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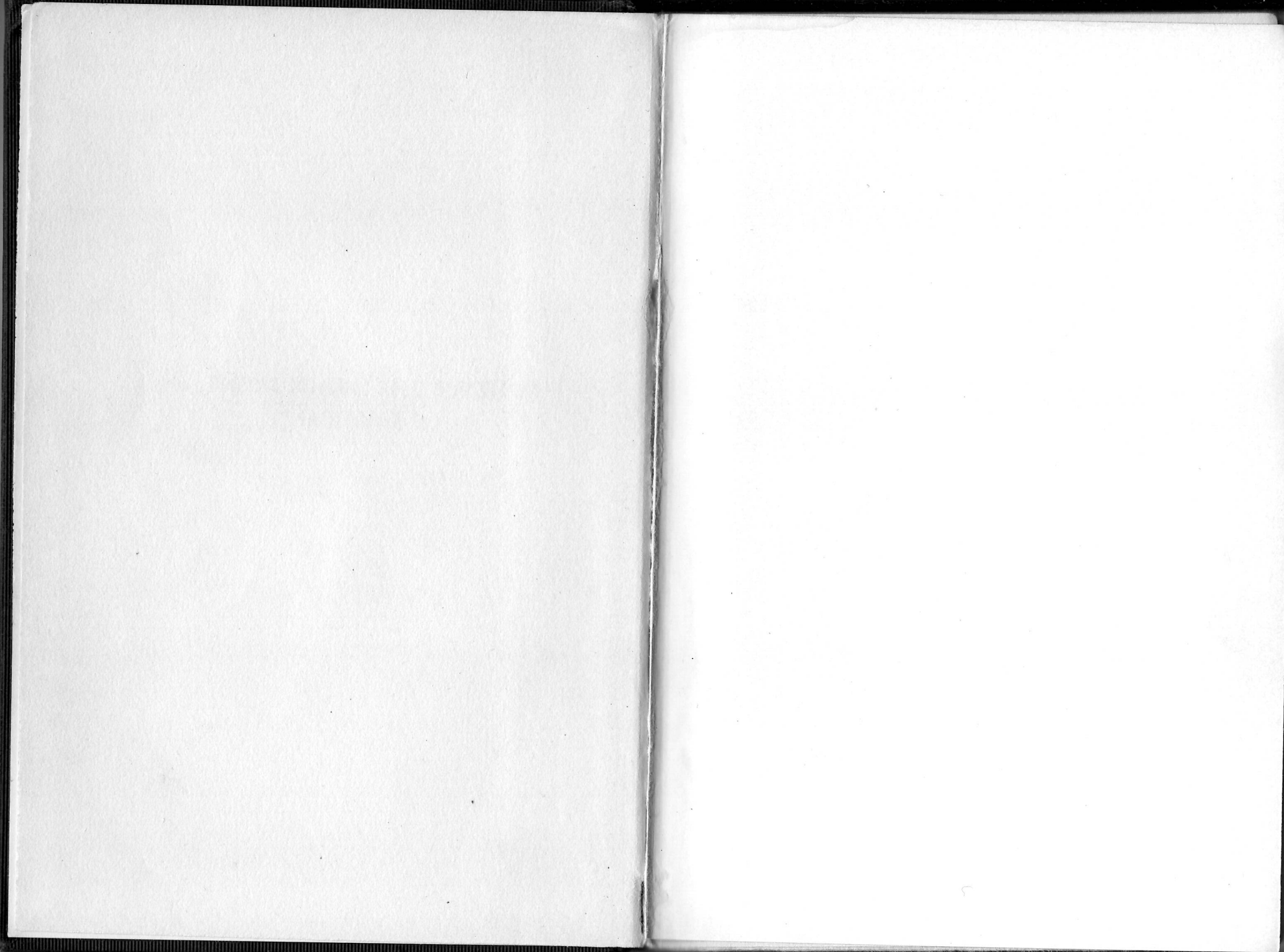
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WHENCE THE "BLACK IRISH"
OF JAMAICA?





Typical of the "Black Irish" in Jamaica

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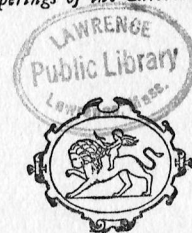
BY

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INTRODUCTION

Visitors to Jamaica in the British West Indies frequently remark a seeming anomaly. In even the remotest sections of the "bush" and among the darkest of the negroes who clearly trace their ancestry back to the earliest slaves from Africa, they will find distinctively Irish names so common that in an unguarded moment they are apt to give flight to the imagination and claim that they have actually encountered a touch of the "brogue."

A few years ago, in one school in Kingston might be found Burke, Collins, Mackey, McDermott, McKeon and Walsh, and with one exception, the last-named who was a dusky brown, they were to all appearances full-blooded negroes. In a single class room of another school, there were Collins, Kennedy, McCormick and O'Hare. And here again, in only one case did the features or complexion indicate any infusion of Caucasian blood; although this one, too, was as black as the rest.

Perhaps one of the names most frequently met with throughout the island is that of Burke. In

some few instances, it is true, the name itself may be a corruption of that of the Haytian refugees "du Bourg" who came to Jamaica in the 18th Century at the time of the Haytian uprising.

The usual explanation given for the presence of Irish names is, of course, that the slaves of former days were generally called by the family name of the Master. But in the case of Burke, at least, we do not find a single planter of that name among the early records of Jamaica. Certainly the survey of the year 1670 shows that at that time not one acre of land was owned by anyone named Burke. And the same may be said in the case of most of the other Irish names we encounter to-day among the negroes of the island.

The purpose, then, of the present writer is to find a solution to the riddle: Whence the "Black Irish" of Jamaica? And the answer, briefly summarized, lends itself to a three-fold division: From Ireland—through Barbados—to Jamaica.

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WHENCE THE "BLACK IRISH"
OF JAMAICA?



I

FROM IRELAND

MARY GAUNT, writing about Jamaica in 1922, in her chapter on "The White Bondsman," states: "To this boiling pot Cromwell sent 1000 Irish men and 1000 Irish women. I can find nothing but the bare notification that they arrived, and it hardly seems to me those 2000 Irish can have helped matters much, whether they were poor convicts or political prisoners."¹ In 1756, Dr. Browne was most emphatic in his statement: "Cromwell having had early intelligence of this conquest (Jamaica) . . . resolved to miss no opportunity of supporting this new acquisition, which now indeed served him as another Siberia."² And Edward Long, the historian, who was Speaker of the Jamaica House of Assembly in 1768, when writing a few years later, only expressed the commonly accepted opinion in

¹ Mary Gaunt, *Where the Twain Meet*. New York: 1922, p. 35.

² Patrick Browne, M.D., *The Civil and Natural History of Jamaica*. London: 1756, p. 3.

the island, when he recorded that the Council of State in England "voted that one thousand girls, and as many young men should be lifted in Ireland, and sent over, to assist in peopling the colony."³

On May 11, 1655, Jamaica formally capitulated to the representatives of Cromwell, the Lord Protector of England, and as early as the following July 18th we find a document signed by the field officers of the army in Jamaica entitled "Severall considerations to bee humbly represented to his highness the lord protector and councill concerning the army in America," wherein after bespeaking necessary equipment and supplies, the request is made: "That servants from Scotland or elsewhere may bee sent to assist in planting, &c. for which the officers out of their paie will make such allowance as his highness shal thinke fitt, and assign them such proportions of land, as his highness shal direct at the expiration of their respective terms."⁴

There is in the Library at Boston College, Newton, Massachusetts, an undated manuscript, presumably in the handwriting of Oliver Cromwell, entitled: *Certain queries concerning his highness' interest in the West Indies*. The last two paragraphs

³ Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*. London: 1774, Vol. I, p. 244.

⁴ Thurloe, *State Papers*, III, p. 661.

read as follows: "14) Whether his highness' interest in the West Indies can be carried on without the settling of some course for the constant supplying them with people. 15) Whether the weeding the Commonwealth of vagabonds, condemned persons and such as are useless and hurtful in war and peace, and a settled course taken for the transporting them to the Indies and thereby principally supplying Jamaica is not necessary to be consulted."

It may have been in consequence of this memorandum that a letter was dispatched in the name of the Protector to his son Henry who was Major General in command of the forces in Ireland. While the communication itself is no longer available, its purport is disclosed by the answer to Secretary Thurloe which is dated Sept. 11, 1655: "Sir, I received yours of the 4th instant, and give you many thanks for your relation of Jamaica; and though we have mett with some more than ordinary crosse providence in this undertaking, yet I doubt not but the lord will smile upon it in the issue. I have endeavoured to make what improvement I could in the short time allotted me toucheinge the furnishinge you with a recruite of men, and a supply of younge Irish girles. In order to it, I have advised with the chif officers near me, not haveinge oppur-

tunitie to make it more publique; neither doe I thinke it conveniente, untill I knowe your resolutions more particularly. . . . Concerninge the younge women, although we must use force in takeinge them up, yet it beinge so much for their owne goode, and likely to be of soe great advantage to the publique, it is not in the least doubted, that you may have such number of them as you shall thinke fitt to make use uppon this account."⁵

A week later we have the following from the same source: "I have little to adde to what I writte in my laste, . . . I shall not need to repeate any thinge aboute the girles, not doubtinge but to answer your expectations to the full in that; and I think it might bee of like advantage to your affaires their, and ours heer, if you should thinke fitt to sende 1500 or 2000 younge boys of 12 or 14 yeares of age to the place aforementioned. We could well spare them, and they would be of use to you; and who knows, but that it may be a meanes to make them English-men, I meane rather, Christianes."⁶

⁵ Thurloe, IV, p. 23.

⁶ Thurloe, IV, p. 40. Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, in *Ireland under English Rule or a Plea for the Plaintiff* (New York: 1903, Vol. I, p. 101), asserts: "Over one hundred thousand young children, who were orphans or had been taken from their Catholic parents, were sent abroad into slavery in the West Indies, Virginia and New England, that they might thus lose their faith and all knowledge of their nationality, for in most instances even their names were changed." And this last circumstance he explains in a footnote: "Every

On Sept. 25th we have this reply from Thurloe in the name of the Protector: "I returne your lordship most humble thanks for the letter I received from you touching transporting of Irish girles to Jamaica; and had thought, that I might by this post have sent the particular encouragements, which my lord protector and the councill will

Irishman in Ireland within reach of English authority was at that time governed by the following law: 'An act that Irishmen dwelling in the countie of, etc. . . . go appareled like Englishmen and wear their beards after the English manner, swear allegiance, and take English surnames; which surnames shall be of one town, as Sutton, Chester, Trim, Skryne, Corke, Kinsale; or colours, as white, black, brown; or arts or sciences, as Smith, or Carpenter; or office, as cook, butler, etc. and it is enacted that he and his issue shall use this name under pain of forfeiting of his goods yearly, etc.'—See also "Irish Emigration during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" by Dr. Emmet in *Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society*, Vol. III.

Rev. E. A. D'Alton in his *History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: 1910, Vol. II, p. 356) paints a gruesome scene: "To get rid of these troublesome women and children, the Government contracted with some merchants of Bristol, and a regular and continuous slave trade was carried on. The old women and men, being of no use, were allowed to starve, but the younger people were hunted down as men hunt down game, and were forcibly put on board ship, and sold to the planters in Barbadoes. The men and boys were put to work in the sugar plantations; the girls and women—wives and widows of officers and soldiers, gently nurtured, perhaps, and in manners refined—were to be the wives and mistresses of the West Indian planters, to take the place of negresses and maroons. Some on the long sea voyage sickened and died, and became the food of sharks, and to them fate was kind. Others were duly landed at Indian Bridge. Their beauty was their ruin, and attracted their master's lustful eyes, and in that land of the tropics and the trade winds they lived as in a prison, their faith banned, their race and nation despised, their virtue outraged, their tears derided; and as they looked out on the waving fields of sugarcane, they sadly thought of their own dear land, with its fields so fertile and so green, now separated from them for ever by thousands of miles of rolling sea." If this impassioned invective seems to some, as it must, exaggerated in fact, at least it does not exceed the intentions of those who under a hypocritical guise of pious solicitude for the souls of the Irish little ones, actually plotted the spiritual as well as the material ruin of the remnants of a people who had dared defend their homes and their religion.

give, for the better enabling your lordship and the councell of Ireland to have proceeded in that business; but I have been prevented therein by my bodily indisposition, and therefore by this can only desire your lordship to proceed as farre as you can, till more particular advices can be sent." ⁷ To this comes the assurance under date of Oct. 9, 1655: "As for the girles, you may be confident to have what you desire in as short a time, as you can expect." ⁸

Here belongs an undated instruction from Thurloe to Henry Cromwell in Ireland: "I did hope to have given your lordship an account by this post of the buissines of causinge younge wenches and youths in Ireland to be sent into the West-Indies; but I could not make thinges readye. The comittee of the councell have voted 1000 girles, and as many youthes to be taken up for that purpose; and that there be a summe of money for each head allowed for the clothinge of them, and other necessaryes to the water side." ⁸ The answer is dated Oct. 16th.: "I understand by your last letter, that the transportation of a thousand Irish girles, and the like number of boyes, is resolved on by the

⁷ Thurloe, IV, p. 55.

⁸ Thurloe, IV, p. 74.

councell: . . . We shall have (upon the receipt of his highness his pleasure) the number you propownd, and more if you think fitt." ⁹

Further instructions were dispatched to Ireland about Nov. 1, 1655: "The ships, which are next to goe thither (to the West Indies), will be appointed to take on board them the Irish women or girles. . . . The tyme that they must be at port will be about the latter end of December." ¹⁰ And Henry Cromwell replies on Nov. 14th: "As for the Irish girles, you need not doubt of them, neither as to time or place." ¹¹

Finally on Christmas Day, 1655, Thurloe writes to Henry Cromwell in Ireland: "Wee heare nothinge from Jamaica, and whilst wee doe, wee are at a stand as to sendinge any thinge thither; only some ships are in preparation, and two are already gone with such thinges, as wee judge most necessary for their subsistence." ¹²

Samuel Rawson Gardiner in his *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, while admitting the foregoing correspondence and quoting further an order in Council of Oct. 3rd that "1000 boys

⁹ Thurloe, IV, p. 75.

