

THE PRESS AND PRINTERS OF JAMAICA PRIOR TO 1820

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HISTORY

If the length of time that was allowed to elapse from the date of its first occupation to the setting up of a printing press is to be taken as an indication of a colony's progress towards civilization, Jamaica compares unfavourably with some of the plantations and settlements on the mainland of America. From the Pilgrims' landing in 1620, till the date of the first Almanac printed at Cambridge, Massachusetts, was only nineteen years, but in Jamaica no less than sixty-six years elapsed from the time of the landing of Penn and Venables until the setting up of a printing press. This long period may partly be explained by the fact that a large number of those who came over in the army of occupation merely looked for plunder and not towards settlement, and that later the charms of buccaneering appealed to many, including those in high places, and that it was probably only when it became apparent that the printing of reports of legislative enactments and commercial intelligence and the like was a crying necessity, that a press was established.

It is also possible that some in Jamaica thought with Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, who said in 1671, "I thank God that there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have, these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and

heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best of Government, God keep us from both." The case for the other side, however, is put in "The Representation and Memorial of the Council of the Island of Jamaica" to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, published in London in 1716. In it we read, "In order to effect these extraordinary Benefits to the Island, numberless lies and stories have been industriously spread about the country, which are not easily answer'd where there is no press."

With regard to the commencement of printing in Jamaica, it may be interesting to quote a letter signed "The Hermit in Kingston," which appeared in the "Jamaica Journal," for October 4, 1823, as reprinted in the Supplement to the "Cornwall Gazette and Northside General Advertiser." for October 7, 1823.

FIRST NEWSPAPER ESTABLISHMENT IN JAMAICA

The establishment of a printing press in this Island took place about 1730. It proved a considerable convenience to the Government, and the commercial body of that day. The mercantile consignments were then published, and with facility circulated. The previous method employed to give notoriety to the arrivals of articles of mart, was having a written list attached to the door posts of the respective stores, or by engaging a negro to proclaim the catalogue through the streets. Our archetype paper was the "Jamaica Courant" inducted January 7, 1747, O. S. edited by W. Daniel and Company. This early epitome of the multitudinous mass that now flourish throughout the Isle, was printed on a half sheet of pot paper. This rude forefather to the numerous influential family (some of whom now assume a dictatorial sway) was insinuated into notice with a modesty no way to be discovered in its offspring of the present period. An editorial N. B. intimated "This, our first paper, is given gratis." As I propose consigning this antique paper as an embellishment to the Museum of the ingenious Mr. Miller, I shall offer a short review of its contents, which I hope may elicit the curiosity of those gentlemen interested in the antiquarian researches of the isle, or attract the notice of the larger bulk of the curious and inquisite.

The "ingenious Mr. Miller" is probably identical with John Miller, M.D., "the learned Secretary of the Jamaica Society," to whom Roby, in 1831, rendered thanks in his preface to "Monuments of the Cathedral Church and Parish of St. Catharine."

In 1715 it was customary—we learn from the manuscript Council Minutes of that period—to make notifications public "at the next Grand Court, Quarter Sessions, and in the churches throughout the island, or in such manner as his Excellency should think fit."

In Isaiah Thomas's "History of Printing in America," 2d edition, 1874, we read of Jamaica, "A printing press was established on this island about 1720, and within one or two years after a newspaper was published at Kingston." The first reference to printing that research has revealed is on the 24th of November, 1721, when the House of Assembly ordered "That the Votes of this House be printed, being first perused by Mr. Speaker, and that he do appoint the printing thereof, and that no person but such as he shall appoint do print the same." The Speaker then was George Modd, who lies buried in Guanoboa Church. So that all one can say for certain is that it was possible to get printing done in Jamaica as early as November, 1721; but so far the earliest reference to printing having been actually done for the Assembly is in 1749, as is mentioned further on. Before 1721 the order had been that "the Speaker do appoint such person as he shall think fit to publish the minutes of the House and that no other person presume to publish the same"; and it was customary to appoint the Clerk for this purpose.

In November, 1730, the Assembly empowered the Clerk to treat with any person to bind two books of the minutes of the Assembly, and that if he find no person to undertake the work in Spanish Town, he was to take the books to Mrs. Baldwin in Kingston "to get them new bound." Whether Mrs. Baldwin

was a binder or was merely to act as an agent is not quite apparent. She was probably a stationer and bookseller and a relative of the Peter and Robert Baldwin alluded to below.

Thomas tells us that "the 'Weekly Jamaica Courant' was published at Kingston as early as August, 1722, and as late as 1755, on a sheet of demy folio, but the exact time at which the publication commenced or closed, I cannot ascertain." Unfortunately no copy of this work is known to exist and research has failed to reveal any other reference to it. If Thomas is to be trusted, Schomburgh is incorrect in his statement that the "Barbados Gazette," which was first published in 1731, was the earliest newspaper in the British West Indies. It is interesting to note that one of the printers of the "Barbados Gazette," Samuel Keimer, had previously employed Benjamin Franklin in his printing office in Philadelphia.

The earliest piece of Jamaica printing known to exist is a copy, in the West India Library of the Institute of Jamaica, of a Sheet Almanac printed at Jamaica by John Letts in 1734—the sheet measuring 19 inches by 15½ inches. There is nothing to show whether this almanac was printed at Kingston or Spanish Town, but as the subject and treatment are commercial and not official one may perhaps assume that it was produced at Kingston. Letts also printed "for Peter and Robert Baldwin" in 1740 a folio entitled "A letter from Don Thomas Geraldino in answer to Don Blas de Lezòs at Carthagenà. Faithfully translated by Britannicus," a copy of which is in the Library of Mr. John Kerr of New York.

The "Jamaica Gazette," Thomas tells us, made its appearance in Kingston as early as 1745. In 1752 it was printed by Alexander Davidson. In 1760 it was printed weekly on Saturday, on medium folio. In 1775 Joseph Weatherby, of King Street, was the printer. The oldest copy in the Institute is that of March 25, 1775.

In 1748 Edward Manning, member for Kingston in the Assembly, was granted the permission of the House to print a copy of some minutes which he had obtained. No copy is known to exist.

The earliest name of a printer authorized by the House of Assembly to print the Votes occurs in the "Journals of the Assembly" for 1749. We read under date 19th October, of that year:

A petition of William Daniel of the parish of Kingston printer, was presented to the house, and read, setting forth that he, being authorized and empowered by the honourable the Speaker, to print the votes of this honourable house, and hoping the expence of printing the same would be defrayed by subscription, and not doubting but that a sufficient number of subscribers would be found to raise a fund for that purpose, he did (by virtue of the authority granted him as aforesaid) print the said votes from time to time, during the sitting of the last sessions but one:

That the number of subscribers fell far short of his expectation, by which means he has not received a consideration adequate to the expence he has been at, and praying the house would give him such relief therein, as to the house should seem meet.

Ordered: That the consideration of the same be referred to Mr. R. Beckford, Mr. R. Arcedeckne, and Mr. Fearon; and that they report the truth of the allegations thereof, with their opinion thereon, to the house; and that they have power to send for persons, papers and records.

The same petition was presented again on the 25th of October, and referred to Mr. R. Beckford, Mr. Fearon and Mr. Morse. On the 26th they reported:

Your Committee, pursuant to the order of the house, referring the petition of William Daniel, find, that the petitioner was empowered by the speaker to print the votes of the house, and accordingly printed several copies, at an expence of 100£ at the least, besides his labour and care in superintending the press:

It appears that he had taken in subscriptions to the amount of £44.12.6 of which no more than £17.17.3 has been paid: Therefore your Committee are of opinion that he ought to have a reward equivalent to his expence and trouble.

Thus encouraged Daniell proceeded with his printing of the Votes. On the 2d November the Committee of Accounts reported that William Daniell had received £100 for printing the Votes of 1748 and that he should receive another £100 for 1749. This was agreed to.

In 1755 Daniell printed a folio broadside "The Speech of His Excellency Charles Knowles, Esq., Tuesday the 8th of April, 1755," and "The Addresses of the Honourable the Council and Assembly" in reply, copies of which are in the John Carter Brown Library.

In 1756 Daniell was dead; and no copies of his "Votes" are known to exist. Charles Somerset Woodham, his administrator, presented to the house a petition setting forth that Daniell "was in his lifetime frequently employed by the several assemblies of this island in printing the votes and other papers for the use of the said assemblies, from the year 1749 to the present year, and was at a considerable expence in doing the same and has not yet been fully paid: and praying relief." The matter was referred to the Committee of Accounts, with what result is not recorded.

It would thus appear that 1749 was the first year when the Votes of Assembly were printed. The earliest volume in the Library of the Institute is that of a Session held from October 19 to November 23, 1784, printed by Aikman in 1785, and from that date they run up to 1866, the close of the previous year having seen the close of the life of the Assembly.

Why the Assembly, when they undertook the task of printing their early records in the form of "Journals," as narrated further on, reduplicated the Votes by the Journals for the years 1749 to 1826 is not quite apparent: for the two works treat the transactions of the Assembly in the same manner. They are both folio volumes: but the Journals are considerably larger than the Votes.

Daniell produced the first book Almanac issued in Jamaica—"The Merchants' Pocket Companion, or, An Almanack for the year of our Lord 1751" printed in King Street, near the Court House, Kingston. In the preface Daniell tells us that it is "the first of the kind ever attempted to be introduced in this Island." It consists of thirty-two pages, measuring five and a half inches by three and one-quarter inches. This is the only issue known, and the copy in the Institute is the only copy known to the writer. Daniell was succeeded as printer to the Assembly by Woodham (1756). Then followed Curtis Brett & Co. (1757), Charles White (1763), Moss & Co. (1763-64) and John Lowry & Co. (1768-1774).

In November 1752 the Assembly ordered that the Journals of the House of Commons presented by the Governor, Edward Trelawny,—evidently as a parting gift, for he left on the 24th of the same month—should be "bound up in good strong bindings."

The earliest editions of the Laws of Jamaica do not come within the scope of this work, as they were printed in England. The first appeared in 1683. A copy is in the Institute Library. In June 1686 the Assembly learned from the Council that the Governor and Council, being informed that there were several errors and mistakes in the printed book of the Acts, had appointed a Committee of five to compare the book with the originals, and asked the Assembly to appoint a Committee to join with them. The Assembly appointed eleven of its members, but apparently no report was ever recorded. There is evidence from the preface of the edition of 1792 that an edition of the laws was printed and published in Jamaica as early as 1756, but of that there is no copy in the Institute. The preface also alludes to "all the preceding editions." How many there were is not known.

That the press in Jamaica was early used for pamphleteering purposes is evident. There is in the Insti-

tute Library a copy of a work entitled "Essays on the Bilious Fever: containing the different opinions of those eminent physicians, John Williams and Parker Bennet, of Jamaica, which was the cause of a duel and terminated in the death of both. Jamaica printed: London reprinted 1752." Judging from this work, the original Jamaica printed pamphlets were "An Essay on the Bilious or Yellow Fever of Jamaica, By John Williams," which the preface tells us was the first of its kind. To this essay follows in rhyme, an epistle to the Honourable Charles Price, Esq., in which reference is made to Bennet. To this follows "A prose Epistle to a poetic Epistle Writer. By Parker Bennet, M.D.," from which it is evident that Bennet had published "An Enquiry into the late Essay on the Bilious Fever." (here reprinted at the end of the volume). Then follows a "Letter to Dr. Bennet" (from Dr. Williams) from which it appears that he was a young man, newly come to the island; and he took offence at the reference to "newcomers" in Williams's Essay. Hence his "Enquiry" and the subsequent Epistles in prose and verse, to be followed, alas, by the "duel." Both Bennet and Williams were buried in the Churchyard of Kingston Parish Church, but their gravestones are not now to be seen. The only copy of the original pamphlet which has been located is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, and is entitled "An Essay on the Bilious, or Yellow Fever of Jamaica"; it is a pamphlet of 55 pages, printed by William Daniell.

Another early Jamaica-printed work, of which no copy is known to exist, was "The Jamaica Association Develop'd. Jamaica: Printed in the year 1755," a reprint of which appeared in London two years later. It contains the speech of Admiral Knowles, the Governor, at the dissolution of the Assembly on the 8th of November 1754, in which he speaks of an attempt on the part of the Assembly to govern independently, of "a wicked Association destructive to

the rights and property of the inhabitants," of "jobs that have been made in your fortifications and other public buildings to the amount of upwards of £90,000 within these few years." Then follows the manifesto of the Association signed by eleven of the principal members of the Council and Assembly, in which they promise to "support Admiral Knowles as long as he appears to us to have at heart the public service." (Of these, three—Edward Manning, Henry Archbould and Philip Pinnock—receded.) Then follows an attack on the Association from the pen of Jamaicanus (who tells us that he is a native of the island) addressed to the Freeholders of the Island of Jamaica.

To this year (1755) probably belongs the first issue of the "St. Jago de la Vega Gazette," for as volume 36 appeared in 1791, it is probable that the paper was first issued in 1755. In 1791 it was printed and published weekly with a Supplement by David Dickson, Printer to the Honourable the Council; in 1801 by Lewis, Lunan & Jones; in 1805 by Lewis & Lunan; and from 1809 till at least 1825 by John Lunan. In 1803 a Postscript was added to the Gazette and Supplement, but it evidently was not issued regularly at first. In 1806 there were only five issues. From 1809 it appears to have been issued regularly.

