

A General List of the Negroes and belonging  
to Worthy Park plants taken the 1<sup>st</sup> January 1788

Names	Qualifications	Condition
✓ 1. <i>London</i>	Head Carpenter	Able
✓ 2. <i>W. Black</i>	d.	d.
✓ 3. <i>Thomson</i>	d.	d.
✓ 4. <i>London</i>	d.	Old
✓ 5. <i>Anthony</i>	Supposed Cabinet Maker	Able
✓ 6. <i>George</i>	Carpenter	d.
✓ 7. <i>Cambridge</i>	d. learning	d.
✓ 8. <i>Minwith</i>	d.	Old Infirm
✓ 9. <i>Adam</i> (Boy)	d. learning	Able
✓ 10. <i>W. John</i>	Blacksmith	d.
✓ 11. <i>W. Billy</i>	Mason	d.
✓ 12. <i>W. Mast</i>	Cooper	d.
✓ 13. <i>Behn</i>	d.	Replev'd by Meddarsburg
✓ 14. <i>Joans Budge</i>	Sawyer	Able
✓ 15. <i>W. Hob</i>	d.	d.
✓ 16. <i>Darby</i>	Head Driver	d.
✓ 17. <i>Jays Luashel</i>	d.	d.
✓ 18. <i>W. Scotland</i>	d.	d.
✓ 19. <i>W. Tom</i>	In the Garden	Old & Infirm
✓ 20. <i>Pembroke</i>	Wainman	Able
✓ 21. <i>Rippon</i>	Head Butler	d.
✓ 22. <i>Walter</i>	d. d.	Sickly
✓ 23. <i>Johnston</i>	Butler	Able (subject to Fines)
✓ 24. <i>Pool</i>	Head Butler	d.
✓ 25. <i>Horsell</i>	Wainman	d.
✓ 26. <i>Dryden</i>	Field	d. but Oldly
✓ 27. <i>Cumberland</i>	d.	d.
✓ 28. <i>Prusia</i>	Head Mule Man	Able
✓ 29. <i>McDonald</i>	Field	d.
✓ 30. <i>W. Kay</i>	d.	d.
✓ 31. <i>W. Keand</i>	d.	d.
✓ 32. <i>W. W.erson</i>	d.	d.
✓ 33. <i>W. Gregot</i>	d.	d.
✓ 34. <i>W. Face</i>	d.	d.
✓ 35. <i>W. Allister</i>	d.	d.
✓ 36. <i>W. Lean</i>	d.	d.
✓ 37. <i>W. Ross</i>	d.	d.
✓ 38. <i>W. Honey</i>	d.	d.
✓ 39. <i>W. Ponton</i>	Wainman	d.
✓ 40. <i>W. Tom Cobina</i>	Field	d.
✓ 41. <i>W. Biddle's Quamina</i>	d.	d.

List  
 A General of Neat Cattle on Wootton  
 Park Park January 1787.

No.	Names	Age	Names	Age	Names	Age	
	Nidham	15	59	Wilton	6	77	Sageant
	James	11	60	Royal	6		Thomas
	Monday	4		Frank	6		Nunby
	Roger	11		Petes	6	68	Wogan
5	Phillip	11		Edwary	6		Nidham
	Lloyd	11		Johnston	6		Cramer
	Jackson	10	65	Admian	6		Toby
	Siddis	10		Thomson	5		Lomas
	Nunby	10		Road	5	85	Chucky
10	Cook	10		Louiso	5		Tony
	Saturday	10		Majot	5		Gold
	Matcham	10	50	Sonclat			Nago
	Whynot	11		Pinnock			Arbun
	Billy	11		Joe	9	90	Jamaica
15	Orbman	9		Anthony	5		Marshall
	Dawkins	9		Blackwall	5		Billy
	Loward	9	55	Stephen	5		Frontier
	Walden	9		Wicket	5		Spaniard
	Saltpond	9		Quawo	5	90	Duke
20	Walton	9		Spider	5		Red
	Portland	9		Blood	5		Nudap
	Hazard	9	60	Rabbit	5		George
	William	8		Robin	5		Davis
	Ring	8		Queman	5	100	Harry
25	Fairbairn	8		Driver	5		Wattick
	Doctor	8		Dice	5		Cornwall
	John	8	65	Sampson	5		Cambridge
	Victor	8		Tom	5		Hamphire
	Sam	7		Marvey	5	105	Coquet
30	Leaving	7		Datby	5		Lanthorn
	Dover	7		Blackman	5		Xero
	Bush	7	70	Arrie	5		Brindle
	Wine	7		John	5		Whynot
	Boddy	7		Thomas	5	110	Sam
35	Camel	7		Goldburn	8		Monday
	Wart	7		Petes			Silver
	Shy	6	75	Sampson			Boorman
38	Adams	6	76	Wentine		114	King

# *A Jamaican Plantation*

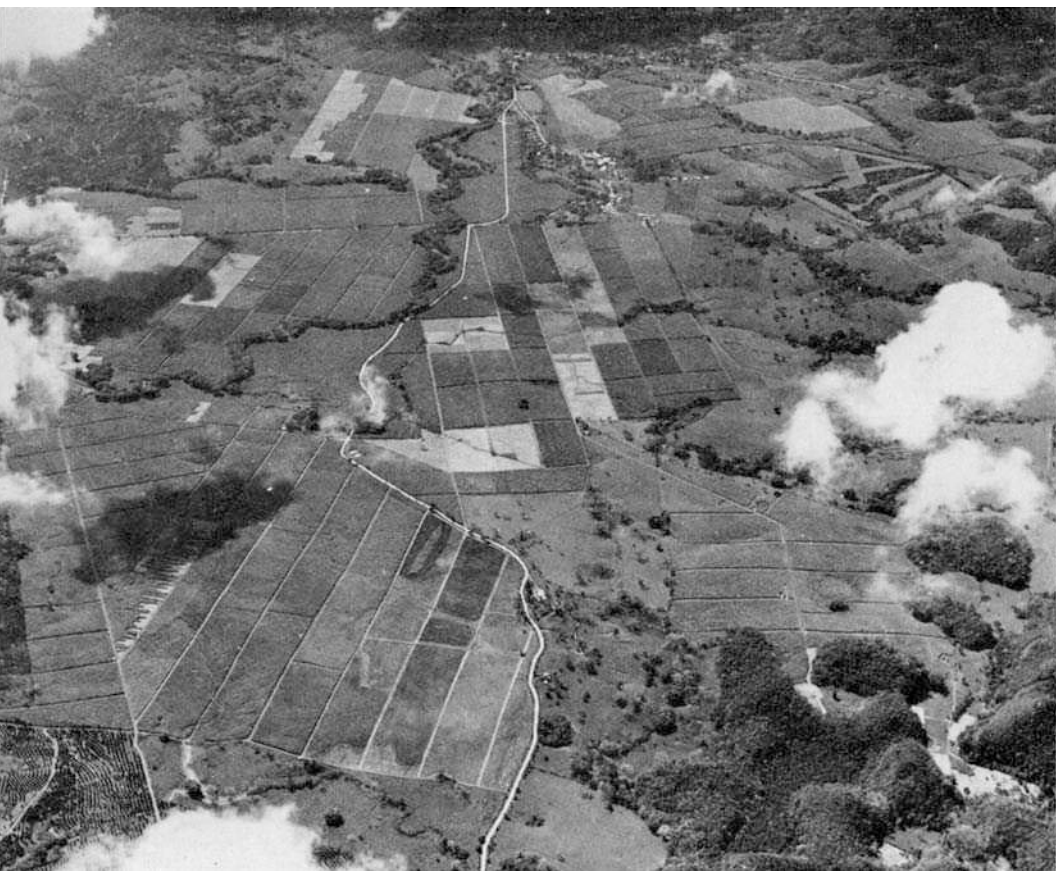
*The history of  
Worthy Park, 1670-1970*

Worthy Park has archives covering much of its three-hundred year history. Using these records, the authors have written the first complete history of a West Indian sugar estate. However, this is not just the story of a single Jamaican plantation and its people over three hundred years; the study reveals, in microcosm, the social and economic development of the area. The authors examine the foundations of West Indian sugar plantations and their slave society, showing how attitudes and methods survived nominal emancipation and the advances of technology. The book illuminates the workings of colonialism and is a useful contribution to the history of the Caribbean.