¹⁰ Thurloe, IV, p. 87.

¹¹ Thurloe, IV, p. 198.

¹² Thurloe, IV, p. 343.

and 1000 girls should be shipped at Galway in December, the age fixed in both cases being under fourteen,"¹³ positively asserts: "In the end . . . not a single Irish boy or girl was despatched across the Atlantic in consequence of this resolution,"¹⁴ and adds in a footnote: "Not only can no such transportation be traced in the records,¹⁵ either in London or in Dublin, but there is the negative evidence of the absence of any mention of the arrival of so numerous a body by the writers of the voluminous letters which chronicle the position of affairs in Jamaica. So careful are the writers to tell everything that concerns the colony that it is incredible that they should have closed their eyes to such an importation, if it had ever taken place."¹⁶

In view of this flat denial, it behooves us to weigh carefully the evidence adduced from many sources.

James Anthony Froude, who will never be ac-

¹³ *Mem. of Sir W. Penn*, II, p. 585.

¹⁴ Gardiner, *Hist. of Comm. and Protect.* Vol. IV, p. 219.

¹⁵ *The Narrative of General Venables concerning the Conquest of Jamaica*, edited by C. H. Firth for the Royal Historical Society, (Preface, p. xxxii) complains that "the earliest and most important papers relative to the equipment of the expedition are not to be found" either in Thurloe's *State Papers*, "or among the Domestic or Colonial State Papers." If these important documents are missing, no doubt many of those that referred to the deportation of the Irish have also disappeared. The whole transaction is so discreditable to Cromwell, that there might be sufficient reason for the sequestration of papers, especially if they in any way reflected on the responsibility of the Protector.

¹⁶ Gardiner, *l. c.*, Vol. IV, p. 219. Note.

cused of bias in favour of Catholic Ireland, after speaking of the enlistment of the Irish soldiers in foreign service, remarks: "The Catholic priests were more sharply dealt with. . . . At first such of them as did not move of their own accord were put on board vessels bound for Spain. This proving no deterrent, they were sent to the Barbadoes settlement. Finally, when the numbers arrested were too great to be so provided for, they were removed to two islands in the Atlantic, the Isle of Arran and Inis Bofin, where cabins were built for them, and they were allowed sixpence a day for their maintenance."¹⁷ In a footnote he adds: "I cannot pass over this part of my narrative without making my acknowledgment to Mr. Prendergast, to whose personal courtesy I am deeply indebted, and to whose impartiality and candor in his volume on the Cromwellian settlement I can offer no higher praise than by saying, that the perusal of it has left on my mind an impression precisely opposite to that of Mr. Prendergast himself. He writes as an Irish patriot—I as an Englishman; but the difference between us is, not on the facts, but on the opinion, to be formed about them."¹⁸

¹⁷ *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: 1873, I, p. 133.

¹⁸ Ditto, p. 134. Note.

We cannot, then, better begin the study of our knotty problem than by taking up the evidence adduced by John P. Prendergast whose impartiality and candour is thus established beyond question.

Mr. Prendergast's work *The Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland* appeared in London in 1865, and in Appendix XI which is entitled "Of the Seizing of Widows and Orphans, and the Destitute, and Transporting Them to Barbadoes, and the English Plantations," we read: "While the Government were employed in clearing the ground for the Adventurers and Soldiers (the English capitalists of that day), by making the nobility and gentry yield up their ancient inheritances, and withdraw to Connaught, 'where they could wish the whole nation,' they had agents actively employed through Ireland, seizing women, orphans, and the destitute, to be transported to Barbadoes and the English Plantations in America. It was a measure beneficial to Ireland, which was thus relieved of a population that might trouble the planters; it was a benefit to the people removed, who might thus be made English and Christians;¹⁹ and a great benefit to the West India sugar planters, who desired the men and

¹⁹ Letter of Henry Cromwell, 4th Thurloe's *State Papers*.

boys for their bondmen, and the women and Irish girls in a country where they had only Maroon women and Negresses to solace them. The thirteen years' war, from 1641 to 1654, followed by the departure of 40,000 Irish soldiers with the chief nobility and gentry, to Spain, had left behind a vast mass of widows and deserted wives with destitute families. There were plenty of other persons, too, who as their ancient properties had been confiscated, 'had no visible means of livelihood.' Just as the King of Spain sent over his agents to treat with the Government for the Irish swordsmen, the merchants of Bristol had agents treating with it for men, women, and girls, to be sent to the sugar plantations in the West Indies. The Commissioners for Ireland gave them orders upon the governors of garrisons, to deliver to them prisoners of war; upon the keepers of gaols, for offenders in custody; upon masters of workhouses, for the destitute in their care, 'who were of an age to labour, or if women were marriageable and not past breeding;' and gave directions to all in authority to seize those who had no visible means of livelihood, and deliver them to these agents of the Bristol sugar merchants, in execution of which latter direction Ireland must

have exhibited scenes in every part like the slave hunts of Africa. How many girls of gentle birth must have been caught and hurried to the private prisons of these men-catchers none can tell. But at last the evil became too shocking and notorious, particularly when these dealers in Irish flesh began to seize the daughters and children of the English themselves, and to force them on board their slave ships; then, indeed, the orders, at the end of four years were revoked. . . .

"In January, 1654, the Governors of Carlow, Kilkenny, Clonmel, Wexford, Ross, and Waterford, had orders to arrest and deliver to Captain Thomas Morgan, Dudley North, and John Johnson, English merchants, all wanderers, men and women, and such other Irish within their precincts as should not prove they had such a settled course of industry as yielded them a means of their own to maintain them, all such children as were in hospitals or workhouses, all prisoners, men and women, to be transported to the West Indies. The governors were to guard the prisoners to the ports of shipping; but the prisoners were to be provided for and maintained by the said contractors, and none to be discharged except by the order under the hand and seal of the governor ordering the

arrest.²⁰ It is easy to imagine the deeds done under such a power! On the 22nd December, of the same year, orders were issued prohibiting all the shipping in any harbour in Ireland bound for the Barbadoes, and other English plantations, from weighing anchor until searched, in order that any persons found to have been seized without warrant should be delivered.

"All measures, however, were vain to prevent the most cruel captures as long as these English slave dealers had recourse to Ireland. In the course of four years they had seized and shipped about 6400 Irish, men and women, boys and maidens, when on the 4th of March, 1655, all orders were revoked. These men-catchers employed persons (so runs the order) 'to delude poor people by false pretences into by-places, and thence they forced them on board their ships. The persons employed had so much a piece for all so deluded, and for the money sake they were found to have enticed and forced women from their children and husbands,—children from their parents, who maintained them at school; and they had not only dealt so with the

²⁰ Series of Books of the Lord Deputy and Council, otherwise called *The Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the Affairs of Ireland*, preserved in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle, A/85, p. 66.

Irish, but also with the English,'—which last was the true cause, probably, of the Commissioners for Ireland putting an end to these proceedings."²¹ This point will recur later. Prendergast continues:

"Yet not quite an end. In 1655 Admiral Penn added Jamaica to the Empire of England; and colonists being wanted, the Lord Protector applied to the Lord Henry Cromwell, then Major-General of the forces in Ireland, to engage 1500 of the soldiers of the army in Ireland to go thither as planters, and to secure a thousand young Irish girls ('Irish wenches' is Secretary Thurloe's term), to be sent there also.²² Henry Cromwell answered that there would be no difficulty, only that force must be used in taking them;²³ and he suggested the addition of from 1500 to 2000 boys of from twelve to fourteen years of age. 'We could well spare them,' he adds, 'and they might be of use to you; and who knows but it might be a means to make them Englishmen—I mean Christians?'²⁴ The numbers finally fixed were 1000 boys, and 1000 girls, to sail from Galway in October, 1655,²⁵—the boys as bondmen, probably, and the girls to be

²¹ Ditto, A/10, p. 283.

²² 4th vol. Thurloe's *State Papers*, p. 75.

²³ *Ib.*, p. 23.

²⁴ *Ib.*, p. 40.

²⁵ *Ib.*, p. 100.

bound by other ties to these English soldiers in Jamaica."²⁶

A specific instance cited by Prendergast²⁷ is the following: "Daniel Connery, a gentleman of Clare, was sentenced, in Morison's presence, to banishment, in 1657, by Colonel Henry Ingolsby, for harboring a priest. 'This gentleman has a wife and twelve children. His wife fell sick, and died in poverty. Three of his daughters, most beautiful girls, were transported to the West Indies, to an island called the Barbadoes; and there, if they are alive, they are in miserable slavery.'"²⁸

As regards priests in particular, Prendergast records:²⁹ "In consequence of the great increase of priests towards the close of the year 1655, a general arrest by the justices of the peace was ordered, under which, in April, 1655, the prisons in every part of Ireland seem to have been filled to over-

²⁶ Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland*. London: 1865, p. 237 ff.

²⁷ *Ib.*, p. 238. Note.

²⁸ Morison's *Tbrenodia Hibernico-Catholica*. Innsbruck: 1659, p. 287. Prendergast further notes: "Muller, the painter at Berlin, was stated to be engaged in 1859 on a picture representing the seizing and transporting of these Irish girls to the West Indies. See the Newspapers of the 21st Feb. 1859."—*I. c.*, p. 240. Note. Also, William Lord Willoughby, Governor of Barbados, 1667-1673, writing shortly after his arrival to Sir Joseph Williamson, then Secretary of State, complains: "Notwithstanding Barbados hath beene soe magnified for her strength, I find not above 4000 fighting men upon the Place; here are 2000 Irish, I wish I had soe many Scotts for them."—Harlow, *Hist. of Barbados 1625-1685*. Oxford: 1926, p. 189. Note 2.

²⁹ Prendergast, *I. c.*, p. 161.

flowing. On 3rd of May the governors of the respective precincts were ordered to send them with sufficient guards to Carrickfergus, to be there put on board such ship as should sail with the first opportunity for the Barbadoes.³⁰ One may imagine the pains of this toilsome journey by the petition of one of them. Paul Cahin, an aged priest, apprehended at Maryborough, and sent to Philipstown on the way to Carrickfergus, there fell desperately sick, and being also extremely aged, was in danger of perishing in restraint for want of friends and means of relief. On 27th of August, 1656, the Commissioners having ascertained the truth of his petition, they ordered him sixpence a day during his sickness; and (in answer probably to this poor prisoner's prayer to be spared from transportation) their order directed that it should be continued to him in his travel thence (after his recovery) to Carrickfergus in order to his transportation to the Barbadoes."³¹

At Carrickfergus, Colonel Cooper, who was in charge of the prison, was authorized to dispense with transportation in the case of those who would

³⁰ Dublin Castle Records, A/10, p. 102.

³¹ *Ib.* A/12, p. 217.

"renounce the Pope's supremacy and frequent the Protestant meetings and no other."³²

If further legal evidence were required, we have it among the Acts of the Second Parliament of the Protectorate, under date of June 26, 1657, where we find: "An Act for the Attainder of the Rebels in Ireland," wherein it is provided that those who fail to transplant themselves into Connaught or Clare within six months of the publication of the Act in Ireland, shall be attainted of high Treason and after conviction are to "be sent into America or some other parts beyond the Seas, in pursuance of the said sentence of Banishment which the said Lord Deputy and Council, or the Chief Governour or Governours for the time being are hereby Authorized and required to put in Execution accordingly."³³ Those thus banished who return "into any part of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, without license, under the great Seal of England" are to "suffer the pains of death as Felons by virtue of this Act, without benefit of Clergy."³⁴

³² Prendergast, *l. c.*, p. 161 f.

³³ *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642-1660*. London: 1911. Vol. II, p. 1258.

³⁴ *Ib.*, p. 1259.



Samuel Rawson Gardiner, who so emphatically denies the Cromwellian shipment of Irish girls to Jamaica, in speaking of the capture of Drogheda, Sept. 12, 1649, unreservedly admits: "When the inevitable surrender came, Cromwell, instead of directing a promiscuous slaughter, ordered that the officers should be 'knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers shipped for the Barbados,' whilst the whole garrison of the other tower was spared, though they too were sent to Barbados."³⁵

A further admission by the same author is worth recording: "Prisoners and others sent to Barbados

³⁵ Gardiner, Vol. I, p. 120.—On the previous day Cromwell had written to the Hon. John Bradshaw, President of the Council of State, to whom he gives a somewhat different version of the happenings, when he says, in part: "I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think Thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives. Those that did, are in safe custody for the Barbadoes."—Cf. Thomas Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Vol. II, p. 148; Letter civ.