Thomas tells us that C. S. Woodham had a press in Kingston in 1756, and published an Almanac yearly; but no copy is known to the present writer. Woodham was, as we have seen, printer to the Assembly in 1755.

The "Kingston Journal" was published weekly on Saturdays. In 1756 it was printed on a sheet of medium folio by Woolhead; and in 1760 and 1761 by Woolhead, Gadd & Bennett, "Printers to the Honourable Council, in Harbour Street." At page 67 of Bryan Edwards's "Poems" (1792), in "The Church's Lamentation" Woolhead is referred to as "a very facetious one ey'd printer."

The earliest existing newspaper known to the present writer is a copy of the "St. Jago Intelligencer" of May 14, 1757, in the Institute. This paper, Thomas tells us, was first printed at St. Jago de la Vega about 1756, and was published weekly on Saturdays in 1768. Lowry & Sherlock were the printers, the size being medium folio: price per annum thirty shillings, currency, and two pistoles, sent by post to any part of the island.

As the issue of the "Weekly St. Jago Intelligencer" for May 14, 1757, is No. 54, it evidently first appeared in 1756, and as from the advertisements it appears that subscriptions were to date from 25, June, that day of 1756 probably saw the first issue of the paper. In 1757 it was printed by Curtis Brett & Co., Printers to the Honourable Assembly, Jamaica. In 1757 Curtis Brett prayed the House for payment of his account for £64.5.0 for printing drafts of bills and the examination of a witness; but the House only passed £14.5.0 for the first item.

In the "St. Jago Intelligencer" for Saturday, May 14, 1757, we read:

ST. JAGO DE LA VEGA

Now in the press and shortly will be published, an address of some of the freeholders and inhabitants of the parish of St. A . . . to P—p P—k, Esq., for the benefit of a poor author who having nothing to subsist on but his honest labour and remarkable veracity, is in a starving condition and therefore hopes the public will not grumble at the price of 6s. 3d. each.

No copy of this work is known to exist, and the poor author cannot be traced.

The need for a public bank became evident as early as 1757. In that year appeared, printed at St. Jago de la Vega, "An Enquiry concerning the Trade, Commerce and Policy of Jamaica, relative to the scarcity of money: To which is added a Scheme for establishing a Public Bank." Unfortunately no copy of this work is known to be extant. It apparently bore no fruit.

In November 1763, the Assembly resolved that "the printers to the Assembly do, on or before the first day of March next, print a complete set of the minutes of the Assembly, and deliver the same neatly bound, to each of the members thereof as usual." Unfortunately none of these is known to exist. There are indications in the "Journals" that the printers of the eighteenth century were at times no less dilatory than those of the twentieth.

In 1764 Moss & Co. printed at St. Jago de la Vega "Votes of the House of Assembly" for October to December of 1763. The only copy of this work known to the writer is in the John Carter Brown Library. There is no other reference to Moss & Co. as printers.

It is to be regretted that there is in the Institute no copy of the Jamaica-printed edition of "The Privileges of the Island of Jamaica vindicated," so it is impossible to say who was the printer. It probably appeared in 1765 as it is dated August 10th of that year. The letter (concerning the privileges of Jamaica) was not originally intended for the public, but as the gentleman, at whose request it was written, thought proper to commit it to the press, the author published it with a preface in order to enlarge upon the steps that led up to the contest between the Governor, William Henry Lyttelton, and the people of Jamaica, over a pair of coach horses, the property of John Olyphant, the member of the Assembly for Vere, on which a writ was executed, an act which, at the insistence of Olyphant, was resented by the House as a breach of privilege.

To the London edition (and presumably to the Jamaica edition) is appended an "Appendix: An Historical Account of the establishment of the colony of Jamaica, its Constitution, form of Government, and progress from the conquest thereof by the English, until the year 1684: now first published from a manuscript of undoubted authenticity." The manuscript was from the pen of Sir William Beeston, as

is, stated in a later edition of the pamphlet which was printed in Jamaica in 1810, by Alexander Aikman, junior. To this edition was added "A Recent Case of Breach of Privilege"—that of Major-General Hugh Carmichael, who declined to let the House of Assembly interfere with a purely military matter, by directing his Officers not to give evidence concerning a mutiny at Fort Augusta; but by the King's command he had to appear before that body, who grudgingly accepted the explanation offered.

Even as early as 1810 the original Jamaica edition was alluded to as a "scarce and valuable tract." The 1810 edition contains the following dedication "To the Honourable the Speaker, and the other Members of the Late Assembly, who so nobly withstood the encroachments of power, whether in the shape of a Military Mandate, or a Ministerial Instruction, this republication of a scarce and valuable tract, in Vindication of the Privileges of the House, is respectfully inscribed by The Editor. Liguanea, August 1810." The Speaker at that time was James Lewis, a relative of Monk Lewis.

In December 1767 the Council ordered that the Journal of their meetings from June 1766 to December 1767 should be printed and six copies should be sent to the Lieutenant-Governor and to each of the members of the Council. Only one copy is known to exist, in the John Carter Brown Library.

In 1768 John Lowry was printer to the Assembly.

In 1773 the Hon. Francis Cook, member of the Assembly for St. Elizabeth and later member of the Council, published at St. Jago de la Vega "Proposal for introducing into Jamaica a quantity of gold and silver species sufficient to carry on the internal commerce of the country without the assistance of any foreign coin." Unfortunately no copy of this work is known.

The second oldest Jamaica almanac known to exist was that issued by James Fannin at Montego Bay in

1776. The upper half of the title page is missing from the Institute's copy, so the exact title is unknown. No other copy of this issue, and no other issue are known to the writer. Fannin died in England in 1808.

The next earliest almanac in the Institute collection is one printed by Mrs. Ann Woolhead in 1779. In the "Royal Gazette" Supplement for February 24, 1781, appears the following advertisement:

KINGSTON, Feb. 3, 1781.

This Day is published, and sold at the Royal Gazette Printing Office, in Harbour-Street; at Wm. Aikman's Shop in King-Street: and by A. Aikman, at the Printing Office in Spanish Town: Price, covered with red leather only 3s. 9d., or handsomely bound with gilt, with pockets, and additional paper for memorandums, 6s.8d.: The Second Edition of Douglass & Aikman's Almanack and Register, carefully revised and corrected, up to the Thirtieth of January last: containing the Kalendar, Jamaica Lists carefully corrected, in which are included Lists of His Majesty's Ships on this station, and of the different regiments quartered here; a compendious description of the Island of Jamaica, an account of its grand and sub-divisions, towns, villages, produce, number of inhabitants, &c., from the best authorities; the Planter's Kalendar for this Island, shewing the art of cultivating the Sugar-cane in its various gradations from its origin to maturity, and pointing out the proper business of the planter for every month in the year, together with the process of making Rum and claying Sugar; Lists of the Royal Family, Princes of Europe, British and Irish Lists corrected to June 25th; also the following very useful Tables, viz: A Table of Simple Interest from £1 to £10,000 and from one day to one year, at 6 per cent. per annum, the rate established by law; exceedingly necessary at this time, when there are so many Public Papers bearing interest in circulation, as by a single inspection much time spent in tedious and troublesome calculation may be saved for more useful purposes; a table of milled dollars; a table for the more readily reducing Jamaica currency into sterling, and sterling into Jamaica currency; a table of Ryals or Bits, in currency and sterling; a marketing table; the weight and value of Sundry Gold Coins current here, established by law; and a table of the rates of wharfage and freight round the Island.

Also (Price 1s. 8d.)

The Sheet Almanack.

In 1773 Montego Bay, the chief port on the north-

side of Jamaica, first produced a newspaper—"The Cornwall Chronicle or County Gazette." In 1776 it was called "The Cornwall Chronicle and General Advertiser"; and in 1781 "The Cornwall Chronicle and Jamaica General Advertiser." In 1782 James Fannin was the printer: in 1811 he had been succeeded by Shergold and Guthrie.

A work entitled "Persian Love Elegies, to which is added the Nymph of Tauris," printed in Kingston in 1773 by Joseph Thompson & Co., the first poetical work, is probably also the earliest work of a literary character, as opposed to mere pamphlets, printed in Jamaica. It is a very good piece of typography. Wolcot, satirist and poet, best known perhaps by his satires on the King and the Royal Academy, accompanied as Physician, his kinsman, Sir William Trelawny, when he came out to take up the governorship of Jamaica in 1767. Finding that medical prospects in Jamaica were not promising he returned to England in 1769 and took Orders with a view to being appointed Rector of St. Ann, the Bishop of London ordaining him Deacon and Priest on succeeding days. Returning to Jamaica early in 1770 he found the Rectory of St. Ann not vacant and he was appointed to Vere. He lived with the Governor at Spanish Town and performed most of his duties by deputy. In May of the same year he was appointed Physician General to the Horse and Foot Soldiers in the island. He lived on terms of close intimacy with the Trelawnys, and one of his earliest poems published in London (in "The Annual Register" for 1773) is the "Nymph of Tauris," which first saw the light of day in Jamaica—an Elegy on the death of Anne Trelawny, sister to Sir William. Soon after the Governor's death, which occurred in December 1772, Wolcot accompanied Lady Trelawny to England, and Redding, in his "Recollections Literary and Personal," tells us that her death shortly afterwards robbed him of a future wife.

In 1776 Joseph Thompson & Co. printed at Kingston, "The Kingston Journal and Jamaica Universal Museum." The only copy of this paper known to the writer is the issue of October 26, 1776, in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The following account of David Douglass is given in Thomas's "History of Printing in America":

David Douglas, a Scotchman, was Manager of the American theatre before the revolution; and after the commencement of hostilities, he came to Jamaica. He was a scholar and a man of talents and integrity. Here he was patronized by the Governor, and appointed, with Aikman, printer to the King, in Jamaica, a lucrative office; he was also appointed master in chancery, and commissioned as a magistrate. It has been said that in a few years he acquired, with reputation, by these offices, a fortune of twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. He died in Spanish Town in 1786. [FOOTNOTE] The revolutionary war closed the theatres on this part of the continent. The players were few in number and formed only two companies under the management of Douglas and Hallam. Douglas was for some years the principal manager both in the continent and in the West Indies. In 1758, he, with his Company, called the American Company of Comedians, performed for the first time at New York in a sail loft on Cruger's wharf, to an audience said to have been very brilliant. The theatres before 1775 were temporary wooden buildings, little better than barns. The first play publicly performed in New England was by Douglas and his Company at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1762.

Douglass was one of twenty-four Masters-in-Ordinary, and one of twenty-two Justices of the Quorum for St. Catherine. In December 1786 the Assembly ordered that "David Douglass, esquire, printer to the House, do make indexes to the several volumes of the printed journals of the house; and this or any future Assembly will make good the expence thereof": and in the following year he was paid for the eleven years, 1760-1770, which he had compiled. In November, 1787, the Assembly ordered that the printer should transmit to each parish a copy of the Votes of the House. In December the House voted Douglass £200 for the compiling and printing of indexes to the minutes of the House—from 1760

(the earliest he could find) to 1770. He also received £578.5.1 for printing the several laws, and £300 for the minutes of the last session, "which were much larger than any preceding year."

The earliest poster known to exist is in the Institute. It is dated Kingston, 1781, and deals with the sale of part of the cargo of a prize ship, the *Philippine*. The printer's name is not given.

The American Revolution incidentally brought to Jamaica one who probably did more than any one else in the cause of printing in the colony and one intimately connected with Douglass—Alexander Aikman, who was born in Linlithgow on June 23, 1755. He was the second son of Andrew Aikman and Ann Hunter, the only child of William Hunter. When a young man Aikman left Scotland for South Carolina. At the American Revolution he, in common with a number of other loyalists, came to settle in Jamaica. Soon after his arrival he purchased the printing business of Robert Sherlock at Spanish Town. Aikman was printer to the House of Assembly and printed the twelve volumes of the *Journal* in 1797-1816, the most elaborate and important piece of printing undertaken in the colony then or since. During the greater part of this period he was a member of the Assembly.

In the minutes of the Assembly for the 27th of November, 1789, are some interesting details with regard to the cost of printing in those days. A committee appointed to look into the matter of public accounts reported that Alexander Aikman, "for publishing in the *Royal Gazette*, for four weeks, the names of persons indebted for quit-rents, as directed by the quit-rent law, amounting to the sum of 110£. which seemed to them to be an extraordinary charge; but, on the examination of Mr. Aikman, it appeared that the list occupied twenty-two columns of the *Royal Gazette*; that the usual and customary charge is 3£. for each column, making 66£.; that alterations were made three several times, for which he charges 33£.

and 11£. for the paper on which 4000 copies were printed; composing the said sum of 110£., which they think moderate and reasonable."

In November 1792 the Assembly appointed a Committee to "collect and revise the minutes of the house, from the earliest records of its proceedings, and to cause the same to be printed under their inspection, after the manner of the Journals of the House of Commons." The Committee consisted of seven members, none of whom achieved great fame in the colony's history outside this very useful piece of work; but Henry Shirley, the Chairman, was a lover of literature.

