup> d.<sup>o</sup>

Wednesday 25<sup>th</sup> - squally and cloudy W.<sup>r</sup> - foul wind.

Thursday 26<sup>th</sup> - squally W.<sup>r</sup> - wind foul in the morning but favourable in the afternoon.

Friday 27<sup>th</sup> - fine clear day - night cloudy and squally - wind not very favourable.

Saturday 28<sup>th</sup> - fine weather - fair wind.

Sunday 29<sup>th</sup> - weather variable - strong and favourable breezes.

Monday 30<sup>th</sup> - fine W.<sup>r</sup> and favourable breezes.

[three day break in entries in the original Journal]

#### Arrived at Falmouth – Passengers Duke de Montebello

Friday 4<sup>th</sup> December - at 10 o'clock A.M. came to an anchor in Falmouth Harbour, and were told that our next destination was to be to the Mediterranean, on the 8<sup>th</sup> January 1830.

The following passengers we landed, viz. the Duke of Montebello and his body servant Monsieur Lorraine – Senhor Manuel di Casa, and a black servant named Manuel Basque – Henry John Ross and his servant George – Lieut.<sup>t</sup> Yolland R.N. - M.<sup>r</sup> George Williams – M.<sup>rs</sup> Whitehorne, her little child, Henrietta – and servant Sarah – a M.<sup>r</sup> Teague (captain of one of the mines) and his wife – and lastly two distressed subjects from Carthagen.

The Duke de Montebello was our passenger from Carthagen. He was a young man of about 27 – and the son of the celebrated Lannes one of Bonapartes marshals. This young Duke has travelled a great deal and not without advantage to himself. He has been thro' England, Ireland and Scotland – Italy, France, Holland and Switzerland – the United States – Canada – and Columbia. His person is tall & handsome – his manners are polite and agreeable, but I did not remark in him that attention to the lady, which all Frenchmen, as they were associated in my mind, would have rendered. His conversation was spirited full of information – and carried on in fluent and correct English. He seemed to have [been] well acquainted with many celebrated characters, as Montilla, Bolivar & the brother of Bonaparte in America – the president of the United States &.<sup>c</sup>

The Duke's servant Monsieur Lorraine had been a Grenadier in Bonapartes army for eight years and had been present at many of the most celebrated battles in the Peninsular War. His tall erect figure proclaimed at once his former occupation – and every thing he did was quite *a la militaire*.

### Senor de Casa and Servant

Senhor Manuel di Casa is the next in order, and requires but little notice. He was a little short man, with a good natured physiognomy. – a successful player at piquet, against the Duke and the Captain – and a Merchant from Quyaquil in Columbia. He came on board at Kingston.

Di Casa[‘s] black servant was a greater original than his master. Manuel Basque, as he was called, was a faithful fellow and strongly attached to his master. He had been in England for 9 months on a former occasion and during that time had picked up a good deal of English. To my surprise I saw him every day studying a Spanish and English Grammar – as I had not expected to find reading and writing among the attainments of a Columbian black man, tho’ free. Among the sailors he went by the nickname of Captain Jack – because, as they said there was no other black in the ship except himself. This name however was changed on a remarkable occasion. One night during a gale of wind, the large cabin stove broke from its lashings and was capsized. It so happened that poor Captain Jack who lay on the Cabin floor close to it, had been unable to sleep on account of the motion – and was therefore sensible of the giving way of the lashings, when he immediately got out of the way – and not one moment too soon, for the corner of the stove grazed his ankle. In his account of the accident next morning, he said that had he not moved out of the way quickee, quickee, he would have been killed. Ever after till the end of our voyage, he was known by no other name than “*Quickee – Quickee.*”

### M.<sup>r</sup> Ross and Servant

Our next passenger was an Englishman, a M.<sup>r</sup> Henry John Ross from Jamaica. He was in the profession of the law and had resided for more than 30 years at Kingston, without experiencing almost one day’s illness. His good fortune however was not destined to last for ever – and a new at last sickness came upon him, the attack was very severe and made upon the roots of life. In short he was seized with Asthma, which in his case is not the disease itself but indicative of a severe affection of the lungs. From all that I saw of him (for he was very shy of taking medicine) I should augur that his career was fast drawing to a close – and that is little or no probability of his ever revisiting Jamaica, as he fondly but delusively expects. He seemed to be a person of great good sense and of extensive reading, not merely professional but also general.