A meeting of Clergy and Bishops at Clonmacnoise in December, 1649, issued a Manifesto, which according to Carlyle's abstract, (*l. c.*, p. 205) contained the following: "Our Manifesto then, thirdly, winds-up with an earnest admonition, or Exhortation General, to the People of Ireland high and low, Not to be deceived with any show of clemency, or, 'moderate usage,' exercised upon them hitherto; inasmuch as it is the known intention of the English Parliament to exterminate the whole of them; partly by slaughter, partly by banishment 'to the Tobacco Islands' and hot West India localities, whither many have already been sent. . . . To extirpate the Catholic Religion: how can they effect this but by extirpating the professors thereof? Let all Irishmen high and low, therefore, beware; and stand upon their guard, and adhere to the superficial Union; slaughter, or else banishment to the Tobacco Islands, being what they have to expect." Cromwell was quick to issue a reply to this manifesto (*l. c.*, p. 221 ff.), which he closes with this threat: "If this people shall headily run on after the counsels of their Prelates and Clergy and other Leaders, I hope to be free from the misery and desolation, blood and ruin, that shall befall them; and shall rejoice to exercise utmost severity against them" (*l. c.*, p. 225).

or elsewhere in America are frequently spoken of as having been sent into slavery. If the word is used rhetorically it may be true enough. The petition of Marcellus Rivers and Oxenbridge Foyle, after their return to England in 1659—they having been among the prisoners charged with participation in Penruddock's rising, and transported later in the year to Barbados—shows their condition, even if allowance is made for exaggeration, to have been deplorable enough. 'Being sadly arrived at Barbados,' they say, 'the master of the ship sold your miserable petitioners and the others, the generality of them to most inhuman and barbarous persons, for 1500 pounds weight of sugar apiece . . . as the goods and chattels of Martin Noel and Major Thomas Alderne of London and Captain Henry Hatsell of Plymouth, neither sparing the age of three score years old, nor divines, nor officers, nor gentlemen, nor any age or condition of men.'³⁶ It is, however, certainly not the case that these men were condemned to a lifelong servitude, though they were not allowed, after their time of service had expired to leave the island. 'The custom of all merchants trading thither,' writes F. Barrington, who visited Barbados in 1655, 'is to bring as many

³⁶ *England's Slavery*, p. 4, E, 1833, 3.

men and women as they can. No sooner doth a ship come to an anchor but presently the islanders go aboard her inquiring what servants they can buy. If they are above seventeen years of age, they serve but four years, according to the law of the island; but if under seventeen, then left to the discretion of the merchant as he can agree with the planter. These servants planteth, weedeth, and manureth their ground, all by hand . . . The freemen . . . are such who served in the country for their freedom, or paid their passage when transported from England.' " 37

While it is theoretically true that the indentured labour or bondsmen in the West Indies might not be classed as slavery, we must not lose sight of what Ligon records from his own observations in Barbados at the very period when the Irish exiles were being delivered there: "The Island is divided into three sorts of men, viz. Masters, Servants, and Slaves. The slaves and their posterity, being subject to their Masters for ever, are kept and preserved with greater care than the servants, who are theirs but for five years, according to the law of the Island. So that for the time, the servants have the

³⁷ F. Barrington to Sir John Barrington, July 14, 1655, *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. 571.—Gardiner, Vol. III, p. 909. Note.

worser lives, for they are put to very hard labour, ill lodging, and their dyet very sleight." 38

Moreover Cromwell wrote to Daniel Searle, Governor of Barbados, on Aug. 23, 1655, complaining that some of the unfortunates had been allowed to leave the island when the term of their indenture was ended. This brought from the Governor a protest of loyalty and the further assurance: "For the future, such as your highness shall please to command to stay heere, I shall to the utmost possibility of means to be used, labour to keepe them with us in pursuance of your highness commands." 39

Robert Dunlop, in his Preface to *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, tells us: "The documents printed in these two volumes form part of a collection I made many years ago, when I had it in mind to write a history of the Commonwealth in Ireland. . . . At the time I was of opinion that the view taken by Prendergast in his well-known book—*The Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland*—was not an entirely impartial one. I thought it possible to present the Cromwellian policy in a more favourable light than either he or Carte, with his

³⁸ Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes*. London: 1673, p. 43.

³⁹ Thurloe, IV, p. 6.

Loyalist predilections, had done. My position was that taken up by Cromwell himself—viz. that the conquest and confiscation of Ireland was the divine retribution for the horrid and unprovoked massacre by the Irish Catholics of the English and Scottish settlers in Ireland in the first year of the Rebellion. In this spirit I made these transcripts, and nothing that I read in them tendered to alter that view.”⁴⁰ Subsequent studies, however, entirely disabused the author, which fact detracts nothing from the real value of the documentary evidence which he furnishes for our present purpose. The author cites such a mass of well-authenticated facts that we can only touch on a few of the more pertinent and startling documents, leaving it to the interested reader to consult Dunlop direct.

Jan. 30, 1654, Oliver Cromwell writes to Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland: “Some merchants of the city of Bristol having petitioned to me for licence to transport 400 of the Irish Tories, and such other idle and vagrant persons as may be

⁴⁰ Preface, p. vii.—Dunlop also states (Preface, p. x): “As to the documents here printed, it is necessary to remark: First, they are only a selection drawn from a number of volumes, known as the Commonwealth Records, preserved in the Public Record Office, Dublin. . . . A few other documents drawn from MSS in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, have been inserted with the object of elucidating some points, especially the proposed transplantation of the Ulster Scots; but with these exceptions the documents are confined to those preserved in the Public Record Office.”

thought fittest to be spared out of Ireland, for planting of the Caribbee Islands, which address of theirs I do recommend to your consideration that their desire therein may be granted in such a way as to you shall seem fit and expedient.”⁴¹

Nov. 4, 1653, Colonel Edmund O’Dwyer is permitted by the Commissioners of Parliament for the Affairs of Ireland “to transport such priests, Jesuits and other persons in Popish orders who are still in Ireland.”⁴²

April 19, 1654; “Ordered that all vagabonds⁴³ in the precincts of Limerick and Cork be apprehended and delivered to Captain John Norris or his agent to be transported to the Caribbee Islands.”⁴⁴

June 15, 1654, the Commissioners instruct Colonel Phaire in connexion with the O’Dwyer permit: “And in case you find that the men raised upon O’Dwyer account do not amount to the number 400, which number the merchants are to

⁴¹ Dunlop, *l. c.*, Vol. II, p. 400, #458.

⁴² *Ib.*, p. 377, #434.

⁴³ By the terms “vagabonds” and “vagrants,” as will be noticed later, are too frequently meant priests. Again, it was no unusual thing, with a nicety of cruelty to first impoverish even those of gentle birth by the complete confiscation of their property and personal belongings and then to take them into custody for transportation to the West Indies as having no means of support. Furthermore all the roads leading to Connaught made good hunting grounds for pursuivants, as many of those who were actually trying to obey the edict of banishment were picked up on the way and deported as vagrants.

⁴⁴ Dunlop, *l. c.*, Vol. II, p. 421, #487.

have delivered to them, then you are to supply that number by causing to be apprehended vagrants and idle persons, who can give no good account of their living, nor have friends nor means to maintain them."⁴⁵

June 26, 1654: "Ordered that Col. Stubbers be authorized to transport out of Connaught for the West Indies, three score Irish women that are vagrants, idlers and wanderers."⁴⁶

Jan. 26, 1655: "Ordered that such Catholic priests in custody in Dublin, as are not found guilty of murder, be transported to Barbados."⁴⁷

Nov. 19, 1655, among the instructions for Sir C. Coote, President of Connaught or the Governor of Galway for the time being: "The said Governor to take care that the priests or friars that are now imprisoned within the said town, that are above the age of forty years, be forthwith banished into France, Portugal or other neighbouring kingdoms in amity with this Commonwealth, and that the rest of the priests, that are under the age of forty years, be herewith shipped away for Barbados, or other American plantations; and likewise to give public notice that in case any of the said priests and

⁴⁵ Dunlop, *l. c.*, Vol. II, p. 420, #507.

⁴⁶ *Ib.*, p. 432, #511.

⁴⁷ *Ib.*, p. 477, #599.

friars shall at any time return into this nation, without special licence, that they shall be proceeded against according to the laws now in force."⁴⁸

Dec. 4, 1655, it is ordered that certain prisoners, some of them priests, and twenty women be delivered to Captain Norris, merchant, to be transported to Barbados,⁴⁹ and on Dec. 8th, in connexion with this consignment, Herbert sends instructions to the Governor of Barbados, Daniel Searle: "His Highness' Council for the Affairs of Ireland have ordered Captain John Norris to take aboard his ship divers Irishmen and women (such as by the Justices of Peace are found to be vagabonds and idlers) to be exported to Barbados or some other the English plantation islands of the Caribbees or thereabouts, and also three Popish priests, who are likewise to be there landed. It is the desire of the Council that care may be taken in especial concerning those three priests, that they may be so employed as they may not be at liberty to return again into this nation, where that sort of people are able to do much mischief by having so great an influence over the Popish Irish here, and of alienating their affections from the present Government."⁵⁰

⁴⁸ *Ib.*, p. 549, #753.

⁴⁹ *Ib.*, p. 553, #759.

⁵⁰ *Ib.*, p. 555, #761.

July 29, 1656, it is ordered in connexion with "divers Irish Papists now imprisoned in the county gaols in sundry places of Leinster and Munster" . . . "that such of them, as shall upon due proof appear . . . to be loose and dangerous persons, be by the Governor there speedily put on board the vessel now riding in the harbour of Kinsale and bound for the Caribbee Islands, or otherwise to secure them until the said ship shall be ready to receive them on board."⁵¹

March 4, 1657, we find the confession of the abuses that had prevailed in this traffic in human beings, in the Orders: "The Council having received many complaints of the abuse of some Orders formerly granted to several persons to carry away idle and vagabond persons to the West Indies, who instead of pursuing the direction of those Orders, by having a warrant from some of the Justices of the Peace of the county where such persons were taken up, employ persons to delude and deceive poor people by false pretences either by getting them aboard the ships, or in other by-places into their power, and forcing them away, the person so employed having so much apiece for all they so delude, and for the money's sake have enticed and

⁵¹ *Ib.*, p. 613, #854.

forced women from their children and husbands, and children from their parents, who maintained them at school, and that they had not only dealt so with the Irish but also the English, do think fit and order that all Orders, granted to any person whatsoever (being now in force) to take up and carry idle and vagabond persons as aforesaid, be henceforth made null and void, and they refer it to the care of the Justices of the Peace in the several counties and to the governors of the several precincts and garrisons in this nation that the execution of all such orders be for the future forborne, leaving the dispose and prosecution against such idle persons to be according to the usual proceedings of justice."⁵²

That the abuse complained of was in reality the inclusion of English with the Irish seizures, which, as we have seen is Prendergast's assertion, is substantiated by the future action of the Council. For, to cite only a single instance, on Oct. 26, 1658, we find the Lord Deputy and Council "pleased to pardon sundry persons," to have them shipped to the number of about a hundred to the Barbados, where they are to be delivered to merchants who are "to have the dispose of them, except the number of

⁵² *Ib.*, p. 655, #929.

ten, who will be speedily designed to a person inhabiting in the Barbados."⁵³

As must have been noticed in the foregoing citations, priests were singled out for particular attention.⁵⁴ As early as June 10, 1653, we find an Order by the Commissioners of the Commonwealth for the Affairs of Ireland, whereby, "priests or other persons in Popish orders" were to repair to the waterside for transportation over seas, which concludes: "And it is further ordered that such of the

⁵³ *Ib.*, p. 686, #974.—A letter of Nov. 29, 1658, addressed by T. Herbert to Edward Smyth in the Barbados, discloses that he is to be the recipient of the ten particularly reserved as well as two women. Their names are given as follows: Lawrence Maddy, Margaret Carthy, Wm. Goffe, Daniel M'Owen O'Hagen, Adam Hollyday, Katherine Moore, James Kennedy, Henry Blacke, John Cullen, Thomas Synott, Walter Wall, John M'Daniel.—Dunlop, *l. c.*, p. 691, #978.

⁵⁴ Elliott O'Donnell can scarcely be accused of exaggeration when he says of the Cromwellian rule in Ireland: "The fate of the Roman Catholic priests was reserved for the last, and no English historian ventures to say what actually happened to them. Their fate, however, may be gathered from the unpublished works of contemporary Irish and Continental chroniclers in the national libraries in Ireland, in Paris, Madrid, Rome, Vienna, and other cities. From these sources there is an abundant evidence to show that they fell victims to the fanatical hatred of the Scotch settlers and Cromwellian soldiery. Priest-hunts with hounds and lassoes were no uncommon form of pastime among the new settlers in Ulster and Connaught, nor were stoning and drowning the worst modes of death inflicted on the unhappy fugitives when caught. A large number—some authorities say as many as 2000—were stowed away in irons in the holds of ships and sent to the Barbados, etc."—*The Irish Abroad*, London: 1915, p. 28. And yet many historians either ignore the whole question or draw a veil over the scene with a few carefully chosen words, as: "About this time the government in England, which was then in the hands of Cromwell, confined the trade of Barbadoes to the mother country. . . . The rigour exercised towards the royal party, obliged several gentlemen of very good families to settle in this island." (Edmund Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America*. London: 1770, Vol. II, p. 87.)

said persons and all other priests and others in Popish orders, as shall not come in and render themselves as abovesaid, be apprehended and proceeded against according to former Declarations published in their behalf."⁵⁵

Let us turn now to still another witness whose testimony cannot be controverted. Sir William Petty, styled by Gardiner:⁵⁶ "a man of varied ability, who, as physician-general of the army in Ireland, had effected a series of far-reaching reforms," says of himself, somewhat naïvely: "I was secretary to

⁵⁵ Dunlop, *l. c.*, p. 345, #393.—What these former declarations were like, we may judge from the interpretation of previous Laws whereby priests were to be judged vagrants, a term which may explain the frequent instructions to take up "vagrants" for transportation, even when priests are not specifically mentioned. Thus Jeremy Collier, *An Ecclesiastical Hist. of Great Britain*. London: 1845, Vol. V, p. 225 under the caption "The Statutes against Vagabonds levelled against the monks, 1 Edw. 6. cap. 3. Statutes at Large" tells us: "This parliament made a statute against vagabonds, by which it is enacted, 'that any man or woman, not being disabled by age, accident, or sickness, and not having lands or other means sufficient to maintain them, who wander up and down idly for three days together without offering themselves to labour and employment, such persons being brought before two justices of peace, were to be slaves two years to the person that brought them, and be marked with the letter V.' Now by the several provisos against clerks convict of this offence, it is plain the act was levelled against monks and friars who went about the country to get entertainment, and furnish themselves with conveniences. Many of these religious had but narrow pensions, and those of late not well paid, as appears by a proclamation issued out for satisfying their demands this way. Now it was thought a hardship by some people, that the monks, who had creditable education, were bred to learning, and many of them persons of condition, should be tied to the labour, and come under the penalties of common servants, and to be treated no better than the lowest of the people. And this usage seemed the more particular, because they had been lately thrown out of plentiful estates, and made a considerable figure in the kingdom. Besides some of them came to London to solicit for their pensions."