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Lluidas Vale, looking south during crop time. Worthy Park factory is in the upper centre, Lluidas Vale village beyond. In the foreground is the site of Swansea Estate; to the right, Tydixon; in the left background, Thetford. The road in the centre of the picture leads from St. Ann's and Camperdown to Point Hill, Guanaboa, and Spanish Town; the Ewarton road is to the left, the Croft's Hill road to the right background. The 1,250-foot contour completely encloses the valley.

A JAMAICAN  
PLANTATION

The History of  
Worthy Park  
1670-1970

MICHAEL CRATON  
AND  
JAMES WALVIN

University of Toronto Press

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## *Contents*

Preface	<i>page vii</i>
Introduction	I
I The Coming of the English	12
II Francis Price and the Foundation of Worthy Park	26
III Consolidation and the Advent of Sugar, 1689-1730	46
IV Sir Charles Price: Apogée of the Price Fortune, 1730-1775	71
V The Sugar Economy of An Eighteenth-Century Estate	95
VI Slave Society on an Eighteenth-Century Estate	125
VII Worthy Park Narrowly Preserved, 1775-1815	155
VIII The Coming of Emancipation, 1815-1834	183
IX The Losing Struggle, 1834-1863	208
X Nadir: Talbots and Calders, 1863-1918	234
XI Renaissance: The Coming of the Clarkes, 1918-1945	259
XII Present and Future	286
Index	337

## *List of Illustrations*

Lluidas Vale, aerial view	<i>frontispiece</i>
Driven cattle at Worthy Park	<i>facing page</i> 14
Jamaica Map of 1671 by John Seller	15
Guanaboa Church	54
Bog Walk, by Hakewill	55
Ruins of Thetford Factory	58
Eighteenth-century Windmill and Boiling-House	59
Cane-holing and Cane-cutting in the Eighteenth Century	102
Old Slave Hospital at Worthy Park	103
Jamaica Map of 1794, by Jeffreys	172
Eighteenth-century Panorama of Worthy Park, by Hakewill	173
Loading Sugar into Coasters, Eighteenth Century	200
Rose Price's New Road, 1794, by Hakewill	201
Lluidas Vale Village, 1970	254
Worthy Park Factory during Crop Time, 1965	255
Frederick Lister Clarke (1868-1932)	294
Worthy Park's Prize Cattle, 1969	295

## *Preface*

Few institutions and fewer individuals have a sense of being part of history: generally we build for our sons and grandsons, not for three hundred years. Yet on 28 November 1970, Worthy Park celebrates its tercentenary, the publication of this book being designed to coincide with the event. Rare is the West Indian sugar estate with a continuous history half as long and, even more remarkably, no existing estate has hitherto had its full history written.<sup>1</sup> For a description and explanation of the unique continuity of Worthy Park we offer the book which follows; yet how the book itself came about also requires some explanation.

The Jamaican climate is inimical to paper records. Patents, wills, and deeds the Government kept, and these have narrowly survived the ravages of heat, damp, insects, earthquakes, and periodic neglect. Records kept on estates have been less fortunate. The planters were notoriously unlettered, writing—or paying someone to write—only what they had to. Business records, in any case, begin to die as the transactions they record are completed. With the collapse of the business itself, they become corpses without mourners, thrown into a corner and then shovelled out as garbage like deconsecrated bones.<sup>2</sup> Worthy Park has been exceptional in this as in other respects, though in the preservation of its business records chance has played as large a part as calculation.

## PREFACE

The earliest owners of Worthy Park were no better than the majority of their peers in keeping for posterity records of their estate management and business transactions. But in the fifth generation, Rose Price of Penzance set a standard which has been followed for most of the subsequent seven generations. On 9 April 1795, on leaving Jamaica to become an absentee, he wrote the following for the benefit of his Attorney and Overseer at Worthy Park:

There are always five separate books to be kept on Worthy Park viz: a great Plantation Book, a store book, a Boiling House Book, a still House Book, and a Daily labour Book. I have left five compleat Books on the Estate & I request that when they are filled with writing that five more may be purchased or written home for, and that the old ones may be carefully laid up, as the Books of the Estates are the only Records by which future generations can inform themselves of the management of the Plantations.<sup>3</sup>

Rose Price wrote in an age of optimism; but Worthy Park went out of the Price family in 1863, changed hands again in 1899, and was sold for a third and final time in 1918. For much of this period, conditions in the sugar industry were so depressed that the plantations seemed doomed to extinction and there was little purpose in informing future generations of their management. Records of wages, purchases, plantings, and production continued to be kept, but the ancient records disappeared from sight, to be rediscovered by accident many years later. In 1919, two boys were playing hide-and-seek in the loft of the book-keepers' barracks at Worthy Park when they stumbled over piles of grimy leather-covered tomes. Dragged into the sunlight and roughly brushed, they disclosed reams of copperplate; listing slaves and their conditions in the same terms as working steers, white men 'to save the deficiency' (whatever that might be), supplies from distant London, Bristol, Cork, and produce computed in archaic hogsheads, 'potts', and puncheons.

The two boys were Owen and George Clarke, destined in the fullness of time to be the owner-managers of Worthy Park, and in the 'great Plantation Books' they had uncovered material for a far more intriguing game of hide-and-seek. For nearly fifty years the notion

## PREFACE

that these books might become the basis for a history of the estate lay maturing in their minds. At last, in 1967, with the three-hundredth anniversary of the first grant only three years away, the present authors were introduced to the records and invited to do what they could. Fascinated as much by the closed society of Lluidas Vale and its roots as by the records themselves, they began their labours as soon as possible, working to the deadline of 28 November 1970. The rest was merely expenditure: vulgar things like money, and priceless commodities such as time and people's help.

At first the book was conceived as no more than a fattish pamphlet; and indeed a study, however elaborate, strictly limited to a single estate would amount to little more than an extended footnote to Jamaican history. Yet the project grew as research spread outwards, disclosing neglected, underworked, or misunderstood areas for which Worthy Park provided an excellent case study or corrective. Humbly, the authors suggest that the completed book is at least a sequence of footnotes. It may help to illuminate the foundation of West Indian sugar plantations, and their 'slave society', which consisted of both the politicking plantocracy and the imported Africans whom they owned but did not understand. It may also say something valuable of the management of estates and their Negro work-forces, and the persistent ways in which attitudes and methods survived nominal emancipation and the onset of modern technology; of the impact of what the 'imperialists' called colonial independence, and something even of what the future may hold in store. If this book has succeeded, it is not just the story of a single Jamaican plantation and its people over three hundred years; it is a history, from the inside out, of Jamaica, of the British West Indies, and of the sugar industry which dominated the economy so long and has done so much, for good or evil, to shape West Indian society.

Research, begun at Worthy Park, quickly led on to Spanish Town, Kingston, and then to Washington, D.C., London, Cornwall, and even (by proxy) to Sydney, Australia. This scattering of materials between colony, metropolis, and elsewhere has always been the bugbear of West Indian scholarship: it was complicated in this instance by

## PREFACE

the fact that the co-authors lived in Canada and England respectively. The book therefore became something of an exercise in triangulation.