In the following December it was reported by the Committee that the minutes had been prepared down to 1749, and that Mr. Aikman, the printer to the House, had been at considerable expense in importing from Great Britain new types and paper, and the Committee recommended that he should receive £500 on account.

In December, 1794, the Committee reported that they had ordered Alexander Aikman to print 200 copies of the minutes, and that he had made considerable progress, but had not yet completed one volume owing to the loss by Aikman of three compositors, two by death. Aikman notified the Committee that he intended to go to England shortly when he would "to give the impression all the beauty and elegance of which it is susceptible secure a white pressman for its superintendence, that part of the business being executed here by negroes."

In April, 1796, the Committee reported "That the early journals of the house being in many places defective, and it appearing from a report made to the house in the year 1715, that those defects could not be supplied in this country, the Committee, considering it a desirable object to be accomplished, directed Alexander Aikman, on his departure for England, to make the necessary inquiry at the plantation office,

Whitehall; where in consequence, he discovered many of the ancient minutes of the house, and other interesting documents tending to elucidate the constitutional history of the island: he was assisted in his inquiries by Mr. Bryan Edwards, late a member of this house, who, being conversant in researches of that nature, has made an offer of his services to superintend the selection and transcription of such papers as may be necessary, the house defraying the expence of copies, which will not exceed the sum of £200 sterling: The Committee therefore recommend that the said sum be granted to their order for that purpose." The Assembly agreed. The Bryan Edwards referred to was the well known historian.

In December, 1797, the Committee reported progress, and stated that they had employed Edward Bowes to compile an index of the second volume, but that, in as much as Bowes has represented that the work was "attended with much more labour, study and attention, than he was aware of," they recommended another £200 for him. The house also passed the following expenditure:

To be provided for, as by the annexed report:			
Comparing minutes from 1709 to 1750, mentioned in last year's report, but not provided for	£	s	d
	118	4	2
Cash paid Mr. Sherlock, on account of the Index Paper, &c., furnished for copies of the minutes and index, per account	30	0	0
Copies of Minutes from 1750 to 1764	49	3	4
Index to second volume £170 and £200	334	0	0
Mr. Aikman on account of printing	370	0	0
	4000	0	0
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	4901	7	6

They also reported that there was difficulty in obtaining the material from Whitehall.

In March, 1799, the Committee reported "That since the session of 1797, when their last report was made to the house, the fifth volume of the Journals has been printed and delivered to the members, and the printer is now proceeding with the sixth volume,

which commences in 1767, and is already in some forwardness.

That a letter from Mr. Edwards has been read to the Committee stating that, owing to some arrangements making at the plantation-office, Whitehall, the business of selecting and compiling the materials for the first volume could not be entered upon, until after the meeting of parliament; but the Committee are assured from Mr. Edwards that, in concert with Mr. Sewell, the agent of this island, it will be completed during the present winter:

That by their report of 1797, it was stated to the house that an index had been compiled to the second volume; but the Committee not having reason to be satisfied with the plan on which it was performed, and Mr. William Middleton James having undertaken to make the subsequent indexes, agreeably to a form lately adopted for the Votes of the House of Commons, in which is combined a variety of circumstances that will afford a systematical arrangement to the work, the committee have directed the printer to forbear printing Mr. Bowes's index for the present, being desirous that in a work, otherwise so well executed, an uniformity in this particular should be observed . . . "

In March 1801 the committee reported that "a variety of miscellaneous papers, tending to elucidate many important facts, in the history and constitution of this country" had been received, together with a commentary on them by Bryan Edwards, who especially recommended that "all the Governors' commissions and instructions previous to Lord Carlisle's attempt to subvert the constitution, should be carefully preserved, that posterity may learn on what a solid foundation the liberties of the colony were established."

Three volumes of these valuable manuscripts are in the Institute Library.

The Committee also reported that James who was

doing the indexes, had died, and recommended that in future they be done in England "at considerable less expence than in this island."

The preface, dated September, 1811, which tells how the Journals came to be printed, bears at the close of each copy Aikman's autograph. The work is carefully set in an artistic font of type and is marvellously free from misprints. As a work of typography it has never been surpassed in Jamaica.

The Journals were printed at varying dates, as it was found possible to transcribe them. In 1795 Vol. II; in 1797 Vol. III, Vol. IV; in 1800 Vol. VI; in 1802 Vol. VII, in 1804 Vol. VIII; in 1805 Vol. IX; in 1807 Vol. X; in 1809 Vol. XI; in 1811 Vol. I; in 1816 Vol. XII; in 1822 Vol. XIII, and in 1829 Vol. V, Vol. XIV. These were all printed by Alexander Aikman. In December 1822, as the whole impression of 200 copies of the second volume of the Journals had been distributed, a committee of the Assembly recommended that that volume should be reprinted, and in December of the following year the House ordered that an edition of 200 copies should be printed and bound in London. The London volume, printed by James Whiting, runs page for page and line for line with the Jamaica edition, but the latter has the better font of type. Vol. III was similarly reprinted by Whiting in 1827. The Indexes also were printed at varying dates, as it was found possible to compile them. They were printed by Alexander Aikman & Son. In 1803 Vol. VI; in 1804 Vol. IV, Vol. V; in 1805 Vol. II, Vol. III; in 1806 Vol. VII, Vol. VIII; in 1808 Vol. IX; in 1810 Vol. X, Vol. XI; in 1812 Vol. I; in 1817 Vol. XII.

There are in the Library of the Institute forty-eight volumes, some complete, others incomplete, of manuscript, being the records of the Assembly from 1696 to 1810. These are probably, some original and some transcripts, the actual minutes used by the Assembly.

Having acquired the properties known as Birnamwood and Wallenford in the old parish of St. George, Aikman represented that parish in the House of Assembly from 1805 till 1825. He also owned Prospect Park in St. Andrew, now known as Vale Royal, the former residence of Simon Taylor, who died there in 1813. Aikman had married in the year 1782, Louisa Susanna, the second child of Robert Wells, by Mary, eldest child of John Rowand, Merchant of Glasgow, a descendant of the family of Ruthven, Earls of Gowrie, who relinquished that name for Rowand. He died on July 6, 1838, at Prospect Park, at the advance age of 83, and his remains were interred in the Churchyard of Halfway-Tree Church, the parish church of St. Andrew. In an obituary notice, published in the "Gentleman's Magazine" in November 1838, it was said of him that "he was a truly honourable, worthy and charitable man, and his death is much lamented."

In November, 1804, a Committee of the Assembly was appointed to inspect the Library of Alexander Aikman, "Late the property of Henry Shirley, Esquire, and report to the House what books may be procured therefrom for the benefit of the public, and to be added to the Library of this house." The Institute Library, of which the nucleus was the Library of the House of Assembly, contains no book which bears any evidence that it belonged to either Aikman or Shirley; but there is one book having the armorial bookplate of Alexander W. Aikman.

A book was advertised in the "Royal Gazette" as "sold at W. Aikman's shop, Kingston, and at A. Aikman's, printer, Spanish Town. William Aikman, at his store in King Street, sold superfine Hyson Tea, genuine port wine, pigtail tobacco, and haberdashery and stationery, but he seemed especially keen on disposing of Keyser's pills in boxes at 35s and 17s6d.

An advertisement appeared in the issue of the "Royal Gazette" for May 6, 1780, which shows that

the difficulty of collecting subscriptions is an old one:

The Publishers of this paper requested (in their 31st number) such of their Country Subscribers who had not then paid their Subscriptions to take as early an Opportunity as possible of settling with the several Deputy Postmasters, as their funds were by no means calculated to support the Expence of postage for so extensive a circulation.

Very little attention having been paid to that representation and their lists having since swelled to a number infinitely beyond their most sanguine hopes; whilst they acknowledge, with gratitude, the goodness of the Public, they cannot help observing, that their good fortune will prove their ruin, unless those Gentlemen who receive their Papers by post will condescend to enable them to make good their engagements with the General Post-Office.

Should this application, which they make with the greatest respect and deference, not be so fortunate as to produce the effect intended, they must, however reluctantly, in a few weeks yield to the necessity of their situation, and proportion their country lists to the funds that are put into their hands.

On August 26 they became more insistent and said:

The Publishers of this Paper find themselves at last under the disagreeable necessity of giving Notice to their Subscribers who reside in the Country, that they shall, after one Month from this date, discontinue the News-Papers of those Gentlemen whose Subscriptions are not paid up to the First of May last.

In the "Jamaica Mercury and Kingston Weekly Advertiser" for May 1, 1779, appears the following notice:

TO THE PUBLIC

With the utmost respect Mr. *Sherlock's* Successor takes the liberty of soliciting the patronage of the inhabitants of Jamaica to the St. Jago Intelligence, which he will begin to publish on the 8th of May, and to the general business of a Printer, in the Office lately occupied by Mr. *Sherlock*. He is possessed of every material necessary for the purpose, and the Public may be assured that all his time and attention shall be employed for their *information* and *amusement*.

To the present Subscribers he will continue to send the Papers, unless they shall be pleased to signify their disapprobation; and the Advertisements will be inserted according

to the directions that have been left with them until he receives orders to the contrary.

He will, as soon as possible, supply himself with a large assortment of Books and Stationery, of which he will give proper notice.

Subscriptions and Advertisements for the *Intelligencer* will be received in Kingston at the New Printing Office, at Montego Bay by Mr. James Fannin, and in Spanish Town by the Public's

Most obedient and
Most faithful servant

ALEXANDER AIKMAN.

In 1779 David Douglass and William Aikman, "Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, for Jamaica and its Dependencies," issued the "Jamaica Mercury and Kingston Weekly Advertiser," known from April 1780 as the "Royal Gazette." It was published weekly, with Supplement, eight pages, at first in Port Royal Street, but soon afterwards in Harbour Street. William Aikman's Book and Stationery Store was in King Street. In 1782 three Postscripts were published, and in 1791 the Postscript became part of the Gazette. Alexander Aikman was then the printer. In 1803 Alexander Aikman & Son were the printers; and in 1809 it was Alexander Aikman, junior.

William Aikman was probably a brother of Alexander, and identical with the William Aikman, stationer, who arrived in Jamaica on Oct. 21, 1775, and died in November, 1784, aged 33, and was buried in the Strangers Ground, Kingston.

In 1780 David Douglass and William Aikman produced in Kingston, a good specimen of typography in "Observations on the Dysentery of the West-Indies with a new and successful manner of treating it. By Benjamin Moseley, Surgeon at Kingston in Jamaica." On the back of the title page Moseley says, "As the Practice of Military Hospitals in Europe is not suitable to the Seasons and Climate of the West-

Indies, the Author of this Essay intends shortly to communicate some Observations he is furnished with, on the care and treatment of other diseases, incident to the Army." The work, which consists of twenty-four quarto pages, is dedicated to General Dalling, Governor of Jamaica at the time. When Moseley wrote, dysentery was especially rife at Fort Castile (now known as Fort Nugent), a few miles east of Kingston. The work formed part of the Author's "Treatise on Tropical Diseases and on the Climate of the West Indies," the first edition of which, printed in London, appeared in 1787, and a second edition in 1789. The copy in the Institute is the author's presentation copy to the Duke of Clarence. A third edition appeared in 1792, and a fourth in 1803. In his preface to the 1787 edition Moseley tells us that the "Treatise on the Dysentery" was originally published in the West Indies, and had often been republished in the islands, and in different parts of Europe. Moseley was born in Essex in 1742, settled in practice in Jamaica in 1768 and was appointed Surgeon General. He left the colony in 1781 and died in 1819.

Curiously enough the only Sheet Almanac in the Institute Library is the very early one of 1734, above alluded to. But that Sheet Almanacs were issued, possible every year, is evident. In the issue of the "Royal Gazette," Nov. 11-18, 1780, appeared the following advertisement:

Kingston, Nov. 18, 1780.

This Day is published

And sold at the Royal Gazette Printing Office in Harbour-Street; at Wm. Aikman's Shop in King-Street; and by A. Aikman at the Printing Office in Spanish Town; (Price 1s.8d)

The Sheet Almanack for the year 1781.

Containing besides the Kalendar, Tables of the weights and value of Spanish and Portuguese Gold Coins now current in Jamaica.

Thomas Dancer, M.D., who gave up Divinity for Physic, came from England to Jamaica in 1773 and

settled in Spanish Town in 1776. In 1779 he went out at the request of the Governor, General Dalling, as Chief of the Hospital Staff on the expedition (which comprised a contingent of 1,379 men from Jamaica) against San Juan de Nicaragua, in which expedition Nelson, who was then in command of Fort Charles, and who accepted a subordinate position, narrowly escaped death from a malarial fever and also from the sting of a snake. The castle was captured but the victors suffered much from disease. More than two-thirds perished in the swamps, and the remainder returned to Port Royal broken in spirits and in health. One can imagine that under such conditions Dr. Dancer's was not an enviable position. After his return he published in 1781, a book entitled, "A Brief History of the late Expedition against Fort San Juan, so far as it relates to the diseases of the troops, together with some observations on climate, infection and contagion, and several of the endemial complaints of the West Indies." It was printed by D. Douglass and W. Aikman at the "Royal Gazette" Printing Office, and is a very good example of typography. We learn from the title page that the work was also to be obtained of James Fannin, Printer in Montego Bay. The copy in the Institute Library has luckily never had its edges cut, and is otherwise in an excellent state of preservation.