⁵⁶ *Hist. of Commonwealth*. Vol. IV, p. 101.

the Lord Lieutenant (Henry Cromwell), and esteemed his favourite, was envied for my frequent privacies with him, etc."⁵⁷ And again: "My experience arising from the management of the survey brought me to be one of the commissioners for setting out lands to the army. That employment to be one of the clerks of the Council. . . . All these employments together gave me the opportunity to let the Lord Deputy see, I was (in a time of great scarcity) able to serve him as secretary."⁵⁸ According to *Burton's Diary*, Dr. Petty was accused before Parliament of bribery, dishonesty, etc. and being brought to trial, was ultimately removed from public employment, but to the end retained the friendship of Henry Cromwell, who had no doubt benefited by his manipulations of the survey.⁵⁹

In view of all this, we must give great weight to his words, when, after stating, "About 504,000 of the Irish perished, and were wasted by the Sword,

⁵⁷ *Reflections upon some Persons and Things in Ireland, by letters to and from Dr. Petty*. Dublin: 1790, p. 31.

⁵⁸ *Ib.*, p. 108.

⁵⁹ *Diary of Thomas Burton*. IV, pp. 244 ff, 469 ff.—Thomas Carlyle (*l. c.*, V, p. 102) asserts that the author of the *Diary of Thomas Burton* was none other than Nathaniel Bacon, a brother of Francis Bacon. Petty further says of himself: "Being a votary neither to any one particular sect or superstition, (as a member of Christ's universal Church) not to any one faction or party as obedient to my present visible governors, (it being alledged against me, that I had termed such as were otherwise, to be worms and maggots in the guts of the commonwealth) I was counted an enemy even to all the sects and factions."—*Reflections*, p. 118 f.

Plague, Famine, Hardship and Banishment, between the 23rd of October 1641, and the same day 1652," he records that besides soldiers there were transported "of boys, Women, Priests, &c. no less than 6000 more, whereof not half are returned."⁶⁰

Petty further states: "It follows that 167,000 died in 11 years by the Sword and Famine, and other Hardships. Which I think not incredible; for supposing half the number, viz. 87,000 died in 11 years of Famine and Cold, and Transportation to Spain and Barbadoes, it is not hard to believe that the other 87,000 perished by the sword."⁶¹ It should be noted, too, that Petty confines himself to the eleven years ending Oct. 23, 1652, while most of our records of transportation to the Barbados and other West India Islands, are subsequent to that date.⁶²

⁶⁰ *Sir William Petty's Political Survey of Ireland, with the Establishment of that Kingdom, when the Late Duke of Ormond was Lord Lieutenant, by a Fellow of the Royal Society*. London: 1719, p. 19.

⁶¹ *Ib.*, p. 20.

⁶² Cromwell's high-handed method of procedure is illustrated from an example to be found in *State Tracts: being a Collection of Several Treatises Relating to the Government. Privately printed in the Reign of K. Charles II*. London: 1689, a copy of which may be found in the Boston College Library: "In Richard's Assembly, certain Prisoners in the Tower, under the then Lieutenant, and some sent thence to Jersey, and other places beyond the Sea, complained of false Imprisonment. Their Goaler was sent for, and being required to show by what Authority he kept those persons in hold, produceth a Paper all under Oliver's own hand, as followeth. Sir, I pray you Seize such and such Persons, and all others whom you shall judge dangerous men, do it quickly, and you shall have a Warrant after you have done." (P. 372.) The subject of this treatise is *The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell; or, A*

This part of our subject we may bring to a close by a quotation from G. Robert Wynne, an Anglican Minister, Archdeacon of Aghadoe and Canon of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, who can scarcely be accused of partiality towards suffering "papists." In his *Sixth Donnellan Lecture*, delivered before the University of Dublin in the spring of 1901, he says: "The victories of Cromwell in the English and Irish wars of the Long Parliament furnished thousands of white slaves to till the fertile Jamaican valleys; and selfish greed, constant quarrelling between rival grantees, and a low type of morality long arrested the development of Barbados. The 'Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland' has been described in bitter terms by Mr. Prendergast. Among all the hard things done in those days, none were more severe than the wholesale deportation of children to the West Indies."⁶³

Short Political Discourse, shewing That Cromwell's Mal-administration, (during his Four Years, and Nine Months pretended Protectorship), laid the Foundation of our present Condition, in the Decay of Trade.

⁶³ Wynne, *The Church in Greater Britain*, p. 152.

"Sloane MS 3926" in the British Museum is Henry Whistler's *Journal of the West India Expedition, 1654-1655*. Whistler himself served on board the fleet of Admiral Penn, and his description of the Barbadian population at the time is not a pleasant one. Under date of Feb. 9th he writes: "This Island is inhabited with all sortes: with English, French, Dutch, Scotcs, Spaniards they being Jues . . . This Island is the Dunghill wharone England doth cast forth its rubidg: Rodgs and hors and such like peopel are those which are gennerally Broght heare."

Can we blame, then, Elliott O'Donnell for giving vent to his pent-up indignation in the caustic and vehement outburst: "Between the years 1651

and 1654, over 40,000 Celtic Irishmen marched away, to die with all their accustomed gallantry—many winning unperishable renown—in the services of France, Spain, Poland and Italy. Having thus succeeded in deporting the men, Cromwell next turned his attention to the women. Hearing that the planters in New England and the West Indies were weary of maroons, and would pay any price for white women, Puritan Cromwell at once volunteered to supply their needs. Gangs of his soldiers invaded Connaught, and pouncing on all the women and girls they could find drove them in gangs to Cork. It was the work of 1603 over again, only on a much larger and even more revolting scale. The young and pretty women were frequently violated, the older and uglier—beaten and branded. From Cork they were taken to Bristol and, after being publicly sold in the market there, they were thrust on board ship, and borne to their final destination. The mind shrinks from imagining the horrors of their sufferings at sea. From the records of survivors they must have been at least equal to any of the sufferings experienced by African slaves on the way to America. But, as certainly did not happen in the case of the latter, their hardships excited no sympathy in England. The inhabitants of Bristol watched them being packed on board and driven below with the same dull curiosity and phlegm which they displayed in watching the embarkation of cattle. To them, doubtless, there was little to choose between a cow and an Irish Roman Catholic—neither, in their opinion, could feel sorrow or pain. In this manner did Oliver Cromwell ply his white slave traffic."—Cf. *The Irish Abroad*, p. 26.



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and Jane Grogan, five Keane, three Kelly, eleven Lynch, two McCabe, Robert MacCann, two MacDermott, Catherine, Mary and John McSwiney, four Moriarty, five O'Brien, two O'Halloran, Daniel O'Keefe, four O'Neal, John Prendergast, John Tiernay, and four Welsh.⁶⁵

Richard Blome, writing as early as 1678, tells us concerning Barbados: "The Inhabitants of the this Isle may be Ranged under 3 heads or sorts, to wit, Masters (which are English, Scotch, and Irish, with some few Dutch, French, and Jews) Christian servants, and Negro-slaves. And these three sorts are exceeding numerous; for according to a Calculation not long since made, the Masters and Servants, did amount to about 50,000, and the Negroes to about double the number."⁶⁶ The figures are probably exaggerated as Blome is writing from heresay and not from personal observation.

Thomas Warner secured from Charles I on Sept. 13, 1625, a commission as Governor of the English Islands in the Caribbean Sea, of which Barbados and Saint Christopher were for a time to be the principal ones. The latter had been settled by War-

⁶⁵ Cf. Vere Langford Oliver, *The Monumental Inscriptions in the Churches and Churchyards of the Island of Barbados, British West Indies*. London: 1915.

⁶⁶ *A Description of the Island of Jamaica with the other Isles and Territories in America, to which the English are Related*. London: 1678, p. 36.

II

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UNQUESTIONABLY, from the very beginning of Cromwellian rule the British West Indies in general, but Barbados in particular, had literally become the land of bondage for great numbers of the Irish of both sexes.⁶⁴

It gives a chance visitor matter for serious thought, to find among the monumetal inscriptions at the Protestant Cathedral, Bridgetown, Barbados, such names as the following: Michael Cavan, six Collins, two Connell, James Connolly, Henry Cumming, twelve Cummins, four Donovan, Jane Duffey, Margaret Ann Dunn, two Farley, Daniel

⁶⁴ The Scotch, to a less degree, had shared the fate of the Irish. Thus H. R. Fox Bourne, in a volume with this dedication: "To the Right Honourable Earl Granville, K. F. Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, THIS VOLUME by His Lordship's permission is respectfully dedicated," tells us: "In 1657, between seven and eight thousand Scots, taken prisoners at the battle of Worcester, were 'sold as slaves to the plantations of the American isles,' many of them being consigned to Barbados, and, among others of the like sort, seventy persons detected in the Salisbury plot of 1666, including divines, officers, and gentlemen, were sold to Barbados for 1500 pounds of sugar a-piece."—*The Story of Our Colonies with Sketches of their present condition*. London: 1869, p. 24 f.

ner some eighteen months previously, and the crew of a French privateer, which had fared ill in an encounter with a Spanish galleon, had shortly after joined in the venture. While the English and French segregated themselves, the French at the ends of the Island and the English in the middle, for the time being they formed an alliance against the common enemy, the Carib Indians.⁶⁷

Possibly the nearness of their Catholic neighbours, the French, may explain why St. Christopher became almost from the start a rendezvous for the Irish, notably on the part of bondsmen at the end of their servitude on the other islands. They were thus enabled to practise their religion again. For, as César de Rochefort mentions, in 1646 the Capuchins were replaced by the Jesuits and Carmelites in charge of the French settlers on St. Christopher. He then adds: "Father Henry du Vivier was the first Superior of the House of the Jesuits. His sweetness and kindly conversation has won for him the heart of all those of our Nation who dwell on this Island."⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Williamson, *Caribbee Islands under the Proprietary Patents*. Oxford: 1926, p. 27 ff.

⁶⁸ *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Antilles*. Rotterdam: 1681, p. 50. Cf. also *Acts of the Privy Council. Colonial Series*. Vol. I, p. 311, under date of 26 June, 1661: "Upon the petition of Morgan O'Bryen and others Planters and Inhabitants of the Island called St. Christofers in America,

Edmund Bohun, in 1693 records that prior to the English seizure of the French part of St. Christopher, in the summer of 1690, there was in the French town of Basse-Terre "a Jesuit College."⁶⁹ But this word "College" may be due to a faulty translation of the French "Maison," as Davies in his English translation of De Rochefort, which appeared in London in 1666, and on which Bohun probably relied, so rendered it.⁷⁰

Frank Wesley Pitman asserts that as late as 1722,

showing, That they were Planters in that Island long before the Rebellion in Ireland, and were loyall Subjects to his Majestie; that they were dispossesed of their Estates, Goods and Fortunes by Clement Everatt (the Apostate Governor) who banished them to an un-in-habitable place (called Crabs Island) being in number 104 persons; And all (except 12) perished at Sea, or dyed so soone as they came to Land; 150 Familyes of Planters more fledd to the French Colonyes, where they have lived in great misery and want; The survivors and widowes and Children of the deceased, pray an Order for restitution of their Estates. It is Ordered, That the Petition and their sad condition be recommended to the Lord Willoughby of Parham to examine the truth of their allegations, and if his Lordship bee satisfyed therein, That then hee direct the Governour of St. Christofers to putt the Petitioners into possession of their Goods and Estates, So farr as the Act of oblivion will admitt the doing thereof." And there the matter apparently ended, as far as any redress was concerned. The appellants were in all probability as Irish Catholics outside the pale of justice, just as their dispossessers were protected by the "Act of oblivion" referred to in the Order of the Privy Council. And was it a mere coincidence that just a week after issuing that Order, the same body in providing for settlers for Jamaica (Vol. I, p. 313) was careful to discriminate against Catholics? It is not surprising, then, to find it recorded later (Vol. II, p. 569) under date of 28 Oct., 1714: "Reference to the Board of Trade of the petition of Stephen Duport, Agent of St. Christopher . . . relating to several Insolencys committed by severall Irish and French Papists, Residing in the said Island, which the Inhabitants pray may be speedily Redressed." What the so-called "Insolencys" really were, while not specified, may be easily surmised.

⁶⁹ *Geographical Dictionary*. London: 1693, p. 352.

⁷⁰ Davies, *History of Barbados, etc.* London: 1666, p. 17.

St. Christopher had a militia of 1100 and remarks: "All the most wealthy and best educated of St. Christopher resided in England; the rest were mainly Irish Catholics disaffected to English government."⁷¹

The middle of the seventeenth century, Williamson says: "At St. Christopher pressure of population kept alive the ill-feeling between French and English which was to lead to the catastrophe of 1666, but for the present an uneasy peace was maintained. The Irish element was a danger to English power. In 1650 a Jesuit priest was sent out by his order to carry on work among his co-religionists. He built a chapel just inside the French boundary at Sandy Point and attracted crowds of Irish servants over the border. After staying three months and making 3000 parishioners he went in disguise to Montserrat and conducted a similar mission there. Later he attempted to resume his work at St. Christopher. The English authorities bestirred themselves and forbade the Irish to cross the border. A great deal of sedition resulted, and the

⁷¹ *Development of the British West Indies 1700-1763*. New Haven: 1917, p. 57. According to "An Account of the Carybee Islands" incorporated into the *Acts of the Privy Council. Colonial Series*. Vol. I, p. 521; under date of 12 May, 1669; "Montserrat . . . Inhabited by Ireish for the most part. About 1400 Whites. some 300 Blacks. of these 800 beare Armes and are Trayned."

Jesuit finally removed to Guadalupe in 1653."⁷²

The priest referred to was the Rev. John Stritch, S.J., a native of Limerick in Ireland, who laboured for a time in the West Indies. But Williamson is in error, in assuming that Father Stritch was alone on St. Christopher. As we have seen, he found there a regularly established Jesuit community with Father du Vivier as superior. What does seem probable is that Father Stritch was the first Irish Jesuit to visit his countrymen in their land of bondage, and his welcome must naturally have attracted the attention of the English authorities. Be that as it may, when Father Stritch reached the Island of Montserrat, despite the fact that it was under English rule, he found there what was for all practical purposes an Irish Catholic settlement.