The Canada Council gave two invaluable grants to aid research and publication. Mr. Clinton Black and his assistants in the Jamaican Archives, the whole staff of the Institute of Jamaica, and Mr. Whittingham of the Jamaican Island Record Office went beyond the call of duty to render assistance. The staffs of the Library of Congress in Washington, the Public Record Office, Historical Manuscripts Commission, and Public Record Office in London, the Public Library in Penzance, and the Mitchell Library in Sydney demonstrated the efficiency and courtesy they habitually show all serious researchers. Mrs. Ann Diebel and Miss Heather McLeod of Waterloo undertook some of the typing, and Mr. Pat Henriques some of the tedious transcription of deeds and wills in the Jamaican Island Record Office. Besides these, many individuals offered material, comments and advice, particularly Mr. J. F. A. Mason of Christ Church, Oxford, Lieutenant-Colonel Robin Rose Price of Ascot, Berkshire, Professors D. G. Hall of the University of the West Indies, Richard B. Sheridan of Kansas and Richard S. Dunn of Pennsylvania and several colleagues and senior students of the authors in the Universities of Waterloo, Ontario, and York, England.

The completion of *A Jamaican Plantation*, however, would not have been possible without the help and encouragement of the management of Worthy Park, particularly that of George F. Clarke, the Chairman and Managing Director of Worthy Park Farms, who gave every possible aid, withheld nothing, and quarrelled with nothing but errors of fact. When such a work as this is eventually finished, some feeling of dissatisfaction is normal, and salutary; but it is a rare history project in which the authors find so much peripheral pleasure in research and writing that they are sorry when the time is up and the book is irreversibly committed to print. For the defects of the work the authors must be wholly responsible; for any merits which it may possess, a large share of the credit must go to the Clarkes and the other people of Worthy Park—of all sorts and conditions—to whom the book is sincerely dedicated.

## PREFACE

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The masterly *A West India Fortune*, by Richard Pares (London, Longmans, 1950), is the nearest equivalent to the present book, and has been a constant *beau idéal*. It deals, however, with the fortunes of the Pinney family as planters in Nevis and merchants in England from the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth centuries, not with their estates as such.

<sup>2</sup> Any eighteenth-century materials still left on West Indian estates are rare indeed, but there are a scattered few transferred into safer keeping. The Dawkins Papers, for example, consigned to the Institute of Jamaica by the Sugar Manufacturers' Association, would provide an excellent basis for a monograph.

<sup>3</sup> *Worthy Park Plantation Book, 1791-1811*, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

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## *Introduction*

Jamaica is a land of wood and water but mountainous too. In crossing the island most of the roads are forced to climb thousands of feet to negotiate the central ranges of igneous rock and limestone. 'The ideas people in Great Britain entertain of Jamaica having chiefly taken their rise from the information of those who have only visited the low lands, are in general very ill founded,' wrote Dr. John Quier in 1768. 'The internal part of the island is very high, broken land, and in some places, the mountains rise to a prodigious height: between the hills are interspersed large beautiful vallies, generally well cultivated, and laid out in rich farms and plantations.'<sup>1</sup>

Driving over to the north coast of Jamaica from Kingston and Spanish Town, the present and former capitals, one quickly plunges into the vertiginous gorge of the Rio Cobre, emerging into the wide vale of Linstead, before beginning the laborious ascent of Mount Diablo, the highest point of the road. Nestling under the wild Diablo massif is the village of Ewarton, from which a second-class road branches westward towards the geographical centre of the island. For five miles this little-frequented road climbs sinuously over the forested mountain, before pausing dramatically on a final ridge. Below is spread out a flat valley several square miles in extent, its lush green oval totally surrounded by blue-green mountains. This is the Vale of

## A JAMAICAN PLANTATION

Lluidas, which is dominated by the factory and estate of Worthy Park, the subject of this history.

The egregiously Dr. Quier, who lived in Lluidas Vale for more than fifty years, described the view to be seen from the road entering the valley with typical eighteenth-century enthusiasm: '... which ever way the eye is turned, it is regaled with an endless variety of pleasing prospects: below, the plain delights it with the regularity of art; if directed upwards, it is never tired with viewing the romantic scenes which arise from so agreeable an assemblage of mountains, capped with clouds, shaggy woods crowned with perpetual verdure, steep precipices and hanging rocks.'<sup>2</sup>

The beauty of the view has not changed much in two hundred years, though with the development of Worthy Park, the 'regularity of art' must have increased considerably. The scene still changes with the passage of the clouds, the sun, and the seasons, from hour to hour and day to day; but today its constant focus is the incongruous brick spire of the Worthy Park chimney, which between January and May trails a permanent black plume of smoke as the mills devour the 125,000 tons of sugar cane produced in Lluidas Vale and its neighbouring areas. Clustered around the silvery slabs and gantries of the factory are the red zinc roofs of the estate offices and the old central buildings of Worthy Park and the satellite roofs of the bungalows of managerial and senior staff, painted pastel green. Farther away are the neat rows of workers' wooden cottages and the higgledy-piggledy huddle of Lluidas Vale village, with its Post Office, police station, church, and school.

Three thousand people live in Worthy Park's valley, but buildings, mostly sheltered by shade trees, do not obtrude on its peaceful landscape. The most distinctive feature of Lluidas Vale remains the quadrilateral pattern of the canefields, in such marked contrast to the unkempt wooded cloak of the mountains. Altogether there are 225 separate cane-'pieces' belonging to Worthy Park, divided up by neat 'intervals', or field roads, totalling 1,500 acres but varying in size from one to 25 acres. In crop time they present a multicoloured patchwork, ranging from the rich browns of fresh ploughed land to the dull bronze of dead

## INTRODUCTION

cut trash, the tender green of young cane shoots, and the emerald tinged with gold of the ripened crop.

Worthy Park's canefields produce 7,000 tons of sugar in an average year, yet the estate does not prosper on sugar alone. Around the cane, on a thousand acres of smooth green pasture and on twice that area of tussocky guinea grass in the meadowy glades of the lower mountain slopes, roam 1,500 head of pedigree beef cattle, under the supervision of black cowboys. On chosen slopes and margins march neat lines of citrus—all kinds, including ortaniques, deliciously blended from sweet oranges and tangerines—providing a third major product for the great estate, 375 acres in all. Worthy Park is a model of diversification and land utilization; even its one touch of extravagance, 70 acres of golf course and playing fields, is ingeniously trimmed with 40 acres of burgeoning citrus trees. The nearby air-strip is no extravagance at all, for it is from this 125 × 2,000-foot greensward that chartered Cessna aircraft frequently spray and fertilize the fields.

The intrepid aerial cropdusters, flying round the valley's dangerous rim, would be the first to point out that Lluidas Vale is neither so flat nor so nearly oval as it seems at first glance. A fallen piece of Jamaica's limestone piecrust, it is only flat and smooth in contrast to the 'cock-pits', scarps, and potholes of the harsh tropical karst topography that encircles it. Although the valley is rich in alluvial soils and the marls and clays that are the result of aeons of action by the elements on the natural rock, the naked limestone lies beneath, and breaks the surface in small outcrops on the valley's western side.<sup>3</sup> As in the surrounding mountains, there is little surface water, though the paths of underground drainage are traced by numerous gullies, which act as run-offs in the occasional periods of flood. The only permanent stream entering the valley, the Murmuring Brook from Juan de Bolas Mountain, is tapped by the Worthy Park aqueduct and, deprived of most of its water, peters out in the largest of the gullies. This dry watercourse, crossing the valley in a loop, acts as a confluence for all the other gullies, before plunging straight into Lluidas Blue Mountain by the Ewarton Road. The rock-filtered sinkhole where the great gully disappears, is the chief geological curiosity of Lluidas Vale. Cartographers

#### A JAMAICAN PLANTATION

confidently, and geographers more tentatively, have identified the Lluidas gullies as sources of the Rio Cobre, which emerges from the limestone strata at Riverhead, two miles away and 200 feet lower than the Worthy Park sinkhole.<sup>4</sup>

Because of its elevation—some 1,150 feet above sea level—Lluidas is cooler and moister than the Jamaican plains. As Dr. Quier pointed out so accurately in 1768:

Here an European may enjoy as cool a climate as he can reasonably wish for. The hottest part of the year is from May to October, when the wind is south-easterly, with smart showers about noon, though sometimes no rain falls for some weeks. The nights are foggy, or rather the air being loaded with vapours which the heat of the day has caused it to absorb; and as the heat abates, being unable to suspend them any longer in intimate union with itself, that moisture is thrown off in the form of clouds, which are still augmented in this woody region, by the copious exhalations of the earth and vegetables, which retain warmth longer than the circumambient air; and these clouds hang about the upper part of the mountains till they are again united by the sun with the rest of the atmosphere, or are swept away by the morning breeze. At this time of year [January] the thermometer commonly stands, at sun-rise, at about 70° and rises by noon to some degrees above 80; but very seldom so high as 85° or 86°. In the months of May and October, it sometimes rains incessantly, and the weather is so raw and cold as frequently to render a fire necessary. In November or December, the north wind sets in, and continues until May. As long as this wind blows, the nights are clear, and the days are cool and dry, except that, now and then, a transient shower falls. Indeed, when this wind blows strongly, the cold is quite intense for this latitude, and obliges us to keep a constant fire. On the 15th of this instant (January at 7 o'clock in the morning), the mercury in my thermometer was depressed to 51° at this place. . . . A prodigious quantity of rain falls in the course of a year, and the air is always so moist that metals will rust, however great the care taken of them: lixivial salts can scarcely be so closely corked in bottles, but they will dissolve; and wearing apparel, and whatever else that is in the least liable to grow mouldy, is kept in chests; and, where the air is confined, cannot be preserved from it but by frequently exposing them to the sun. In the low lands it rains but seldom, and when it does, it descends in torrents; but in the mountains, the rain falls oftener and more gradually. In the

## INTRODUCTION

summer months it thunders and lightens often, though seldom violently. . . .<sup>5</sup>

Lluidas Vale, in other words, has one of the most fortunate climates to be found in the Caribbean, and rarely suffers those climatic extremes which make living in the tropics such an adventure and a trial. Worthy Park's mean average temperature is 73°, compared with Kingston's 78°, and its annual rainfall 60 inches, compared with 29 inches for downtown Kingston, and an extreme for the north-easterly slopes of the Blue Mountains of 252 inches. Sheltered by its mountain ramparts, Lluidas has not suffered a devastating hurricane in living memory, though notable floods occur about every fourth year, when the gullies course like giant brown snakes and a third of the valley round the over-taxed sinkhole is washed by waters up to 80 feet deep.<sup>6</sup>

Even in normal times, most of the gullies are easily traced by the groves of riverine trees and dense tropical undergrowth which flourish in the rich alluvium of these unworkable lands, and meander with apparent indecision across the precise rectangles of the sugar fields. Standing proudly above the rest are magnificent stands of bamboo up to 75 feet in height, planted since the eighteenth century to prevent soil erosion, and now one of the most arresting features of the landscape.

It is not just the feathery upsurges of bamboo that one would have to erase from the mind's eye in visualizing Lluidas Vale in its natural state, before the settlers came. Of the species of tree found in the valley, barely half are indigenous, and some of the original types have long since disappeared, axed for their valuable timbers. Over the past three centuries, the tropics have been scoured for trees and plants suitable for the West Indies which, finding an almost ideal habitat in Jamaica, have come to be regarded as native growths: timber, shade and ornamental trees such as logwood, cashew, casuarina, royal palm, imortelle; fruit trees such as coconut, citrus, mango, tamarind, breadfruit, banana, coffee, and the sugar-cane itself; and the flowering trees and shrubs that make parts of the valley a vivid green—bougainvillea, hibiscus, oleander, poinsettia, thunbergia. Even the pasture grasses

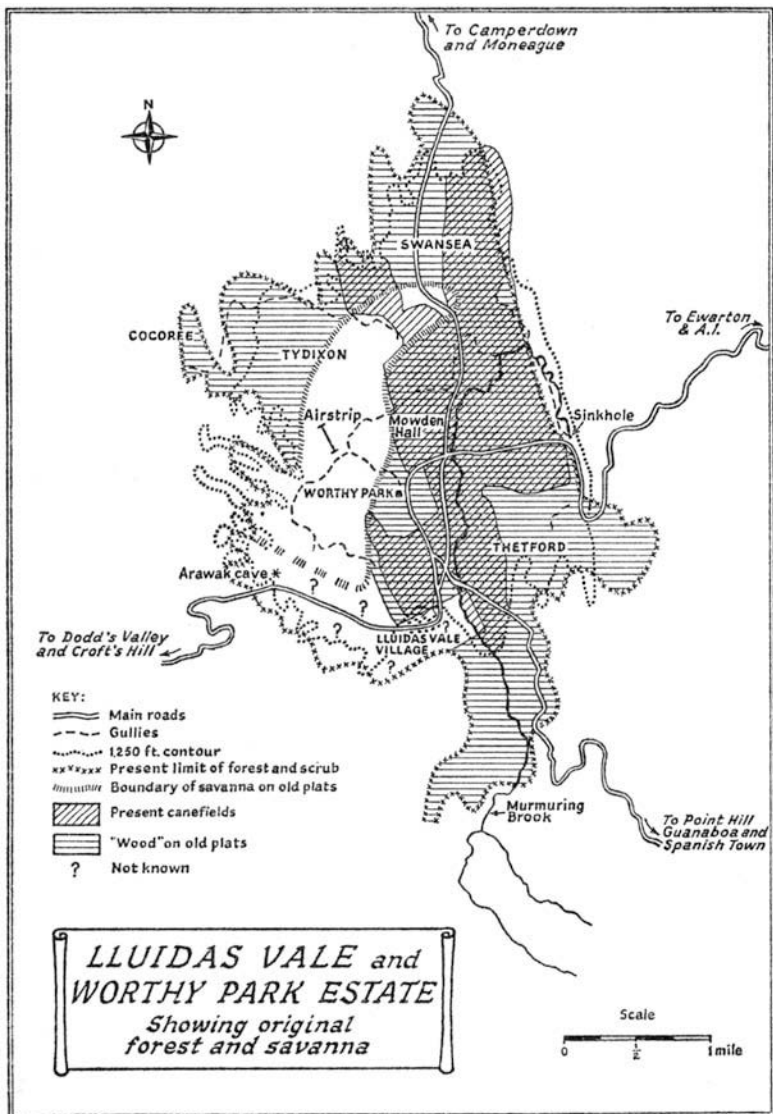
## A JAMAICAN PLANTATION

were mostly imported: guinea grass from West Africa, and the bluish pangola from Natal.<sup>7</sup>

What then was Lluidas Vale like in 1670, when the first English settlers took out their patents for its valuable land? The mountains with their dense scrub and forest cannot have changed much, but the earliest plans show that the forest was originally much wider in extent. When they made the rough surveys sufficient for the 'plats' registered in the parish records under their names, the early settlers usually stated the character of their lands, and from the Plat Book of the Parish of St. John it seems that most of the acreage in Lluidas where sugar is now grown, and much of the pasture, too, was originally designated 'wood'. Only on the western side of the valley and in two patches to the north-east and south were found 'savannah', 'cutting grass', and 'ruinates'.<sup>8</sup>

The most fertile soils grew the richest woodland, and today it is only in remote pockets that such a luxuriant growth can be found as must once have almost covered the Vale of Lluidas: groves of wide-spreading guango, ba'cedar, budge gum, mahoe; timber trees prospering far from the woodman's axe, such as mahogany, cedar, braziletto; and towering above the rest, trees such as were used for boundary markers on the earliest plans, cotton trees, bullet trees, fiddle woods, santa marias. A hundred kinds of tropical shrub competed with the trees for space, and trunk, limb and branch were webbed together in an impenetrable tangle of epiphytes and parasites, choking grasses, hanging roots, and strangling vines. Everywhere were garish flowers and edible fruits unknown to Europeans in 1491.<sup>9</sup>

In the green twilight of the forests and out in the bright light of the savanna flew most of the 200 species of bird native to Jamaica, some of which the earliest travellers described as being tame as pets. Among the trees and around the rocks of the savanna scuttled the agouti, a tail-less rodent, and the iguana, a giant lizard, both prized as delicacies by the Indians but exterminated by the white men and their dogs. By the seventeenth century their place had been taken by the fierce wild hogs and the scrawny cattle that were the descendants of the animals released by the Spaniards in the early days to provide fresh meat, which had multiplied hugely in the almost trackless wastes of the interior.