He was accompanied by a young man, as servant, called George, who was in constant attendance upon him, as he alone knew M.<sup>r</sup> Ross temper & habits . – and indeed he had enough to do, as his master had not lived so long in a hot country without having imbibed a little of the hot peppers – and besides he was so capricious in his tastes, that he would frequently want things in the space of the 24 hours. This George was an active fellow and far above the common run of servants in his manners & dress. He had been 4 years at Sierra Leone with Sir --- Turner the Governor, and had been in different places with his present Master.

Senor Yolland R.N.<sup>4</sup>

The last Gentleman passengers whom I have to mention is M.<sup>r</sup> Charles Augustus Yolland, R.N. M.<sup>r</sup> Yolland came on board at Port Royal, and when I first saw him he had his chops tied up with a handkerchief, from which I judged that he would require my assistance. It was so – and I found a moderate size abscess bag or sac near the *eympphysis menti* which from inflammatory action was constantly filled and refilled with pus. This had been occasioned by an accident, which he had met on board the **Barham** of 40 guns in which he was senior lieutenant.<sup>5</sup> In consequence of the severe injury sustained, a concussion of the brain, lacerated wounds and exfoliations of the inferior Maxilla, he was invalided and sent home – much to his own regret, as he had expected to obtain promotion more quickly in the West Indies than on any other station. At the end of three or four weeks, and after the exfoliation of four smaller pieces of bone, the wound healed up soundly and nothing was observed but a slight scar. From the circumstance of the case I was consequently thrown much into the society of M.<sup>r</sup> Yolland – and I was much pleased with him. He was a complete sailor and appeared to have a high opinion of the present race of officers over the old Sons of the Navy – natural enough! He was a young man of about 24 years of age 10 or 12 of which he had spent in the Navy – and even amidst the duties of his profession had found leisure for reading, particularly in relation to Naval History.

Case of M.<sup>rs</sup> Whitehorne

At Jamaica we received on board a lady, about whom I was naturally very anxious, as her case was so peculiar and she had so long laboured under her present symptoms. I cannot do better in order to explain her case to you, than to copy here the letter addressed to me by her family practitioner, detailing the symptoms, treatment pursued &c.<sup>c</sup>

“(Copy)”

“To the Surgeon of the Packet Duke of York.”

“Sir,

You will see M.<sup>rs</sup> Whitehorne in various situations – sometimes she suffers from headache simply – but more commonly Shooting pains or an sensation in the head [which] is followed by a train of symptoms of very diversified character. You will sometimes find these symptoms to be acute pain in the face and teeth – pain in the throat & neck & when the latter is the case the muscles of the throat and neck are spasmodically affected, by which the respiration is seriously impeded. At times the affection of the nerves is more general - & she is attacked with pain in the side – or in the *epigastric* region, with sharp and violent contraction of the muscles of the Chest and Abdomen – the contractions continuing for a few seconds, relaxing again for a few seconds

<sup>4</sup> Lieut. Chas. A. Yolland [Seniority 19 May 28], had previously been the third Lieutenant on board HMS *Druid* (46), and must have been transferred to the *Barham* (50), as 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant during their respective commissions on the Jamaica station. He is still listed as 3<sup>rd</sup> Lt. of the *Druid* in the *Navy List*, of April, 1829. He died, 25 March 1848, at Stoke, near Devonport, aged 42 – *Naval Biographical Dictionary*, O’Byrne, 1849.

<sup>5</sup> A senior lieutenant perhaps, but not the senior, as Lt. Dawson Mayne’s was senior by a day, with a seniority date of 18<sup>th</sup> May ’28 - *Navy List*, of April, 1829.

– then returning again and going off as before - the number of the attacks varying much according to the severity of the paroxysms. Sometimes all the muscles of the body are rigidly contracted, resembling, tho' of short duration, the *opisthotonos* of *tetanus* – then the muscles of the throat, chest, abdomen, and diaphragm are rigidly contracted, producing a very alarming appearance as the respiration during the attack is completely prevented – until the relaxation takes place, when the breathing is again carried on, till the return of the spasmodic action.