In 1678, Richard Blome wrote of Montserrat: "This Isle is most inhabited by the Irish, who have here a Church for Divine Worship."⁷³ And Bryan

⁷² Williamson, *l. c.*, p. 184 f.

⁷³ Blome, *l. c.*, p. 50. Frederick A. Ober writing in 1904, when speaking of the Irish settlement of Montserrat, insisted "that many of the present inhabitants, even the negroes, speak English with a brogue, having an Hibernian accent perfectly delicious."—Cf. *Our West Indian Neighbors*. New York, 1916 edition, p. 303. However, he weakens the force of his assertion by the questionable value of his ensuing story which runs as follows: "It is told of a modern exile from Erin, who had concluded to seek a refuge in Montserrat, that as the ship he was on cast anchor in the harbor of Plymouth, the only town on the island, he leaned over the rail and entered into conversation with a black bumboatman, who came out to sell his provisions. 'Say, Cuffee, phwat's the chance of a lad ashore?' 'Good, yer honor, if ye'r not

Edwards, the historian of the West Indies states, more in detail, that Montserrat was "first planted by a small colony from St. Christopher, detached in 1632 from the adventures under Warner. Their separation appears indeed to have been partly occasioned by local attachments and religious dissensions; which rendered their situation in St. Christopher uneasy, being chiefly natives of Ireland, of the Romish persuasion. The same causes, however, operated to the augmentation of their numbers; for so many persons of the same country and religion adventured thither soon after the first settlement, as to create a white population which it has never since possessed; if it be true, as asserted by Oldmixon, that at the end of fifteen years there were in the island upwards of one thousand white families, constituting a militia of three hundred and sixty effective men."⁷⁴

At Barbados, too, the percentage of Irish in the population was high, but here they were for the

afraid of wutruk. But me name's not Cuffee, an' plase ye, it's Pat Mulvaney.' 'Mulvaney? And do yez mean to say ye'r Oirish?' 'I do.' 'The saints dayfind us. An' how long have yez been out here?' 'A matter of tin year or so.' 'Tin year! An' yez black as me hat! May the divil fly away wid me if I iver set fut on this ould oisland. Save me sowl, I tuk yez fer a naygur!' " It is gross exaggeration of this type that throws discredit on many a narrative and tends to becloud the entire question of the historic origins of the Irish in the West Indies.

⁷⁴ Bryan Edwards, *History Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West Indies*. London: 1793, Vol. I, p. 455 f.

most part of the bondsman or servant class. In 1657, Ligon gives us a map with "the Masters Names of the severall plantacons" and there are but few Irish names in evidence. We find Butler, Hales and three Terills. Also a Patrick and Cornelius, and nearby the latter an "Yrish m." probably for "Irish's men" as elsewhere we have "Pryce" and "Pryce's men" similarly located. Besides there are several other names that might be either Irish or Scotch. In the 1673 edition of Ligon's *History* this particular map has been replaced by one by Bryan Edwards, taken from his *History of the West Indies*. Most of the names noted on the former map have disappeared but we find: Barry, Dolin, Mollens perhaps for Mullens, one Tyrrell and one Ter-rill. In any case we are safe in concluding that in Ligon's day the Irish population of Barbados was still for the most part restricted to the servant class and their lot was a hard one in the extreme. In fact, Ligon makes it clear that the life of the bondsmen was in reality more unbearable than that of even the Negro slaves. For, after stating that at the first advent to the Island which was in September 1647, some of the planters ate bone meat only twice a week, adds: "But the servants no bone meat at all, unless an Oxe dyed: and then they were feasted, as

long as that lasted." ⁷⁵ He further observes: "Upon the arrival of any ship, that brings servants to the Island, the Planters go aboard; and having bought such of them as they like, send them with a guide to his Plantation; and being come, commands them instantly to make their Cabins, which they not knowing how to do, are to be advised by other of their servants, that are the Seniors; but, if they be churlish, and will not show them, or if materials are wanting, to make them Cabins, then they are to lye on the ground that night. These Cabins are to be made of sticks, withs, and Plantain leaves, under some little shade that may keep the rain off; Their suppers being a few Potatoes for meat, and water or Mobbie ⁷⁶ for drink." ⁷⁷ Their working hours are 6 to 11 and 1 to 6 "with a severe overseer to command them." Shirt and drawers are their only garments, "And if it chance to rain, and wet them through, they have no shift, but must lye so all night. If they put off their clothes, the cold of the night will strike into them; and if they be not strong, this ill lodging will put them into a sickness: if they complain, they are beaten by the Overseer; if they resist, their time is doubled, I

⁷⁵ Ligon, *l. c.*, p. 43.

⁷⁶ "Mobbie, a drink made of potatoes."—Ligon, p. 31.

⁷⁷ Ligon, *l. c.*, p. 44.

have seen an Overseer beat a servant with a cane about the head, till the blood has followed, for a fault that is not worth the speaking of; and yet he must have patience, or worse will follow. Truly I have seen such cruelty there done to Servants, as I did not think one Christian could have done to another." ⁷⁸

Referring to this account of Ligon's, Pitman observes: "He omitted entirely any consideration of their adaptability for tropical field labor." ⁷⁹ A consideration that must be kept in mind when we try to form some concept of the sufferings of the expatriated in Barbados.

In the *Davis Collection* which consisted of transcripts of Barbadian documents by N. Darnell Davis, and which was the property of the Royal Colonial Institute, London, ⁸⁰ was included a plant-

⁷⁸ *Ib.*, p. 44.

⁷⁹ Pitman, *l. c.*, p. 45.—Pitman ignores the part played by Cromwell in this awful tragedy, and merely says: "During the Civil War and under the Commonwealth and Protectorate, Barbados and Jamaica received a supply of such servants in the form of royalist adherents, Irish rebels, and prisoners, and the practice of transporting prisoners increased under Charles II and James II."—*l. c.*, p. 45.

⁸⁰ *The Darrell Davis Papers* were in Barbados at the outbreak of the World War. Despite the protest of the custodians at the time, that there was great danger of loss from torpedoes to shipping and that it would be much better to keep them in the island until this danger to shipping was overcome, the Royal Colonial Institute insisted that the *Papers* be forwarded to London at once. The instructions were followed and the *Papers* were lost in transit as had been feared. While many had had access to these *Papers* and much had been copied from them, it is an irreparable loss to genealogists in particular that the originals are gone.

er's will, dated May 1, 1657, in which it was set forth: "I give to my Christian Servants, Desmond O'Doyle and Hannah, six months a piece of their times, provided that they doe continue Dutyfull Servants to my Wife; but, if they bee anyways disobedient or refractory, then this bequest to bee voyde and of none effect. And unto Desmond O'Doyle, I give my best Sute of Clothes and my best Hatt." Harlow, quoting this document, admits that this is an exception to the general rule of severity that existed in the treatment of white labour in Barbados which, he says, was "generally a disgrace to the English name."⁸¹

Griffith Hughes, and his very name is suggestive despite the fact that he was Rector of St. Lucy's Anglican Church in Barbados, writing in 1750, tells us concerning the Negro slaves even in his day: "We are obliged in order to keep up a neces-

⁸¹ Vincent T. Harlow, *A Short History of Barbados 1625-1685*. Oxford: 1926, p. 306.—Harlow further states: "After a parliamentary victory royalist prisoners (some of them officers of high rank) were sold in batches to London merchants, who conveyed them to the West Indies, and there sold them by auction to the planters. In September 1651 an order was issued that no lieutenants or cornets of horse, or any above that rank, were to be shipped to the plantations, and if any such had already been disposed of, private soldiers were to be sent out to take their place. But the order seems to have been generally ignored. In 1655 Colonel Gardner, Major Thomas, and a band of other royalist officers arrived at Barbados, after being imprisoned in the Tower. Cromwell's ruthless suppression of the Irish rebellion in 1649 had already occasioned the transportation of great numbers of that nationality to a like servitude."—*l. c.*, p. 295.

sary Number, to have a yearly Supply from Africa. The hard Labour, and often the Want of Necessaries, which these unhappy Creatures are obliged to undergo, destroy a greater Number than are bred here."⁸² If this was true of the Negro, inured as he was to hardship and privations, what must have been the mortality among the white indentured servants who were frequently of gentle origin and whose lot in bondage was far more arduous and exhausting than that of the Negro slaves?⁸³

Such, then, was the fate of the Irish victims of Cromwellian brutality, whether we wish to call them slaves, or designate them by the more euphemistic name of bond-servants.⁸⁴

Before leaving Barbados, however, attention

⁸² *Natural History of Barbados*. London: 1750, p. 14.

⁸³ According to Pitman (*l. c.*, p. 46): "The Lord Keeper Guilford, who visited Bristol in 1680, found the mayor and some of the justices and aldermen in the habit of supplying the West India merchants with petty criminals at so much per head. Guilford censured the mayor and aldermen and prosecutions against them pended till the Revolution, after which the abuse seems to have disappeared."—*Cf. The Lives of the Right Hon. Francis North, Baron Guilford, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, etc.* by Hon. Roger North, London: 1826, Vol. II, p. 24.

⁸⁴ *Dairy of Thomas Burton* (Vol. IV, p. 258) in reference to two petitions reported to Parliament from the "General Committee of Grievances and Courts of Justice," records: "These two petitions caused a lively debate. Mr. Noell the merchant in question was a member of the House, and the Speaker himself was implicated. Their many friends sought to exclude the petitions entirely on the ground that as they came from cavaliers they were out of court. No doubt, too, there were many other members who had profited by this trafic with Barbadoes."

should be called to a statement of Ligon who says, in connexion with his departure from the Island, that he left there Apr. 15, 1650, at midnight, "which time our Master made choyce of that he might the better pass undescried by a well known Pirate, that had for many dayes layn hovering about the Island, to take any Ships that traded with London, by virtue of a Commission, as he pretended, from the Marquess of Ormond. This Pirate was an Irish man his name Plunquet, a man bold enough; but had the Character of being more merciless and cruel, than became a valiant man."⁸⁵ A careful search of all available literature on Piracy fails to disclose any Rover of the Sea by that name. Even Philip Gosse in *The Pirates' Who's Who*, London, 1924, after gathering his material from every possible source and listing even those "whose names have been handed down to us in a desultory way" does not so much as mention anyone whose name is at all suggestive of Plunquet. While not denying the presence of Irishmen among the early Buccaneers,⁸⁶ in the present instance,

⁸⁵ Ligon, *l. c.*, p. 119.

⁸⁶ As noted elsewhere (*Whisperings of the Caribbean*. New York: 1925, p. 11 f) the Buccaneers, according to tradition, had their origin among the exiles, English and French for the most part, who took refuge in 1630 on the little Island of Tortuga, after being expelled the previous year from St. Christopher by the Spanish fleet under Don Fadrique de Toledo. Privateering was at its height and, as we have seen, the nucleus of the French on St. Chris-

Ligon's "Irish Pirate" was in all probability, if not a figment of the imagination, at least a case of mistaken identity.⁸⁷

topher had been drawn from that source. The refugees on Tortuga were shortly joined by a group of Dutch who had been driven from Santa Cruz. From this motley gathering, it is said, the West Indian Pirate of ill-fame had his origin. Food being scarce on Tortuga, supplies especially for their sea ventures were obtained by hunting wild cattle along the savannahs of nearby San Domingo and preserving the meat for future use. The native process of drying meat had consisted of smoking it to leeward of a smudgy fire on a grating made of green wood, styled by the Carib Indians as "boucan," a word which the natives quickly applied to the new-comers, to distinguish them from other white men, since they had adopted their primitive process in the use of the "boucan." The French transliterated the word as "boucanier," which the English quickly anglicized as "buccanneer."—Cf. John Esquemeling, *The Buccaneers of America*. London: 1893, Introduction.

⁸⁷ The reference may have been to some privateer named Plunquet, but there was little to choose between privateer and pirate, either in theory or practice; and Gosse includes them all in his list. For, as he says: (p. 10) "Often the very commission or letter of marque carried about so jealously by some shady privateer was not worth the paper it was written on, nor the handful of doubloons paid for it." We are not surprised, then, to find him listing as Pirates even Sir Francis Drake and men of his ilk. Of about a thousand who are included in the *Who's Who*, the following Irish Pirates are noticed: Bishop, an Irishman. "Chief mate to the pirate Captain Cobham." Anne Bonny of County Cork, daughter of an Attorney-at-Law who migrated to Carolina. Capt. Burke whose field of operations was off the coast of Newfoundland. Capt. John Crise, alias "Jack the Bachelor" of Lorne in the North of Ireland. Andrew and Pierce Cullen of Cork, followers of Capt. Philip Roche who with three companions, while passengers from Cork, in 1721, took possession of the ship, butchered the crew and set out as a pirate. Patrick and Capt. William Cunningham, of the Eighteenth Century. John Fitzgerald of Limerick, hanged in 1723. Richard Holland, an Irishman, Captain in 1724 of a crew that comprised sixty Spaniards, eighteen French and eighteen English sailors. Capt. Dennis McCarthy of New Providence, Bahamas. Darby Mullins from near Londonderry. "Being left as orphan at the age of 18, he was sold to a planter in the West Indies." Later, joined Capt. Kidd in New York and was hanged in 1701. Neale, a "fisherman of Cork." Peter Roach, tried in Boston and hanged in 1704. Lord O'Sullivan, "The Sullivan Bere, of Bereham in Ireland. A notorious friend of the English pirates, he bought their spoils, which he stored in his castle. He helped to fit out pirate captains for their cruises and protected them when Queen Elizabeth sent ships to try and arrest them." William Watts, "an Irishman." And James Wilson of Dublin, hanged at Charleston, S. C., in 1718. Eighteen Irish in all, or about two per cent of the entire pirate list.

