The Jesuits in Jamaica

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THE JESUITS IN JAMAICA

By

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of Master
of Arts in Loyola University

December
1942
Vita

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INTRODUCTION

I

Purpose and Scope of Thesis.

It seems desirable at the outset to define with some sharpness the purpose and scope of this thesis. Its purpose is to consider only a small part of the long history of Jamaica, namely, the work done as missionaries in the island by the members of the English Province, the Maryland-New York Province, and the New England Province, of the Society of Jesus.

Even in this narrowed purpose, the thesis makes no pretension to present a complete or adequate history of the work of the Jesuits in Jamaica. The simple fact is that the primary sources for such a history are the private archives of the three Jesuit Provinces, and that these archives are not available to the present writer. It is a further fact that no very full studies of this archival material have been published, not even by way of a calendar or guide to the material. In fact, the work of the Jesuits in Jamaica has received comparatively little public attention, either by the Jesuits themselves or by the general historians of Jamaica.

Hence this thesis must be restricted to such a presentation as is possible with the limited materials at hand.
It will attempt to assemble the main or large facts which form the historical frame in which the work of the Jesuits in Jamaica was set. It will try to summarize the historical background of the Jesuits' work in Jamaica. But the chief concern of the thesis will be with those details of the work of the Jesuits which serve to make possible an appreciation of the men who devoted themselves to the Jamaica mission, of the circumstances in which they worked, and of some of the results which they achieved.

The General Background: a) Discovery, Colonization, Spanish Rule

As part of this introduction, it will be a convenience to summarize some of the more important facts concerning both the general history of Jamaica and the development of the Catholic Church organization in the island. This summary is aimed at establishing the general historical background of the work of the Jesuits, and is offered as nothing more than a preliminary to the thesis proper.

In the Journal of the First Voyage, Christopher Columbus set down the fact that "he learned that behind the island of Juana to the South there is another large island...Yamaye."
But he discovered this new island, Jamaica, only on his second voyage, on Sunday, May 4, 1494. The next day he landed, on the northern shore, in St. Ann's Bay, which he called Santa Gloria. From there he could see the eastern range of mountains, which has peaks as high as 7,000 feet above sea level.

Jamaica is one of the larger islands of the West Indies, roughly about 150 miles long and 50 miles wide, with an area of 4,450 square miles. It lies five or six degrees within the Tropic of Cancer, some 90 miles south of Cuba. The eastern end of the island is mountainous; the central and western parts are a high plateau; and there are coastal plains on all the seagirt sides, but most extensive on the southern coast. The

2 Thatcher, II, 316, 327 (Diego de Peñalosa's Información), 468 (a facsimile of Angelo Trivigiano's Libretto), 522 (a translation of the Enneades of Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus). Thatcher thus corrects Las Casas, who slightly confuses the dates of sighting and of actual discovery.

3 On June 13, 1525, Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, the second Abbot of Jamaica, wrote to the Archbishop of Cosenza a letter about his "spouse, the Island of Jamaica; that happy domain seventy leagues in length from east to west and thirty in width, where there is neither cold winter nor unbearable heat; where there is scarcely any difference of night and day, and which is situated near eighteen degrees of latitude, a little more or less, from the equator." This letter is reproduced in facsimile from the edition of 1530, and translated, in Thatcher, I, 30, 31.
climate is mildly tropical, rainfall is abundant, and the soil is rich. In fact, the name "Jamaica", of Arawak origin, means a rich and well-watered land.

Christopher Columbus visited Jamaica repeatedly, but he did not attempt to settle a colony there. All the indications would point to Jamaica as an excellent place for settlement; yet it was not until 1509 that the first beginning of European colonization came to the island. The settlement

There has been much discussion about the name, "Jamaica." Columbus called the island Santiago, in honor of St. James, the patron of Spain. But in his journal, as has been seen, he uses also the Indian name Yamaye, or Jamaica. Yet John Oldmixon, The British Empire in America, London, 1708, derives the name, "Jamaica" from the English name "James." Cyriacus Morellus (pseudonym for Domingo Muriel, S.J.) in Fasti Novi Orbis, Venice, 1776, p.7, denies that Jamaica is the older name of the island, and says that it is only a corruption of Jaime, the Spanish alternative for Iago. Pierre F.X. Charlevoix, Histoire de l'Isle Espagnole, Paris, 1730, I, 125, maintains in common with most others who have written about the name, that Jamaica was the aboriginal name. The dispute about the actual use of the name, Jamaica, evidently began very early, since there is a royal cédula of February 28, 1515, which ordained that in future the island of Jamaica should be called Santiago and the island of Cuba called Fernandina, because these were the names given them by Columbus. (Colección de Documentos Inéditos, 2a Serie, I 56-59. Madrid, 1885.)

Bryan Edwards, pp. 155-159, prints a letter purporting to have been written by Christopher Columbus to King Ferdinand, January, 1504, from Jamaica; and gives as its source a MS translation in the Journals of the Jamaica Assembly.
was made "for Diego Colon, admiral of the Fleet of the Indies, first-born son and heir of Don Cristobal", under the leadership of Juan de Esquivel.

Esquivel had only seventy men with him in the first settlement; and although king Ferdinand tried to promote the emigration of Spanish families to Jamaica, the colony was slow in growing. Esquivel set about building a town, which he called Sevilla Nueva, but which was also called Sevilla d'Oro. The latter name is significant of the search for gold which lured the Spaniards from the beginning of colonization.

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7 Edwards, I, 162-165.

8 A royal Cédula of July 23, 1517, instructs the Casa de Contratación at Seville to encourage Spanish families to emigrate to Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Jamaica, "in order to cultivate the land and to develope the mines." Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia Hispano-America (Madrid, 1930), 8: 342, 1433.

Sevilla was the capital, a very small capital to be sure, until Diego Columbus, around 1522, founded Santiago de la Vega, which later was called Spanish Town. Spanish Town remained the capital until the founding of Port Royal by the English in 1672.

Esquivel himself was given a good character by Las Casas for his humane treatment of the Indians. Yet even in his time the process of enslaving the Indians had begun; and as early as 1521, Charles V issued a royal cédula forbidding the practice to be continued. The early Spanish regime had a real shortage of labor, especially for the hard work of exploring the country for gold and digging prospect holes for mines. When the King tried to suppress Indian slavery, the colonists asked for permission to import negro slaves. But in the meantime, the Indians were being killed off by the hardships of slavery.

10 Peter Martyr's letter of June 13, 1525, speaks of a second "colony" to which Charles V had given "the name and privileges of a city", and which was called Oristiana; Thatcher, I, 30. 11 There is a petition to this effect as early as 1527, presented to the Council of the Indies by the bachelor Alonso de Parada. Colección de Documentos Inéditos (Madrid, 1885), 2a Serie, I, 428-440.
When Las Casas in 1542 secured a bull from Pope Paul III declaring the Indians free of slavery, it was already too late; the native Arawaks had by then been nearly exterminated.

Jamaica continued to be a Spanish colony for 146 years, from 1509 to 1655. Its history is a history of exploitation, of much taken from the island and little returned to it. One may say that this summary applies to most European colonization everywhere; but it is strikingly true of Jamaica. As a result, Jamaica was an exceptionally dull backwater in the colonial world.

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12 Las Casas, Historia General de Las Indias, III, c. 85, and III, cc. 88, 89: King Ferdinand did not aim at abolishing Indian slavery, but at regulating it, by reserving to himself the right to allow individual Spaniards, by royal grant, to enslave a cacique and his immediate group of Indians. Many such grants were issued. See for instance Archivos de Protocolos de Sevilla, Nos 9, 10, 11, 19, in Colección de Docs Inéditos para la Historia de Hispano-América (Madrid, 1930), VIII.

Later writers accuse Las Casas of exaggerating both the original numbers of the Indians in Jamaica and the completeness of their extinction. See Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Coup d'Oeil Retrospectif sur la Jamaïque avant la Conquête Anglaise et sur l'Origine des Negres Marrons, au point de vue des Missions Catholiques." (22 pages), in Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, Paris, April, 1859. He maintains that there was a considerable strain of Indian blood in the people locally known as "Maroons."

It is worthy of note also that Las Casas had no objection to negro slavery. A long letter of his, June 28, 1544, shows that he actually imported negro slaves into Spanish America. Colección de Docs. Inéditos para la Historia de Hispano-América (Madrid, 1930), 8: 485-488 (Apendice XIV).
After the first disappointing search for gold, the colonists settled down to making a simple living from the land. There was the contemporary tendency to huge estates, worked chiefly by negro slaves, and remotely controlled by absentee owners in Spain. Commerce was almost entirely in the export of foodstuffs and raw materials. The town of Sevilla was abandoned whilst still in an unfinished state, and the whole colony lapsed into stagnancy. Between 1574 and 1640, the overlordship of Jamaica passed to the House of Braganza, through the marriage of Isabela Colón to Don Jorge de Portugal, Conde de Gelves, and in 1640 reverted to the Crown of Spain, when John II, Duke of Braganza became John IV of Portugal. But the period of Braganza lordship introduced a number of Portuguese settlers, who were not welcomed by the Spanish colonists.

13 Lord Olivier of Ramsden, who was Governor of Jamaica from 1907 to 1913, makes the statement that "the whole island was divided amongst eight noble Spanish families, who so discouraged immigration that when Jamaica was taken by the British the white and slave population together did not exceed 3,000." Encyclopaedia Britannica (14th ed.) 12: 874. see also Frank Cundall, Jamaica under the Spaniards, London, S.P.C.K., 1919.

14 Edwards, I, 168-169. He attributes the decay of the colony largely to the destruction of the native population, who had been destroyed to the number of "60,000, on the most moderate estimate." Sir Hans Sloane, A Voyage to the Islands of Madera, Barbadoes, Nieves, St. Christopher's and Jamaica, with the Natural History of the Last. 2 vols. London, 1707-1725; II, 116-135.

15 On the death of Henry II of Portugal without direct heirs, in 1580, Duke John I of Braganza unsuccessfully claimed the throne against Philip II of Spain. For sixty years Portugal was united to Spain. In rebellion of 1640, Duke John II of Braganza became King John IV of Portugal; but in the terms of peace he ceded his right to the islands of Jamaica. Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de Hispano-America (Madrid, 1930), 8: 152, 678. and 491-492 (Apendice XVI).

The General Background: b) The Coming of the English to Jamaica.

The English had long had their eyes upon this potentially rich, but poorly developed, Spanish colony of Jamaica. English and French pirates found the entire Caribbean area suitable for depredations. At the end of the sixteenth century, Sir Anthony Shirley, to Spain a pirate but to Britain an admiral, plundered and burned Santiago de la Vega; but he made no attempt to occupy and hold Jamaica. Again, in 1635, Colonel Jackson led an English force from the Windward Islands to attack Santiago de la Vega. This time the resistance was stiffer, and Jackson lost forty men in a small battle at Passage Fort before he succeeded in taking the town. After a brutal pillage, he accepted a ransom as his price for departing.

But the successful occupation by England was made part of Oliver Cromwell's "Western Design". This was urged and supported by the apostate Dominican, Thomas Gage. This plan

18 Edwards, I, 176.
of the Protector to take the entire area resulted in the attack upon Jamaica by an English fleet under Admiral Penn and General Venables, in 1655. With 38 ships and 8,000 troops, the English landed on May 10, 1655, and met with so little resistance that 20 the Spaniards capitulated the following day. Henceforth 21 Jamaica was to be an English possession.

Under the leadership of the last Spanish governor of the island, Don Cristobal de Ysasi y Arnoldo, the Spaniards tried to retake Jamaica by landing a force from Cuba, on May 8, 1658, at Rio Nuevo, on the north coast. But Colonel D'Oyley, 22 the English commander, drove them off. After this attempt, no Spaniards were legally allowed to remain in Jamaica; but the small number of Portuguese colonists, between whom and the Spaniards there was hostility, were not molested. A few Spaniards fled with some of the negroes to the mountains, to become the dreaded Maroons, and to keep up a desultory and futile guerilla warfare for some years.