There is another state in which you may be called to see M.<sup>rs</sup> Whitehorne – a sensation of faintness is experienced – two or three quick respirations follow, and she falls into a state of imperfect stupor. When spoken to she will answer questions, but the eyes are vacant or slightly distorted, & she appears unconscious of surrounding objects – talks to persons who are not present as if they were beside her, or gives utterance to thoughts that are not addressed to any one. This is the only form of delirium I have ever witnessed and it soon passes off. When this takes place there is a sudden start like a person awaking from a disturbed sleep – then the countenance assumes its natural aspect & the senses are perfectly at her command. I have related all these appearances to prevent the application of any violent remedies from an apprehension of immediate danger – yet it may be of her necessary to adopt measures to shorten or alleviate the various attacks, which have been described. When M.<sup>rs</sup> W. is suffering from severe pain we have been obliged to alleviate this by anodynes. These have been *Battleys sedative* – solution of *Acetate of Morphia* – *Tincture of Hyosciamis*, and *Lactuca Hortensis* – with all these medicines M.<sup>rs</sup> W. is supplied. – 30 to 40 drops of the *Battleys sedative* – 20 to 30 of the solution of the *Acetate of Morphia* – 51 of *Tinct: Hyosciam:* - 3 or 4 grains of *Lactuca*, have occasionally been tried and have answered the purpose. Her sudden and very severe pain in any part of the body, whether with or without spasms, the *Morphia* in the form above mentioned is on account of its immediate operation most to be relied on – but it is a medicine which on account of its debilitating effect on the stomach and ought not to be too frequently repeated. The same remedies to allay spasmodic action are also applicable & have been used for this purpose pretty successfully – and these with the *pediluriem*, & *sinaposums* to any part more violently affected than the next, I believe afford all the means we possess of allaying paroxysms. Blisters of a small size moved from one part of the head to another – where the usual means of keeping the disease in check should fail – would be advisable.

I think it only necessary here to enter into the practice of alleviation & I shall not touch upon the indications of cure. If removal from this unfavourable climate should not induce a change in the constitution favourable to subsequent treatment – little I apprehend is to be expected from Medicine.

I remain

Sir

Your Mo. Obed.<sup>t</sup> Serv.<sup>t</sup>

John Ferguson”<sup>6</sup>

(signed)

<sup>6</sup> This copy of Dr. Ferguson's letter filled nearly three pages of James Williamson's journal.



Such is D.<sup>r</sup> Ferguson's circumstantial statement of M.<sup>rs</sup> Whitehorne's case – and when I first read it I became much interested in the lady. On her first coming on board, she was extremely debilitated – nervous – and troubled with indigestion. The result, however, of the voyage was such as to exceed even the warmest wishes of her husband & friends. She had only one or two attacks of spasm and pain in the side – which were moreover very slight and easily yielded to the remedies alluded to by her Doctor. Her appearance soon became wonderfully improved – and her general health seemed to be completely re-established – and her appetite shared also in the change for the better. For the last four weeks of our voyage, she enjoyed good health, without a single paroxysm – such a good effect had been the sea air & the sailing upon her. With regard to her character &.<sup>c</sup> : tho' far from being beautiful, she was pleasing and her manners were most amiable. She was of a very religious turn and distributed several tracts to our men – but her religion was not obtrusive or vainglorious – for except when religion was introduced as a subject of conversation by another she never voluntarily entered the lists as a supporter & advocate.

She read and wrote a great deal in her own cabin and from what I accidentally saw both exercises were connected with her religious opinions and feelings. In the course of conversation one day, I learnt that she had been in the practice, when her health permitted, of overlooking the education of the slaves on her husband's property. She was uniformly cheerful and lively – never sour or morose and reminded me strongly of my lamented Cousin Miss M.<sup>c</sup>K. – who did good and never let her left hand know what her right hand did to use the expressive terminology of the Bible – or according to one of our poets “*who did good by stealth and blushed to find it fame.*”

M.<sup>rs</sup> Whitehorne had with her, the only surviving child of three, a little girl called Henrietta – and also an elderly mulatto named Sarah, who, I was told, often used to exercise the duties of our profession, among the slaves in her country.