Dancer in his work, which he dedicated to General Dalling, made no pretence to write a full history of the expedition. He merely deals with it from the point of view of his profession, and a sorry tale he has to tell. The first twenty-three pages of the work relate to the expedition, the last forty to "Observations on Climate, Infection and Contagion."

In the issue of the "Royal Gazette" for May 13, 1780, occurs the following interesting item:

A CARD

Captain Harrison and the rest of the Regular Officers at the Camp before St. John's Castle, return their most sincere

Thanks to Captain Nelson of His Majesty's Ship *Hinchinbroke*, for his very polite Behaviour and Attention to them during their Passage from Jamaica.

Camp before St. John's Castle

April 29, 1780

In 1781 Dancer was appointed Physician to the Bath, at Bath, in the parish of St. Thomas-ye-East, for which he received £300 per annum, £200 as Physician and £100 for attending to the poor at the Bath. Whilst acting in that capacity he brought out in 1784, a small octavo volume entitled "A Short Dissertation on the Jamaica Bath Waters," also printed by Douglass and Aikman. It contains accounts of numerous experiments which Dancer made with the water, and also a curious list of persons "cured or greatly relieved" by the water. Many of them seemed to have suffered from that complaint which was so fashionable a century ago, "dry belly-ache." It also contains an interesting list of Subscribers.

In 1792 he published "A Catalogue of plants exotic and indigenous in the Botanical Garden," printed at St. Jago de la Vega, in which he stated that he had introduced in the two previous years many plants, some of which he owed to his correspondence with Sir Joseph Banks, the eminent botanist. In 1795 Dancer went to England for his health. Soon after his return he was, in 1797, appointed Island Botanist, and remained at Bath till the year 1799. In 1804 he published a small tract—"Some observations respecting the Botanical Garden," printed at His Majesty's Printing Office, recounting its history and removals, and making suggestions for its better support. The "Dictionary of National Biography" tells us that his proposals not being accepted by the House of Assembly he resigned his position as "Island Botanist." He had, however, relinquished the post of Island Botanist as early as 1802, and he held it again

from 1805 till his death. The appointment was then worth £200 per annum.

On the appearance in 1801 of his "Medical Assistant" (printed by Alexander Aikman), by which work he is best known, it was anonymously attacked by an ex-official named Fitzgerald, in a professed reprint in the "Royal Gazette," of a critique in the "Edinburgh Review." Dancer's last literary work was the exposure of this fiction—"A Rowland for an Oliver," printed at St. Jago de la Vega in 1809. A second edition of the "Medical Assistant," printed at St. Jago de la Vega by John Lunan in 1809, was sold out, and a third, "corrected by himself with much additional matter" appeared in 1819, after his death, the editors of which had become possessed of the work with the author's corrections and additions, having purchased it at the sale of his effects. It was printed in London by R. Gilbert "for Smith and Kinnear, Kingston, Jamaica." The copy of the second edition in the Library of the Institute is especially valuable from the fact that it contains the author's manuscript additions and has pasted in it the following vote of thanks from the New York Hospital:

At a Monthly Meeting of the Governors of the New York Hospital 9th Month (September) 4th, 1810—

Present Matthew Clarkson	President
Robert Bowne,	Vice-President
Thomas Eddy,	Treasurer
Thomas Buckley,	Secretary
Peter A. Jay	John Bagert
Jacob Sherrard	Matthew Franklin
Ebenezer Stevens	Samuel Mott
Thomas Franklin	William Johnson
John B. Lawrence	John Murray, Junr.
Najah Taylor	Benj. D. Perkins

Doctor Thomas Dancer of the Island of Jamaica, now in this City, having presented by the hands of Dr. Hosack, a copy of his work, entitled "The Medical Assistant, or Jamaica Practice of Physic," to be deposited in the Hospital Library, the Secretary is directed to present the thanks of the Governors to Dr. Dancer for his very valuable present.

Extracted from Minutes of Governors Meeting, Sept. 4, 1810.

Tho. Buckley, Secy.

The third edition is also interesting from the fact that, published after his death, it contains a short autobiography of the author, as well as his portrait engraved in stipple by William Holl, the grandfather of the famous Frank Holl, R.A., which portrait displays traces of that "irritability of his temper," of which his editors speak. There was also an American edition.

In 1805 he published "The Exposer Exposed, An Answer to Dr. Grant's Libellous Invective on the conduct and character of Dr. Dancer," printed at Kingston by Strupar, Jackson and Strupar. It was a reply to Dr. Grant's pamphlet in answer to Dancer's criticism of Grant's "Essay on the Yellow Fever of Jamaica," the squabble having originated on Grant's return to Jamaica after he had parted with his Kingston practice to Dancer. The first edition was dedicated to the House of Assembly; the second to Simon Taylor, a wealthy planter and a member of that body. A comparison of these two editions hardly confirms the statement in the "Advertisement to the second edition" that "the chief objection made to the former edition, *viz. the bad paper and type* is in the present case, completely obviated." The paper is certainly better, but in the matter of type and press work there is little to choose.

Besides the works mentioned above Dancer wrote a "Brief Account of the New Settlement at Port Henderson, and an Essay on the Cold Bath"; and an "Account of the Cinnamon Plant in the Bath Garden, with the mode of taking and curing Cinnamon." In Ripplingham's "Jamaica Journal" for 1818, appears the autobiographical sketch of Dancer which was afterwards printed in the third edition of the "Medical Assistant." He died at Kingston in August, 1811.

In 1782 "Douglass and Aikman's Almanac and Register" appeared at Kingston. It consisted of 100 pages; it appeared again in 1783, 1784 and 1785, but in 1786 it became "The Royal Almanack and Register," and was issued by Alexander Aikman, alone. This continued in 1787, 1788 (when, "compiled, published and sold" by Aikman, it ran into a third edition); but in that year a rival appeared at Kingston—"The New Jamaica Almanack and Register," printed by Bennett and Dickson, for Thomas Stevenson & Co., Stationers, King Street. For 1789 there is only a copy of "The New Jamaica Almanack" in the Institute, as also for 1790. In 1791 this Almanac was printed at St. Jago de la Vega by David Dickson only. In 1791 the "Royal" reappears, published by Alexander Aikman at Kingston. Whether there were issues in 1789 and 1790 there is nothing to show. The "New" appears in 1793 as in 1791, so there was presumably an issue in 1792, though there is no copy in the Institute. In 1793 it was printed "for Stevenson and Aikman, Stationers, Kingston," so presumably Aikman had given up the "Royal"; but in 1794 it was printed "for Thomas Stevenson" only. Also in 1795, 1796 and 1797; but from 1798 to 1803 it was printed by Stevenson and Aikman at Kingston. The copy for 1804 in the Institute is imperfect and lacks the title page. From 1805 to 1808 the "New" Almanac was printed by Stevenson and Smith. In 1809 the printers were Smith and Kinnear; but so far as one can gather from the Institute's collection, they only printed this Almanac till 1812. In 1811 they made a very useful innovation by inserting the "givings-in for the different parishes," which contain the names of the estates, with their owners and the number of slaves and stock. These, when they occur in the Almanacs, are of very great use for reference in historical research. In 1812 the "Royal Register" appeared, printed at Kingston by Alexander Aikman, junior.

In 1816 Aikman first called himself, on the title-page of an Almanac, "Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, and to the Hon. House of Assembly," and he altered the title of the Almanac to the "Jamaica Almanac" and so it continued till 1820, when our review closes.

The following extract from the "Jamaica Courant," for February 3, 1813, may prove of interest:

His Majesty's Printing Office,
January 30, 1813.

This Day is published the Royal Register and Jamaica Almanac for the year 1813 containing the British and Jamaica Lists carefully corrected to the latest period. Price, bound in Morocco 16s. 8d.

Also for sale the Jamaica Royal Sheet Calendar, Price 5s; and pasted on pasteboard, 6s. 8d.

The Editor requests the Public to excuse the lateness of its appearance for the present year, as he can assure them it was occasioned altogether by causes which it was not in his power to controul, and he flatters himself that it will be found that he has not relaxed in his endeavours to make it a satisfactory and useful book of reference.

The very numerous changes that have taken place since His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, was admitted to the full exercise of Government, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, will, he conceive, make that part of the Register valuable to such persons as are connected with, and interested in, the Mother Country.

In consequence of the General Election having taken place during its printing, he has thought that it would not be unexceptable (*sic*) to add a correct List of the English and Scotch Representatives. He regrets it was not in his power to include those of Ireland, from the returns not having been fully published.

In 1786 Lewis & Eberall printed, "for James Jones, Esq.," "An Abridgement of the Laws of Jamaica," a copy of which is in the John Carter Brown Library.

In 1787 Aikman printed and published at Kingston the "Acts of Assembly, passed in the Island of Jamaica from the year 1681 to the year 1769, inclusive," in two volumes. It is a good piece of typography.

This was followed in 1792 by another edition by Aikman, in two volumes, of the "Laws of Jamaica," passed between the 32d year of Charles II and the 33d year of George III, prepared for publication by Commissioners appointed for the purpose by two Acts passed in 1790 and 1792. In the preface we read, "Provision having been made in the first of those Acts for purchasing the right of James Jones, esquire, who had obtained an exclusive privilege to compile, print, and publish the several laws which were passed between the years 1769 and 1784, that object has been accomplished." History affords no further record of James Jones, unless he is identical with the Jones who was later partner with Lunan. We also read in the preface that a comparison of the former printed copies with the original records in the office of enrolments, revealed "Many gross and monstrous errors, not only of omission, but of commission and interpolation, which have been discovered in the several preceding editions." It is to be hoped for the credit of the printers of previous editions—Aikman himself amongst them—that the monstrous errors were committed by the copyist and not by the compositor.

In the first volume were included:

- (I) A Proclamacon for the encouraging of Planters in His Majesty's Island of Jamaica, in the West Indies.
- (II) Mr. Francis Hanson's Account of the Island and Government of Jamaica: written in the year *MDCLXXXII* and Prefixed to the First Printed Collection of the Laws.
- (III) Mr. William Wood's Preface to the octavo edition published in London, Anno *MDCXVI*.
- (IV) A Vindication of the Conduct and Proceedings of the English Government towards the Spanish Nation in *MDCLV*: in reply to the misrepresentations of some late Historians: also some Account of the State of Jamaica, its inhabitants and Productions on its surrender. By Bryan Edwards, Esq.
- (V) An Historical Account of the Constitution of Jamaica: Drawn up in *MDCCLXIV*, for the information of His Majesty's Ministers: By His Excellency William Henry

Littelton, Esquire, (created Lord Westcote of the Kingdom of Ireland in 1776,) Governor and Commander in Chief of that Island.

A second edition of this was published in 1802. Following on a third volume was published by Aikman & Son in 1811, carrying the laws to 39 George III; a fourth in 1812, carrying them still further to 44 George III; a fifth extended to 50 George III (the Institute only has a second edition printed by Alexander Aikman, junior); and a sixth in 1817 carried the laws to 57 George III.

In 1793 Aikman published a two-volume edition of "An Abridgment of the Laws of Jamaica," from 32 Charles II to 32 George III; a second edition appeared in 1802. In this edition for the first time in the printing of the laws of Jamaica, the plan adopted in England was followed, and each law was distinguished by the year of the Monarch's reign in which it was passed. Previously they had been distinguished numerically.

In the "Cornwall Chronicle and Jamaica General Advertiser" for March 2, 1782, occurs the following advertisement:

Church St., Kingston.
Sept. 1781.

John Lewis (from the late Mrs. Woolhead's) having advice of a press and apparatus being shipped in the Fleet daily expected from London, is induced to offer his services to the public, in the general business of a Printer, hoping from his own knowledge in the art and that impartiality which ever ought to be attendant, to merit the support of a generous public.

John Lewis evidently believed in taking time by the forelock. In 1789 he was the surviving partner of Eberall & Lewis.

In 1782 appeared a small work which is now very rare, entitled "The Elements of Free Masonry delineated." It was printed at Kingston by Brother William Moore, at the office of Messrs. Douglass and

Aikman. Amongst the Subscribers were the printers, James Fannin, R. W. M., of the Unjon Lodge, Montego Bay, and Thomas Strupar. Amongst the Songs are Song II, sung by Mr. Woolls at the Theatre in Kingston; Prelude II as performed at the Theatre in Kingston ordered by Sir Peter Parker, Provincial Grand Master, on the 27th of April, 1782 (in which Moore, the printer, took part); and Prologue I spoken by Brother Moore at the Theatre in Kingston.