21 The taking of Jamaica was a backlash after the defeat, a very disgraceful defeat, of Penn and Venables' attempt to capture Santo Domingo. The English were scornful of the substitute seizure - ("at that time Jamaica was deemed an inconsiderable acquisition") - Cromwell ordered Penn and Venables back to England, deprived them of their commissions and cast them into the Tower. John Lingard, The History of England (5th ed.) London, 1849; 8, 465-467.
22 Edwards, I, 209-211.
At the fall of the Commonwealth, and the return of Charles II in 1661, a civil government was set up, with a legislative council, and Lord Windsor was appointed governor. The form of government remained unchanged up to 1865, when Jamaica became a crown colony.

The early years of the English dominion in Jamaica were turbulent. Port Royal became the headquarters of the notorious pirates known as Buccaneers, whom the English made no attempt to repress until after the Treaty of Madrid in 1670, which gave the English legal title to Jamaica.

It was during this early period that Cromwell's agents in Scotland and Ireland seized many royalist adherents and shipped them off to Jamaica and other English possessions in the West Indies. In Ireland, the agents did not limit their captures to political prisoners, but gathered in even women and boys and girls indiscriminately. Father Williams concludes that by 1670 "the Irish formed a large proportion of the


In 1672, the Royal African Company was chartered in England, and was granted a monopoly of the slave trade. Port Royal, Jamaica, promptly became the great center for the transshipment of negro slaves throughout the West Indies and even to the mainland.

In 1692, an earthquake destroyed Port Royal. In 1712, 1714, 1722, hurricanes wrought immense damage throughout the island; and the hurricane of 1722 so wrecked Port Royal that Kingston thenceforth became the center of Jamaican commerce.


There was a threat of invasion of Jamaica by the French and Spanish in 1782, at the close of their aid to the American Revolution; but it was frustrated by the English fleet under the redoubtable Rodney and Hood. Another French attempt under Napoleon I in 1806 was defeated by Admiral Duckworth. Thereafter, England rested secure in her possession of Jamaica.

The English exploited Jamaica more thoroughly than the Spaniards had done, but also more intelligently. They built up a trade in sugar, indigo, and cacao, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and added a large American trade in bananas in the nineteenth century. They paid the Governor of Jamaica £5,000 a year as early as 1788, and levied handsome pensions on the revenues of the island.


29 Edwards, I, 281-315, has detailed statistics of exports and imports for 1787-1797. The Edinburgh Gazetteer, 1822, vol. 6, p. 467, has some rather loose and general figures of trade for the period 1722-1810.

30 Edwards, I, 276-279. Jamaica was more used than esteemed by the English. When Edward (Ned) Ward (1667-1731) published his scurrilous A Trip to Jamaica: With a True Character of the People and Island, London, 1698, it went through seven edition in two years. (Facsimile published by Columbia Univ. Press, New York, 1933.)
The black population, through imports and natural increase, grew rapidly; and the white population grew slowly, or even dwindled for a time. The Maroons kept up a petty war on the English colonial government, which between 1785 and 1795 grew into a formidable rebellion. The rebellion was suppressed only after hard fighting and the use of bloodhounds imported from Cuba to track down the smaller bands of Maroons. Some were bought off by gifts of land; but in June, 1796, about 600 Maroons who had surrendered were transported to Halifax and settled in Nova Scotia.

In 1807, when England abolished the slave trade, there were 319,351 negroes in Jamaica. In 1831, there was a grave negro revolt, and a minor revolt in 1865. But in 1833, slavery was abolished, the English government paying a compensation of £19 for each of 225,290 slaves. Emancipation nearly ruined the planters who induced the Government in 1844 to introduce coolie laborers from India.

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31 Edwards, I, 301-302, gives some official figures of population, which may be tabulated thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Negroes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1673</td>
<td>7,768</td>
<td>9,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1734</td>
<td>7,644</td>
<td>86,546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1744</td>
<td>9,640</td>
<td>112,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1768</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>166,914</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(estimated)

By way of comparison: the census of 1925 gave a population of 916,620, of whom less than 2% were white. Encyclopedia Britannica (14th ed.), 12:873.


33 J. F. Donovan, "Jamaica", Catholic Encyclopedia, 8: 270.

When Columbus sailed from Cádiz on September 25, 1493, for his second voyage to the Indies, he had with him twelve priests, secular and religious, one of whom, Bernardo Boil or Boil, a Franciscan, had been appointed by Pope Alexander VI as Vicar Apostolic. Father Boil celebrated the first Mass in the new world; but it is not certain that he or any other priest said Mass in Jamaica when Columbus landed there in May 1494.

There is no evidence that Juan de Esquivel had a priest with his seventy colonists in 1509, although King Ferdinand's instructions included an exhortation to convert the Indians. But on January 29, 1515, Ferdinand asked Pope Leo X to make

34 Morellus (Muriel), Fasti Novi Orbis, p. 70, Ordination xii, gives June 25, 1493 as the date of the bull of Alexander VI. See also Francisco López de Gómara, Historia de Las Indias, c 20. Much has been written about Fray Bernardo Boil, largely because of a curious juggling of the papal bulls between him and a Benedictine of Monserrate, of the same name. See Luke Wadding, Annales Minorum (Quaracchi edition, 27 vols., folio, 1931-1934), XV, 32036; Manuel de la Vega, Historia del Descubrimiento de la America Septentrional por Cristóbal Colón (C. M. Bustamante's edition), Mexico, 1826 pp 44-49, 72-74; Thatcher, Christopher Columbus, II, 86, 214, 312, 346, 354 (has names of other Franciscans). Stephen M. Donovan, "Boil", Catholic Encyclopedia, 3: 40, summarizes the mistakes made between the two Bernardo Boils.

35 Royal cédula of June 6, 1511. Colección de Documentos Inéditos, 2a Serie, I, 1-14 (Madrid, 1885). A royal cédula of June 26, 1512, to the General of the Franciscans, and another of the same date to the Franciscan Provincial in Cuba, asks that forty friars be sent "a Tierra firme e yslas de Cuba e Jamayca e de Sant Juan," good and competent men, to go with Fray Alonso de Espinar, Commissary of the Indies. Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia Hispano-America, 6: 433-454, 457-458. (Madrid, 1930)
Jamaica an "abbacy nullius", and to appoint as abbot his chap­
lain, Doctor Sancho de Matienzo, who was already a canon of
Seville.

Doctor Matienzo died in March, 1522, without ever visit­
ing Jamaica. At his death, Juan de Witte, Bishop of Cuba,
asserted that Leo X had intended that the abbacy of Jamaica
should not be "nullius" but should remain under the jurisdictio­n
of Cuba, and asked that it be restored to that jurisdiction.
But after an interval of two years, his request was denied, and
the famous Peter Martyr d'Anghiera was appointed the Second
Abbot of Jamaica.

36 The King's letters to Geronimo Vichy, his ambassador at
Rome, and to Leo X are translated in Francis X. Delany,
History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica B. W. I., New York,
1930, pp. 3-5. Matienzo was a brother of the Dominican, Fray
Luis Matienzo, for whose relations with his fellow Dominicans,
Las Casas and Antonio Montesino, see Las Casas, Historia
General de Las Indias, lib. III cc. 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 17.
37 But he collected his tithes. See Archivo de Protocolos de
Sevilla, February 20, 1517: Colección de Docs. Inédos. Para
la Historia de Hispano-America, 8: 326, 1364 (Madrid, 1930).
A royal cédula to him, July 30, 1512, indicates that he was
then "nuestro tesorero en la Casa de Contratación de las
Indias." Ibid. 6: 469.
38 Witte wrote that it was by political juggling (por vias
cautelosas) that Jamaica had been withdrawn and made an
independent abbacy, and the abbacy given to "the treasurer
Matienzo." Colección de Docs. Inéd. 2a Serie, VI, 15.
(Madrid, 1891).
39 Morellus (Muriel) Fasti Novi Orbis, p. 90, Ordinati xxvi,
mistakenly entered under the year 1514, instead of 1524. For
the interim appointments of the Hieronimite Luis de Figueroa
and Andres Lopez Frias, see Delany, 5-9.
Peter Martyr was seventy years old when he was made abbot, December 19, 1524, and never saw his abbacy. He did, however, collect his revenues, through the agents whom he sent out, Juan de Mendegureñ; but instructed him to use the income from one of his towns, Sevilla Nueva, to rebuild in stone the wooden church in that town which had been destroyed by fire.

The first abbot to visit Jamaica was the Dominican, Fray Miguel Ramírez, who was both Bishop of Fernandina (Cuba) and Abbot of Jamaica. His visit was both short and uncomfortable. After an unhappy four years in Cuba, he retired to Spain, where he died in 1535.

40 Thatcher, Christopher Columbus, I, 30-31, gives a facsimile and an English translation of Martyr's Latin letter about Jamaica (from the edition of 1530). He devoted pp. 3-110 of vol. I to an account of Martyr's life and writings. See also Otto Hartig, "Peter Martyr d'Anghiera", Catholic Encyclopedia, 9: 740. Nouvelle Biographie Universelle, 2: 654-656. Edwards, I, 166. Delany, 7-8, sets 800 pesos as the amount contributed by Martyr for the new church at Sevilla, and explains why the church was never completed. The forced Indian labor which began the work was diverted to building a fort. After seven years, no account was rendered of the money given for the church. In 1534, it was decided that Sevilla be abandoned as an unhealthy site, and the seat of the government was removed to Santiago de la Vega (Spanish Town).

41 A royal cédula of May 16, 1531, addressed to Abbot Ramírez, ordered him to settle by compromise a lawsuit which some neighbors (vecinos) had brought concerning the form of his church tithes. Colección de Docs. Inédos., 11: 484-486, (Madrid, 1869).
For the next forty years there seem to be no documents dealing with the religious affairs of Jamaica. A secular priest, Amador de Samano, succeeded Bishop Ramirez as Abbot of Jamaica; but it is not known how long he held the office. At some time during this period a church and monastery were built at Santiago de la Vega (Spanish Town). There are indications that the abbots during those forty years were appointed by Governor of Jamaica, without approbation of either the Spanish crown or the Holy See, and were little more than his political agents.

The next properly appointed Abbot was Mateo Santiago, who came to Jamaica in 1574, but apparently stayed only long enough to write one report to the King. Then for eight years there was not Abbot until Francisco Marques de Villalobos came in 1582. He was to stay for twenty-five years, a good man and a good worker, but in hard circumstances, which included the sack of his see by Shirley in 1596, and a disastrous hurricane in 1598. His first report mentions a church in Santiago de la Vega made of tiles and wood, a poor monastery of one or two Dominican friars (no names given), and two small hermitages, with no one to care for them.

42 Delany, 10-11.
43 This report, to the King, November 8, 1582, is in part translated in Delany, pp. 11-14. Villalobos says that there had been two priests in Santiago de la Vega "in past years"; he complains of the Bishop of Cuba diverting some of his tithes; he suggests that fifty negro slaves be sent out "to work the old gold mines which are very good and rich." But he is very vague; does not say how many priests were actually there at the time.
Then there was another interregnum of three years, during which the Franciscan Bishop of Cuba, Juan de las Cabezas Altamirando, came on a visit of four months, in 1608, and administered the sacrament of Confirmation, for the first time in twenty years. The next Abbot was Bernardo de Balbuena, who was appointed in 1609, and made his first report in 1611. It is interesting to note that his careful estimate of the population of the island in 1611, "including persons of all classes and conditions", was 1,510. Balbuena stayed ten years in Jamaica, and was then made Bishop of Puerto Rico.

The last Abbot of Jamaica was Mateo de Medina Moreno, who came in 1622, and after long years of faithful service got into conflict with the Governor, Pedro Caballero, and was shipped off as a prisoner to Cartagena. He is said to have exclaimed, as he went aboard the ship: "Blessed be God, that at the end of twenty-eight years of pastorate, Jamaica has given me this reward."

44 Delany, 15-19, translates the report of this visitation, which was dated from Havana, July 20, 1608.
45 Delany, 20.
The Religious Background: b) The Catholic Church under English Rule.