#### M.<sup>r</sup> Teague & wife

Besides all these passengers, we had a M.<sup>r</sup> and M.<sup>rs</sup> Teague, whom we brought from Carthagena. Captain Teague (as he was by courtesy called) was one of the many instances in which thousands have been deceived with regard to the mines – leaving their home and friends in England, and expecting to make a fortune in a few years abroad. The history of his wanderings was this. He had been induced to one of the Columbia Mines, as a sub-agent, with a certain salary – but with a promise of immediate advancement and an augmentation of his pay. Upon arriving in Columbia, he found that he had been appointed a principal Mine Agent – but that tho' the Company kept their promise of giving him a higher office, they neglected at the same time to increase the salary, which had been stipulated to be paid to him as sub-Agent. Notwithstanding all he could do, they were inflexible in their determination to pay him only the sum first agreed upon – and in this I think they acted with manifest injustice. M.<sup>r</sup> Teague however was contented to let matters remain as they were for some little time, intending on a future occasion to bring forwards his just claims – and in case they were not acknowledged, to resign and return home. But he left the situation sooner than he had anticipated owing to a particular cause. The Superintendent of all the mines, and M.<sup>r</sup> Teague could not agree at all in their opinions – the Superintendent wished M.<sup>r</sup> Teague to subscribe his name to a report drawn up by him in proof of his approval of it – which report was in direct contradiction to the opinion which M.<sup>r</sup> Teague himself held. He therefore strenuously

refused his acquiescence in it, as he thought it was calculated to mislead the Directors and public – they quarrelled and in a moment of irritation M.<sup>r</sup> Teague threw up his post of Mine Agent, after having been only 7 months in Columbia.

From the mining district he came with his wife to Carthagena, a distance of some hundred miles – and took his passage along with us to England. He was of a very delicate constitution not at all calculated to stand long such a climate as Columbia. His manners were less subtle and as to education he had received one, which if not elegant, was solid and useful. Like many Cornish miners whom I have met, he was a Methodist and had occasionally held forth as a preacher, [which] when dressed in black, he very much resembled. He was not a cabin passenger – but I gave up my cabin to him and his wife – of whom little requires to be said. She was much stouter than her husband and indeed rather nursed or attended him than he her. When she first came on board, she was labouring under intermittent fever of the *tertillian* type – but it soon yielded to the use of the Quinine. During the rest of the voyage she enjoyed pretty good health.

Such is an account of all our passengers, with the exception of two distressed subjects, or poor Englishmen, whom we brought from Carthagena. The one had been twelve years in Columbia as a farrier in the army – and was returning home even poorer than he left it – the other was an Irishman and an old soldier who had accompanied his Master to South America and when he died, was forced to apply to the British Consul for a passage in our vessel to England.

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Account of Expences  
[Incurred  
during the Jamaica Voyage]

|                         |                                           | 1829          |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------------|---------------|
| At Barbadoes            |                                           |               |
| Sept. <sup>r</sup> 8    | 1 Guava jelly & fruits -                  | £0 2 0        |
| “                       | 1 Pot Tamarinds -                         | 0 2 0         |
| 9                       | Boat -                                    | 0 2 0         |
|                         | Dinner, wine &. <sup>c</sup> -            | 0 8 0         |
|                         | 1 Bottle Guava jelly -                    | 0 4 0         |
|                         | 3 d. <sup>o</sup> of Preserved Ginger -   | 0 6 0         |
|                         | Medecine -                                | 0 2 6         |
| At Grenada              |                                           |               |
| 11 Sept.                | 1 Keg Tamarinds -                         | 0 4 0         |
|                         | [Snuf] -                                  | 0 2 0         |
| At Jamaica              |                                           |               |
| 19 Sept. <sup>r</sup>   | Boat up to Kingston -                     | 0 2 0         |
|                         | Medecine -                                | 0 3 0         |
|                         | Refreshments &. <sup>c</sup> -            | 0 4 0         |
| At Carthagen            |                                           |               |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> October | To [Boats Crew] -                         | 0 3 0         |
|                         | New Testament in Spanish -                | 0 4 0         |
|                         | Case of Eau de Cologne 6 bottles -        | 0 4 0         |
|                         | 4 lb Carbon : Sodae -                     | 0 4 0         |
|                         | ¼ lb Tart: Acid -                         | 0 4 0         |
|                         |                                           | <u>£3 - 6</u> |
|                         | Brot: forward -                           | £3 0 6        |
| 1829                    | At Carthagen -                            |               |
| 3 October               | 1 lb Chocolate -                          | 0 2 0         |
|                         | 1 lb Cerato de Esperma -                  | 0 4 0         |
|                         | 13 Patr: Opii-                            | 0 1 0         |
|                         | [Refreshments] -                          | 0 4 0         |
| 4 <sup>th</sup>         | 6 large shells -                          | 0 2 0         |
| 5 <sup>th</sup>         | Straw Hat -                               | 0 4 0         |
|                         | [Refreshments] -                          | 0 4 0         |
| At Jamaica              |                                           |               |
| 16 Oct. <sup>r</sup>    | 3 Gallons Rum at 6/-                      | 0 18 0        |
|                         | 1½ d. <sup>o</sup> d. <sup>o</sup> at 3/- | 0 4 6         |
|                         | 1 Box Segars 500/-                        | 0 12 0        |
|                         | 100 d. <sup>o</sup> -                     | 0 2 6         |
|                         | 1 doz. Shaddock -                         | 0 4 0         |
|                         | 30 forbidden fruit -                      | 0 1 6         |
|                         | 2 Bottles lime juice -                    | 0 2 0         |
|                         | 1 Bottle Castor oil -                     | 0 2 0         |
|                         | Medecines -                               | 0 10 0        |
|                         | Watch Glass -                             | 0 1 0         |
|                         | To [Servants] -                           | 0 2 6         |
|                         | Washing -                                 | 0 9 0         |
|                         |                                           | <u>£7 9 6</u> |