In 1783 Douglass and Aikman issued from their press a very creditable piece of typography entitled "Thoughts on the State of the Militia of Jamaica." The author, Alexander Dirom, Adjutant-General, in his dedication to the Governor, Major General Archibald Campbell, suggests that the thoughts might be submitted to the Committee appointed to report on the Militia Laws. The work is divided into three chapters: (I) Of the Militia in time of peace, (II) of the Militia in time of war, (III) of the execution of the Militia Laws. The opening sentence is as follows: "The Garrison ordered for this Island amounting to about 2,000 men, including Officers, is as large a portion of the Army, as could be expected, considering its present establishment. This Force, if supported by a numerous and well-appointed Militia, would ensure the internal Tranquility of Jamaica, and would baffle, if not prevent, any sudden Attack from the Enemy on the commencement of a future War."

In August 1787 Woollery, Superintendent of Public Works, brought an action for slander against Thomas Strupar, who, in the "Jamaica Gazette" of 5th of May had charged Woollery with the embezzlement of lead from the roof of the house of the Captain of the Fort at Port Royal, and obtained a verdict and £50 damages.

It was the days of pamphleteering, and Jamaica produced in 1788 a good example—"The Election: A Poem"—a work worthy to rank with the majority

of its contemporaries issued from the press of London. It is a very rare work. The copy in the Institute is of special value as coming from the Library of the Earl of Sheffield, who is mentioned in the work, and because the names of candidates for the votes of the electors to the Assembly, who are herein passed in review before *Freedom* supported by *Truth, Wisdom* and *Learning*, have been added in manuscript, although many can be easily identified by students of Jamaica history. Unfortunately there is no indication as to the printer. The only copy known to the writer is in the John Carter Brown Library. It was published anonymously, and one would have been inclined to attribute it to Bryan Edwards, were it not that he is alluded to in a manner to which his type of wit would not have lent itself. The following lines referring to him may be taken as typical of the work:

Behold the next that stands before the throne,
Whose name is o'er the British Empire known,
For treating largely on West-Indian trade,
With an intent to have it open laid,
Free for America's revolted sons,
Their vessels only limited in tons,
But not in number—say now for what reason
Should we so amply recompense their treason?

At a meeting of the Assembly held the 13th December 1787, it was resolved "That a letter, printed in the supplement to the Kingston Morning Post of the 12th instant, and in the Jamaica Gazette of the same date, purporting to be a letter of Nathaniel Bayly, esquire, addressed "To the worthy freeholders of the parish of St. Mary," dated the 11th instant, is a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, grossly reflecting upon the proceedings of the select committee of this house, sworn to try the merits of the controverted election for St. Mary, and the character of the members thereof, to the dishonour of this house, and in violation of its privileges."

Ordered, "That the said Nathaniel Bayly do attend this house tomorrow morning: That the printers of

the Kingston Morning Post, and Jamaica Gazette, do attend this house tomorrow morning."

On the 18th December, at the meeting of the Assembly, "the messenger acquainted the house that the said Nathaniel Bayly had absconded; that an order had been served on George Eberall, one of the printers of the Kingston Morning Post, for his attendance; that John Lewis, his co-partner, had secreted himself, as he could not be found; and, that another order had been served on Joseph Preston, one of the printers of the Jamaica Gazette, for his attendance. A motion was made, that, for such contempt, the said Nathaniel Bayly, John Lewis, George Eberall, and Joseph Preston, be severally taken into the custody of the messenger attending this house, and that Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant or warrants for that purpose accordingly. . . ." On the 24th instant the same motion was passed that they be taken into custody. On the 29th of the same month the messenger being asked by Mr. Speaker if he had executed the warrants, answered, "that he had used his utmost endeavors to find the said Nathaniel Bayly, but could not; that he was informed John Lewis was sick; that George Eberall said he would not attend the house; and that Joseph Preston not only refused to obey the said warrant, but said that the house might do their worst:" It was resolved, "That Mr. Speaker do forthwith issue his warrant, authorizing and requiring all magistrates, the provost-marshal-general and all his deputies, all constables, and other the king's subjects, to be aiding and assisting the messenger of this house, or any of his deputies, in the taking into custody the bodies of Joseph Preston, John Lewis, and George Eberall." But nothing further is recorded in the Journals of this matter.

No copy of the Kingston Morning Post alluded to is known. Baily, who had been unseated on petition, had been member of the Assembly for Kingston in 1755. He was also member of the English parliament for a time. He was uncle of Bryan Edwards, the historian.

The earliest Jewish book printed in Jamaica is probably "Reason and Faith, or Philosophical Absurdities, and the necessity of Revelation, intended to produce Faith among Infidels, and the unbounded exercise of Humanity among all Religious Men. By one of the sons of Abraham to this Brethren." It was printed by Strupar and Preston in 1788 "at the cost and for the use of the Subscribers." Amongst the subscribers appear the well-known Jamaica names—Adolphus, Aguilar, Bravo, Bonito, Belisario, Bernal, DaCosta, D'Aguilar, DeLeon, Fernadez, Feurtado, Guiteres, Henriques, Levien, Lindo, Melhado, Mendez, Silva. It is interesting to notice that this work has a few words set in Hebrew character.

Amidst the mass of literature which was published with regard to the abolition of the Slave Trade, not a very large amount was printed in Jamaica, though much that was printed in England was supplied by Jamaica. In 1788 appeared in Jamaica a pamphlet entitled "Observations occasioned by the attempts made in England to effect the Abolition of the Slave trade; shewing the Manner in which Negroes are treated in the British Colonies in the West Indies; and also some particular Remarks on a Letter addressed to the Treasurer of the Society for effecting such Abolition: by the Rev. Mr. Robert Boucher Nicholls [*sic*, Nickolls] Dean of Middleham." Unfortunately there is no copy in the Library of the Institute which possesses, however, the reprint which appeared at Liverpool, "at A. Smith's Navigation Shop, Pool-lane," also in 1788.

The anonymous author claims an intimate knowledge of conditions then existing in the sugar colonies, from residence at different times in most of the islands from Barbados to Jamaica. His main thesis is that "So far from the negroes in the West India Islands being in a state of misery, their lot is to be envied, by the generality of the peasants in every part of Europe." The title of Nickolls's letter is "A Letter

to the Treasurer of the Society instituted for the purpose of effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade: from the Rev. Robert Boucher Nickolls, Dean of Middleham. London, printed by James Phillips, George-yard, Lombard-street, MDCCLXXXVIII."

In 1788 was issued a pamphlet of thirty-eight pages, entitled "Two Reports from the Committee of the Honourable House of Assembly, appointed, to enquire into and report to the House the Allegations and Charges contained in the several Petitions which have been presented to the British House of Commons on the subject of the Slave Trade and the Treatment of the Negroes, etc., etc. etc. Published by order of the House, Saint Jago de la Vega, Printed for David Douglass, Printer to the Honourable the Council and Assembly, MDCCLXXXVIII." Why it was printed *for* David Douglass and not *by* him is not very evident. On November 13, 1788 the Assembly "resolved, nem. con., that the thanks of this House be given, by Mr. Speaker to Bryan Edwards, Esquire, in his place, for the assiduity and industry he has exerted in procuring information, and the judgment and ability displayed in arranging the several matters contained in the two reports of the Committee on the Slave Trade, refutation of the groundless aspersions and charges exhibited against the inhabitants of this island, in the treatment of their slaves."

In "Letters on Slavery" by William Dickson, published in London in 1789, we read:

The spirit, good sense and humanity of the printers* of the Jamaica newspapers ought not to be forgotten: for they have shown themselves superior alike to the taunts of the "profligate" and the malevolence of the "unmerciful"†: discouragements which all good men must expect to meet with in the discharge of their duty. Were I to give a similar account of the Barbadoes printers and their worthy correspondents, it would be said I courted their applause. Let the humane enquirer into this Subject compare the Barbadoes Gazette and Mercury with the other West Indian prints, and judge for himself,

[FOOTNOTES.] *I am sorry to except the printer of the Sav. la Mar. Gaz.

†The printers of the Jam. Gaz. have inserted the D. of Middleham's valuable letter, at full length, in their paper of March 8, 1788.

Of the "Savanna-la-Mar Gazette" the only numbers known to the writer are in the American Antiquarian Society. We learn from Dickson that the appearance of Nickolls's letter in the "Jamaica Gazette" probably produced the pamphlet entitled "Observations, occasioned by the attempts made in England to effect the abolition of the Slave Trade" alluded to above.

Of the sixty volumes from the pen of Bryan Edwards which were published between 1789 and 1806, only three issued from the press of Jamaica. One was "A Speech delivered at a Free Conference between the Honourable the Council and Assembly of Jamaica, held the 19th of November, 1789, on the subject of Mr. Wilberforce's propositions in the House of Commons concerning the Slave Trade," printed by Alexander Aikman in that year, the Institute's copy of which bears on its title page the signature of John Lunan the printer. The Institute also has a copy of the London reprint of 1790. Another is "Poems, written chiefly in the West Indies," printed for the author, also by Aikman, in 1792, from the preface of which we learn that "the author, at a very early period of life, presumed to sketch out a West Indian Georgick in four books, of which the lines now printed constituted the first; and he had nearly completed the second when his maturer judgment led him to believe that he had undertaken a task to which his abilities were not competent. If, however, by preserving and publishing what he thus admits to be imperfect, he shall incite some person of greater talents to adopt and complete the theme, he shall think, that his labours have not been in vain." The work contains, besides the Georgic Sonnets, a translation from Horace, an

Ode and Epitaphs, as well as an Ode addressed by the Rev. Isaac Teale to Bryan Edwards, entitled "The Sable Venus," and a translation of the second Epode of Horace by Nathaniel Bayly Edwards.

The third is by no means solely the work of Bryan Edwards. It is a volume (the copy in the Institute lacks the title page) with "Mr. Francis Hanson's Account of the Island and Government of Jamaica: written in the year MDCLXXXII, and prefixed to the first printed collection of the Laws," printed apparently at St. Jago de la Vega in 1793; for the work in which it appears is bound up with and apparently forms part of "An Abridgment of the Laws of Jamaica: being an alphabetical Digest of all of the Public Acts of Assembly now in Force, from the thirty-second year of King Charles II to the thirty-second of his present Majesty King George III, inclusive, as published in Two Volumes St. Jago de la Vega, Jamaica: Printed by Alexander Aikman, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty MDCXCIII." It is a reprint of the account by Hanson which appeared in the very rare edition of the "Laws of Jamaica, passed by the Assembly and confirmed by His Majesty in Council, February 23, 1683. It was published in London in 1683, and there is a copy in the Institute Library.

In the earlier part appears "A Vindication of the Conduct and Proceedings of the English Government towards the Spanish Nation in MDCLV: in reply to the misrepresentations of some late Historians: also some Account of the State of Jamaica, its inhabitants and productions on its surrender: By Bryan Edwards, Esquire."

The confining of one's-self to Jamaica-printed books precludes consideration of Bryan Edwards's well-known History of the West Indies, which, originally published in 1793, ran into five English, three American, one German, one Dutch, one French and one Portuguese edition.

In November 1790 William Dunlop, Island Secretary, petitioned the house, that finding the bindings of the old Record Books in his office "very much broke and in great danger of falling to pieces" he had had them repaired by Edward Lewis, of St. Catherine, book-binder.

In 1791 a newspaper first appeared at Falmouth, a seaport on the northside, the chief town of Trelawny, which in the days when sugar was king, was of much greater importance than now. The paper, "The Jamaica Mercury and Trelawny Advertiser," was published weekly. The proprietor, printer and editor, was James K. Kelly, J. P. He died in 1813.

In the "Royal Gazette," April 7, 1792, appears the following: "Lunan and Smart have entered upon the arduous undertaking of establishing a free and independent press under the appellation of 'The Times' It is proposed to publish thrice each week, and to commence on the first Tuesday in May: Subscriptions being 40s per annum for Kingston, Spanish Town and Port Royal, and £3.0.0 for the distant parts of the Island." This notice appears again in the "Gazette" for April 14, but no mention of "The Times" having been actually published has been found.

So far as is known at present, the year 1793 saw the publication of the first magazine in Jamaica. In the Library of the Institute are two numbers of a very rare publication entitled "The Bon E'sprit Magazine, or Abstract of the Times Printed by William Smart." The first is for March 1794, vol. 1, no. IIII: the other November 1794, vol. 2, no. II. It was presumably published quarterly. As early in its career as the fourth number the periodical was in low financial water, as the following notice testifies:

No advance having been taken in the first instance, and the second quarter being now advanced upon, the Editor is under the necessity of calling upon Subscribers from the commencement of the undertaking, for the Six Months, and others for

the Quarter's Subscription; which he conceives himself *authorized* to do, from a reference to the other literary concerns in this Island. He finds himself also under the necessity to say that his finances are so very limited as to preclude every idea of *running upon tick*; such parties therefore as may not find it convenient to settle their respective subscriptions, previous to the publication of the next number, will be *struck off the list*. Country Subscribers will be obliging enough to account with the several Postmasters, who are requested to receive and remit the same—deducting *Ten per cent* for Commissions: Subscribers within the two Towns and Vicinities will be called upon without delay. Persons desirous of becoming Subscribers in future will be required to deposit *one quarter's* subscription in advance. The REPRINT of the FIRST number being now nearly completed, subscribers unsupplied will please intimate the same, that a second disappointment may be avoided.