The religious situation in Jamaica during the Spanish regime is not very inspiring, and in the latter years of that regime is singularly depressing. When the Cromwellian invasion came in 1655, there was comparatively little of Catholic life and organization for its fanaticism to destroy. There is no extant record of the number and names of priests in Jamaica at that time, and only indirect evidence that any priests remained after the orders of expulsion included in the articles of capitulation of 1655.

Father Delany quotes unspecified documentary sources to show that three secular priests, Gabriel Benito de Barona, Juan Monoz, and Toribio de Ilanes, were with Cristobal de Ysasi in Jamaica during his attempts to retake the island from the English in 1658-1659. He also translates part of a letter of Santiago de Castillo to the Marques de los Velez, dated October 25, 1688, in which Castillo, who came to Jamaica in November,

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48 Delany, 22.
1684, as an agent of the asiento. 49 claimed that he had for four years had a public chapel in his house, and "although there was no liberty of conscience, had built a church capable of holding 300 persons", and had maintained seven priests at his own expense.

No names of these priests are mentioned; nor is it clear how many of them were in Jamaica at any one time. But Castillo says that one of them was a Jesuit, and another a priest of the Order of St. John of God; and that he had arranged to have "the Dean and Chapter of Cuba (sede vacante) give the title of Vicar General to my chief chaplain." The only priest certainly known to be in Jamaica during this time is the English secular priest, Thomas Churchill, who came in 1687 in the retinue of the new governor, the Duke of Albemarle.

49 The asiento was a trade agreement between the governments of Spain and England, by which Spain relaxed some of her strict laws against imports into Spanish colonies. It was largely concerned with the importation of Negro Slaves. Helps, Spanish Conquest, IV, 370-371.

50 Delany, 24.

51 This was Christopher Monck, the dissolute and incompetent son and heir of the great General Monck. He was appointed Governor of Jamaica, November 26, 1687, and died in Kingston a year later, aged only thirty-five. Sir Hans Sloane, who accompanied him as his physician, gives an account of his life in Jamaica, A Voyage to...Jamaica, 1707, I, 248-265. For Father Churchill, see Delany, 24-25; Gardner, 107-108. Castillo in his letter implied that it was Father Churchill who denounced him to the English authorities, had his religious organization broken up, and himself with the Jesuit and the Hospitaller of St. John driven to take refuge in Cuba.
In Father Delany's History, there is a gap for the century between 1688 and 1792, when an Irish Franciscan, Anthony Quigly, was sent out to Jamaica by Bishop John Douglass, the Vicar Apostolic of the London District. Father Quigly came with the consent of the Jamaican government, which was brought about by two events. The first was the second Catholic Relief Act passed by the English Parliament in 1791; the second was the successful petition of the Catholic merchants in Jamaica to have the Act applied to them.

As a consequence of trade agreements between Spain and England, and especially of the Asiento set up repeatedly after 1551 and of the Free Trade Act of 1765, Jamaica had become a considerable center of commerce with the Spanish and French islands in the West Indies. This situation continued even through the tension set up by the war of the American Revolution.

52 Bishop Douglass was Vicar Apostolic from 1790 to 1812. Catholic Encyclopedia, 9: 349.


54 Edwards, I, 284-300. In spite of the earlier Asientos, much of the trade was contraband by Spanish colonial laws, but was encouraged by England. For a great part of the eighteenth century, more than one-third of the re-export of Negro slaves from Jamaica went to the French and Spanish plantations (p. 299) In 1787, the imports from "Foreign West Indies" amounted to £150,000, about one-fifth of the total imports from Great Britain and Ireland. (p289)
It was chiefly these French and Spanish merchants who asked to be allowed a priest, and whose good will and services were so appreciated by the government that their request was granted.

Father Quigly died in Kingston, September 17, 1799, and his burial service was conducted by Father Guillaume Le Cun, who signed the register as "Prefect Apostolic." Father Le Cun also signed an even more interesting burial record on November 28, 1798, recording the death of Dom Ambroise Marie Prevost, thirty-six years old, a Benedictine of the Congregation of St. Maur, who had been a missionary in Santo Domingo, evidently expelled by the persecution under the French Revolution, and had died in Kingston. Besides Fathers Le Cun and Quigly, four other priests signed the record: the Benedictine Abbot Monchet, and three secular Priests, L'Espinasse, Rochanson, and Isabey.

When Father Quigly died, Father L'Espinasse succeeded him, from 1799 to 1804, under authorization from Bishop Douglass; but Father Le Cun, although he confined his ministries to the French Catholics of Kingston, claimed to be the ecclesiastical superior in Jamaica. There is evident conflict here - a conflict not lessened by Father L'Espinasse's greed, which brought to Bishop Douglass a rescript from Propaganda.

55 The nationalities are indicated by the names in the church records of Holy Trinity Church, Kingston. Delany, 26.
56 Father Delany gives an English translation of these burial records, which were written in French. pp. 27-29.
57 Delany, 29.
December 20, 1800, ordering him to reprimand Father L'Espinasse 58 and compel him to submit to the authority of Father Le Cun. 59

Father Suarez Delema came to care for the Spanish Catholics in 1804. He spent his two years in Kingston quarreling with every one in sight, his Spanish congregation, the Prefect Apostolic, and the government officials. There was a chapel in West Street, Kingston, from the time of Father Quigly, known as the Spanish Chapel, over the possession of which there was much contention. This chapel was served sporadically by transient Spanish priests. It is doubtful that Father LeCun ever secured possession of it; and it is certain that when he died, October 16, 1807, at the early age of forty-three, there was no priest in Kingston to bury him. 60

Then, after Jamaica had been without a priest for more than a year, a Spaniard of Kingston, Carlos Esteiro, induced a Portuguese Augustinian of Vera Cruz, Mexico, Fray João Jacinto Rodrigues de Araujo, to come to Kingston, and aided him in building Holy Trinity Church. The Church was completed in 1811.

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58 The rescript is translated in full in Delany, 32-33.
59 Delany, 36.
60 Nine French laymen, refugees from Santo Domingo, signed the record which gives some details of Father Le Cun's death and burial and his orders not to let a Protestant minister officiate at his funeral. It is translated in Delany, 39-40.
Father Rodrigues was appointed Prefect Apostolic by Bishop Douglass in 1809, and was later confirmed in the appointment by Bishop Buckley of Trinidad, the first Vicar Apostolic of the British West Indies.

In 1821, Father Rodrigues was joined by Fray Benito Fernandez, a Spanish Franciscan, a political refugee from Colombia, but worked on in Kingston until 1824, when he retired to Portugal. He used his authorization from Bishop Buckley to appoint his successor in the person of Father Fernandez, who thereupon got permission from Rome to leave his order and live as a secular priest. Fernandez continued to labor zealously for thirty-four years until his death at Kingston, September 27, 1855.

When Bishop McDonell succeeded Bishop Buckley in 1829, he confirmed Fernandez in his appointment as Prefect Apostolic. In June, 1831, the Bishop visited Jamaica, praised the work of

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61 Delany, 40-41. When the English took Trinidad from Spain in 1797, they allowed freedom of worship according to the Act of 1791, and even gave a subsidy to the Franciscan missionaries. In 1820, at the request of the Governor, Sir Ralph Woodford, Trinidad was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Venezuela, and Msgr. James Buckley appointed Vicar Apostolic. Catholic Encyclopedia, 12: 291.

62 Delany, 42.

63 Register of death and burial quoted, Delany, 61.
Fernández, but decided that an English-speaking priest was needed at Kingston. The next year, he sent a secular priest from Ireland, Edmund Murphy. Father Murphy created trouble from the start, left Jamaica in 1836, came back again in 1839, and started a schism which was not healed for many years.

In the meantime, Fernández, uncomfortable under the remote rule of Bishop McDonell, appealed for relief to the Holy See, in 1836. Whether or not as a result of his memorial, Pope Gregory XVI divided the English colonies in the Caribbean area into three Vicariates Apostolic: for the Windward Islands, for British Guiana, and for the combined Jamaica, Turks Island, and British Honduras. By a brief of January 10, 1837, Fernández was appointed the first Vicar Apostolic of Jamaica.

The stage was now set for the formal and official entry of the Jesuits into Jamaica as a mission of the English Province. But the question has been raised as to the presence of Jesuits in Jamaica before the mission was formally assigned to them. It seems to be worth considering in a separate chapter.

64 Delany, 42-58.
65 Part of the Memorial is translated in Delany, 50-51.
66 Delany, 51-52.
CHAPTER I

THE EARLIEST JESUITS IN JAMAICA.

None of the histories of Jamaica touch upon the question of whether or not there were Jesuits in Jamaica before 1837, except for the vague passage in Delany, citing the letter of Santiago de Castillo, written in 1688. Hence this chapter will have to offer such data on the subject as can be gathered from scattered sources, and will have to be content with probabilities where no absolute certainty can be attained.

The first probability is that no Jesuits were sent from Spain to Jamaica during the Spanish colonial period which ended in 1655. Like all negatives, this is difficult to prove. Astrain, in his very full history of the Spanish Provinces and missions, does not even mention Jamaica. There is some indirect evidence, moreover, to support this mere argument from silence.

1 Delany, 24.
The Jesuits came into the missions of the new world in the mid-sixteenth century. When they did come, many fields of apostolic labor were already being cultivated by members of other orders; and it was most natural and proper that the Jesuits should not create discord by attempting to enter those fields. The Franciscans and Dominicans were in Jamaica.

But in the 132 years between 1566 and 1704, Jesuit missions in the West Indies, Mexico, and the nearby coasts of South America, had made a ring around Jamaica. In the first 87 of those years, whilst Jamaica was still a Spanish colony, it was a small colony, so thinly populated by Spaniards that there was no demand for the Jesuits to go there, and so nearly

3 J.V. Jacobsen, Article, "Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil", Mid-America, XXIV, January, 1942, 21-26 and Ibid, July, 1942. The first Jesuits to arrive in the New World were Portuguese led to Brazil in 1549 by famed Father Manuel da Nobrega. The Society was 9 years old at the time. The first Spanish Jesuits led by Father Pedro Martinez went to Florida where Father Martinez was slain, (See Kenny, Romance of the Floridias and Astrain) in 1567 an expedition went to Peru. In 1572 Florida and the islands were abandoned and the Jesuits established in Mexico City. Synopsis Historiae Societatis Jesu, Ratisbon, 1914, gives the following dates of entry Brazil, 1549; Paraguay, 1584; Canada, 1611; Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Christopher (earliest French Jesuits), 1640-1646; French Guiana (Cayenne), 1651; St. Vincent's, 1652. Charlevoix, Histoire de l'Isle de S. Domingue, II 385-386, says that Father Girard came from St. Christopher to Sto Domingo, July, 1704, to take over the parishes of the Capuchins, only after the Capuchins had asked to be relieved because their men died off in the climate. The Jesuits took the parishes on the Cote du Sud, as they already had charge of the parishes in West.

4 Delany, 10-19. Gardner, 7-12.
depopulated of Indians that there was no mission field of conversion in which to work. We need scarcely go farther than this to see why the Jesuits of Spain were not likely to go to Jamaica.

The second, and more interesting, probability is this: that after the English took possession of Jamaica, individual Jesuits may have visited the island, and may have stayed at least for a short time to work amongst the comparatively few Catholics who lived there. We must look into this probability more closely.

The first grounds for the probability link up with the barbarous English practice of shipping away Irish and Scottish Catholics to the plantations of the West Indies. From the many studies made of this practice, beginning with the fine Latin work of John Lynch, we can piece together some evidence that Jesuit priests, who either were sent as prisoners to the West Indies or volunteered to go there and care for the prisoners, may have carried their ministrations to Jamaica.