[Expences at Falmouth  
from  
4<sup>th</sup> December 1829 to 8<sup>th</sup> January 1830]

1829

|                      |                                                                                   |     |    |    |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| 7 December           | Boat & luggage -                                                                  | £0  | 3  | 6  |
|                      | Paper -                                                                           | 0   | 1  | 6  |
| 8, -                 | Black Gloves -                                                                    | 0   | 3  | 9  |
|                      | Subscription Rooms -                                                              | 0   | 10 | 6  |
| 9, -                 | Black Silk Handkerchief -                                                         | 0   | 6  | 6  |
|                      | Gold Seal -                                                                       | 0   | 8  | 6  |
| 10, -                | Lake's Library -                                                                  | 0   | 2  | 6  |
|                      | Letter to Ed. <sup>r</sup> -                                                      | 0   | 1  | 6  |
|                      | Scissars & case -                                                                 | 0   | 1  | 8  |
|                      | Fox & Andrews Acc. <sup>t</sup> for cloth and<br>Furnishing for Trowsers & Vest - | 1   | 19 | 8  |
| 14, -                | Tailor's Acc. <sup>t</sup> for mak. <sup>g</sup> d. <sup>o</sup> -                | 0   | 5  | 6  |
|                      | To Oke for Blue Coat -                                                            | 3   | 9  | 0  |
|                      | To M. <sup>r</sup> Drews Acc. <sup>t</sup> -                                      | 1   | 4  | 6  |
|                      | To tooth Key -                                                                    | 0   | 18 | 0  |
|                      | To board for 11 days -                                                            | 0   | 18 | 0  |
|                      | To 1 weeks lodgings -                                                             | 0   | 14 | 0  |
|                      | To James Rowe for Attendance & leeches &. <sup>c</sup> -                          | 0   | 17 | 0  |
| 15, -                | Cloth cap & Silk Band -                                                           | 0   | 13 | 6  |
|                      | Oil skin bandfords -                                                              | 0   | 3  | 6  |
|                      | Clothes washing for Voyage -                                                      | 0   | 19 | 7½ |
| 16, -                | Letter paid -                                                                     | 0   | 1  | 3½ |
|                      | Boat hire -                                                                       | 0   | 1  | 0  |
|                      | Carry over                                                                        | £14 | 4  | 6  |
| 1829                 | Bro: <sup>t</sup> over                                                            | £14 | 4  | 6  |
| 18 Dec. <sup>r</sup> | Board & lodging -                                                                 | 1   | 3  | 6  |
| 19, -                | Boat hire -                                                                       | 0   | 0  | 6  |
|                      | Hat -                                                                             | 1   | 5  | 0  |
| 21 <sup>st</sup>     | Bedding Washed -                                                                  | 0   | 3  | 6  |
|                      | Letter to Edw. <sup>d</sup> -                                                     | 0   | 1  | 3½ |
| 23, -                | Bag to Cousin -                                                                   | 0   | 3  | 0  |
| 24, -                | Clothes washed -                                                                  | 0   | 3  | 7½ |
|                      | Carriage of a parcel to London -                                                  | 0   | 2  | 6  |
| 25, -                | Letter to London -                                                                | 0   | 1  | 0  |
| 26, -                | Boat hire -                                                                       | 0   | 1  | 0  |
|                      | Board. <sup>g</sup> & Lodg. <sup>g</sup> -                                        | 1   | 5  | 0  |
|                      | Bottles -                                                                         | 0   | 2  | 0  |
|                      | [Christmas Bag to Serqua. <sup>~</sup> ][?] -                                     | 0   | 3  | 0  |
|                      | Letter to M. A. <sup>ne</sup> -                                                   | 0   | 1  | 3½ |
|                      | 7 lancets sharpened -                                                             | 0   | 3  | 6  |
| 30, -                | Letter to M. <sup>r</sup> Dods                                                    | 0   | 1  | 3½ |
|                      | Razor Strop -                                                                     | 0   | 3  | 6  |
|                      | Paper -                                                                           | 0   | 0  | 6  |
| 31 <sup>st</sup>     | Mahogany Ink stand -                                                              | 0   | 7  | 0  |