III
TO JAMAICA

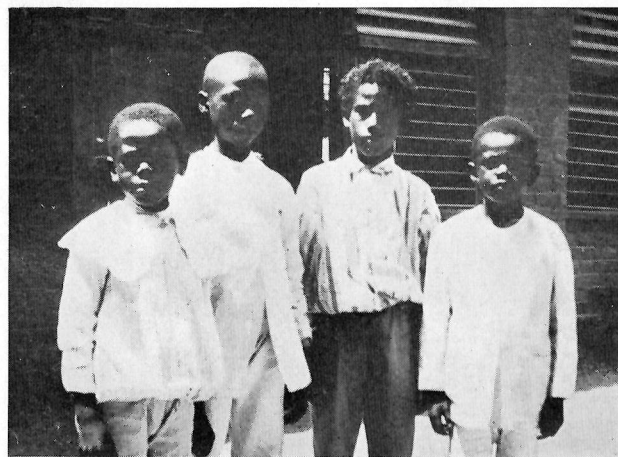
IN CONCLUDING our chapter on the Irish in Barbados, we had occasion to refer in passing to the Buccaneers. It is interesting, then, to find Agnes M. Whitson opening her "Foreword" to *The Constitutional Development of Jamaica*⁸⁸ with the observation: "The conquest of Jamaica was 'the first of the great buccaneering expeditions.'⁸⁹ In the time of peace between England and Spain, Cromwell secretly prepared a naval and military force and sent it out 'to gain an interest in that part of the West Indies in the possession of the Spaniard.'⁹⁰

From the original manuscript in the Boston College Library, we find Admiral Penn reporting from Barbados, under date of March 17, 1655, in connexion with the land forces: "Our new levies

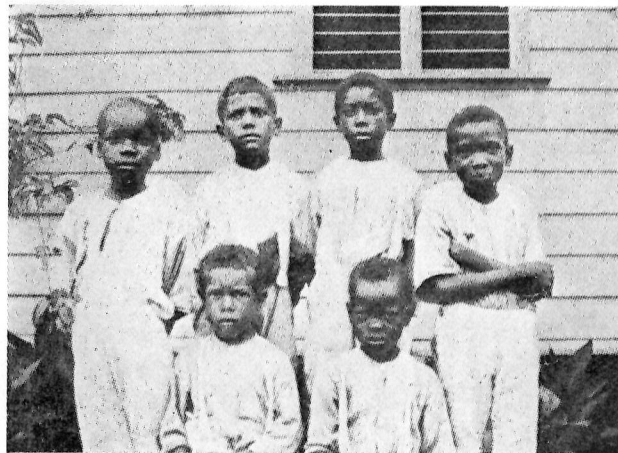
⁸⁸ Manchester (England): 1929, p. 1.

⁸⁹ C. H. Haring, *Buccaneers in the West Indies in the XVII Century*, p. 89.

⁹⁰ C. H. Firth, *Narrative of General Venables*. London: 1900, p. 111.



Collins, O'Hare, McCormack, Kennedy



Standing: Collins, Walsh, McKeon,
McDermott. Kneeling: Burke, Mackey

whose number besides two troops of horse, I suppose, are above three thousand." And C. H. Firth who edited *The Narrative of General Venables*, who was the co-leader of the expedition with Admiral Penn, says: "At Barbadoes between 3000 and 4000 men were raised, of whom Lieut.-Col. Barrington⁹¹ gives the following account: 'Being well settled in our respective quarters, we had command given us to entertain all men that were willing to engage in the present expedition; accordingly we obeyed, but the inhabitants finding themselves much grieved (and not without cause), they complained that they should be utterly ruined in case their servants were taken from them, they being their livelihood. Upon this complaint our grandees (I mean the commissioners) ordered that no officer whatsoever, upon pain of loss of place, should detain any man's servant that had above nine months to serve, and for the future to entertain none other but freemen, and such servants as came within the aforementioned limitation, all which was done intentionally to complete every regiment up to a thousand before we marched from the island; the doing this hath much injured poor

⁹¹ Francis Barrington, once of Henry Cromwell's regiment of horse in the Irish Army, who served as Lt.-Col. in Col. Buller's regiment under General Venables in this West India expedition.

people, even to their undoing, and prejudiced many of the rich, some losing ten servants, some fifteen, some more, some less, none escaping us." ⁹²

After the disastrous repulse at San Domingo in April 1655, the expedition turned next to Jamaica which was in no position to make even a feeble resistance. Ecclesiastical records for 1649 show that Santiago de la Vega, the only town of importance on the Island, numbered less than five hundred "Spanish citizens." ⁹³

General Venables himself admits that even among the troops sent out with him from England "were diverse Papists, in particular Sixteen, and four of them Irish, and one Priest, in particular out of the Tower Regiment: many more were found since, though all we could discover were cashiered at Barbadoes." ⁹⁴ The General, however, is writing his defence for Cromwell, and he tends both to exaggerate his zealous cashiering of the "papists" even as he minimizes their number. For, Isaac Berkenhead, Scoutmaster-general of the expedition at the

⁹² *Narrative of General Venables*. Preface, p. xxiv f.—In connexion with the Jamaica expedition, Harlow states: "Barbados was weakened by the loss of nearly 4000 of her white male population, many of whom had taken their wives and families to settle in the new colony."—*Hist. of Barbados*, p. 112.

⁹³ Gil Gonzalez Davila, *Teatro Eclesiastico de la Primitiva Iglesia de las Indias Occidentales*. Madrid: 1649, Tomo I, p. 286.

⁹⁴ Venables, *l. c.*, p. 6.

start, and later commissioned Adjutant General, had already reported to Secretary Thurloe, from Barbados, under date of Feb. 17th.: "We have lately found the devill's endeavours to have his chapel amongst us, which we shall teare up by the roots; for I have made a discovery of certain papists in our armie, to the number of one hundred and fifty, which came out of England, and most of the regiments which came out of the Tower, which were raised in haste, and put into colonell Butler's." ⁹⁵ Besides there are certain Irish papists, which were listed in this island since our coming, which we are now perging ourselves of. . . . In colonell Butler's regiment there have been divers quarrels amongst the officers, though taken up by the colonell. Their affections are various, and a disaffection generally, which makes me think of the number of papists in his regiment, that they may work this disaffection." ⁹⁶

Of the recruits secured at Barbados, a large percentage, regardless of religion, must have been Irish or Scotch, since they actually constituted the bulk of the servant class in the Island. And we have here the first influx of Irish to Jamaica. Other

⁹⁵ The Butler referred to should be Col. Anthony Buller (not Butler).

⁹⁶ Thurloe, III, p. 157.

more or less numerous parties must have followed soon after. For Harlow unhesitatingly records: "The development of Jamaica, on which Cromwell had set his heart, was being effected largely at the expense of Barbados and the Leeward Islands."⁹⁷ On the 8th of October 1656, Governor Searle received instructions from the Protector to encourage emigration to Jamaica as much as possible. For this purpose he was desired to publish in the Island an order, declaring Jamaican goods free of custom and excise for seven years."⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Montserrat and St. Christopher doubtlessly contributed their quota containing a strong Irish element.

⁹⁸ Harlow, *l. c.*, p. 116.—Harlow further states: "When Colonel Brayne arrived at Barbados on 27th November, seeking reinforcements for Jamaica, he received a chilly reception. 'I found the generalty of the island,' he reported, 'exceedingly prejudiced against the designe of Jamayca.' He seems, however, to have succeeded in persuading a certain number to venture their fortunes there. The floating population of bond servants who had completed their indenture was always ready to emigrate wherever a chance of obtaining land presented itself. It was a standing source of weakness to Barbados that all land was in the hands of great proprietors. Time-expired servants could not hope to purchase small estates in the island; and thus the most important section of the population was being continually lost. Owing to this fear that Jamaica would drain their population and also undersell their sugars at home, Barbadian planters continued to regard that colony with jealous eyes for many years to come."—Harlow, *l. c.*, p. 116 f.

We also find Governor Searle protesting to Secretary Thurloe (IV, p. 39 f) under date of Sept. 18, 1655, that Barbados had been weakened by the loss of her artisans to Jamaica.

Finally Harlow (p. 139) relates how on the arrival of Lord Windsor at Barbados on July 20, 1662, "seeking recruits to go with him to Jamaica" his reception was a cold one, "despite royal instructions received through Willoughby to assist Lord Windsor in every way possible." And adds: "Nor was the situation improved by Windsor's action in conducting his own recruiting, and sending volunteers on board ship without reference to the island authorities—a proceeding which resulted in the departure of numbers of indentured servants and debtors to the great loss of the inhabitants."

When, then, we find Major Robert Sedgwick, who reached Jamaica on Oct. 1, 1655, and who immediately assumed charge as Commissioner, reporting that "the soldiers left there had been principally drawn from the Island of Barbados,"⁹⁹ we are forced to conclude that a really considerable number of Irish born, or at least of Irish descent, must have found their way to Jamaica among the earliest settlers under Cromwell.

This view is strengthened by what John Poyer writes about Jamaica: "The conquest of that island, while it opened a wider field for speculation and the exercise of industry, served to drain the population of Barbados in no inconsiderable degree. Allured by the prospects of greater advantages in a theatre so much more extensive, many opulent planters and other adventurers removed to Jamaica, where land could be procured in greater plenty, cheaper and with less difficulty."¹⁰⁰

At the start, the Irish population in Jamaica must have been pretty well restricted to the poorer class, as we find but few suggestive names among the *Principal Planters and Settlers in Jamaica in 1663*, eight years after the advent of the English

⁹⁹ R. Hildreth, *The "Ruin" of Jamaica*. 1855.

¹⁰⁰ Poyer, *History of Barbados*. London: 1808, p. 66 f.

to the Island. This list has been preserved for us by Charles Long, whose father Samuel accompanied the original expedition of Penn and Venables, as Secretary to Cromwell's commission. Thus we find in St. John's, Pierce, who may be Irish; in St. Andrew's Barry; in St. Thomas in the East, Kelly; in St. Mary's, Boroan, Lynch and Sutton; in Clarendon, another Sutton; in Vere, King; in St. Anne's Moore and Roe; and in St. Elizabeth's a second Lynch. And even some of these are rather doubtful. But seven years later, when, no doubt, many bond-servants had worked out their indenture, the array of seemingly Irish names has increased remarkably in the report of Sept. 23, 1670, made by Sir Thomas Modyford to Lord Arlington, giving a survey of the various parishes in the Island as furnished by the Receiver General.¹⁰¹ Of the seven hundred and seventeen

¹⁰¹ Among a host of more doubtful ones the following names, taken at random, are perhaps sufficiently indicative of Irish origin: in St. Thomas, Brenne, Lucy, Manning, Pearce, Regain; in St. David's, Halpen, Bryan and Sylvester Mascall, Francis and William Powell, Ring; in St. Andrew's, Brian, James and Nicholas Barrett, James and Samuel Barry, Buttler, Conyers, Cahaune, Roch, Dun, Henry and William Flood, Griffin, Garret, Garvin, Joyce, Cane, Lane, Lucy, Mayan, Sheham, Teage; in St. Catherine's, Barrett, Buttler, Collins, Doughty, Dean, Floyd, Fleming, Ford, Lyon, Mache, Roe, White; in St. John's, Barret, Buttler, Carey, Dowler, Gunn, Kelly, Roe, Reynolds, White; in Clarendon, Eleanor and Richard Barrett, Edward and Michael Garret, Griffin, Magill, More, and Skelling.—Cfr. Noel B. Livingstone, *Sketch Pedigrees of Some of the Early Settlers in Jamaica*. Kingston: 1909, p. 111 ff.

property-holders listed, the indications are that well over ten per cent were of Irish extraction. And as we might naturally expect to find the great bulk of the Irish among the non-owners of land at that early date, we may justly argue that even independent of the servant class, the Irish formed a large proportion of the Jamaica population at the time.

Of the bondsmen, Gardner writes that "few ships arrived from England without some of this class on board,"¹⁰² and that they were for the most part Irish, we may judge from the following statement of Arthur Granville Bradley: "Jamaica was for some time in a disturbed condition. The Maroons in their mountain fastnesses were a constant danger. The British military settlers required a firm hand, while the Catholic Irish prisoners, the unfortunate product of his Irish wars, shipped in batches to the West Indies, were not in a mood to exercise the franchise in a manner conducive to the peace and loyalty of a British colony. Indeed, these drafts may be debited to the wrong side of Cromwell's account in the matter of statesmanship. . . . Idlers and vagabonds, too, in all parts of England and Scotland went in daily dread of

¹⁰² W. J. Gardner, *History of Jamaica*. London: 1873, p. 87.

being seized by the local authorities under Cromwell's orders and shipped to Jamaica, where for the most part as white slaves, they had to perform work that only Negroes in that climate can accomplish with impunity. Criminals from the gaols, as well as political offenders of all kinds, were shipped out to join the motley throng, among whom the death-rate was, of course, prodigious. A great deal of outrage and cruelty, far beyond what Cromwell intended, was perpetrated by individuals exploiting the emigration movement under loose authority at the expense of objects of their personal dislike and vengeance."¹⁰³

That the bondage of the Irish servant in Jamaica was no whit lighter than what we have seen going on in Barbados is evidenced by the earliest legal documents in the Island. In the first published collection of the Laws of Jamaica, after the "Act Appointing the Number of the Assembly," immediately follows "An Act for Regulating Servants," wherein the status of the indentured whites is considered in detail. The following points are worth considering. "All Servants shall have according to their Contract and Indenture, but where there is no Contract, or Indenture, Servants under Eight-

¹⁰³ Bradley, *Britain Across the Seas—America*. London, p. 387 f.

een Years of Age at their Arrival in this Island shall serve Seven Years, and above Eighteen Years of Age shall Serve Four Years, and all Convicted Felons, for the time of their Banishment."¹⁰⁴ "Any Man-Servant Marrying without the Master's or Mistress's Consent, shall serve two Years for such Offence." "All contracts made with Servants or Slaves to be utterly void." "All Suits between Servants and their Masters or Mistresses relating to their freedom, shall be heard and determined by any two Justices of the Peace without any appeal; and if any Servants absent themselves from their Masters or Mistresses Service without Leave, or a Ticket from their Master, Mistress, or Over-Seer, shall for each such Days Absence, serve one Week, and so in proportion for a longer or shorter time, the whole punishment not to exceed Three Years." The weekly rations are to be "Four pounds of good Flesh, or four pounds of good Fish, together with such convenient Plantation Provision, as may be sufficient"; and the clothing prescribed to be distributed annually consists of "Three Shirts, three pair of Drawers, three pair of Shoes, three pair of

¹⁰⁴ The letter of Cromwell to Governor Searle of Barbados, dated Aug. 23, 1655, which has already been quoted, shows that his exiles were banished for life. According to this early Law of Jamaica, then, such unfortunates were liable to life servitude, and could not work out their indenture.