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5 Cambrensis Eversus, seu Potius Historica Fides in Rebus Hibernicis Giraldo Cambrensi Abrogata, etc. Published in Paris, 1662, under the pen name of "Gratianus Lucius, Hibernus", and dedicated to Charles II. It was edited and translated with notes by the Rev Matthew Kelly, Dublin, 1848-1851, in three volumes. John Lynch, born in Galway, 1599, studied in France under the Jesuits, was ordained priest there in 1622, and returned to Ireland. Although Anglo-Irish in sympathies, he was exiled to France in 1652, where he died in 1675. He was the first of a long line of Irish historians who have dealt with the Cromwellian persecution.
II

The enslavement of political prisoners and their transportation to the British West Indies really began in a notable way under Cromwell, although there are sporadic instances of it as early as 1618 and 1638, both in England itself. But after 1649, enslavement for presumed political offenses, high amongst which was the profession and practice of the Catholic religion, became a wholesale business. In particular, formal licences were granted by the Council of State to harry the Irish. Here is a specimen, of the date August 20, 1652:

"...Liberty to be given to Henry Hazard and Robert Immans of the city of Bristol, Merchants, to carry 200 Irishmen from any port in Ireland to the Caribee Islands, and to Robt Lewellin, of London, Merchant, to have 300 men." 7

Sir William Petty, who hated Catholics, and who after 1652 acted both as physician-general and surveyor to the Cromwellian army in Ireland, asserted that, as a means of depopulating Ireland, Cromwell allowed the Irish chiefs to expatriate themselves with a number of their followers; and that in this way 34,000 officers and men enlisted in the armies of France, Spain, Austria, and Venice. Thereupon, their wives

6 The first was in Somersetshire, where Owen Evans claimed a commission "to press maidens to be sent to the Bermudas and Virginia." Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660, p. 19. The second record, of 1638, was from London: "Hope shortly to send 200 English to be exchanged for as many Negroes." Ibid., p. 278.

7 Ibid., 387.
and children, to the number of 6,000, were transported to the West Indies.

Father Thomas Quin, S.J., wrote of the period between 1652 and 1657:

"Whole cargoes of poor Catholics are shipped to Barbadoes and the Islands of America... Sixty thousand, I think, have already been shipped. The wives and children of those who were banished in the beginning to Spain and Belgium are now sentenced to be transported to America." 9

These earlier Irish exiles were sent chiefly to St. Christopher (St. Kitts), which had been settled by the English under Sir Thomas Warner in 1623, and to Barbadoes, which had been English since 1605, and settled by them in 1628. But after the capture

8 The Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 313. This work was written in 1672, and was circulated in manuscript before it was printed, London, 1691. Lynch, writing of the Cromwellian persecution, says: "They banished to the farthest depths of the Indies great crowds of old men and youths, and a multitude of matrons and virgins, that the former might toil in hard slavery and the latter support themselves even by prostitution (Kelly edition, III, 182.) "...many were sent away to the West Indies, where they were sold as slaves." Ibid., III, 198.

9 Quoted from a manuscript, by Matthew Kelly, the editor, in a note to Lynch, Cambrensis Eversus, I, 82. Thomas Quin, born in Ireland in 1603, entered the Society of Jesus in 1623, was back in Dublin in 1642, was superior between 1652 and 1656, fled to Antwerp in 1657, and died at St. Malo, August 7, 1663 Foley, Records, VII, pt. 1, 636. Oliver, Collections, S.J. 1845, p. 263.

10 Maurice Lenihan, The History of Limerick, Dublin, 1866, p. 668, sets the number of Irish in servitude in St. Kitts and Barbadoes by 1650 as high as 25,000. Whilst accuracy in these numbers is hard to get, it is worth noting that Barbadoes, which is 99% Negro today, had according to the census taken in 1684 by Governor, Sir Richard Dutton, 20,000 whites, and 46,000 Negro slaves. Encyclopedia Britannica. 14th ed. 3: 95.
of Jamaica, Secretary Thurloe hastened to inform Henry Cromwell, then commanding the Parliamentary army in Ireland, that there was now an excellent new place to which the Irish might be sent. He enclosed a letter from Colonel D'Oyley, the governor of Jamaica, to Oliver Cromwell, assuring him that

"...Such as hitherto have bin brought to this island from England, Scotland, and Ireland, have been landed on merchants accompts, who claimeing a propertie in the persons they bring as servants, for their passage and disbursments on them, dispose of them heare, either for a terme of yeares to serve, or for a somme of money, by which they free themselves from such servitude, wither of which being performed, they have freedome to stay or departe hence, by the law and customes of the place."

But he adds very significantly:

"For the future, such as your highnes shall please to command their stay heare, I shall to the utmoste possibility of meanes to be used, labour to keep them with us in pursuande of your highnes' commands." 11

Henry Cromwell, under date of September 11, 1655 replied to Thurloe:

"I received yours of the 4th instant, and give you many thankes for your relation of Jamaica...I have endeavoured to make what improvement I could in the short time allotted me toucheing the furnishinge you with a recruite of men, and a supply of younge Irish girles...Concerninge the young women, although we must use force in takeing them up, yet being so much for their owne goode, and likely to be of soe great advantage to the publique, it is not in the least doubted that you may have such number of them as you shall thinke fitt to make use uppon this account." 12

11 Thurloe State Papers, (Birch), IV, 7. John Thurloe (1616-1668) became Secretary to the Council of State, 29 March, 1652. His immense collection of papers, most of which are in the Bodleian, were edited in part by Thomas Birch, in seven volumes London, 1742.
12 Thurloe State Papers, IV, 23.
A week later, he wrote again to Thurloe:

"I shall not need to repeate any thinge aboute the girles, not doubt-inge but to answerr your expectationes to the full in that; and I think it might bee of like advantage to your affaires their, and ours heer, if you should think fitt to send 1,500 or 2,000 younge boys of 12 or 14 yeares of age to the place aforesaid (Jamaica). We could well spare them, and they would be of use to you; and who knows, but that it may be a means to make them English-men, I meane rather Christianes." 13

Lord Broghill, on the same day, September 18, 1655, suggested to Thurloe that a little coaxing might win the women and maids more readily to go from England to Jamaica; but added:

"For my part, I believe you may get many more out of Ireland than heer, which I thought not impertinent to minde you of." 14

Thurloe answered Henry Cromwell, on September 25, 1655:

"I returne your lordship most humble thankes for the letter I received from you touching transporting of Irish girles to Jamaica." 15

Thurloe's apologetic conclusion, two months later, was that

"The Committee of the Counsell have voted 1,000 girles, and as many youths to be taken up for that purpose." 16

13 Ibid., IV, 40.
14 Ibid., IV, 41. Roger Boyle (1621-1679), Baron Broghill and 1st Earl of Orrery, was at first a strong royalist; but Cromwell bribed him to desert the King by an offer of a general's commission in the army fighting against the Irish. Dictionary of National Biography, 2: 1031-1034.
15 Thurloe Papers, IV, 55.
16 Ibid., IV, 75. Calendar of State Papers: Ireland, 1625-1660, pp. 109, 189, 293, mentions Jesuits as amongst those transported.
These 2,000 girls and boys to be sent to Jamaica by no means represent the total number of Irish transported to servitude in Jamaica, since they were an addition to the men already condemned to banishment as political offenders. Moreover, the practice of selling Irish men and women as slaves in the West Indies did not cease even after the Restoration.

III

The Irish Jesuits were involved in these large transportations of their countrymen to the West Indies in two ways, directly and indirectly. Directly, because some of the Irish Jesuits were actually included in the Cromwellian transportations; indirectly, because some of the Irish Jesuits went voluntarily to look after the enslaved Irish.

"At the beginning of 1651, there were forty-five Fathers of the Society in Ireland, of whom sixteen, mostly older men, died in the next two years. Thirteen others were captured and sentenced to exile on the Continent or to slavery in the Barbadoes." 18


Unfortunately, we are not told how many of the thirteen priests were sent to the West Indies; nor are dates specified, so that it is uncertain whether those shipped to the rather generic "Barbadoes" all went before or after 1655. If they went before 1655, we may be sure they were sent to St. Kitts or Barbadoes.

Outside of the Archives of the Jesuits, there are two important printed sources of information about the Irish Jesuits during the severest years of the persecution which was begun under Cromwell and was carried on at least up to the accession of James II in 1685, and resumed pretty promptly after his loss of the throne in 1688. The first is Collections towards Illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English, and Irish Members of the Society of Jesus, by the Rev. Dr. Oliver, London, 1845. The second is the Chronological Catalogue of the Irish Members of the Society of Jesus from the Year 1550 to 1814, compiled by Edmund Hogan S.J. A search through these two lists reveals six names of Irish Jesuits who were definitely known to have been sent to the West Indies, and thirty-five more of whose exile we are left in doubt. Let us consider the latter, the merely probables, first.

19 George Oliver (1781-1861) a graduate of Stonyhurst, was ordained priest in 1806. Although not a Jesuit, he was devoted to them and had access to their archives at Stonyhurst and at Rome. Catholic Encyclopedia, XI: 244.
20 This is printed as an Appendix of 96 pages in Foley, Records, VII, pt. 2. London, 1883.
These thirty-five Irish Jesuits were men who were known to have been in Ireland when Father Verdier made his formal visitation in 1648-1649, and whose situation and work in Ireland are indicated in Verdier’s Report. They were men ranging in age between thirty and forty five. Their careers can be traced up to a certain date, after which there is no record of them. Occasionally, a hint of their fate is offered, in their expectation of banishment.

Thus, Father Richard Burke was in Spain, in January, 1659. "On 20 January, 1670, he reached Dublin as Superior of his brethren in Ireland, then 35 in number. After 20 May, 1679, when he was out on bail, and daily expecting banishment", there is no further notice of him. Father Thomas Kirk, in a letter dated Dublin, 2 October, 1684, says that he had just been discharged from Kilkenny prison. Nothing more is known of him. There are five Jesuits, William O’Neill, William Burke, Charles Butler, Thomas Butler, and James Carroll, of whom Father Hogan 21 Oliver, Foley, and Hogan call him simply "Pere Verdier." He set out for Ireland from Bordeaux, 2 November, 1648, was held up five weeks at La Rochelle waiting for a ship, sailed thence on 5 December, and after a stormy voyage reached Galway 28 December, 1648. On June 24, 1649, he made his report to Rome. Oliver, Collections S.J., 266. There is a strange silence about Verdier in the various histories of the Jesuits in France. He may have been the Honore Verdier who left the Society in August, 1669. Sommervogel, Bibliotheque (Histoire, Pierre Bliard, S.J.), XI, 741-742, 3.

22 The older men are not included in this list of thirty-five, since they are not so likely to have survived even to be transported.

23 Oliver, 236.

24 Oliver, 266.
can only say, "died after 1655"; where or when, is not known. 25

So one might go through the whole list of these thirty-five Irish Jesuits. If they went to the Continent, as so many others did, there would have been further traces of them, as there were of the others, through the various provincial catalogues, which Fathers Oliver and Hogan carefully examined. If they went as exiles to the West Indies, it is not unnatural that they should simply drop out of the records. All this is admittedly vague, necessarily vague because of the circumstances of persecution; but it mounts up to an historical probability that some of these thirty-five Irish Jesuits were transported to the West Indies.

As to the six Irish Jesuits who are positively known to have gone to the West Indies, there is still a baffling vagueness and uncertainty of detail. At times the uncertainty extends even to their names. Consider, for instance, the uncertainty about Father Matthew O'Hartegan and Father John Stritch. Oliver's account of Father O'Hartegan is based on contemporary letters, is specific up to a certain date, and is

25 Chronological Catalogue, 49. To these may be added, from Oliver's Collections, the following: Thomas Burke (236), Ignatius Carberry (239), Charles Carroll, Oliver Clare (240), Maurice Conal, Peter Conrad (241), Patrick Conway, Patrick Creagh or Crow (242), William Dillon (243), James Ford (246), James Latin, Thomas Leary (255), Gerard Nugent, Nicholas Nugent (260), James Patrick, Maurice Patrick, Henry Plunket or Plunquet (261), Andrew Sall (264), Christopher Segrave (265), Francis Tyrer, and John Usher (268).
Father O'Hartegan was sent from Ireland to France in April, 1642, by the Superior, Father Robert Nugent, to ask help from Cardinal Richelieu. He did not get the help. A letter of his, Paris, 30 March, 1643, says that Pere Jordan Forrestier, procurator of the Provinces of France, gave him a petition from 25,000 Irishmen in St. Kitts and adjoining islands, asking for an Irish priest. The petition had been brought over by Admiral Du Poenary, who backed it up.