## A JAMAICAN PLANTATION

Only the hardiest of the Spanish 'cowkillers' ventured as far inland as Lluidas Vale, and none of them settled in the valley itself.

Indeed, it was the English, with their tireless quest for fertile lands, their axes and saws and slaves to wield them, who first proved the valley of Lluidas an ideal site for habitation. The Arawaks, who populated Jamaica several thousand years ago and probably numbered about 9,000 before Columbus came in 1494,<sup>10</sup> could not have found the valley an attractive place to live. These peaceful aboriginals knew no hard metals and had no way of felling timber save by fire. They needed running water, open spaces to provide protection from insects, and easily cultivated land; but above all they needed the sea. They were fearless seagoers, and travelled freely from place to place on the coasts in their cottonwood dugouts. They cultivated cassava and ate the guavas, sapodillas and other fruits that grew wild in profusion around them; but seafood provided most of their protein. Of the dozens of permanent Arawak sites identified in Jamaica, none has yet been found farther than five miles from the sea, and the 'kitchen middens' of all those explored have produced merely the remains of turtles, fish, and shell-fish and the occasional bones of agouti and iguana.<sup>11</sup>

The Arawaks from time to time did venture inland, following the valley bottoms and the ridges of the hills above the densest of the bush. Their remains have been found in twenty to thirty inland caves throughout Jamaica, nearly all more than 1,000 feet above sea level. The high interior of the island obviously held some special significance for the Jamaican Arawak, for the remains in the caves consist almost exclusively of crude graffiti, or 'petroglyphs', and carved black wooden 'zemis' connected with obscure Arawak rituals. Worthy Park, close to the heart of Jamaica, possesses such an arcane shrine, a shallow cave in a free-standing limestone hillock close to the Dodd's Valley road, where some petroglyphs in human shapes were recently found.<sup>12</sup>

It would be beguilingly easy to trace a connection between the Arawak migrations to Lluidas Vale and the tiny quantities of gold found in the igneous outcrops of the Point Hill region,<sup>13</sup> or even panned in specks from the Murmuring Brook; but unfortunately no evidence has come to light either in the early Spanish writings or the

## INTRODUCTION

findings of archeologists that the Jamaican Arawaks even knew of the existence of gold. Another hypothesis that is most likely a myth is that which identifies remnants of Arawak blood in the veins of contemporary Jamaicans, particularly the proud Maroons of Trelawny and Portland. Las Casas—though prone to exaggeration—claimed as early as 1533 that only a hundred Jamaican Arawaks remained.<sup>14</sup> Few, if any, of these could have survived a further fifty years, and the chances of miscegenation with African Negroes imported as slaves by the Spaniards, were minimal.

Almost certainly, the ancestors of the present Maroons were two or three bands of Spanish Negroes, rough cowboys who roamed the interior with lances and bows, and who, though technically slaves, were as free and unmanageable as the wild beasts they hunted. One such band, under the almost legendary Juan Lubolo—alias Juan de Bolas—first populated the southern approaches of Lluidas Vale, around the time of the coming of the English in 1655. Juan Lubolo's squadron of irregular scouts, which never totalled more than 200 and gradually declined in numbers, established their *pelincos*,<sup>15</sup> or smallholdings, close to the fresh water of the Murmuring Brook. They farmed the open hillsides for cassava and maize, and rode out occasionally into the Lluidas savanna to round up the cattle and slaughter the hogs they had probably come to regard as their own. A rudimentary road—traceable today in the track from Juan de Bolas to Tydixon—was delineated on the earliest English grants, and this may have been the path first trodden by the followers of Juan Lubolo, or even by the Arawaks.

Lluidas Vale in 1655 was an almost perfect fastness, approachable only by the defiles of Point Hill in the south, Dodd's Valley in the west and Camperdown in the north. Yet Juan Lubolo's pitiful little band had neither the numbers nor the will to defend the valley after the Spaniards left Jamaica. Their few *pelincos* west of the Point Hill road were all that stood between the English settlers and the rich heartland of Lluidas Vale, once the settlers had defeated the Spaniards on the plains and began their relentless march into the Jamaican mountains.

## A JAMAICAN PLANTATION

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> J. Quier, J. Hume and others, *Letters and essays . . . on the West Indies by different practitioners*, London, J. Murray, 1778, xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xxvii. John Quier was born in England in 1738 or 1741 and educated at the University of Leyden. After a spell in the Army he went to Jamaica in 1767 and set up a practice based at Shady Grove, Lluidas, where he lived until his death in 1822. A widely-respected slave doctor and Member of the Assembly, he was a pioneer in inoculation for smallpox. See *Royal Gazette*, Jamaica, 21 September 1822; Heinz Goerke, 'The life and Scientific Works of Dr. John Quier, Practitioner of Physic and Surgery, Jamaica, 1738-1822', *West Indian Medical Journal*, V, xviii, 22-7.

<sup>3</sup> This type of interior valley in a predominantly karst topography is called a *polje*. Lluidas is such an outstanding example of the form that it has been used as an illustration in the forthcoming *International Geographical Atlas*.

<sup>4</sup> In fact, there is another small drainage basin at Old Woman's Savanna, three miles to the west of Worthy Park and three hundred feet higher, that may in turn provide Lluidas, and the Cobre, with some of its water. See R. M. Bent and E. L. Bent-Golding, *A Complete Geography of Jamaica*, London, Collins, 1966.

<sup>5</sup> Quier, *op. cit.*, xvii-xxx. The reliability of Worthy Park's rainfall is still attributed to the surrounding forest cover, if not quite for the reason ascribed by Dr. Quier. On 9 February 1968, the temperature at Worthy Park at 5 a.m. was 45.3°, the lowest on record.

<sup>6</sup> Bent and Bent-Golding, *op. cit.*; Worthy Park Farms Meteorological Station Records; The Sugar Manufacturers of Jamaica Limited Research Department monthly rainfall reports; J. F. Brennan and others, *The Rainfall of Jamaica, 1870-1939*, Kingston, 1943. Records have been kept at Worthy Park continuously since 1877, and there are now eight sub-stations.

<sup>7</sup> A useful introduction is Dorothy P. Storer, *Familiar Trees and Cultivated Plants of Jamaica*, London, Macmillan, for the Institute of Jamaica, 1958.

<sup>8</sup> St. John's Parish Plat Book, 1665-1705: 1/72, 105, 128, 144, 147, 150, 151, 157, 160, 168, 170, 197, 200, 213. See below, II, 35. Since ruins strictly are overgrown cultivations, areas so designated may well have been planted before.

<sup>9</sup> Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) gave the best early description of the animal and plant life of Jamaica: *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica, with the Natural History . . . of the last of those Islands*, etc., 2 vols., London, 1702, 1725, especially I, vii-cliv; *Catalogus plantarum quae in insula Jamaica sponte proveniunt*, etc., London, 1696. Another pioneer natural historian was Patrick Browne, *The Civil and Natural History of Jamaica*, etc., 3 vols., London, 1756.

<sup>10</sup> Ronald L. Vanderwal, 'Problems of Jamaican Pre-History', *Jamaica Journal*, XI, 3 September 1968, 10-13, dismisses earlier estimates of 60,000.

<sup>11</sup> Robert R. Howard, 'Introduction to the Archeology of Jamaica', *American Antiquity*, XXXI, 2, 1966; J. E. Duerden, 'Aboriginal Indian Remains in Jamaica', *Journal of the Institute of Jamaica*, II, 4 July 1897; Irving Rouse, 'The West Indies', in J. H. Steward (ed.) *Handbook of South American Indians*, V, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1948, 495-565; F. Morales Padrón, *Jamaica Española*, Seville, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americano, 1952, 25-6.