Stockings, and one Hat or Cap, and to the Women proportionably." ¹⁰⁵

Edward Long speaks of that Jamaica Assembly which was held under the Governorship of the Duke of Albermarle who reached the Island in 1687, as being made up chiefly of Roman Catholics, due, as he asserts, to the machinations of "One Father Thomas Churchill, a Romish priest, who called himself *pastor of his majesty's catholic subjects in this island.*" ¹⁰⁶ Of the Duke of Albermarle himself, Long writes: "It has been said by some writers, that this duke was sent to the government of Jamaica, as to a sort of banishment, for his zeal against popery; but, from the foregoing detail of the proceedings, the contrary is evident; and considering the known principles and bigotry of his master James II, it is more creditable that he was sent, among other views, to favour the Roman Catholics, and persecute the protestant subjects there; for this design, he carried with him a gracious declaration from the king to the catholics, confirming to them the free toleration and exercise of their religion; in consequence of which, they

¹⁰⁵ The first printed collection of the Laws of Jamaica was published in London in 1683, under the title: *The Laws of Jamaica Passed by the Assembly, And Confirmed by His Majesty in Council, Feb. 23, 1683.* A copy of this extremely rare little volume may be seen in the Boston College Library.

¹⁰⁶ Long, *History of Jamaica.* London: 1774, Vol. I, p. 593 ff.

presented a very flattering address to the duke, upon his arrival, who received it in the most favourable manner and conducted his measures afterwards by the advice of their leaders, whom he had taken into his confidence." ¹⁰⁷

This whole subject requires some explanation. And first of all as regards to Father Churchill's position in the Island; to clarify matters, a little review may be helpful.

During the Spanish regime in Jamaica, the immediate ecclesiastical authority was vested in an Abbot, the Abbacy itself being attached to the Diocese of Santiago in Cuba. ¹⁰⁸ After the English conquest in 1655, for five years at least a few priests remained with the Spaniards who still clung to the mountain fastnesses, waiting in vain for the promised reinforcements with which they hoped to drive out the English. ¹⁰⁹

Father Delany, S.J., in his *History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica*, tells us: "In November of 1684, Don Santiago de Castillo arrived in Jamaica as the agent of the Assiento. On his departure four years later, he addressed a letter, dated at sea, Octo-

¹⁰⁷ *Ib.*, p. 595.

¹⁰⁸ Davila, *l. c.*, p. 276.

¹⁰⁹ Francis X. Delany, S.J., *History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica.* New York: 1930, p. 22.



ber 25, 1688, to the Marquez de los Velez, in which among other things he says: I must also inform your Excellency that from the day I arrived in the Island of Jamaica, I had a public chapel in my house, and although there was no liberty of conscience I had a church built, capable of holding 300 persons, in which divine services have been held, I maintaining the priests at my own expense. For greater validation, I arranged for the Dean and Chapter of Cuba (*sede vacante*), to give the title of Vicar General to my chief chaplain, which they did."¹¹⁰ Father Delany adds: "The priests were seven in number and it is interesting to learn that one of them was 'a holy priest of the Company of Jesus.' This is the first mention of a Jesuit priest in Jamaica, but unfortunately his name is not given."¹¹¹ Father Churchill is referred to as "an English clergyman who had come from London and who had lodged in the house of Don Santiago for eighteen days. The clergyman denounced Don Santiago and his priests as traitors to the King for having introduced the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Cuba into Jamaica. The church doors were broken open, the Vicar General was arrested and impris-

¹¹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 24.

¹¹¹ *Ib.*, p. 24.

oned and the other priests had to seek safety in hiding. This church must have been somewhere in Spanish Town, but we have no further record of its existence."¹¹²

Whence came these seven priests found in Jamaica in 1684? It seems only reasonable to suppose that they had found their way to the Island as bond-servants. Otherwise their presence would have been noted earlier, especially as regards the Jesuit. For, Francis Hanson, writing the Preface to the first published collection of Laws of Jamaica in 1683, expressly states: "We have very few Papists or Sectaries, for neither Jesuits or Non-conformist Parsons do or can live among us; some few have attempted, but never could gain Proselytes enough to afford them sustenance (though all except Papists may freely exercise what religion they please without disturbance)."¹¹³

It is difficult to say just what ecclesiastical authority was actually vested in Father Churchill, as we know nothing except his personal assertion or claim to be the "chief pastor of his Majesty's Catholic subjects in Jamaica" and it is not even clear whether this claim anteceded his clash with

¹¹² *Ib.*, p. 25.

¹¹³ *The Laws of Jamaica*, London: 1683, Preface.

the local Vicar General appointed from Cuba, or followed that event. He certainly came out under the patronage of King James II, but so also did Don Santiago whose hospitality he had so shamelessly abused. There is no known document that would indicate that Jamaica had been withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the See of Santiago in Cuba. If such a document ever existed we would expect to find Father Churchill armed with it and showing it to his brother priests whom he found in hiding at his arrival. Had he done so, they would have unquestionably honoured his position. His high-handed mode of procedure makes one question not only his prudence but even his rectitude. In all probability he came out from England in total ignorance of conditions in the Island and took it for granted that there would be no one to question his authority. At all events we can scarcely regard him as the zealot for the Catholic faith that Long would have us believe.

Bryan Edwards, who is perhaps the most reliable of Jamaica's historians simply says of him: "With his grace came over Father Thomas Churchill, a Romish pastor, sent out by James II to convert the island to popery; but his grace's death, and the revolution in 1688, blasted the good father's

project."¹¹⁴ And Gardner, the Congregationalist Minister, refers to him as "a most devoted and self-denying Romish priest."¹¹⁵

But to return to the whole question of Albermarle and his relations with the Assembly. The cause of trouble was not a religious one at all, but the time-honoured dispute about a "Permanent Revenue." Whitson has recently made it clear that Jamaica at the time was divided between the supporters of Lieutenant-Governor Molesworth, "a man like Lynch, honest, straightforward, but without Lynch's tact and personal charm, brusque in manner and impatient of opposition," and the followers of Henry Morgan, the notorious Pirate, who, despite his profession, had several times acted in place of the Chief Executive, as Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, and who was now piqued because on the present occasion he had been passed over in favour of Molesworth. Albermarle, a wastrel himself, naturally fell in with the Morgan

¹¹⁴ Edwards, *l. c.* Vol. I, p. 177.

¹¹⁵ Gardner, *l. c.*, p. 69.—Rev. George Wilson Bridges, in his *Annals of Jamaica* (London: 1828, p. 298) is not too friendly when he writes; "The active interference of Father Churchill was soon apparent; and he wandered through the country, literally, an itinerant preacher of the Roman doctrines. He had the pleasure, in one of his journies, to be half-drowned in a river, and half-starved on a rock; and he vainly hoped to convert the heretics of Jamaica to the true faith." Wilson wrote his *Annals* while Rector of Manchester in Jamaica, and published them shortly after his transfer to St. Ann's Parish as Rector.

element that comprised the most disreputable characters on the Island. Furthermore, twenty-two years before, his own father, the first Duke of Albermarle, had supported the Buccaneers. In the elections that followed, it was natural that the riff-raff who really had no interest in the matter of revenue, supported Albermarle by fair means and foul, and forced on the Island an Assembly that "passed an Act for a perpetual revenue." While quickly repudiated by the next elected Assembly, this Act eventually paved the way for the final agreement between the Assembly and the Crown, which was effected in 1728, shortly after the arrival of Major General Robert Hunter as Governor.¹¹⁶

Possibly the fact that the only legal outbreak of bigotry that is recorded in Jamaican history occurred at this time, may have come to associate the religious issue with the Permanent Revenue Bill. But in this case, the Catholics were not the instigators of the bigotry but rather its victims. We may be pardoned, then, at going into this matter somewhat in detail.

We read in the *Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica* under date of Aug. 8, 1729, how Peter

¹¹⁶ Whitson, *l. c.*, p. 129 ff.

Beckford, a member of the Assembly from St. Catherine "from the committee appointed to consider of a proper method of bringing over and settling white people in the island, reported, they had this day met, pursuant to the directions of the house, in order to frame and bring in a bill; and, to effect the same, had come to some resolutions, which they had directed him to report; to wit, That the persons to be brought over should be all protestants: etc."¹¹⁷

Later the same day it is recorded: "A motion being made, that a committee be appointed to bring in a bill for securing the island against all attempts that may be made by disguised as well as professed papists, by disabling them from holding any office or place on this island."¹¹⁸

The following day, Aug. 9th, the bill was accordingly introduced.¹¹⁹ It was read the second time and ordered to be engrossed on Aug. 12th, and the next day the engrossed bill "was read the third time; and the question being put, Whether the bill should pass; It was carried in the affirmative: Yeas 27; Noes 2." Then follows the customary: "Resolved, That the bill do pass," and the "Ordered,

¹¹⁷ *Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica*. Jamaica: 1804, p. 686.

¹¹⁸ *Ib.*, p. 687.

¹¹⁹ *Ib.*, p. 692.

That the Speaker sign the same," with the appointing of the committee to "carry the bill to the council, and desire their concurrence; who returning, the chairman reported, they had attended the council therewith, and recommended it of that importance to the island, that they doubted not their honours ready concurrence, and giving it all necessary despatch."¹²⁰

It is worth noting in the first place that of the thirty-nine members of the Assembly, only twenty-nine were recorded as voting; and secondly, that no less than four Kellys had been elected as members to that particular Assembly, John Kelly from Port Royal; Darcy Kelly and Charles Kelly from St. David; and Dennis Kelly from St. Dorothy.¹²¹ There was also, as we shall see shortly, at least one other member, Andrew Arcedeckne, from St. Catherine, who should have been a Catholic, and it is more than probable that the entire bill was aimed against these very members of the Assembly, at the instigation of the recently arrived Governor, Major General Robert Hunter, who had already served as Lieutenant-

¹²⁰ *Ib.*, p. 693.

¹²¹ *Ib.*, p. 623.

Governor in Virginia, 1707, and as Governor of New York, 1709-1719.

On Aug. 14th the house is notified that the Council have agreed to the bill,¹²² and two days later, the "Speaker with the house, attending, his excellency was pleased to give his assent" to the bill.¹²³ And the Act only awaited the confirmation of the Crown to be incorporated among the Laws of Jamaica.

But on Oct. 8, 1730, Andrew Arcedeckne, to whom reference has already been made, delivered to the Speaker of the house a sworn deposition, signed by Patrick Ward of Gray's Inn, and dated London, July 14, 1730, wherein it was asserted that Arcedeckne had been denied appointment "as a deputy to execute the office of clerk in the supreme court, in St. Jago de la Vega," the present Spanish-town, principally because Governor Hunter had declared "Mr. Andrew Arcedeckne, . . . a papist, and a harbourer or protector of papists."¹²⁴ The house called on the Governor for an explanation, and he replied the next day: "In answer to your message of yesterday, I did write to Mr. Delahaye,

¹²² *Ib.*, p. 694.

¹²³ *Ib.*, p. 696.

¹²⁴ *Ib.*, p. 732.

that Mr. Arcedeckne was disaffected, and troublesome to my administration here, without a cause: . . . As to his religion, I did write to Mr. Delahaye, that he was, as I was informed, educated a Roman catholic; that he had some part of his education in the law under Mr. Sexton, a gentleman of that religion; and further (for I must trust to my memory, not having as yet been able to find out the copy of that letter), that, by his conduct, I believed him to still; for that letter was antecedent to his late solemn recantation."¹²⁵

After debate the house "Resolved, That the said Andrew Arcedeckne, a member of this house, hath, since his being known here, to wit, for the space of about sixteen years, behaved himself as a true protestant, and good subject to his majesty and predecessor, and hath given no cause to suspect him of being either a papist, or a favourer of popery."¹²⁶

The following day, Oct. 10th, we find recorded: "A motion being made, that a committee be appointed to bring in a bill to explain 'An act to prevent dangers that may arise from disguised as well

¹²⁵ *Ib.*, p. 733.

¹²⁶ *Ib.*, p. 733.

as declared papists,' " and the committee was forthwith appointed for the purpose.¹²⁷

The subject was debated on Oct. 13th¹²⁸ and on Oct. 23rd a resolution was passed, "Yeas 12; Noes 10," that "even people coming from England or his majesty's plantations, should be obliged to furnish themselves with such certificates,"¹²⁹ presumably to prove that they were neither disguised nor declared papists.

By Nov. 12th, however, there was a change of heart. For on that date appears the record: "A motion being made, and the question put, Whether a committee should be appointed to bring in a bill for repealing the 'Act to prevent dangers, that may arise from disguised as well as declared papists' passed in August 1729; It was carried in the affirmative."¹³⁰

The bill was read for the first time and passed on Nov. 13th.¹³¹ The next day it was read for the second time and ordered engrossed, and after an adjournment for a quarter of an hour, it was immediately read for the third time and passed in due

¹²⁷ *Ib.*, p. 733.

¹²⁸ *Ib.*, p. 734.

¹²⁹ *Ib.*, p. 741.

¹³⁰ *Ib.*, p. 752.

¹³¹ *Ib.*, p. 752.

form, and the speaker was ordered to sign it.¹³² On Nov. 16th it was returned from the council with certain verbal changes and was agreed to in the amended form. Then, after another fifteen minutes of recess, the re-engrossed bill was approved and Messrs. Kelly, Herbert and Philp were the committee designated to carry it again to the council,¹³² and finally on Nov. 20th Governor Hunter gave his assent to the repealing Act.¹³³

The Act as it appears in its final form reads as follows: "An Act for repealing an Act to prevent dangers that may arise from disguised as well as declared Papists.