"F. Hartegan offered himself for this Mission, and represented his vigour of constitution, his knowledge of the Irish, and French languages, and his vehement desire of labouring in this or any other similar Mission. Probably his wish was granted, for afterwards he disappears altogether." 26

Father Hogan added some further data: "...born in St. John's parish, Limerick; entered the Society about 1626, and died after 1659... He volunteered to help the Irish at St. Kitts, in 1649." First, he changes the year from 1643 to 1649. Then he raises a doubt as to whether or not this Father is the same as "Nat. Hart", who was Superior of the Irish Mission in 1659.

This is bad enough. But in Lenihan's History of Limerick of which Father Hogan acknowledges that he wrote the chapter on "The Limerick Jesuits", the story is given in these words:

26 Oliver, Collections S.J., 249
27 Chronological Catalogue, 34.
28 Edmund Hogan, S.J., Ibernia Ignatiana, Tom I, 1540-1607, Dublin, 1880; p. 250.
"We know nothing of Father Hartegan till the year 1650, when 25,000 Irishmen, sold as slaves in St. Kitts and the adjoining island, petitioned for a priest. Through the Admiral du Poenry, the petition was placed in Father Hartegan's hands. He was a Limerick Jesuit. He volunteered himself, and disappeared from our view. As he spoke, Irish, English, and French, he was very fit for that mission, which was always supplied with Irish Jesuits from Limerick for more than a hundred years afterwards. It is thought that Father Hartegan assumed the name of De Stritch, to avoid giving umbrage to the English; for in the year 1650, according to letters written five years after the petition, an Irish Father De Stritch was welcomed and blessed by the Irish of St. Kitts, heard the confessions of three thousand of them, then went disguised as a timber merchant to Montserrat, employed numbers of Irish as woodcutters, revealed his true character to them, and spent the mornings administering the sacraments and the day in hewing wood, to throw dust in the eyes of the English." 29

Yet the same Father Hogan lists John de Striche as a distinctly separate Jesuit, "born in Limerick; entered the Society in France about 1630, and died in Limerick after 1666. He was at Bordeaux in 1648; in 1649 came to Ireland with Pere Verdier, and was ordained by the Nuncio; was twelve years missioner in the West Indies; in Limerick from 1662 to 1666; had extraordinary adventures, which are told in Father Hogan's Irish Exiles at St. Kitts." This is Hogan vs. Hogan; and the reader does not know which to believe. But the sheer confusion in dates alone is astonishing.

29 Lenihan, 668.
30 Chronological Catalogue, 36.
Father MacErlean gives a different set of dates, but does not mention Father O'Hartegan as amongst the Irish Jesuits in the West Indies. Here is his account of Father John Stritch:

"...was born at Limerick in 1616. He entered the Society at Bordeaux in France in 1640. He was teaching at La Rochelle in 1647 when he was chosen to accompany as "Socius" and interpreter Father Mercurius Verdier during his visitation of the Irish Mission. On his return to France he completed his studies, and then volunteered for the West Indian Mission, where thousands of Irish exiles were destitute of spiritual aid. He arrived in Martinique in 1650, and went from it to the island of Guadelupe, where he worked among the Irish, English, and Negroes, until in 1662 failing health forded him to return to Europe. He came to Ireland in 1663, and laboured at Limerick till 1679, when he was banished to France at the time of Titus Oates' Plot. He arrived in broken health at LaRochelle in 1680, and died there the following year." 31

Two Irish Jesuits, Father James Galwey, and Father John Daly or O'Daly, went to Martinique on the invitation of the Superior, Father Garganel, in 1699. Father Daly stayed ten years, in Martinique and Guadelupe, and returned to Europe to die in the Irish Seminary at Poitiers, in 1738. Father Galwey stayed in St. Kitts until 1702. "Afterwards", but with no date specified, "he returned to Europe, and died in 1732."

In the eighteenth century two other Irish Jesuits are known to have gone to the West Indies. Father Roger Maguire, "usually called in French Louis de Magloire", was born in

32 Ibid., 137.
Ireland in 1707, became a Jesuit in France in 1722, was in Martinique and Guadelupe from 1743 to 1763, when the Jesuits were expelled. He then lived in Germany for a time; but his career cannot be traced beyond 1770. Father Philip O'Reilly, born in Meath in 1719, entered the Society in 1741, went to the Mission of French Guiana in 1750. When the Jesuits were expelled in 1763, he went for a time to the "Spanish missions along the Orinoco, and thence in 1765 to the English Mission of Maryland, where he was professed of the four solemn vows on 2d February, 1766. In 1769, he returned to Ireland, and died at Dublin in 1775."

Finally, there is Father Christopher Bathe, of whom Hogan has this to say:

"born in Ireland 1621; entered the Society in 1643; died after 1652. In 1652 he was at Liege and had finished all his studies, ingenium valde bonum; he was sent to the island of St. Kitts." 34

Was he sent as a political prisoner, in servitude, or as a missioner to the exiled Irish?

One thing evident enough, even through all the vagueness is that these Irish Jesuits travelled about a good deal, in search of the transported Irish. Did their journeyings take any of them to Jamaica? We do not know. But in view of the

33 MacErlean, Ibid., 137-138.
34 Hogan, Chronological Catalogue, 44.
certainly considerable numbers of Irish exiled to Jamaica, there is at least no inherent improbability in one or more of the Irish Jesuits going to visit and work amongst them.

IV

Another line of probability is opened up by the fact that Jesuits travelling between Europe and the Catholic colonies of the new world at times sailed on ships which touched at Port Royal, or after the destruction of Port Royal by earthquake in 1692, at Kingston. Port Royal and Kingston were regular ports of call for ships using the much favored Windward Passage, since Kingston harbor was only a scant forty miles from the southern end of the Windward Passage.

These ports, moreover, were centrally situated for ships sailing to and from other ports in the West Indies and the mainland. Kingston is only 200 miles from Santiago de Cuba and 500 miles from Santo Domingo. On the other side, it is less than 500 miles from Gracias a Dios in the old Captain-generalcy of Guatemala, 900 miles from Caracas in Venezuela, and about 1,600 miles from Vera Cruz in Mexico. There was a good deal of traffic between these places and Jamaica, and several of the Spanish speaking priests known to have been in Kingston came from Venezuela and Vera Cruz.

35 Not merely was Port Royal destroyed, but the harbor on its side of the bay was badly silted up. That was why Kingston was founded in 1695, and became the chief port of Jamaica. Edwards, I, 261.
Did any Jesuits in their travels touch at Port Royal or Kingston? We have definite certainty about one Jesuit visitor to Jamaica. He was Father Francis Xavier Weiss, who was born February 22, 1710, at Inglostadt in Bavaria, and entered the Society September 7, 1728. When he had finished his studies, he was assigned, in 1740 to the mission in Mexico. He worked in Mexico from 1744 to 1769, when the Mexican Jesuits were exiled by order of the Spanish government. Then he returned to Germany was at Oettingen in 1770, was "spiritual father" at Ingolstadt at the Suppression of the Society in 1773. On October 13, 1795, he died at Landsberg.

Father Weiss wrote six letters which are published in Stöcklein-Keller, Der Neue Welt-Bott mit allerhand Nachrichten dern Missionariorum Soc. Jesu, 38. Theil, in 5 folio volumes, Augsburg, Gratz, Vienna, 1726-1761. The first three letters were written on the way to Mexico, from Xeres de la Frontera, and Cádiz, in Spain, and from "Spainston", Jamaica. The letter from Spanish Town is dated June 8, 1744. The last three

36 Sommervogel, Bibliotheque, 8: 1037-1038. De Backer, 3: 1505. In Mexico, Fr. Weiss went first to reopen the old mission of Chinipas, Tepehuana, at Baburigame, with two other Jesuits, Juan Bautista Buques and Carlos Neumayr, in 1744; and continued there at least until 1751. Gerard Decorme, La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos durante la Epoca Colonial, 1572-1767, Mexico, 1941; II, 244, 245.

37 The letter from Jamaica is in Theil 38 (usually bound in the 5th volume), pp 20-21, and is Letter No. 748. Father Weiss' letters are grouped together as Nos. 746-749, pp. 12-25 of Theil 38. These later parts of Der Neue Welt-Bott, printed in Vienna in 1761, when the Society was already getting into its final difficulties leading to the Suppression, are extremely scarce and difficult to find.
letters, of June, July, 1746, 1748, 1751, are from Baburigame, Tepehuana, Mexico. It is the fortunate chance of the preservation of Father Weiss' letters that gives us this one certainty of a Jesuit's being in Jamaica before 1837. How many others were there, who left no record in published letters? We know of only one other Jesuit who visited Jamaica, according to Santiago de Castillo's letter, in or before 1688. He left Jamaica in October, 1688, with Castillo, on a ship bound for Havana, intending to go with Castillo to England and seek justice from James II, the Catholic Stuart King. But James was dethroned by William of Orange in November, 1688; hence there was no use in going to England. But the circumstances indicate that the Jesuit was a man who could speak English, at least, or who had some English connections. Since he was working amongst the Spanish Catholics in Kingston, it is evident that he also spoke Spanish.

Now there were two Irishmen who had entered the Society in Mexico together in 1663. The elder of the two was Father John Vásquez, who in spite of his Spanish name was born at Limerick in 1631. The younger was Father John Múnoz de Burgos (which Father MacErlean identifies with "Mooney and Burke"), born in Ireland in 1645. Father Múnoz was rector of Huépaca

38 Delany, 25.
In 1686-1687, when his subject, Eusebio Kino, started the first missions in Pimeria, was Visitor of the Missions from 1691 to 1697, and died at Huépaca in 1700.

Our concern is with the elder of the two, Father John Vásquez. Little is known about him. All that Father MacErlean could gather is this: that he was ordained priest in Mexico in 1668, when he was thirty-seven years old, and that he worked in Guatemala, and at Vera Cruz. That was in 1670, after which Father MacErlean could not trace him.

If we add together what we definitely do know: that Vásquez was a Limerick man; and that there was a tradition of Limerick Jesuits, particularly, working amongst the Irish exiles in the West Indies; that Vásquez' provincial superior in Mexico, his companion at entrance into the Society, was another Irishman, not unmindful of that tradition of zeal for the Irish exiles that Vásquez himself was working in Guatemala, which had a port less than 500 miles from Port Royal; that later on Father Rodrigues was brought to Kingston from Vera Cruz, showing the naturalness of communication between the two places; that Father Vásquez evidently held something of a roving commission, as witness his working in Guatemala and Vera Cruz;

if we add such facts as these together, we get a very respectable probability that Castillo's Jesuit was Father Juan Vasquez, Irish Jesuit from Mexico. There is no certainty possible here; probability is all that can be attained. The certainty of Jesuit work in Jamaica begins only with the coming of the English Jesuits in 1837.
CHAPTER II
JAMAICA A JESUIT MISSION

I

The most obvious question with which to begin this chapter is this: What were the circumstances surrounding the Jesuits' coming to Jamaica? The complete answer would have to be dug out of the Jesuit archives at Rome. In the large collection of letters of the general superior, Father John Roothaan, edited by de Jonge and Pirri, there is only one letter to Father William Cotham, the first local superior of the Jesuits in Jamaica. A tantalizing footnote says that there are many more letters on Jamaica in the archives, but that they did not appear to be of interest.

But a partial answer to the question must be that Jamaica was assigned as a mission to the English Jesuits by the Congregation of Propaganda. That fact is evident in the original intention of the Holy See to appoint a Jesuit as the

1 The letter to Cotham is in Epistolae, III: 507-508 (Rome, 1940). It is dated 30 October, 1844, seven years after the mission was begun, and urges Cotham to organize the Confraternity of the Most Pure Heart of Mary and to promote retreats. De Jonge and Pirri were more concerned with points of edification than with history.
first Vicar Apostolic. It is most likely that, as the Jesuits were becoming numerous enough in the restored Society to undertake mission work, the Pope and the Jesuit General would expect the English Jesuits to look after missions in the English colonies.