The Editor is happy in having it in his power to present his readers with a PLATE, superior to anything that he had reason to expect here. The next will be a TETE-A-TETE—SUPERINTENDING NEDDY and his SAFFRON PURCHASE; and executed, he flatters himself in a *Masterly* stile.

The Public, he trusts, will extend its usual indulgence to the requisition he has *thus* been compelled to make; as without that assistance he will be unable to support the contingencies of business, and must *Decline*.

The earlier number has a plate, a portrait of "The Fortunate Foreigner," crudely etched, signed "Ramsay, sculpt." which accompanies a biographical sketch of one who, a native of Switzerland, was a member of the Assembly.

Smart also published "The Columbian Magazine" at Kingston in 1796. A set of volumes 1796-1800 in the West India Library in the Institute is believed to be unique. Smart died on Sept. 6, 1803.

Alexander Aikman announced his intention of starting the "St. Jago Intelligencer" on the 8th of May, 1799. This must have been the second paper of that name, an earlier having appeared in 1756, but no copy is known to exist.

Henry Barham, F. R. S., a descendant of the Barhams of Barham Court in Kent, is often confounded with his son, Henry Barham, M.D., as indeed he, was

by his editor Aikman. The son of a physician who died when his son was but a lad, he entered the navy as surgeon's mate, but soon leaving that he went to Spain, then to Madras, and finally came to Jamaica, where he probably settled about 1680, as in 1720 he referred to his son having practised in the island as a physician for twenty years. He was surgeon-major of the military forces in the island, and in 1715 he introduced logwood into the island, as he tells us—

In the year 1715 I had an Indian slave, that I sent down to the Bay of Campeche to cut logwood, whom I ordered to send me up some of the seed of it, which he did; and I ordered it to be planted in Jamaica, where it takes to growing admirably well, even in the worst of the lands; so that they are now seed-bearing trees enough to stock the whole island; and, in a little time, the English need not run those risks as formerly in cutting of this wood, which they used to do standing up to the knees in water, with the mosquitoes lancing and tearing their flesh, by which many thousands died, besides every day running the danger of being cut off by their enemies for robbing. Its leaves are much of the shape and bigness of *Lignum vitæ*; its seed is in a thin membranaceous case, hanging in bunches like the English ashen-trees. A decoction of the wood stops bloody and other fluxes. This is one of the dying woods. They now make fences of them in Jamaica, which are so thick and prickly that nothing can pass through them, and, being an evergreen you can hardly see through them.

Barham little realized the great value that logwood would later prove to be in Jamaica.

In 1716 he left Jamaica and settled in Chelsea, where he devoted his time to rearing silk-worms and spinning silk. In 1717 he was made a fellow of the Royal Society, but he never obtained the diploma of M.D. In 1720 he received an appointment as Superintendent of a Company formed to prosecute silver mining in Jamaica. The undertaking proved a failure, but he continued to reside in the island till his death, which occurred at Spanish Town in 1726 in the fifty-sixth year of his age. Sir Hans Sloane had a high opinion of him and made use, in his Natural History, of the manuscript of "*Hortus Americanus*," which, as it is stated on its title-page to be the work of Dr. Barham,

has been wrongly ascribed to the son, Henry Barham, M.D. In his preface Aikman says: "Sir Hans Sloane, in the Appendix to his second volume of the *Natural History of Jamaica*, speaks in strong terms of Doctor Barham, and has made copious extracts from the work, which he says he received in manuscript from the doctor, and which he expresses a wish may soon be published: The Editor, however, is not aware that any other part, excepting the quotations made by Sir Hans Sloane, and some extracts interspersed through Mr. Long's Synopsis, was ever presented to the public."

The following letter appeared in the "*Columbian Magazine*" for 1797:

To the Editor of the *Columbian Magazine*:

Sir,

With pleasure I understand that a republication of Barham's *Hortus Americanus* is intended. This valuable work, so long unknown to the public, was attempted to be printed some years ago, and proposals made to do it by subscription, but without effect; and most probably the inhabitants of this island would, generally, have remained in ignorance of so valuable a treasure of practical knowledge, had not Alexander Aikman, Esq., at his own risk, printed the same. In this laudable undertaking, the late ingenious, scientific Dr. Arthur Broughton, concurred, and gave his assistance; which has supplied the deficiency of the original manuscript, by furnishing the Linnean names to most of the plants.

The good resulting from its first publication, may be considerably enhanced by adding various useful recipes on the same subject, which are at present known only to detached individuals. There can be little doubt of many communications being made to the Editor of the work (on proper invitation) by those in whose possession such secrets have hitherto remained, for want of a collective mode to disclose them for the benefit of the public.

Such addition will, of course, increase both the size of the book and its price: but this will be of little moment to those, who, knowing the worth of a work already deservedly held in esteem, wish to obtain a compendium of the remedies which this island affords in profusion.

September 1797

A. B.

But no second edition ever appeared.

Barham also wrote "An Account of the Island of Jamaica from the time of the Spaniards first discovering it," which his son, after his death, sent to Sir Hans Sloane "to see the best method of printing it"; but it was never published. The original copy, in the handwriting of the father and inscribed "wrote by Hen. Barham, Senr., F. R. S." is in the British Museum (Sloane MSS. 3918). In another copy (Add. MSS. 12422) presented by Charles Edward Long, in a different hand—which appears to be a copy of the Sloane MS.,—there is a note by Edward Long, stating that the best part of it was incorporated by Oldmixon in his "British Empire in America." Barham also wrote two papers for the Royal Society: "An Account of a Fiery Meteor seen in Jamaica to strike the Earth" (Phil. Trans. 1718 Abrev. vi p. 368); and "Observations on the Produce of the Silkworm and of Silk in England," and also an "Essay on the Silkworm," published in 1719.

His son, the Dr. Barham alluded to above, who was a member of the House of Assembly, in turn for St. David, St. James, Clarendon and Westmoreland, married Elizabeth Foster, the widow of Thomas Foster of St. Elizabeth, through whom he became possessed of considerable property. His step-son was the first of the Foster-Barhams well known in Jamaica history.

"The Diary and Kingston Daily Advertiser" was apparently first published in 1795. In the "Postscript to the Royal Gazette," for April 11, 1795, mention is made of the "Diary and Kingston Daily Advertiser" to be published early in May of that year; and in the "Supplement" for April 25 there is an advertisement to the effect that the first number of "The Diary" will be published on Saturday morning, 16th inst. The earliest number in the Institute Library is for Saturday, June 4, 1796. It was then published by Stevenson, Dickson & Aikman at the corner of Water Lane and King Street. It contains

very little news, being made up of extracts from European papers, and advertisements. The subscription was 10s. Thomas Stevenson kept a stationer and bookseller's store in King Street. It contains from time to time, more than other Jamaica papers, "American Intelligence," to which the first page was given up until ousted by advertisements. The rest mainly consisted of cuttings from English papers. There is little of local interest beyond the advertisements.

In the "Supplement to the St. Jago Gazette" for Dec. 6, 1806, J. J. Itter is mentioned as the Editor of the "Diary and Kingston Daily Advertiser" being ordered to attend, among other editors, the House of Assembly to answer the charge of having been guilty of a breach of the privileges of the House, as related further on. In "The Kingston Chronicle," of Aug. 3, 1818, we read—"Died. In this City, on Friday afternoon, Mr. John Joseph Itter, Head Usher of Wolmer's Free School: his remains were attended at the grave on Saturday evening by a Masonic Procession (being high in the Orders of Masonry). The Band of the 2nd West India Regiment attended on the occasion."

In 1800 one of the most valuable contributions to Jamaica history was printed at St. Jago de la Vega by Lewis, Lunan & Jones. It is in quarto form, of 300 pages, and is entitled "Interesting Tracts relating to the Island of Jamaica, consisting of curious State-papers, Councils of War, Letters, Petitions, Narratives, etc., etc., which throw great light on the history of that island, from its conquest down to the year 1702. St. Jago de la Vega: Printed by Lewis, Lunan & Jones. MDCCC." The Tracts are forty-four in number, and cover a wide range of subjects including—A Proclamation by the Protector; An Apocryphal Letter from Columbus to Philip, supposed to have been written in Jamaica; Venables's account of his Taking of Jamaica; Sir William Beeston's account of

the attack by the French, and his journal; and speeches of Governors, addresses to Governors, and addresses of Grand Juries.

In 1800 Aikman printed at Kingston "A Form of Prayer to be used in the Island of Jamaica, for a perpetual fast established by Law, on the seventh day of June; in commemoration of the dreadful earthquake in the year 1692."

In 1802 Aikman reprinted two works which, appearing first in London and Edinburgh respectively more than half a century earlier, had achieved success. The first was "The Sugar Cane: A Poem in four books. With Notes. By James Grainger, M.D." The author's experience was acquired in St. Kitts, where the preface is dated in 1762; Grainger having settled as a physician in St. Kitts in 1759, and died there in 1767.

The other work selected for reproduction was the second edition of Grainger's "Essay on the more common West-India Diseases," edited by William Wright, the first edition having appeared anonymously in 1764.

In the life of Grainger, in the "Dictionary of National Biography," we read, "Grainger's 'Essay' and 'The Sugar Cane' were with Colonel Martin's 'Essay on Plantership' reprinted at Jamaica in 1802, under the general title of 'Three Tracts on West Indian Agriculture'." Martin's work is not known to the present writer; and the copies of Grainger's "Sugar Cane" and "Essay" in the Institute were apparently published as independent productions.

To the year 1805 belongs a book printed in Little-Port-Royal Street, Kingston, by Lunan & Doddington. It is entitled "Proceedings of the General Court Martial assembled by order of His Excellency General George Nugent, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Jamaica, etc., etc., for the Trial of David Murray, Esq., a Commissioner appointed for the parish of Westmoreland for procur-

ing subsistence for the Militia, and for other Duties." It was first published in the "Kingston Chronicle and City Advertiser." The charge was one of attempting to treat with the invading enemy. The prisoner was sentenced to be degraded to the ranks and fined £300, but the Commander-in-Chief remitted the degradation.

In 1805, too, first appeared two papers, "The Kingston Chronicle and City Advertiser," and "The Jamaica Courant," also of Kingston. The "Kingston Chronicle and City Advertiser" was published daily at Kingston. The issue for 1814 is Vol. X. From an advertisement appearing in the "Royal Gazette" for March 16, 1805, it appears to have been first published on the 25th of March, 1805, and called "Kingston Chronicle and City Advertiser," the editors being Lunan & Doddington, and the prices 50s in Kingston, Port Royal and Spanish Town, and £3.5.0 in the country parishes. The earliest copy in the Institute is 1818: it was then called "Kingston Chronicle," its editor being Andrew Lunan. The paper was largely made up of extracts from English papers. In 1827 it was called "Kingston Chronicle and Jamaica Journal." In 1833 it went back to the original name, "Kingston Chronicle and City Advertiser."

"The Jamaica Courant," a four-page newspaper, was published daily in Harbour Street. A notice appeared in the "Supplement to the Royal Gazette," Jan. 26, 1805, of a newspaper to be published under the title of the "Jamaica Courant," 50s and £3.5.0 subscriptions per annum, to subscribers in Kingston and the country parishes, respectively: Signed Frances M. Strupar, John R. Jackson, George W. Strupar. It was published in 1805, as an article appeared in the Postscript to the Royal Gazette for Dec. 28, 1805, copied from the "Jamaica Courant." The earliest number in the Institute Library is for Jan. 1, 1813 (Vol. IX, No. 1). The publisher was G. W. Strupar,

who was printer to the Corporate Body of Kingston. It consisted of four pages, mostly advertisements and cuttings from English papers, and was issued daily. The printing is not good, and so little care was exercised in reading the proofs that Harbour is spelt Hharbour in the imprints for months, and in one issue two pages are printed upside down.

In 1806 J. T. Bennett was appointed Printer to the Corporation of Kingston, that body having been created in 1803.

In December, 1806, occurred an incident having an important bearing on the liberty of the Press in Jamaica and the dignity of the House of Assembly. The Committee of Privileges reported that in their opinion a breach of the privileges of the house had been committed by a publication purporting to be certain resolutions which had been adopted at a meeting of the freeholders of the city and parish of Kingston on the 4th of December, 1806, and signed "Daniel Moore, Chairman," and by the insertion of the same in the respective newspapers entitled "The Daily Advertiser," "The Kingston Chronicle and City Advertiser" and "The Courant."

Unfortunately no copy of any one of these papers of the date involved is in the Library of the Institute; the only paper of that date in the Library is "The St. Jago de la Vega Gazette," which as it appeared weekly and had an opportunity of seeing the opinion of the Assembly abstained from publishing the offending paragraphs. In the "Supplement to the St. Jago de la Vega Gazette, November 29 to December 6, we read— "A report having this day been made from a Committee of Privileges that publication of the Resolutions of a late meeting in Kingston are a breach of the privilege of the Honourable House of Assembly, and the House having agreed to the report, we should not, under such circumstances, think ourselves justifiable in publishing them."