<sup>12</sup> A *zemí* found in an interior cave in 1757, and two others found in 1792 at

## INTRODUCTION

Spots in the Carpenter Mountains in the west of Jamaica, were discovered facing east, that is, towards the centre of the island. All three are now in the British Museum.

<sup>13</sup> H. R. Hose, *Geology and Mineral Resources of Jamaica*, Kingston, 1951; V. A. Zans, *Economic Geology of Jamaica*, Kingston, 1951; Geological Survey Department, *Synopsis of the Geology of Jamaica*, Kingston, 1962.

<sup>14</sup> Fr. B. de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, II, vi; *Brevissima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, 10; Padrón, *op. cit.*, 259-62.

<sup>15</sup> Alias the Spanish spelling *palenques*, or the anglicization 'polincks'. At least as late as 1789 the word was used to describe smallholdings on marginal land growing provisions or raising small stock. *Pp 1731-1800, H. C., xxvi, 1789, 646 a, III.*

## CHAPTER ONE

### *The Coming of the English*

During the 161 years of Spanish rule the potential of Jamaica had hardly begun to be tapped. The island, soon to be the most valuable of all British colonies, was regarded by the Spaniards as of less worth than neighbouring Hispaniola and Cuba, which in turn were less desirable than the mainland colonies of Mexico and Peru. Visited irregularly for the smoked beef and pork, hides and tallow for which it was noted, Jamaica was not on the customary routes of the *flota* and *galeones* which served the more prosperous colonies. Its strategic importance and its vulnerability should have been recognized after the raids by English corsairs in 1597, 1603, and 1643,<sup>1</sup> but nothing effective had been done before the invasion of 1655.

At the end of the Spanish period the population of Jamaica was no more than 2,500, including women, children, and slaves,<sup>2</sup> a total that was outnumbered three-to-one by the invading forces under Admiral Penn and General Venables. Santiago de la Vega—the present Spanish Town—the only town, was said to contain 500 houses, but this was almost certainly an exaggeration. The remainder of the Spaniards lived within twenty miles of the capital, at Liguanea, Anaya (May Pen), Yama (Vere), and Guanaboa, or in *hatos*, ranches, scattered thinly over the southern plains, in the regions of Guatibacoa (Clarendon Plains),

## THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH

Pereda (Pedro Plains), Ayala (Yallahs), or as far afield as the present Westmoreland and Morant Bay. The north shore of Jamaica was practically deserted, the first settlement at Sevilla la Nueva (St. Ann's Bay) having been abandoned in 1534. In 1611, the Abbot of Jamaica wrote:

. . . The whole of the rest of the island which is about 50 leagues long and little more than 15 wide is uncultivated and uninhabited, though there are many hunting grounds of horned stock in which the colonists have their shares in proportion to the ranches they formerly had stocked with tame cattle from which have sprung those that are now wild in these grounds. Nearly the whole year is taken up in killing cows and bulls only to get the hides and fat, leaving the meat wasted. There are also large herds of swine raised in the mountains, which are common to all who may wish to hunt them as is ordinarily done, obtaining therefrom a great quantity of lard and jerked pork. . . .<sup>3</sup>

The chief deficiency from which Jamaica suffered under the Spaniards was that of a merchant marine.<sup>4</sup> Without even a handful of coasting vessels to carry products from place to place on the coasts or across the narrow reaches to Santo Domingo or Santiago de Cuba, Jamaica could not develop plantations and her rich resources of timber went untapped. Some pimento and cacao was grown, and a small surplus of cassava, which served as the local bread, but these were insufficient to encourage a flourishing export trade. Likewise, there were several sugar mills in the island when the English arrived, but their products were almost all consumed locally. The only benefit Jamaica gained from her obscurity was the cheapness of her provisions; an *arroba* of cassava seldom cost more than four reales, and as much as 52 pounds of the beef that was not wasted could be bought for a single *real*.<sup>5</sup>

The superb roadsteads of Kingston and Old Harbour in the populated south were seldom used by the Spaniards, and the inlets of the north shore were more often visited by foreign corsairs than by Spanish vessels. So destitute of shipping were the Jamaican Spaniards that they usually traversed the island overland on the infrequent occasions when it was necessary to visit the north shore. The common route is thought to have been a pathway up the valley of the Minho to

#### A JAMAICAN PLANTATION

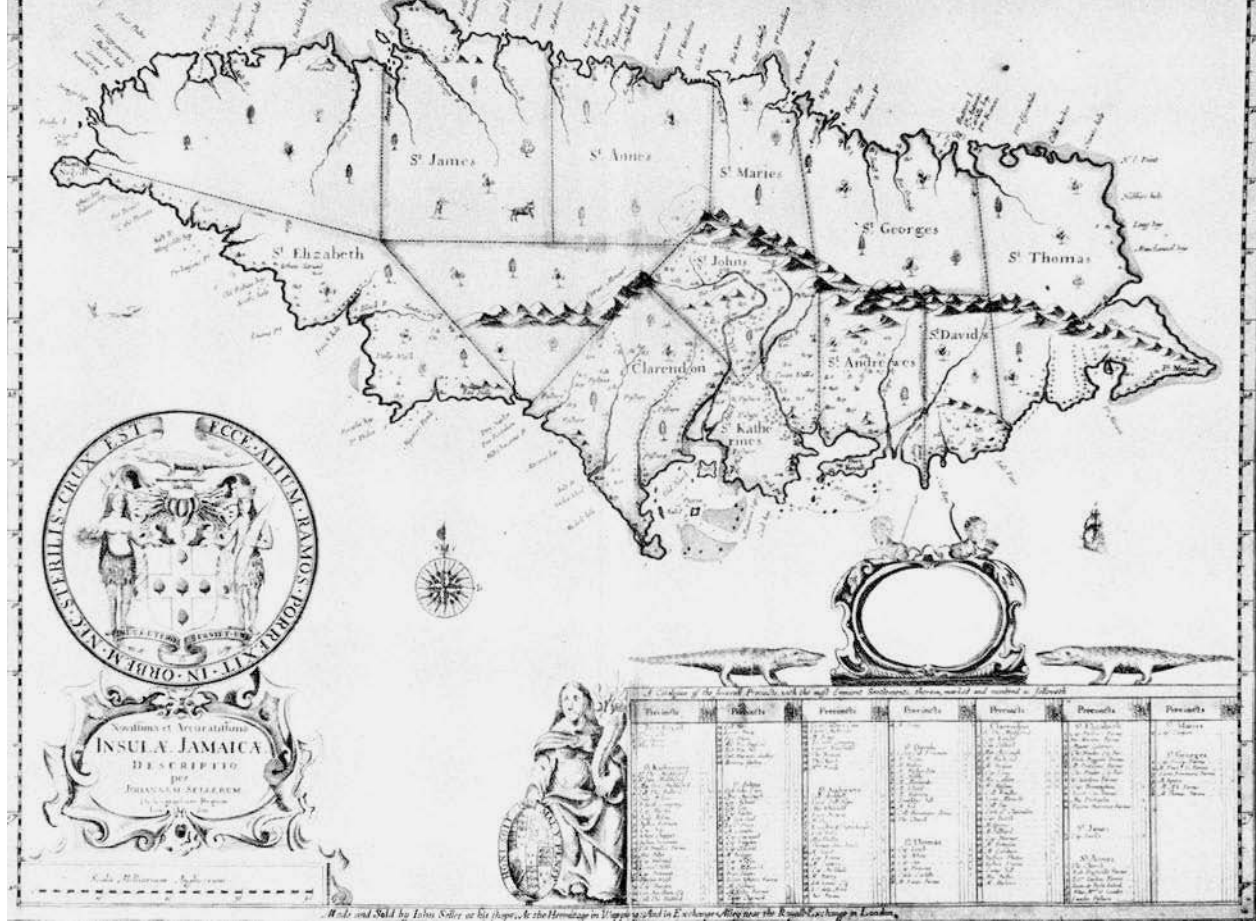
Old Woman's Savanna and then over to Moneague by way of the present Kellits and Bensonton, from which the harbours of Las Chorreras (Ocho Rios), Juracabesa (Oracabessa), and Sevilla could easily be reached.<sup>6</sup> There is, however, a possibility that the overland route used by the Spaniards went by Lluidas Vale. Once the terrain were known, the valley could easily have been reached from Santiago de la Vega, the Minho or Moneague, and certainly the Spaniards used it as a retreat and provision ground once the English had landed and taken their capital.