Since Jamaica had been an English colony for one hundred and eighty years, why had not the English Jesuits been sent there earlier? There are many reasons for the delay. English Jesuits were never very numerous. In the old Society, they lived under persecution from the English government; and were hampered in the restored Society up to the Emancipation Act of 1829.

There were only 117 members of the English Province when they did begin to send men abroad to the missions. Indeed, their own country was barely getting out of the mission stage at that time; and the English Jesuits were confined to the two houses at Stonyhurst, or serving in small missions throughout the country.

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2 Letter of Louis Cyprian Mauri, Italian merchant of Kingston from Turin, August 4, 1837, to Father Fernández. Delany, 51-52
3 Catalogus Provinciae Angliae, 1837.
4 Hodder, the Novitiate adjoining Stonyhurst had been in use from the restoration of the Jesuits. But the "Seminary", or St. Mary's Hall, was begun only at the time of the Emancipation Act, and in use only after 1830. (John Gerard, S.J., Stonyhurst College, Belfast, 1894; p 142.) A letter of Roothaan's to Father Coatham, then spiritual director at Stonyhurst, mentions only two houses in 1832. (Epistolae, II; 417-418.)
Moreover, the Catholic population of Jamaica had been not merely very small all during the English history of the island, but had been largely made up of French and Spanish merchants who had settled in Kingston for trade (and not the least portion of which was the slave trade), and who had been served, as the previous chapter had shown, by Spanish and French priests. Hence there was no urgent demand for English priests. From a letter of Father Dupeyron, 30 January, 1840, one may conclude that it was not until these French and Spanish merchants had departed in considerable numbers after 1800 that there was much opening for English speaking priests.

This situation is evident also from the fact that, although the first superior of the Jamaica mission was the English Jesuit, William Cotham, his sole companion was a French Jesuit, Jacques Dupeyron, and that it was Dupeyron who succeeded Bishop Fernández as Vicar Apostolic, although Father Cotham was still superior up to 1852, and died at Kingston in 1860.

William Cotham hailed from that staunchest of the old Catholic counties of England, Lancaster, studied at Stonyhurst, entered the Society in 1809, when he was eighteen years old, and was ordained at Ushaw in 1818. Foley says he taught for a while at Hodder and Stonyhurst; but Gerard, in his careful list

5 "La population Catholique de Kingston est bien moins considérable aujourd'hui qu'au commencement de ce siècle, etc. Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, 13: 68 (1841)."
of the teachers at Stonyhurst, makes no mention of his name. He seems to have done some parish work at Wigan and Hereford before his final profession at Stonyhurst, February 2, 1831.

From Roothaan's letter to him in 1832, it is clear that Father Cotham was then spiritual director of the Jesuits studying at Stonyhurst. He seems to have filled various offices of an administrative sort up to 1837, when he was sent to Jamaica. One gets the impression that he was a dependable, good, mediocre man, rather colorless, quiet, unassertive. He and Father Dupeyron arrived at Kingston December 4, 1837.

Jacques Dupeyron, born at St. Etienne, Loire France, January 1, 1805, was thirteen years younger than Father Cotham. He had been ordained as a secular priest when he entered the Society, November 9, 1833, not quite twenty-nine years old. All the indications are that he was a more vigorous and energetic man than Father Cotham.

6 Henry Foley, Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, Vol 7, pt 1 (London, 1882) pp. 173-174, has a brief sketch of the life of Father Cotham. But Foley is not always accurate in his details. The list of rectors, prefects of studies, teachers and prefects at Stonyhurst College is in Gerard, Stonyhurst College, pp. 300-304. Father Cotham may have taught at Hodder as a scholastic.

II

It was not a very pleasant or encouraging situation into which the two Jesuits came. Bishop Fernandez had for the moment two priests in Kingston, Fathers Duquesnay and John Joseph Curtin and did not seem in urgent need of any more. It is true that there was uncertainty about how long these two priests would stay at the work, and the Jesuits promised stability and continuity of workers. But just at the time the Jesuits were a little de trop. They had no house to live in, no church in which to do the work of the ministry.

They had to beg hospitality of Bishop Fernández, and live in his house for the first year. Then they moved to Spanish Town, still the seat of the colonial government; but there were not enough Catholics in the diminished town to support them. Father Cotham had to come back to Kingston. But the sturdier Father Dupeyron launched out on real missionary journeys through the island. For two years he travelled amid great hardships throughout the whole island. There is record of his baptizing some MacDonalds at Pisgah in the mountains of St. Elizabeth Parish in 1839.

On November 17, 1839, Father Curtin died, a young man of thirty-two. But his place was taken in the new church of St. Patrick and St. Martin, not by a Jesuit, but by Father

8 Delany, 53.
Gleeson, another wandering secular priest, who stayed in his charge only a year or so. The two Jesuits still were footloose.

Father Dupeyron in his letter of 30 January, 1840, written from Kingston, gives some facts about the existing conditions. The 2,000 Negroes still in the west of the island were then all Protestants. The Catholic population of Kingston, now much reduced since 1800, numbered not more than 3,500 persons. Spanish Town had only 150 Catholics; St. Thomas in the Vale only 80 Catholics. There were a few Catholics scattered here and there throughout the island, mostly descendants of Scotch and Irish settlers.

Since 1800, there had been a German colony at Seaford Town about a hundred miles from Kingston, mostly Lutherans, but with a good sprinkling of Catholics amongst them. The Lutherans according to Dupeyron hate the Anglicans, and for lack of a minister of their own faith, would rather have their children baptized Catholics than Anglicans. There was a Catholic layman amongst them of the third order of St. Francis, a devout good man, who taught the children, led in prayer on Sundays, and held the people together. The Negroes, hard to hold, were accustomed to wander off to another church if the priest did not come to them.

9 Delany, Ibid.
Dupeyron makes no complaint; but he most assuredly is not enthusiastic. It was uphill work in every way. He does not beg; but says simply that they have no resources. His one consolation is that many of the Catholics are very pious, frequent the sacraments, and show a sincere attachment to their religion.

Father Duquesnay left Jamaica in 1845, after eleven years of good work, and went to New Orleans, where he died holily in 1858. Father Cotham must have thought that his departure created an opening for more Jesuits, since within a short time Father Joseph Dupont, a French Jesuit, and Father George Avvaro, an Italian, came to work in the mission, and were followed in 1848 by Father Joseph Bertolio, another Italian, and Father Alexis Simon, a Frenchman.

There were now six Jesuits in Jamaica. These were augmented suddenly by three or four more, who were Spanish speaking fathers forced abruptly into political exile from the young Republic of New Granada. They came to Kingston in 1850. New Granada had had a stormy political life from the time of Bolivar's revolt from Spain. In 1831 the Liberator's land broke up into Granada, Venezuela and Ecuador, each of which went through periods of chaos. During these anti-clericalism was generally a motivating force of one party to the revolutions.

The latest newcomers spoke no English; and there were no longer enough Spaniards in Kingston to call for additional priests. As a means of occupying themselves profitably, and with Bishop Fernández' consent, they established a school, which after many vicissitudes was to become St. George's College. But of this more must be said later on.

In that same year, 1850, there was terrible work for all the Jesuit priests. The Asiatic cholera swept Jamaica in October, to be followed by an epidemic of virulent smallpox. The two epidemics may have taken a toll of one third or more of the 35,000 people in Jamaica. About two years later in the spring of 1853, yellow fever carried off many more people, with the deaths most numerous amongst the Europeans. Among the dead was Father Stephen Ghersi, an Italian Jesuit, who died of the fever April 13, 1853, in his twenty-ninth year. On March 14 of the same year, Father Avvaro was named superior of a new mission, in British Honduras or Belize, and went to spend twenty years of pioneering, dying in the city of Belize August 20, 1873. He had been born in Turin sixty-three years before.

These disasters brought out the heroic qualities necessary for the Jesuit missionaries; but they also shook the group badly. The Spanish Jesuits found a new opening in Guatemala,

12 Delany, 59-60.
13 Record of death and burial translated in Delany, 60.
14 Foley, Records, 7: 24.
and left their uncertain school of St. George's in 1853. Bishop Fernández, after forty years in Jamaica, was broken in health. Father Dupeyron was named his coadjutor with the right of succession on September 11, 1852, and at the same time was appointed superior of the Jesuits. He succeeded Bishop Fernández when the latter died in his seventy-fourth year, September 27, 1855; but he himself was never consecrated bishop.

With the passing of these events, the Jesuits were fully established in Jamaica. They had weathered the doubtful and trying years of their feeble beginnings, and now had the whole mission under their direct control. They had no abundance of either men or money; but they had zeal and good will. When Father Joseph Howell came to Jamaica in 1856, the second English Jesuit to come there, the Jesuits were again six in number: two Englishmen, Cotham and Howell; three Frenchmen, Dupeyron, Dupont and Simon; and one Italian, Joseph Bertolio, who had entered the Province of Turin in 1843, already a priest, and who spent the rest of his life in Jamaica, dying there April 19, 1876, in his sixty-first year.

It may seem odd that only two of the Jesuits were English in a mission of the English Province, and that one of them, Father Howell, was a sick man. Howell, however, survived only

15 Letters and Notices, 8: 216.
16 Foley, Records, 7: 376.
17 Ibid. 7: 55.
four years in Jamaica, dying at the age of forty. One reason for this undoubtedly was that the English Jesuits had few men to spare. Another was that troubous conditions in other provinces, occasioned by political upheavals and wars in Europe, released Jesuits for service in the foreign missions. Then too, Jamaica, with its mild climate, was looked upon as a likely place in which sick men could regain their health.

But we must face the fact that the mission of Jamaica was apparently never very attractive to the English Jesuits, or at least to the Provincials of the English Jesuits. They were, no doubt, short-handed if one considers the new openings for work offered in England after religious freedom was granted to Catholics. Sufficient fields for work, near at hand, among their own English people, naturally appealed to them as of much greater importance than the vague and uncertain labors in a small and poor colony, away off in the tropic Caribbean.

This very understandable attitude, inevitable in human nature, had had its persistent effect in the Jamaica mission and in its offshoot, the mission in British Honduras. Neither of these had the glamour attached by tradition to missions in, say, India or China or Japan. Yet, in the Province of God, some of the Jesuits sent in rather niggardly fashion to Jamaica turned out to be admirable missionaries, who did both generous and effective work in the unattractive field to which their lot was cast.
CHAPTER III

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE ENGLISH JESUITS

I

When Fathers Cotham and Howell died, within a month of each other, toward the end of 1860, there was no English Jesuit in Jamaica. Shortly after came Father Joseph Sydney Woollett, who had been a chaplain with the English troops during the Crimean War. From the start, Father Woollett seems to have been a sort of auxiliary military chaplain. His life lacked no color. Being a man's man he was much concerned with the English fleet sent out in 1862 in connection with the French expedition into Mexico leading to the Empire of Maximillian.

All through the period when English Jesuits were in Jamaica there is to be noted their marked interest in spiritual welfare of the English sailors and soldiers on station at Jamaica. Men of war were a link with far-off England. But it must be said that in undertaking chaplain work the fathers from England were distracted from the less glamorous and much more arduous work of the missions proper. The mere list of stations or outlying missions established by the English...

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Jesuits is enough to prove how generous and extensive were their efforts to care for the spiritual well-being of the people scattered throughout the island.

From a letter of Father Woollett's August 16, 1866, to the English Provincial, there is clear evidence of his laborious task of visiting eleven headquarter stations; furthermore he kept mass vestments in twenty-seven other stations, making a total of thirty-eight places in which there had already been established definite centers of Catholic worship. This is really an astonishing achievement. It becomes more astonishing in view of the short time in which the work had been accomplished and the immense difficulties entailed by lack of roads, the poverty of the people and their scattered habitations.

Our astonishment certainly is not lessened when we compare these figures with the situation in 1929. After the lapse of over half a century, in which so many more Jesuits had labored in Jamaica, and so much money had been spent on the work, the total number of mass-stations outside of Kingston was fifty five, an increase of only seventeen stations in sixty-three years. Presumably, the earlier foundations were well laid.

The vigorous development of the missionary work proper in Jamaica was accomplished in the ten or twelve years since the Jesuits had actually got a free hand in the mission. Some of it was begun by Father Dupeyron himself, some by Father Dupont; but the major part of it seems to have been actively set on foot and organized by Father Woollett. This man deserves a few words of special notice.