In the absence of the paragraphs themselves it is

only possible to assume that the meeting which gave offense to the Assembly, had some reference to the vote of 3,000 guineas by the house for the purpose of purchasing a service of plate to be presented by them to Vice-Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth, K.B., for his memorable victory over the French fleet off Santo Domingo in the previous February: this vote being an addition to £1000 which had already been given to him for a sword of honour.

From the resolution passed in the house it is evident that the meeting alluded to part of the proceedings of the Assembly as "a wanton and improvident expenditure of the public money," and "that the House had forfeited every claim to the confidence of the good people of this island by its inconsistent extravagant and unconstitutional conduct in respect to the disposal of the public money." The House resolved that the Editors of the newspapers concerned, and Daniel Moore, Chairman of the meeting, were guilty of a breach of the privileges of the House. On the 6th December it was resolved, by a majority of fifteen to thirteen, that the offending editors should attend at the bar of the House. On the 8th of December it was ordered: "The Alexander Aikman, Senior, do attend the House, in his place to-morrow." It was also resolved: "That Alexander Aikman, Junior, one of the Editors of the Royal Gazette newspaper, do attend at the bar of this House to-morrow."

When questioned on the 9th, Alexander Aikman, senior, explained that the paragraphs had appeared in the Royal Gazette, in spite of the fact that he wished them not to do so, he having voted with the majority on the occasion in question, but which he had not time to prevent, the same being inserted in his absence while attending his duty in the House. This apparently did not satisfy the House, for he was ordered to be taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms. Alexander Aikman, junior, on being questioned at the bar, expressed his sorrow for what he had done.

He was by order of the House conveyed to the goal by the sergeant at arms. George Worrall Strupar, one of the editors of the "Jamaica Courant," stated that he was present at the meeting in question, the 4th of December. He said, "that if he had not published the resolution he might as well have shut up his office altogether." He was by order of the House taken into custody of the sergeant at arms. Andrew Lunan, printer and publisher of the "Kingston Chronicle and City Advertiser," stated that he was present at the meeting on the 4th of December. He gave as an excuse, "that he would have been ruined if he had refused to publish the resolutions of such a respectable meeting, nor did he suppose in so doing he was infringing the privileges of the House." He followed into the custody of the sergeant at arms. Robert Hamilton stated that he was neither the printer, publisher nor editor of the "Daily Advertiser." He stated that the proprietor was the widow of the late J. T. W. Bennett and his family; he further stated that J. J. Itter was the editor. He was accordingly discharged from attendance on the House.

At the same meeting it was resolved that Mr. Jackson, one of the editors of the "Courant" be taken into custody for his failure to attend the House; and it was ordered that Mr. J. J. Itter do attend the House on Thursday next. The attention of the House was called to certain resolutions passed at a meeting in the parish of St. Andrew, on the 6th of December, and reported in the "Courant" of 8th of December, signed "A. Ector, Chairman," reflecting on the proceedings of the house. Mr. Ector was ordered to attend the House the following Thursday.

On the 10th December, Alexander Aikman, after stating that the publication was duly without his knowledge, was discharged out of custody, paying his fees. Daniel Moore, the chairman of the meeting in question, admitted that he was chairman of the meeting in question. Being asked if he did not pro-

pose one of the resolutions, said "He did, and it was that which went to show that the freeholders did not intend to detract anything from the merits of Admiral Duckworth." On being asked if he did not oppose all the other resolutions, he explained that "in the first instance he opposed the calling of the meeting, from the apprehension of intemperance; but it being pressed on him, and being the senior alderman present, he thought he could not decline doing it; that at the meeting he was called to the chair as senior alderman; when the resolutions were offered he felt the impropriety of them, and represented to the meeting that he considered them as a breach of privilege, but said he would sign the resolutions they would come to as chairman, and that he did sign them, considering that such signature was merely a certificate that the resolutions had been adopted, and not as a declaration of his own sentiments." He was then discharged from his further attendance on the House.

On the 11th of December a petition was presented to the house from Alexander Aikman, junior, setting forth "That he most sincerely lamented he should have drawn upon himself the displeasure of the honourable house by an act of imprudence and inadvertence, in publishing certain resolutions of the freeholders of Kingston in the Royal Gazette of the 6th instance: That, in extenuation of such his conduct, he could only offer his youth and inexperience, assuring the house, that had he been aware that he thereby violated his privileges, he would have been the last person to countenance such a publication: That with the deepest contrition and most unfeigned sorrow for such his offense, he begged leave to throw himself on the clemency of the house, trusting that they would favourably receive this, his humble petition." He was then brought to the bar of the house and severely reprimanded by Mr. Speaker [Philip Redwood] as follows:

Considering that you are the printer of this house, it was

your indispensable duty to take the most especial care that nothing in any wise disrespectful to, or derogatory of, this house, should appear in your paper, commonly styled the Royal Gazette. Gratitude and consistency demanded of you this attention and respect; You have, however, acknowledged the inserting, as well as publishing certain resolutions which have been most justly resolved by this house to be a breach of privilege. If you knew nothing of this resolution having passed previously, yet you must have known that what you inserted contained matter highly reflecting upon the deliberations and authority of this house, and expressed in terms manifestly degrading and contemptuous; and, I add, having a plain tendency to inflame the public mind, and destroy public confidence in this house, as a representative body and a branch of the legislature of this Island; and it enhances this offence that this indignity to the house was committed during the sitting of this house.

However small your pretensions thereto, this house will extend its lenity to you on account of your youth and inexperience, and the contrition you have expressed: I am ordered by the House most severely to reprimand you, and I do reprimand you accordingly; and, I hope, with such severity as will prevent your committing again the like offense, and with such effect that your future conduct may atone for the past.

It was then ordered that Alexander Aikman should be discharged paying his fees. He was then twenty-four years of age.

On the 12th of December petitions of a similar nature, were presented by Andrew Lunan and George Worrall Strupar. They were brought to the bar and severely reprimanded by Mr. Speaker, and then discharged, paying their fees. The sergeant at arms reported his ineffectual endeavours by deputy to serve Mr. Ector, and produced a certificate of oath of Mr. Itter's indisposition; but such certificate being considered unsatisfactory, Mr. Itter was ordered to be taken into custody by the sergeant at arms.

On the 16th of December, a petition from J. J. Itter was presented to the house, in which he stated that he never conceived himself editor of the "Daily Advertiser," but only the foreman employed by Mrs.

Bennett; and "that a copy of the resolutions had been sent to the office of the Daily Advertiser for insertion, and he not knowing them to be a breach of the privileges of the house considered it his duty to publish the same as they had been come to at a meeting of the body corporate of the city of Kingston, of which corporation the late John Thomas W. Bennett, deceased, was, and his relict and family still continue to be, the printers." On being brought to the bar he was discharged, paying his fees.

And so the storm in a tea-cup ended, and the dignity of the House was duly vindicated.

In 1808 Andrew Lunan, junior, printed at Kingston "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Trial of an Action for Defamation, in the Grand Court, held in Spanish Town on Monday, 17th October, 1808: Bayly, Wentworth, Esq. vs. Donaldson, The Revd. Colin." This important and interesting trial occupied eleven hours, after which the jury retired for a few minutes, and, on their return, found the defendant guilty, and assessed damages at seven hundred and sixty-six pounds, with costs. The defendant, the Rector of St. Mary, wrote to the parish vestry that the plaintiff, a proprietor with estates in St. Mary, was cruel to his slaves. The magistrates and vestrymen of St. Mary petitioned the Governor to remove Donaldson, but without effect.

Alexander Aikman, junior, printed "An Essay on Task Work: its Practicability and the Modes to be adopted for its Application to different Kinds of Agricultural Labour." There is no date, but as he calls himself "Printer to the Honourable House of Assembly," it must have been printed in or after 1805, in which year he succeeded his father as printer to the Assembly. From the preface we learn that it was compiled at the request of a gentleman of great respectability, who conceived that the introduction of task-work into this island would tend to the mutual advantage of the planters and their slaves:

it was originally intended for publication in the "Royal Gazette," but it was afterwards judged more expedient to give it in the present form.

The first—and apparently also the last—three-volume novel to be printed in Jamaica was "Montgomery: or the West Indian Adventurer By a Gentleman resident in the West Indies: printed at the office of the Kingston Chronicle." The first and second volumes appeared in 1812, the third in 1813. The typography is fair, but each volume has a list of errata: the author nobly owning "to his own want of a due circumspection in the revisal of the MS previous to its going to press." The author remains unknown—he was probably a Scotchman. The work is apparently autobiographic, and contains numerous commentaries on military affairs, and may be taken as historically correct. It is of interest as being from the pen of one who wrote sympathetically both of the manners and morals of the inhabitants of Jamaica, with the example of St. Domingo before his eyes, and of the question of the gradual abolition of slavery; and, often in the form of post-prandial conversation, gives views on the condition of life in Jamaica generally and forms on the whole a true account of life on the sugar estates and pens at that period, and of the maroon war. The hero's father, a lieutenant, exchanges from an English into an Irish regiment ordered to Jamaica, so as to get to a warm climate for the sake of his young wife, who was threatened with a decline. The time was about 1769. About two hundred privates and seven officers died in the first twelve months of yellow fever and dysentery, aided by intemperate living. Here he stayed five years, when, after furlough at home, he went with a detachment to repel the rebellion in the American colonies, where he remained till the Peace of Versailles, when he returned on half pay and settled in Scotland. In course of time his son goes out to a plantation in Jamaica in 1793 consigned to a typical planting attorney in

Kingston. The convoy out went by way of Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent and Curacoa. The work is interesting to etymologists as containing the missing link between overseer and busha—obusheer.

In 1813 the booksellers of Jamaica were Lunan and Treadway, and John Pennock—both of Kingston; and J. Lunan of Spanish Town.

In 1813 Alexander Aikman, junior, printed a "Report from a Committee of the Honourable House of Assembly, appointed to enquire into various matters relative to the State and Commerce and Agriculture of the Island: the probable effects thereon of opening the Trade to the East Indies; and the operation of the present maximum on the exportation of Sugar." It forms a valuable contribution to the commercial and economic history of Jamaica up to that period. It is interesting to compare with this, from a typographical point of view, a similar Report printed in London by Luke, Hansard & Sons. The Jamaica work does not suffer much by the comparison.

A rare pamphlet appeared in 1814 from the office of the "Kingston Chronicle" entitled "Proceedings relative to the establishment of a Presbyterian Place of Worship in the City of Kingston," from which it appears that the movement to have a Presbyterian place of worship first took place on the 15th of November, 1813. A subscription list was opened and in a few months realized nearly £3000. Further efforts soon raised that sum to upwards of £8000. In the first list appears the name of Hamilton, Robt. £16.0.0.—[The Aaron Bang of "Tom Cringle's Log."]. The names of Andrew Lunan (£80.0.0) G. W. Strupar (£20.0.0) and W. Norval Smart (£10.13.4) also occur. In a second list occur the names of Alexander Aikman, junior (£71.6.8), Alexander Aikman, senior (£32.0.0), Robert Smart (£21.6.8), and a vote of the Common Council of Kingston (£1000). Of the above-named, Alexander Aikman, senior, was elected one of the

original general Committee of Management consisting of fifteen members.

John Lunan, the printer and compiler of "*Hortus Jamaicensis*," represented St. Catherine in the House of Assembly from 1809 to 1833. The work first appeared in parts by subscription, and afterwards in 1814, in two volumes. It was printed at the office of the "*St. Jago de la Vega Gazette*." It contains extracts from the manuscripts of Anthony Robinson and those of Dr. Broughton, lent to him by Alexander Aikman, who was then member for St. George. He complains in an address to the subscribers of a lack of assistance and information offered to him. For that reason he never completed the natural history of the island by treating of the animal and mineral kingdoms. "It claims no other merit than that of a careful compilation from Barham, Sloane, Browne, Long, Grainger, Wright, Swartz, the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Chambers' *Cyclopedia*, Martyn's *Miller's Gardener's Dictionary* (a work of inestimable value and from which the greatest assistance has been derived in the scientific part), besides many other valuable books, as, in its progress, the discerning reader will easily perceive."

Lunan published in 1819 "*An Abstract of the Laws of Jamaica relating to Slaves*." His son, John Lunan, a barrister, published in 1828 "*The Magistrate's and Vestryman's Assistant*."

In 1815 appeared a "*Report of a Committee of the Honourable House of Assembly on the subject of the Post Office Department*," printed by Alexander Aikman, junior. From it we learn that as early as 1706 a bill was ordered to be brought in for erecting an office for the receipt and safer delivery of letters; that the house had frequently punished persons for receiving and delivering letters, and charging or exacting postage without legal authority: and that post offices were established in the island under the authority of the British Statute, 9 anno cap. 10, and

the rates were revised by 5 George III Cap 25 and 18 Geo. III cap. 12. In 1815 the amount of the inland postage was £12,590 currency; letters from Great Britain £9406, letters to Great Britain £9840.