The Spaniards, with their militia of much less than a thousand men, were no match in the field for the 7,000 English soldiers who landed in Kingston Harbour on 10 May 1655. Despite the fact that the force under the command of Robert Venables was a motley mixture of discharged Cromwellian veterans and ill-disciplined adventurers from Barbados and the Leewards which had already failed ingloriously in an attempt to capture Hispaniola, the Spaniards did not offer any resistance at first. The Spanish Governor surrendered Santiago de la Vega and even sent supplies of cassava and beef to the English for some days; but this appears to have been a subterfuge to cover the flight of the non-combatants, while stouter souls retreated into the nearby hills to organize guerrilla resistance. In this the Negro cowcatchers were invaluable allies. Expert woodsmen, lancers, and archers, they proved to be as tenacious and dangerous foes as their descendants the Maroons were during the following century, and from their provision grounds at Lluidas they were able to succour the Spaniards hiding in the hills with cassava, maize, and smoked meat.

Having occupied the Spanish capital and sent out columns to ransack the *hatos* to the west, the English soon found that they were in a state far different from that of a victorious army. Poorly supplied from home, they were perpetually short of bread, not knowing how to prepare the growing cassava left behind by the Spaniards in their flight; and though they were surrounded by cattle they lacked the expertise to catch enough of the wily beasts. One of the disgruntled English officers even wrote home that they were 'starving in a cooks Shop'. Moreover, the Spaniards drove whatever cattle they could before



Driven cattle at Worthy Park. But for the breed of cow and the clothes of the 'cowboys' this scene might be of the estate in the seventeenth century, before the land was cleared and sugar grown. (*See Chapter One*)



1671 Map of Jamaica by John Seller. At that time the island was divided into only 14 parishes (precincts), of which two were as yet unnamed. Notice the cow being shot in the interior beyond St. John's.

#### THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH

them, and their Negroes ambushed stragglers who went out hunting so that dozens were killed. Badly fed and intemperate, the soldiers had little resistance to disease and began to die in horrifying numbers, so that of the original 7,000 half were dead within six months, and barely 1,500 survived the first two years.<sup>7</sup>

Beleaguered, the English desperately turned to planting while the two commanders left for England to plead their cause.<sup>8</sup> Besides those unfortunate troops garrisoning unhealthy Santiago, regiments were sent out into the Liguanea Plain where Kingston now sprawls, to Angels at the entrance to the defile of the Rio Cobre, and to Guanaboa Vale, a small basin in the Red Hills to the north-west of the capital. Forays were organized and single soldiers or small parties were forbidden to go hunting for wild cattle, while the reluctant soldiery were set at the humiliating task of planting cassava. The best situated regiment was that at Guanaboa, first commanded by Colonel Anthony Buller and then in turn by Colonel Francis Barrington and Colonel Edward Tyson. Here, in a healthy angle of the Mountain River some 500 feet above sea level, were excellent soils which the Spaniards had long cultivated, and here the Guanaboa Regiment fought its lonely battle for survival against starvation, disease and the 'outlying Negroes' for five long years.

Eventually, planting prospered modestly in the Vale of Guanaboa and the survivors became 'seasoned' to the climate, the diet, and the disappointment of not becoming rich on plunder or veins of discovered gold. But the mountains and forests continued to belong to the Spaniards and their Negro allies who, after the death of Oliver Cromwell in 1658, redoubled their efforts to encourage the English invaders to forsake Jamaica. As late as 1660, small groups of Englishmen were ambushed by Spaniards around Guanaboa, and Colonel Barrington himself was killed by a jittery sentry. His successor, Colonel Tyson, determined to eradicate the Spanish threat for ever. The raids came mostly from the north, and ascending the Mountain River gorge with a large contingent of troops, Tyson came upon the Vale of Lluidas for the first time. There he discovered the 200 acres of cleared land from which Juan Lubolo and his followers were supplying the Spaniards.<sup>9</sup>

## A JAMAICAN PLANTATION

His *pelincos* captured and his faith in the Spaniards undermined, Juan Lubolo treated with the English. The price of his defection was formal confirmation of his leadership and a guarantee to his followers of their rights to their lands and of their rights as freemen.<sup>10</sup> These promises were incorporated into a proclamation by Deputy Governor Lyttleton three years later, which styled Lubolo Colonel of Black Militia and gave him the powers of a magistrate, and granted to all of his followers over 18 years of age, 30 acres of land.<sup>11</sup>

Reinforced and guided by 21 of Lubolo's Negroes, Edward Tyson led the fittest 80 of his men out of Lluidas over the mountains to the north coast. Travelling rapidly by way of the Camperdown valley and the basin of Moneague, the little band fell without warning on the Spanish camp near Las Chorreras. More than half the Spaniards were killed or captured and their commander, Don Cristobal de Ysassi, sued for a treaty to cover a Spanish evacuation. This, however, was rejected by Governor Doyley after the treacherous murder of an English emissary by a band of Negroes under Juan de Serras who remained faithful to the Spaniards, in their camp at Los Vermejales (Vera Ma Hollis). Ysassi and his pitiful remnant were forced to leave Jamaica as harried fugitives, setting sail in two large dugouts either from Oracabessa or Runaway Bay in April 1660.<sup>12</sup>

The indomitable Negroes from Vermejales continued to provide some resistance to the English occupation of Jamaica after the flight of the Spaniards. Intermittantly harassed by English columns, they never surrendered, spurning all overtures and falling back ever westward until they came to a refuge in the impenetrable Cockpit Country of Trelawny. They long remained a threat to the settlers of Guanaboa and their allies at Lluidas, ten miles farther north. Juan Lubolo himself was killed in an ambush by the followers of Juan de Serras, and as late as 1669 there were accounts of lightning raids on Guanaboa by bands of *cimarrones*.<sup>13</sup> By this time, however, the English occupation had become an irreversible fact.

In 1660, Charles II had been restored to the English throne, and with the change of allegiance and the defeat of the Spaniards the English garrison of Jamaica became dissatisfied with its status as a forgotten

## THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH

army of occupation, unreinforced, unsupplied and unpaid for almost three years. The Guanaboa Regiment, which contained a powerful element of Puritans reluctant to serve the King as faithfully as they had served the Cromwellian Protectorate,<sup>14</sup> in particular clamoured to be allowed to take out patents in land and realize the rich profits which they knew could be made from agriculture. Colonel Tyson himself was prevailed upon by a brother officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Raymond, to mutiny against the authority of Governor Doyley, who was so concerned with defence that he was thought to be unsympathetic towards planting, and so eager to be confirmed in his office that he was regarded as a turncoat by the stauncher Roundheads. As Governor Beeston later recounted, the Guanaboa faction began to 'set up for themselves, saying, they would live no more as an Army. And accordingly, August 2 [1660], they declared they would have the Island settled in Colonies, and make constables and civil officers.'<sup>15</sup>

With some difficulty, 'Raymond's Rebellion' was put down and both Raymond and Tyson were publicly shot after a court martial. But unrest continued in Guanaboa, and the protest of the two colonels was not entirely in vain. Governor Doyley officially disbanded the army in 1661, and in 1662 the first Royalist Governor, Lord Windsor, brought out with him generous provisions for the settlement of Jamaica. By a Royal Proclamation dated Whitehall, 14 December 1661, it was decreed that for the following two years 30 acres of land would be granted to any male or female over 12 years of age who would guarantee to plant them. The land was to be held in free tenure for ever, subject only to the payment of a nominal quit rent, the surrender of all gold and silver to the Crown and the payment of a 20 per cent duty on all fisheries and other mines. The only provisos were that the development of the lands must be begun within six months, and that the landholders were liable for militia service.<sup>16</sup>

With the sanction of Lord Windsor's Proclamation, the survivors of the Guanaboa and other Regiments turned more wholeheartedly to planting; and within a very few years the plantocratic basis of Jamaican society was laid. Although no direct connection can be proved, the parallels between the society developed in Jamaica after 1660 and that

#### A JAMAICAN PLANTATION

predicated in James Harrington's *Oceana* (published in 1656) are so close that it is tempting to call this new frontier society Harringtonian. *Oceana*, designed as a utopian model for post-revolutionary England, was even more applicable to an expanding imperial commonwealth in which land was the natural and original form of vested interest. Jamaica in particular was virgin territory, the result of a state-sponsored conquest, ripe for development by its 'conquerors'. In Harrington's utopia, primogeniture was no longer to be an inflexible rule of succession, so that younger sons had as much chance as the older; yet for the first time, property in land was to be directly geared to political power. Moreover, the militia was not only indispensable but directly tied to the degree of landowning and political power.