Born in London, March 23, 1918, Joseph Woollett became a surgeon, and set up practice at Leamington, where he married when he was about twenty-five years old. His wife died of tuberculosis in 1846, without children; and he applied for admission to the Society. He was admitted a novice at Hodder in 1847, and after a short course in philosophy and theology was ordained in 1853. He was a chaplain in the Crimea, 1855-1856; was sent to the mission of Demerara in 1859, and from there to Jamaica in 1861.

His chaplain duties in Kingston were combined for two years with the position of assistant superior of the residence. Then, in 1863, he was appointed locum tenens for the Superior, Father Dupeyron, with power to administer the sacrament of Confirmation, but only outside of Kingston. He was superior of the mission and pro-Vicar Apostolico, although never consecrated bishop, from 1871 to 1877, and again from 1887 to 1889; and in between continued his active work as a missionary. He spent

There is a biographical sketch of Father Woollett, as his obituary, in Lettara and Noticas, 24 (1898), 416-424.
thirty-one years continuously in the mission, and returned to England at the age of 74 in 1892, only when he was broken in health. He lived on for nearly six years more, dying at the age of eighty.

Father Woollett's missionary character was greatly enhanced by his knowledge of medicine. He carried on his practice giving charitable services to the poor of his flocks. He saw many men come and go in his long career in Jamaica and was considered the backbone of the organization in which they worked and the cause which the Jesuits served. He had a sense of humor, a great practical and religious wisdom, a sturdy generosity.

Father Woollett worked alone frequently, making his rounds on horseback. On an estate belonging to a friend, which was called The Retreat and situated some seventy miles from Kingston, he had set up his headquarters. But he was able to spend only three or four days a month there, since he had constantly to be on the road, visiting his scattered flock. His estimate was that in visiting the outlying stations he rode more than three hundred miles each month. Like a pioneer he made his own roads, travelling by paths and bush tracks. Many of his stations were in mountainous country; all of them were small places; and some of them were so poor that he could

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6 Letters and Notices (1867), 4: 7
not find a house in which the people could assemble for Mass. The largest number of Catholics in one group or "parish", was 188, counting men, women and children, in St. Ann's Parish. Of these, about 160 gathered for Mass at The Retreat (near Brown's Town), where he had a school for about thirty-five Negro children: he used the school room as a chapel; the other 88 were scattered in four villages.

At Falmouth, a town of some size twenty miles from The Retreat, the most influential people were Jews; but the Jews and Protestants were contributing money for the building of a Catholic church. Father Woollett would have no hand in this collection of money; he left it to the people. His smallest station, the district of Manchester, had only thirty-two Catholics belonging to three families in separate places.

From Father Woollett's careful records, we find that in thirty-eight stations served by him the total number of Catholics was 1,147. We must keep this in mind when we try to evaluate his reports of spiritual ministrations. Here is his list for the period between January 1 and August 15, 1866:

7 Ibid, 4: 9.
8 Letters and Notices, 4: 10.
Baptisms.............145
Confessions..........515
Communions...........377
Confirmations.........93
(47 in his mission;
46 in Father Dupont's)
First Confessions.....16
First Communions.....8
Converts..............10

The disparity between Confessions and Communions is
characteristic of the period before Pius X's decree on frequent
Communion. The small number of first Communions is a natural
corollary to the lack of schools. The missionary could make
only flying visits to such scattered congregations, and had not
much time for full instruction. Under the circumstances, the
number of those who received the sacraments is very creditable
to both priest and people. It is interesting to note no
marriages in the record. We shall come back to that point later.

II

The first congregation of Catholics outside of Kingston
was formed at Above Rocks, some 8 miles north in the old district of St. Thomas in the Vale. Father Dupeyron administered
Confirmation there as early as 1839; and in 1847 Father Dupont
built the first church. The mission at Avocat was begun by
Father Dupeyron in 1842; he had a school there after 1849, and
secured the property on which Father Dupont built St. George's
church in 1860.

10 Delany, 80-81.
The Preston Hill congregation had its origin back in 1840, when a group of Catholic Negroes, who had been slaves to Spaniards and had got their religion from them, came in search of Father Dupeyron when he was saying Mass at an Irishman's estate, "Quebec", near Port Maria. The first little "bush" church of wattle was replaced by a better building in 1872, by a third structure after the hurricane of 1880, and finally by the present building in 1919.

As early as 1847, Father Dupont began to say Mass for a group of Catholic Haytians at the house of one of them named Terrelonge. When Terrelonge got into financial difficulties, Father Dupont, with money got from France, bought his estate, kept enough land for a chapel and school, and gave back the rest to Terrelonge. On this land, at King Westoh, Father Dupont built St. Joseph's chapel.

It was for French and Spanish families at Matilda's Corner that Father Dupont built the church of St. Peter and Paul in 1850, on land given for that purpose by Madame Duval. Twice, later on, the congregation drifted away from St. Peter and Paul's, and the church was closed. It had stood desolate and half ruined for years until Father Mulry restored it and put it to use again in 1902.

11 Delany, 83.
12 Delany, 84.
13 Woodstock Letters, 52: 252.
That was the way the mission stations grew: from apparently haphazard incidents, chance meetings with little groups of Catholics. Thus, early in 1865, James Forrester at May's River was too ill to go to Avocat. Father Dupont visited him, and two years later got from him the land on which he build, in 1870, the church of the Resurrection. But there was no accident about the zeal and charity which urged the missionary to search out those who needed him.

The Barretts, an old Catholic family, owned large tracts of land in the northern section of the island. Moulton Barrett, a brother of Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, had a little chapel on his estate, "The Retreat", where Father Woollett in 1863 began to say Mass for the Barrett family and the neighboring Catholics. From here, he searched out the German Catholics living at Alva in the Dry Harbour Mountains, and built a chapel for them. Moulton Barrett gave him the land for the chapel he built at Refuge in 1874.

Rudolph Walter Buchanan, a staunch Catholic, lived on his estate, "Reading", near Montego Bay. Father Woollett often stayed with him, and from his house worked through the countryside of Cornwall. When Buchanan died, he left his property

14 Delany, 85.
15 Delany, 88. Dictionary of National Biography, 1: 1203-1204 has a sketch of Lucas Barrett (1837-1862) who won fame as a geologist in Jamaica; but is silent about Moulton Barrett.
mostly to nephews in England; but his house and a few acres around it he gave to Father Woollett as his headquarters in Cornwall.

Father Woollett got help in 1873, when Father Augustus Loontjens, a Belgian Jesuit, came from British Honduras, and for six years took over the station in the Parishes of Westmoreland and St. Elizabeth, leaving the remainder of his old district to Father Woollett. When Father Loontjens went back to Honduras in 1879, Father John Tauer, an Austrian Jesuit, took his place for seven years. But after 1886 Father Woollett again had to look after the whole district alone.

This sort of continuous history, from poor and rude beginnings to the present solid establishments, is true of most of the Catholic congregations of Jamaica. But the good foundations were laid in the years of the development under the English Jesuits. They were shorthanded, they needed and got help from Jesuits of other nationalities; but they were persistent and heroic in their efforts to care for the scattered Catholics.

The poverty and isolation of the small Catholic groups outside of Kingston made the work of the Jesuit missionaries of slow growth. Hence, it is not astonishing that the major development of the Jesuit work in Jamaica, measured by numbers, was in Kingston. If we take as authority the government census of 1866, more than two-thirds of the 4,110 Catholics of Jamaica were in Kingston.

The glory of the mission was in its scattered stations, whose care called for such generous enduring of hardships by the missionaries. But the spirit that animated that generosity found play also in Kingston. Father Joseph Dupont spent forty years continuously in Jamaica, dying at Kingston on September 11, 1887. His foundations dotted the whole of the island. Yet his fame in Jamaica grew out of his devoted labors in the crowded quarters of Kingston.

Father Dupont was vice superior of the mission for less than a year, from June, 1864, to March, 1865 when ill health sent Father Dupeyron on a visit to Europe. The rest of his long years of work he spent as a simple missionary, most of it is residence at Holy Trinity church, Kingston, from which he made missionary journeys out to the nearby stations, especially to Above Rocks and Avocat.

17 Delany, 69.
A chunky, sturdy man, steadily cheerful, he was an indefatigable worker. When he came to Kingston, he could scarcely speak any English. But he set to work at once amongst the French-speaking Catholics, who had formed the greater part of the followers of Father Murphy in his schism, and who had practically abandoned their religion. In spite of early rebuffs, he was remarkably successful in reconciling large numbers of these people.

He made friends everywhere, amongst rich and poor, Christians and Jews; but his chief work was amongst the poor. The poor in Jamaica crowd into "yards", compounds with a good house in front and a hugger-mugger of shacks in the rear; and it was in the "yards" that Father Dupont sought out all who needed his help, material and spiritual. His charity was immense, and it won him universal love.

Once, in his seventieth year, Father Thomas Porter, the new Vicar Apostolic, sent Father Dupont back to France on a visit between March and October, 1878, his first and only vacation. When he returned to Jamaica, the people gave him what the local paper called "an almost royal reception." And when he died, 7,000 of them followed his funeral procession, and the people of Kingston, of all creeds and classes, raised
Father Dupont was a builder and organizer, as well as a servant of the poor. Besides the many chapels and churches erected by his efforts in the mission stations, he rebuilt Holy Trinity Church in Kingston in 1857. He organized several circles of the Association of the Living Rosary, founded the Arch-confraternity of the Sacred Heart, the Children of Mary, and the Ladies of Charity.

It would be hard to match Father Dupont in any mission; but Father Frederick Hathaway was nearly his equal. Born in 1814, he took honors at Worcester College, Oxford, became a Fellow of his college, then Dean and Bursar. He was a follower of Dr. Pusey, an ardent ritualist, an ascetic. In 1851, he became a Catholic; in 1852, he entered the Jesuit novitiate at Hodder. Ordained in 1857, after the short course in theology, he went into parish work, and was chaplain in Middlesex Prison.

19 Father Dupont had had so little contact with the Jesuits in England that when his obituary notice was published in *Letters and Notices*, (19: 303-310) the editor had to borrow most of his material for the account from the *Jamaica Post* and *West Indian Advertiser*. In the great earthquake of January 14, 1907, Father Dupont's statue was thrown down and shattered. Delany, 126

20 Delany, 95-96.
He was an aggressive, even sharp-tongued, yet a man of
great charity and intensely devoted to the poor and wretched.
His virtues and his faults worked together for his dismissal
from his prison chaplaincy. Although he had had a hacking cough
all his life and poor eyesight, the Provincial sent him to
Jamaica in 1867. He labored heroically there for twenty-four
years, dying November 6, 1891, in his seventy-eighth year.
Almost always in wretched health, he shrank from no toil or
hardship in the service of the sick in hospitals, the prisoners,
and the poor. He made his rounds of outlying missions, caring
especially for Mountain Head. He was military chaplain to the
soldiers at Up Park.

Men spoke of him, even in his lifetime, as another
Cure d'Ars, for his austerity, his love of poverty, his
forgetfulness of self. His very poor Negroes clubbed together
to send a cablegram to England when he died, so that he might
have the prayers and Masses of his religious brothers more
quickly than after the slow news by letter. The local Protes-
tant newspapers were emotional over his death, and held him up
with something of bitter scorn, as an exemplar to the Protestant
clergy.

Or take Father Joseph Bertolio, his opposite in so many
ways: a good, hard-working, modest man, from the Province of
Turin, born in 1815, a Jesuit in 1843, who came to Jamaica

22 Gall's Weekly News Letter, November 14, 1891. Ibid., 21:276
five years later, and labored there until his death, April 19, 1876. Of his eighteen years in the mission, the only recorded fact is that he built St. Joseph's Church, Spanish Town, in 1872. There is not even an obituary notice of him in Letters and Notices; to all appearances they knew nothing of him in England; his memory lived only in the hearts of the underprivileged of Jamaica.