"Act. 92. Whereas it hath been found by experience that an Act, entitled, An Act to prevent Dangers that may arise from disguised as well as declared Papists, passed in the Month of August, in the Year One thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine, hath not answered the Purposes for which it was intended; but on the contrary, already hath, and may further serve to discourage Protestants well affected to his Majesty's Government, from coming over to settle in this Island; which, as the Number of white Inhabitants are few, may be of

¹³² *Ib.*, p. 753.

¹³³ *Ib.*, p. 756.

very bad consequence to the Welfare and Safety thereof, if continued: For Prevention of which, we your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Governor, Council, and Assembly of this your Majesty's Island of Jamaica, humbly beseech your Majesty that it may be enacted: and it is enacted by the Governor, Council, and Assembly, and by the authority of the same, That the aforesaid Act, passed in the Month of August, in the said Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine, shall be, and is hereby repealed and made void to all Intents and Purposes."¹³⁴

As the original Act does not appear in the Official Collection of Acts, presumably it was never confirmed by the Crown, and so never actually received the status of an act in the complete sense of the word, that would constitute it a law. Nevertheless, its repeal and annulment actually did receive the Royal assent and was forthwith entered among the Laws of Jamaica.

There is a significant entry in the *Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica* under date of March 26, 1730. It runs as follows: "At a conference with the council, the 26th March, 1730," concerning

¹³⁴ *Acts of Assembly passed in the Island of Jamaica, from 1681 to 1754, inclusive.* St. Jago de la Vega: 1756, p. 168.

"the most proper methods of settling, strengthening, and securing the island" that "the managers at the said conference had unanimously resolved, that the three things of the greatest importance, and most immediately necessary, were, 1. The bringing over of white people. . . . As to the first, it was their unanimous opinion, to have boys and girls, of seven years old and upwards, brought over at the public expense, and supported and provided for by the public till bound to the inhabitants as apprentices; etc."¹³⁵ This almost comes like an echo of Cromwellian days! True, no mention is made of how the "boys and girls of seven years and upwards" are to be secured. Nor is it even hinted that Ireland is to be the source. But it is at least suspicious, in the light of correspondence of Governor Hunter as recorded by Pitman,¹³⁶ who writes thus of the indentured servants in Jamaica at the period: "They were mostly Irish Catholics, and Governor Robert Hunter thought that, as they had no property and were Romanists, they might prove of disservice rather than of use in a war with France or Spain."¹³⁷ He wrote of them as a danger to the island 'from pouring in upon us in such

¹³⁵ *Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica*, p. 706.

¹³⁶ Pitman, *l. c.*, p. 54.

¹³⁷ Hunter to Board of Trade, Dec. 24, 1730, C.O. 137; 19 S 124.

Sholes, as they have done of late years,' . . . and he thought their introduction should be restrained."¹³⁸ Of course, if they were brought over at seven years of age, all these difficulties might be obviated.

It is only natural to suppose that the bulk of the early Irish in Jamaica must have lost the faith within a generation or two. For after the departure of Father Churchill, there is a break in the records of the Catholic Church in Jamaica of over a century, during which time, only a chance priest could have found his way thither; and that, too, in all probability as a bond-servant, to minister secretly to the need of the dwindling flock, until it finally disappeared, leaving to Jamaica a hallowed heritage in the names sanctified by long-suffering Ireland.

With the abolition of slavery in Jamaica, the house of Assembly offered a bounty for the importation of white immigrants, and while these were chiefly drawn from Germany, one group at least was brought out from Ireland. For in February, 1841, one hundred and twenty-seven arrived from Limerick, but, as Gardner¹³⁹ tells us:

¹³⁸ *Ib.* Nov. 13, 1731, C.O. 137; 19 S 146.

¹³⁹ Gardner, *l. c.*, p. 411.

"They were brought away with difficulty, for O'Connell denounced the emigration scheme with all his vigour, declaring it to be nothing else but a system of white slavery—a new wrong inflicted upon suffering Ireland by the Saxon race.¹⁴⁰ The ship, while in the Irish port, was guarded night and day by the police: only one-third of the number she was intended to carry sailed in her, and no steam-tug would venture to tow her out of the harbour."

Whatever, then, may be the final conclusion about

¹⁴⁰ Heaton Bowstead Robinson compiled from the *Journals* of Captain Owen and of the officers engaged under him in the expedition, a narrative of an Admiralty survey along the coast of Africa, authorized Feb. 4, 1822. Autumn 1825 found the party at work in Table Bay near Cape Town, where the following incident occurred. "A short time before leaving the bay, about twenty people, natives of Ireland, came on board, to enter as seamen, who, as we were short of hands were readily received; but almost immediately after they had got on board, a Mr. John Ingram claimed them from Captain Owen as his apprentices. In consequence of this application the Captain took them before the Commissioners of inquiry, when several deposed on oath, that they had been brought from their native country by force, some being afterwards persuaded to sign indentures, but others never having done so. Under these circumstances Captain Owen considered that they had a right to dispose of their own services; but Mr. Ingram obtained an order from Commodore Christian, desiring Captain Owen not to receive them on board, and a summons from the superintendent of police, requiring him to attend the Dutch court and submit to its judgment; to which he answered whilst we were under weigh, by protesting against its power to detain a British subject; but, in accordance with the Commodore's order, the whole of the people were sent on shore, with the exception of one man, who contrived to secrete himself until we were at sea. The Captain wrote to Lord Charles H. Somerset respecting this Irish slave-trade, requesting him to see justice done to these unfortunate men, who, born with all the advantages of freedom, were now suffering all the privations of slavery."—*Narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa, etc.* London: 1833, Vol. II, p. 226 f. And it is an English Naval Officer who uses the term Irish Slave Trade, as the incident is headed.

the fate of the Irish "wenches" and boys who were ordered by Cromwell to be shipped to Jamaica, a question which, for the present at least, must be left as an open one, this much is certain, that from the earliest days of the English occupation of the Island, there was a large proportion of Irish, both Catholic and non-Catholic, in the make-up of the population, and that not only Irish names but Irish blood as well is widely diffused throughout the Island today. It is, then, interesting to find it recorded of Jamaica in the middle of the eighteenth century, that "the natives of Scotland and Ireland seem to thrive much better there than the European English. They bring sounder constitutions, and are much sooner provided for by their countrymen established in the island."¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ Cfr. R. B. Cunningham-Graham, *Doughty Deeds: An Account of the Life of Robert Graham of Gartmore, Poet and Politician.* London, p. 54.

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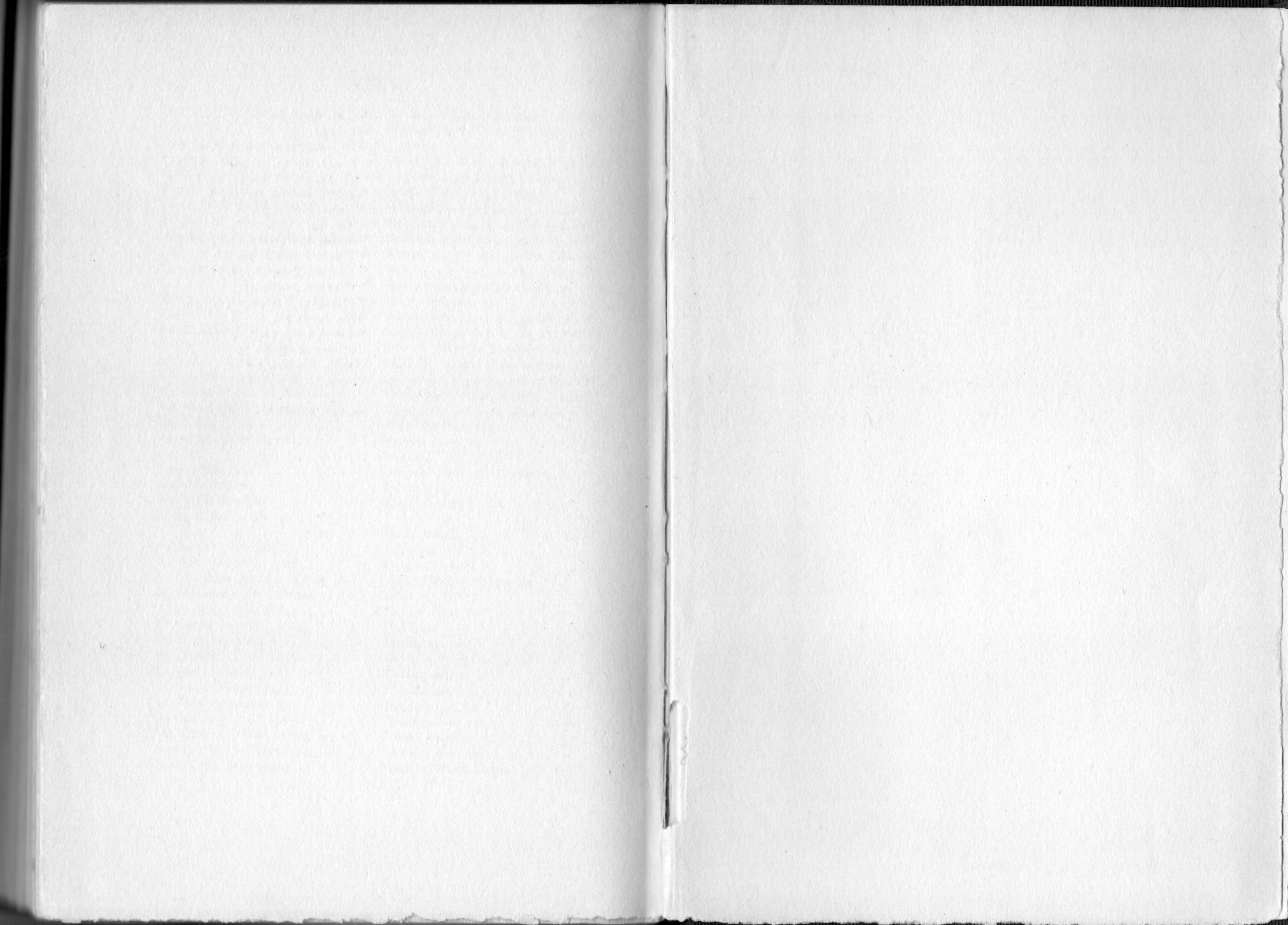
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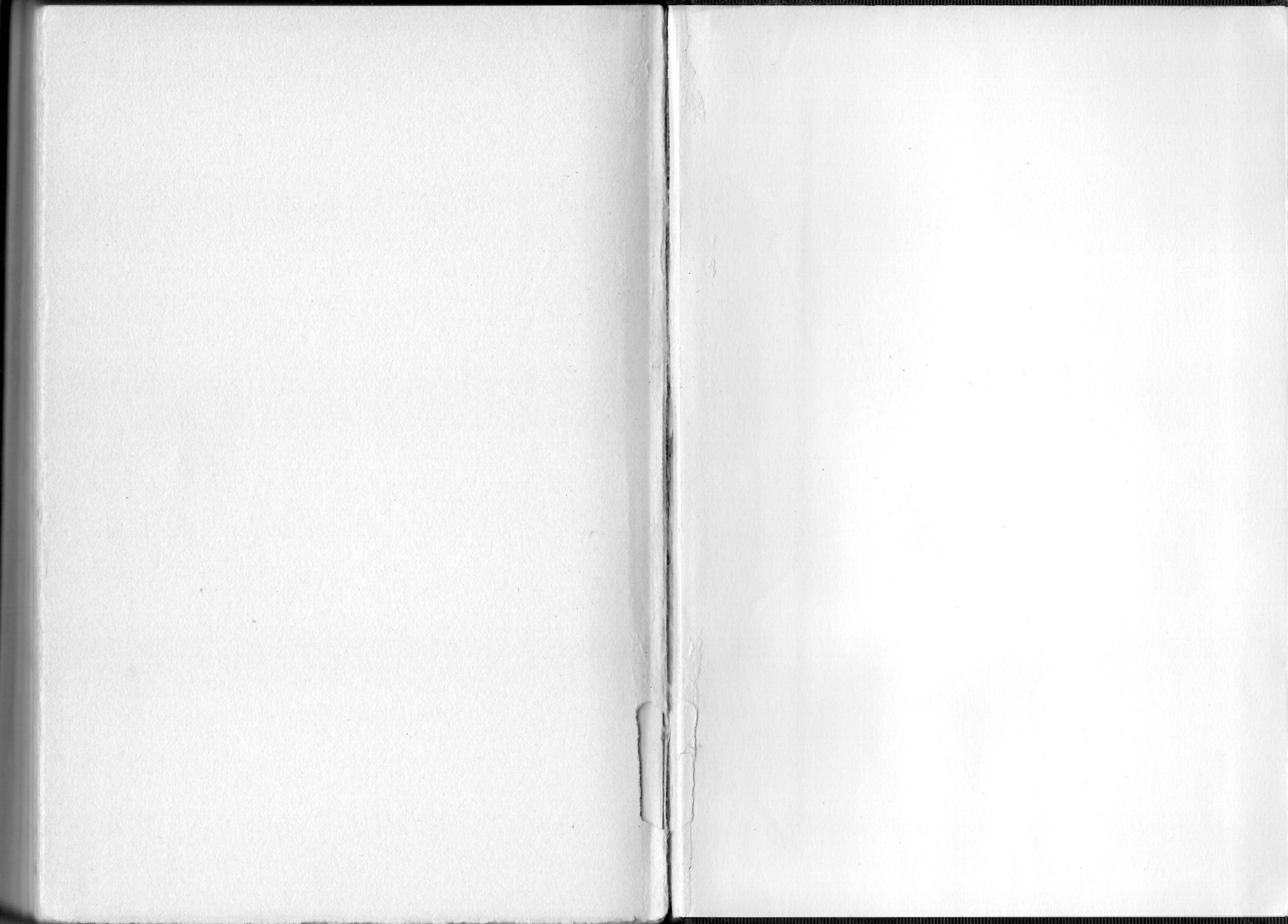
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