Whether we regard *Oceana* as a textbook or a commentary, it is worth remembering that Harrington wrote within a year of the conquest of Jamaica:

As he [Hobbes] said of the law, that without this sword it is but paper; so he might have thought of this sword, that without an hand it is but cold iron. The hand which holdeth this sword is the militia of a nation . . . but an army is a beast that hath a great belly and must be fed; wherefore this will come into what pastures you have, and what pastures you have will come into the balance of propriety, without which the public sword is but a name or a mere spit-frog.<sup>17</sup>

The obligation of militia service was incorporated in royal decrees, and it was probably quite natural that the early settlers should retain some vestiges of their military origins; yet the identification of militia with social rank and political power seems to have gone far deeper in early Jamaica. As late as 1750, men were still given as titles the ranks they held in the local militia (the military capabilities of which were already laughable), and these ranks bore a direct relationship not only to their functions in the civil government but also, as a rule, to the size of their landholdings.

From the beginning it was obvious that neat parcels of 30 acres were impractical. Lands were uneven in quality and plantations as small as 30 acres could seldom be worked economically. Consolidation was

#### THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH

inevitable, and in this success went most readily to those planters with the best resources of labour and capital. Consolidation was helped by the tremendous mortality of the original holders, and by the number of those with neither the capital nor will to work their holdings adequately. Having sold their lands to their rather more affluent seniors, many disbanded soldiers either went off to serve as privateer crewmen, or fell to the status of wage-earners or indentured servants. Since the very first ventures in planting had been quasi-military operations in which the private soldiers planted and reaped under the command of their officers, it would have seemed quite natural that the 'other ranks', once demobilized, should continue to work for their former military—and present militia—officers.

Guanaboa Vale was typical of the early centres of English settlement in Jamaica which, ordered to be close to the capital and to each other for the purposes of defence, acted as nuclei for later expansion. The Spaniards had used Guanaboa chiefly to grow cocoa, though the valley had also produced indigo and provision crops. The English adopted the Spanish cocoa 'walks', but seem to have lacked the expertise in the cultivation of the cacao tree which the Spaniards had acquired from the Indians over the years, and gradually the cocoa walks at Guanaboa fell victims to disease and neglect. Hans Sloane, writing of the period around 1688, said that the only remaining cacao trees in the valley were found on the margins of the plantations, grown through lack of attention to a monstrous size.<sup>18</sup> The decline of cocoa at Guanaboa was probably speeded by the discovery of more suitable areas on the north coast of Jamaica after 1670.<sup>19</sup> Likewise, indigo, a root producing a black dye that had an even more reliable sale in England than cocoa, was found to grow much more easily around Vere in the Clarendon Plains, which area soon gained almost a monopoly of Jamaican indigo production.<sup>20</sup>

From the earliest years it was evident that sugar was potentially the most profitable crop, at Guanaboa as in most parts of Jamaica. Sugar-cane grew like a weed on cleared land, and the processes by which the cane was made into molasses, muscovado and rum, while not simple, were well known to the settlers from Barbados and the Leewards who

## A JAMAICAN PLANTATION

made up a large proportion of the early population. The British planters, moreover, were always served by a merchant fleet far more enterprising and flexible than that of the Spaniards.<sup>21</sup> Sugar, however, could only be worked economically on large plantations, and consequently needed far greater resources of land, labour, and capital than the production of cocoa, indigo, tobacco, pimento, and ginger, which were almost equally important in the early years.<sup>22</sup>

The almost inevitable progress towards consolidation and sugar monoculture which had already begun in Barbados was aided by the appointment of Sir Thomas Modyford as Governor of Jamaica in 1664.<sup>23</sup> Modyford was a wealthy Barbadian planter who had been agent for the Royal African Company for the supply of Negroes for Barbados, and he brought with him to Jamaica Instructions for the settlement of the island which he had evidently helped to frame. Modyford was authorized not only to ratify the original grants, but also to announce the throwing open of the huge areas reserved as Crown Lands to enterprising planters:

The allotment of 400,000 acres of land for the Royal demesne to be suspended, for the better encouragement of the planters and those who will plant within five years, such grants to be under the broad seal of the island to the grantees and their heirs in free and common socage, reserving fit rents to the King; and a register theroff to be kept and sent home. . . .<sup>24</sup>

Settlers were to be exempt from English duties on their Jamaican produce until 1669, and spared the payment of any local duties on imports from England until 1685. To encourage the importation of white indentured labourers, each planter was to receive 30 acres for each 'servant' brought out, which allotment would devolve upon that fortunate individual if and when he completed four years' labour in Jamaica. The 'quit rent' to the Crown was fixed at a penny an acre per year, but even this moderate charge was only to be levied on land not merely 'planted' but also 'manured'. Thus, by the generous provisions of Modyford's Instructions, most of which were incorporated in an Act of the Jamaican Assembly in 1672,<sup>25</sup> the earliest settlers could

#### THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH

take out patents for as much land as they could conceivably plant within the subsequent five years, and thereupon hold that land for ever on the most nominal payment. 'Planting', moreover, was never defined and always interpreted loosely, and so ineffectual were the means of checking which lands had been 'manured' that although within the first five years 209,000 acres were patented, only £150 had been collected in quit rents.<sup>26</sup>

Yet, though land was readily available to the early settlers—Modyford himself was the greatest of the patentees—labour and capital were so desperately short in Jamaica that sugar production did not dominate the economy until well after 1700. Although Bermuda and the Leewards (densely overpopulated), the workhouses of the English parishes, and even the prisons of Newgate and Bridewell were scoured for white indentured servants, disappointingly few went out to Jamaica, and even fewer lasted long on the Jamaican plantations.<sup>27</sup> In fact, after reaching a peak of 7,768 men, women, and children in 1673, the white population of Jamaica began an actual decline, falling as low as 1,400 after the French depredations of the 1690s, and not surpassing the 1673 total until the fourth decade of the eighteenth century. Although from about 1720 to the end of the eighteenth century the whites of Jamaica were outnumbered by slaves by ten to one, slaves were outnumbered by whites by three to one in 1660, only reached equal numbers around 1670, and by 1700 had scarcely achieved a numerical preponderance of five to one. In the early years of English settlement the supply of slaves to Jamaica fell chronically short of the demands of would-be planters.<sup>28</sup> Governor Modyford had been instructed to persuade the Royal African Company to supply Jamaica with Negroes as it had supplied Barbados while he was agent there, but the Company was unwilling or unable to provide Jamaica with slaves at prices which the planters could afford, or to provide sufficient credit facilities. The real trouble was shortage of capital in Jamaica. In 1680, the Jamaican planters prevailed upon the British Government to order the Royal African Company to send up to 3,000 slaves a year to Jamaica for £18 each, at six months credit on good security; but the Company complained that the Jamaican planters already owed them £110,000.<sup>29</sup>