In 1816 was printed by Alexander Aikman, junior, by order of the Assembly, for distribution amongst the members of the Committee, "Further Proceedings of the Honourable House of Assembly of Jamaica relative to a bill introduced into the House of Commons for effectually preventing the unlawful importation of slaves, and holding free persons in slavery, in the British Colonies: to which are annexed examinations, taken upon Oath before a Committee of that House, for the purpose of disproving the allegations of the said bill." It is an important report of 108 pages, containing the evidences of many well qualified to express an opinion, some it is to be feared not without prejudice: amongst others Rear Admiral Douglas in command of the Jamaica Station; Captain James of H. M. S. *Tanais*, and three other naval captains; Henry John Hinchcliffe, Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court; R. MacCulloch, Collector of Customs for Kingston; S. G. Kemble, comptroller of Customs at Kingston; William Bullock, the great pluralist, island secretary and attorney for many absentee proprietors; Francis Graham, who testified that he represented forty-nine sugar estates, nineteen pens and ten other plantations; Dr. John Quier; Dr. Charles Mackglashan; Dr. William Sells; the Rev. Edward Marshall; William Murray, a member of the Council and Custos of St. James; William Burge, later attorney-general, and then Agent for Jamaica in England; James Stewart, member of Assembly and Custos of Trelawny.

In 1817 John Ripplingham published "Jamaica considered in its present state, political, financial and philosophical." It was printed at the office of the "Kingston Chronicle." Ripplingham tells us on his title page that he was one of the lecturers at the

Surrey Institution, London, author of "Considerations on the increasing Ascendancy of the Dissenters, &c., &c.": and from the book we learn that he lived in Lower St. Andrew in a house overlooking the "Hamilton's Estate" and the "Hope Estate" then the property of the Marquis of Buckingham, now the head-quarters of the Government Agricultural Department.

"Jamaica considered" deals chiefly with the state of the negroes; but other subjects, e.g. the church, the law, are also treated. Rippingham, with questionable taste, includes in it a full report of the action brought against him by the Rev. T. Stewart, rector of St. Elizabeth, in 1819, for the seduction of his wife who had become acquainted with him on a voyage to Jamaica in 1816. The plaintiff gained a verdict of £200 currency. While in Jamaica Rippingham edited the "Jamaica Journal," which has already been referred to, and which is much less of a scissors and paste affair than any similar publication.

Extremely interesting from a typographical point of view is the copy in the Library of the Institute of Jamaica of the Jamaica reprint of the year 1818 by Alexander Aikman, junior, of "The Report from a Select Committee of the House of Assembly, appointed to enquire into the origin, causes and progress of the late insurrection," printed at Barbados. It bears on its title page the following inscription, "John Lunan, Esq., from A. Aikman, Jun."

In the House of Assembly, 17th November, 1818, a motion was made to the effect that a pamphlet entitled "Statement of Facts, or Case of Mr. Aikman" be referred to the Committee of Privileges for their consideration, whether the said pamphlet did not contain reflections injurious to the privileges of the house. Aikman, after having been given an opportunity of saying what he wished in his defense, declared upon his honour, that he had no intention whatever of throwing any reflection or obloquy on

the house; on the contrary, in order to avoid saying anything injurious to the house he had taken great pains in drawing up the statement: that he had perused and re-perused it: that his object was the vindication of his own character, which he thought necessary from the nature of the evidence that was given before the Committee last session. He considered he had a right to comment on that evidence, and, if he found it necessary, he would do so again. It was ordered that Mr. Aikman be withdrawn from the Committee of Privileges.

Lunan, in course of discussion said, that as he felt deeply implicated in the paper now under discussion, wherein he thought his evidence had been highly reflected upon, he trusted the Committee would be made a large one. As a member of the House, and as an evidence before its Committee, he considered himself doubly entitled to its protection, and he hoped that Mr. Barrett and another member, Mr. Taylor, would be added. Mr. Barrett, Mr. Scarlett and Mr. Taylor were then added to the Committee.

On the 18th of November the Committee reported that the pamphlet entitled "Statement of Facts, or Case of Mr. Aikman" had been under consideration accordingly and they were of opinion that it did not contain reflections injurious to the privileges of the house. This report was carried by a majority of fourteen to thirteen, and the resolution was passed by the House that the pamphlet containing reflections on the conduct of a Committee of certain members is "a gross violation of the privileges of the House; and that Mr. Aikman do attend in his place and be admonished by Mr. Speaker for such breach of privilege." It is to be regretted that no copy of this pamphlet is known to be in existence.

In the House of Assembly, on the 26th of November, 1818, it was resolved that the paragraph in the "Cornwall Gazette" newspaper of the 25th of November, commencing "The following inimitable oration,"

was a gross breach of the privileges of the House; and "that the editors of the Cornwall Gazette do attend at the bar of the House on Friday, the 4th of December, next." There is no copy of the Cornwall Gazette of that date in the Library of the Institute, and in the Minutes of the 4th December there is no reference to the attendance at the bar of the editors in question; but as the House was much exercised over an alleged breach of privileges on the part of the Chief Justice, smaller fry were presumably allowed to escape.

In the House of Assembly on the 11th of December, 1818, a Committee which had been appointed to go into the matter of the printing of the Laws, reported that they considered it advisable to accept the resignation of Alexander Aikman as printer of the laws. They recommended that the full amount should be paid to Mr. Aikman, but it appears that the charges were excessive and they did not consider Mr. Aikman's account for the present year entitled to the same favourable consideration, and therefore reduced it as follows:

Amount of account rendered	£2,253	8	4
Sum allowed	1,520	5	1
		<hr/>	<hr/>
Deducted,	£733	3	3

They appended to their report, examinations taken on oath of various printers, George Strupar, Andrew Lunan and John Lunan. The estimates given of printing of the different printers varied considerably. To take two examples:

George Strupar estimated 600 copies Consolidated			
Slave Law, 13¼ sheets for,	198	15	0
Alexander Aikman estimated 600 copies ditto	318	0	0
Andrew Lunan estimated 600 copies ditto, 6½ sheets, 8 pages	159	0	0
John Lunan estimated 600 copies ditto ditto	159	0	0
George Strupar estimated 600 copies of Articles of War, 5 sheets,	75	0	0
Alexander Aikman estimated ditto	120	0	0
Andrew Lunan estimated ditto, 2½ sheets	52	10	0
John Lunan estimated ditto ditto	52	10	0

With very slight variations A. Lunan's and J. Lunan's estimates were the same.

The following estimate for binding submitted to the same Committee may be of interest:

The Laws of Jamaica, bound in fair calf, law fashion, and neatly double-lettered, including all materials at 23s 4d each volume.

For putting in blue boards, with white backs, the annual laws at 5s each.

For half-binding the Votes, with red bazil backs, and marble sides, and lettering, at 20s each.

For half-binding the Journals, with red bazil backs, printed labels, and marble sides at 26s 8d each.

For stitching and covering the Indexes to the Journals, at 3s 4d each.

For stitching anything, such as the registry bill, &c., at 10d each, and all other work that may occur in the same proportion, the books to be delivered to me in sheets as they come from the press.

The subscriber will at all times be ready to undertake and finish offhand whatever work may be wanted, and if required will give security for the due performance thereof.

John Johnston.

In 1819 appeared "The Hermit in London, or Sketches of English Manners (First Series)," which was printed at the Office of the Kingston Chronicle. This first series was apparently all that was published. It forms a reprint of letters which had appeared from time to time in the pages of the Kingston Chronicle. There is no clue to its author, who was an elderly bachelor living near the shady side of Pall Mall.

In 1819 John Lunan compiled and printed at the office of the St. Jago de la Vega Gazette "An Abstract of the Laws of Jamaica relating to Slaves (from 33 Charles II to 59 George III inclusive): With the Slave Law at length: Also, an Appendix, containing an Abstract of the Acts of Parliament relating to the Abolition of the Slave Trade." In the dedication to the Governor, the Duke of Manchester, he says "In compiling such a work, as well as on every other occasion which leads to a review of the history of

Jamaica, the period which has been distinguished by your Grace's administration of its government, must especially present itself to the minds of all who can justly appreciate its important effects on the character and welfare of the colony: The principal motive indeed for soliciting permission to dedicate it to your Grace, is the opportunity afforded me of offering it as an humble testimony of the gratitude I feel, in common with the whole community, for the many benefits this island has experienced from your Grace's government, and which I sincerely pray may long continue to be its best protection."

In his preface he says, "The public acts of the Legislature of Jamaica occupy more than six quarto volumes. It is obvious that a knowledge of their contents so far as they relate to the slave population must be obtained with considerable labour and difficulty, even by those whose duty may require, or whose inclination may induce, them to engage in the enquiry; and the difficulty is increased in consequence of many important legislative provisions respecting slaves being incorporated into acts, the titles of which do not profess to relate to them."

In 1819 we find reference to a "Cornwall Gazette and Northside General Advertiser" which was probably first published at Falmouth in 1818. In 1823 a new series appeared of the same paper.

In 1820 appeared from the office of the "St. Jago de la Vega Gazette," a pamphlet of eighty-eight pages entitled "Remarks on the present state of the Spanish Colonies, and the importance of Cuba to the interests of Great Britain, in the Caribbean Sea."

The author's discussion of a trans-isthmian canal should prove of interest to American readers:

"The attention of the enterprising and scientific part of mankind, has at various periods been directed to this spot, by the delusive idea of the possibility of effecting a junction between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, by means of a canal to be cut across the Isth-

mus, and it seems probable that an opportunity will now be afforded for ascertaining the practicability of such a scheme. If indeed its execution were possible, the advantages resulting to commerce from such a diminution of the distance between Europe and the north western coasts of America, the Phillipine Islands and the East Indies, would be incalculable. But nature seems to have intended to erect this as a permanent barrier against the encroachments of man upon her dominion, and has opposed its removal by insurmountable obstacles."

He states that a sea-level canal is an impossibility: and then goes on "Nor does the latter [a lock canal] scheme afford any better prospect of success; for independent of the magnitude of the work, physical circumstances conspire with the configuration of the country to render even its execution of no avail." He adds "Europeans could not support the fatigue of any exertion in this climate, and experience has shewn how ill-calculated the native Indians are for this description of labour by the destruction caused among them even in more temperate regions when employed by the Spaniards in any great undertaking. Recourse must therefore be had to the labour of negroes, and, even on the supposition that a sufficient number could be procured in the present state of the market, their first cost would amount to upwards of a million of money, and a fourth part of that sum would be required to supply their annual loss."

Of interest, too, to American readers is his account of the Floridas. He then goes on to say, "It may perhaps be supposed that it will be a long time before the American navy will be so near an equality with that of England as to endanger the safety of a British convoy, but it is rapidly on the increase, and with the advantages of position afforded by the Floridas, it is already of sufficient force to render the passage of a numerous fleet insecure, even if protected by half the navy of Britain." In discussing Cuba, which he con-

tends should be in the hands of England, the author makes use of the strange adjective Cubese for Cuban.

The last book published during the period under review was a "Treatise on the Diseases of Negroes as they occur in the Island of Jamaica: with Observations on the Country Remedies. By James Thomson, M.D." printed by Alexander Aikman, junior. Thomson studied at Edinburgh, where he knew Dr. Wright, by whom he was strongly advised if ever he went to the West Indies, to institute inquiries into the nature of the disorders to which the negroes are liable, as affording a subject rich in materials; and from whom he received numerous valuable manuscripts bearing on the subject. When he wrote he was practising in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale. His work is dedicated to his partner, Dr. John Quier. Wright, after serving as a naval surgeon under Rodney, lived for sixteen years—from 1764 to 1777, and from 1782 to 1785—in Jamaica, and wrote on Jamaica medical and botanical subjects; and furnished ornithological and entomological specimens for the Museum of Natural History of the University of Edinburgh, and botanical specimens to Kew and Sir Joseph Banks's collection.

Thomson in his work, gives a list of medicines, etc., which are produced in the country, and ought to be kept on every estate. In his preface he says, "My best thanks are due to many who have assisted me with their remarks and advice, but particularly so to Alex. Aikman, senior,, Esq. of this island, for the friendly manner in which he favoured me with the perusal of some valuable MSS. in his possession, and other papers, containing much original information on the diseases of the West Indies."

In 1820 George Worrall Strupar was printer to the Assembly as well as "Printer to the Corporation" of Kingston. The newspapers then in circulation were the "St. Jago de la Vega Gazette," of Spanish Town; the "Royal Gazette," the "Kingston Chronicle," and the "Jamaica Courant," of Kingston; and the

"Cornwall Gazette and Northside General Advertiser," of Falmouth.

One man often filled the triple office of proprietor, editor and printer; but, though Aikman and Lunan were members of the Assembly, none of them had the political influence exercised a decade or two later by men like Osborn and Jordan; though some had begun to assume that "dictatorial sway" alluded to by the "Jamaica Journal" in 1823.

The exclusion of works printed outside Jamaica prevents the consideration of a number of works of considerable value in the history of Jamaica literature—Sir Hans Sloane's *Account of the Island*, 1707; Leslie's "New and Exact Account," 1739; Long's "History," of 1774; Browne's "Civil and Natural History of Jamaica," of 1789; Bridges's "Annals," of 1820; and many other works of interest. And the limiting of the scope of the paper to all publications prior to 1821, shuts out of consideration "Lady Nugent's Journal" written in 1801-06 but not printed till 1839; and Monk Lewis's *Journal*, first published in 1824, though written in 1816-18.

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