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|                                   |                                          |            |           |          |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------|------------|-----------|----------|
| Jan. <sup>y</sup> 1 <sup>st</sup> | [repaid Ed. <sup>d</sup> Oke al... of] - | 0          | 5         | 0        |
|                                   | Fruit -                                  | 0          | 1         | 8        |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup>                   | Clothes Washing -                        | 0          | 1         | 7 ½      |
|                                   | Board & lodging -                        | 1          | 7         | 10 ½     |
|                                   | 2 Blades to Knife -                      | 0          | 2         | 0        |
|                                   | Hinges for bed in Cabin -                | 0          | 2         | 0        |
|                                   | Boat hire -                              | 0          | 0         | 6        |
|                                   | Lock & Key to Medecine Chest -           | 0          | 1         | 0        |
|                                   | Tooth Powder -                           | 0          | 0         | 6        |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup>                   | Joiner for [repairs in Cabin] -          | 0          | 2         | 6        |
| 5, -                              | Boat -                                   | 0          | 1         | 0        |
|                                   | Washing -                                | 0          | 1         | 8        |
| 6                                 | Worsted Cravat -                         | 0          | 1         | 3        |
|                                   | Wrists -                                 | 0          | 0         | 8        |
|                                   | Sacking for bed & making -               | 0          | 6         | 0        |
|                                   | Watch key -                              | 0          | 0         | 6        |
|                                   | Coarse paper -                           | 0          | 0         | 9        |
|                                   | Carry forw. <sup>d</sup> -               | <u>£22</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>-</u> |
|                                   | Bro. <sup>t</sup> forward                | £22        | 13        | 0        |

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|                     |                       |            |           |            |
|---------------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| Jan. <sup>y</sup> 6 | Looking Glass -       | 0          | 1         | 0          |
|                     | [Sausages] -          | 0          | 0         | 6          |
| 7, -                | Altering great Coat - | 0          | 2         | -          |
|                     | Sacking Cord -        | 0          | 0         | 4          |
|                     | Clothes Washing -     | 0          | 1         | 0          |
| 8                   | [Servant] -           | 0          | 5         | 0          |
|                     | Boat hire -           | 0          | 4         | 0          |
|                     | Board & lodging -     | 1          | 4         | 2 ½        |
|                     |                       | <u>£24</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>0 ½</u> |

12 Dec.<sup>r</sup> 1829

Received from Captain Snell, the Sum of £40, being my pay from Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> July 1829 to Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> Dec.<sup>r</sup> 1829:

N.B. On 16<sup>th</sup> October – I received from Captain Snell, at Jamaica, the sum of two pounds in advance of my pay – and repaid it to Capt.<sup>n</sup> Snell on 19<sup>th</sup> December 1829 -

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January 8<sup>th</sup> Lent to M.<sup>r</sup> Fox £5 which with 9/- he received before, makes him indebted to me £5 9/-

April 1830.

M.<sup>r</sup> Fox paid for me on a jaunt to Truro the nine shillings and on another occasion four shillings for wine – in all 13/- which being subtracted from the above sum, leaves £4 16 shillings unpaid.

We had the same Ship's Company as in the Mediterranean Voyage *quad vide*.  
[2<sup>nd</sup> voyage ]