Now and then, an awkward man showed up. Father Francis Xavier Jaeckel, a Belgian Jesuit, went out to British Honduras. After some years there, he crossed to Jamaica in 1872. He was a musician and had charge of the choir at Holy Trinity Church. Having certain ambitions, he managed to reopen the old College of St. George, from which center he did chaplain work with the fleet. Looking upon the college as his private preserve, he was irked at any interference by his superior. He left the Society in 1879, and conducted a private school in Kingston until his death in 1886.

Mention is made of Father Jaeckel because he was an exception. Most of the Jesuits in the mission of Jamaica were unselfish, devoted men, content to spend themselves in obscure work for souls, known only to God and the poor. There is the mark of heroism over all that early history of the Jesuits'

23 Delany, 89.
24 Delany, 91-92.
work. When ill health forced the pioneer Father Dupeyron to appoint Father James Jones his Vicar General in 1866, and to give up his office to Father Woollett in 1871, he knew that the work was in good hands, and that the early development would grow through the labors of generous men.
CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION

I

From the time of the coming of the Jesuits to Jamaica, the mission was under a twofold jurisdiction. As a matter of Church administration, it was a Vicariate Apostolic, yet the Jesuits working in the mission had their own internal jurisdiction, according to which they were immediately under obedience to their local superior of the mission, and through him to the provincial of the English Province. Until the Vicar Apostolic was also a Jesuit, there could be a strain between the two jurisdictions in details. Thus, the Vicar Apostolic was in fiscal control of the mission properties, and had the right to appoint individual priests to the care of particular parishes or missions. As had been seen, even after the coming of the Jesuit, Bishop Fernandez ignored them when he appointed a new parish priest to St. Patrick's. On the other hand, the Jesuit superiors had, and jealously kept, the right to determine the assignments of their own men.

When Father Dupeyron was appointed Jesuit superior of the mission in 1851, and a year later was nominated by the Holy See coadjutor Vicar Apostolic with the right of succession, the two jurisdictions might have seemed to be fused into one.
Father Dupeyron succeeded Bishop Fernández three years later, September 27, 1855, and continued on as superior of the Jesuit mission (except for his sick leave, 1864-1865) for ten years.

Then Father James Jones, a very distinguished Jesuit, of a wealthy Irish family, was sent out from England as superior of the mission. He was to be professor of moral theology at At. Beuno's, twice rector of St. Beuno's, provincial of the English Province, and to be elected English Assistant to the General of the Jesuits, October 10, 1892 (but to die three months later). Father Jones came to Kingston in 1865. A year later, Father Dupeyron, in feeble health, appointed him Vicar General with the power to administer Confirmation. Father Jones closed the old College, which Father Simon had been conducting since the Spanish Jesuits left in 1853, but opened another College a year later, in 1868, under the express understanding with Father Dupeyron that this College was to be a Jesuit possession, no an institution belonging to the Vicariate. He brought out the first English scholastics, Messrs. John New and Henry Gillet, in 1869, to teach in the College. Then he returned to England.

1 His elder brother, Daniel Jones, S.J., of the Irish Province, gave the family seat, Benada Abbey, County Sligo, with 900 acres of land to Mary Aikenhead, the foundress of the Sisters of Charity, in 1858. He died just after his appointment as Provincial. Letters and Notices, 22: 141.
2 Letters and Notices, 22: 76.
3 Delany, 72.
It is not hard to read between the lines here, and note the eternal human problem to be found wherever there are two jurisdictions. When Father Woollett succeeded Father Dupeyron in 1871, he was at first appointed only pro-Vicar Apostolic, whilst Father Dupeyron travelled to the United States for his health. But on the death of Father Dupeyron at Spring Hill, August 10, 1872, Father Woollett continued on as pro-Vicar Apostolic and superior of the mission until Father Thomas Porter was sent out from England to succeed him in office, September 6, 1877.

Father Porter was a younger brother of George Porter, S.J, who had been rector at Liverpool and at London and Assistant to the General before he was appointed Archbishop of Bombay in 1886. Father Thomas Porter had been rector of Holy Name College, Manchester, and had just been appointed rector of St. Xavier's Liverpool, when he was sent as Vicar Apostolic to Jamaica, and to be at the same time superior of the mission.

Father Thomas Porter was a dynamic person, who took hold of affairs in Jamaica with great vigor. He brought with him Father Jones then provincial of the English Province; and the two of them at once began a parish "mission" at Holy Trinity Church, Kingston. He bought the land for the orphanage at Alpha, in the eastern section of Kingston, organized a new

4 Delany, 92.
community of women to care for the orphans. To these he gave as total "Constitutions" the brief instruction: "Keep the ten Commandments and obey me!" He changed the jurisdiction of his Scottish Franciscan Sisters to the American mother-house at Allegany, New York.

When the hurricane of 1880 brought ruin to churches and schools in Kingston, Father Porter begged alms in England, and as Letters and Notices naively put it, "even in the United States", and rebuilt the edifices in better shape than they had been in before the disaster. He was off to Rome for his visit ad limina in the spring of 1888, Illness overtook him. He hastened to England, where he was found to be suffering from cancer. After unavailing surgery, he died at St. Beuno's, September 28, 1888, just one year to the day before his brother George died in Bombay.

The last English Vicar Apostolic was also the first Jesuit bishop in Jamaica, the Right Reverend Charles Gordon, S.J. Born in Argyleshire, Scotland in 1831, the son and heir of Sir Charles Gordon of a staunch Catholic family, he raised a troop of sixty men in 1867 and took them to Rome to defend Pio Nono against the Piedmontese. He was several times wounded in the hopeless engagements that followed. In 1869, he renounced his

5 Delany, 94.
6 Letters and Notices,
inheritance in favor of his younger brother, Joseph, and entered the Society in Rome. Ordained at St. Beuno's in 1878, he spent two years in South Africa, and thereafter was rector at Glasgow, when he was appointed in 1889 Vicar Apostolic of Jamaica. He was consecrated in Glasgow, as Bishop of Thyatira in partibus, August 15, 1889. He also was superior of the mission, and held that office until November 25, 1898, thus bridging over the transition to the American Jesuits. In 1905, his health began to fail. The following year he went back to Europe, where he soon lost his memory. He lingered on at the novitiate at Roehampton, England, until his death, November 16, 1911.

II

The internal organization of the Jesuits is monarchical and even military in its character. The only elected officials are the General and his assistants; all others are appointed, the provincials, rectors, and superiors of missions by the General, the minor officials, ministers, prefects of studies, pastors, librarians, etc., by the provincials. If we rank the Superior General as equivalent to a general of the army, his assistants are his general staff, the provincials are colonels commanding regiments, the rectors are correspondingly company commanders, and the minor officials are subalterns or lieutenants.

The Jesuit higher superiors were never quite happy to have the Vicar Apostolic act also as Jesuit superior of the mission. But the English Jesuits accepted the arrangement. We may say here in anticipation that as soon as the American Jesuits took over the mission, the Jesuit superior was always other than the Vicar Apostolic. If, as regularly happened, the Jesuit superior of the mission was elevated to the episcopate as Vicar Apostolic, another Jesuit superior was at once appointed in his place.

Even virtuous and obedient religious men still keep their natural tendency toward independence of action. The Jesuit superiors, aware of this fact, had a proper fear that the Jesuits working in the isolation of missions should come to think and act as secular priests, and not as members of a rigorously organized Society. Hence, even in the remotest missions, the Jesuit organization was kept up as carefully as in the old established provinces.

It may be of interest to note some of the entries in the catalogue of the English Province for the year 1875, when the renowned Peter Gallway, one of the many Irishmen in the English Province, was provincial. The English Province then had 388 members, of whom 174 were priests. In its two missions, British Guiana, and Jamaica (with British Honduras as part of it,) it had 26 priests and 2 lay brothers. Of these, 8 priests and one lay brother were in Jamaica.
There were in 1875 four places of residence for the Jesuits. The superior of the mission, Father Woollett, lived alone, at the Retreat, Brown's Town; Father Lootjens lived alone, at Belmont, Malvern; Father Anthony Butler lived alone, at Agulta Vale, Anotto Bay; and five priests, with the lay brother, Daniel Reynolds, lived in the residence attached to Holy Trinity Church, Kingston.

Each man's work is carefully indicated. Father Woollett, besides his official positions, is a parish priest and missionary for the counties of Middlesex and Cornwall. Father Lootjens is a curate, and visits the "Catholics scattered throughout St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, and Manchester." Father Butler is a parish priest, missionary to May River, Preston Hill, and Kings Weston, and military chaplain for Newcastle.

Of the six Jesuits in Kingston, Father Hathaway is the "minister", or domestic superintendent, a curate in the parish, prefect of the "poor school" and boy's sodality, visits the hospital and the prison, chaplain of the nuns, missionary to

Anthony Butler, another Irishman, was born in Galway, 1830. From 1850 to 1866, he held a commission in the Royal Irish Fusiliers, and was in India during the Mutiny. In 1866, he resigned his commission as captain and entered the Jesuit Novitiate at Roehampton. After the short course in theology he was ordained in 1872, and left at once for Jamaica. He came back for his tertianship, at Tronchiennes, in 1876; and 1878 was consecrated bishop of Melipotismus, and appointed Vicar Apostolic of British Guiana. There he died, August 25, 1901, on the twenty-third anniversary of his consecration. Letters and Notices, 26: 275-285. Father Delany errs (op. cit., p 87), when he gives 1869 as the date of his consecration.
Mountain Head, and military chaplain at Up Park. Father Dupont is parish priest, prefect of the girls' sodality, missionary to Above Rocks and Avocat. Father Bertolio is a curate, prefect of the Ladies of Charity Sodality. Father Jaeckel is a curate, prefect of the College, chaplain to the Fleet and the camp at Port Royal. Father Little is a curate, and missionary to Norbrook, Bellevue, and Spanish Town. And Brother Reynolds is treasurer of the house, teaches in the "poor school", and gives catechetical instructions in the church.

All this was simply good order: every man in his definite place, with an assigned task, and no overlapping of boundaries. It made for efficiency and for harmony. There is no hint in any of the records available that there was internal friction amongst the Jesuits in Jamaica, except for the instance of Father Jaeckel. But we may be sure that it was the character of the individual Jesuits which made for harmony, as much at least as any exactness of organization.

III

Complete details of the financial administration of the Mission of Jamaica are not available. But from the records which are at hand, it is evident that the Mission was not self-supporting. Missions very rarely are self-supporting, at least

9 Catalogus Provinciae Angliae Societatis Jesu: Ineute Anno MDCCCLXXV. Roehampton, 1875. The "Missio Jamaicensis" is on p. 34.
during the early stages of their development. The sources of
maintenance for the Jamaica Mission were chiefly these four:
1. local contributions of various sorts; 2. assistance from
the English Province of the Jesuits; 3. alms from Europe,
particularly from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith;

The local contributions included such items as collec-
tions at church services, stipends for Masses and Baptisms and
the like, special collections for buildings, school fees, sale
of books, organized collections by societies such as the
Jamaica Catholic Association, and individual gifts. The small-
est of these contributions came from the ordinary collections
10
taken up at church services. The largest were individual gifts
from wealthy persons. Thus, the first church at Agualta Vale
was given by Captain Washington Hibbert in 1868. It was made
11
of iron, and was shipped out in sections from England. Two
men, James Lecesne and John Gordon, were chiefly instrumental
in constructing the second church at Above Rocks, in 1887, on
land that had been given for the first church, forty years
12
before. The Baroness von Kettelholdt, who became a Catholic in

may be mentioned that this condition has persisted in Jamaica.
Later on it will be referred to, frequently, in The Woodstock
Letters. The reasons for it will be discussed in Chapter 6.
11 Delany, p. 75.
12 Delany, p. 881.
1881, next year gave the land and materials for the church of St. Thomas Aquinas at Whitehall.

In the letters from Jesuits in Jamaica during the English period, there is no mention of stipends for Masses or of any dependence upon the ordinary collections taken up at Mass. Special collections for the building of a church or school are occasionally noted. Here is a specimen report of one from a letter of Father Butler's in 1876:

"The congregation (of Preston Hill) numbers about forty or fifty souls. They have contributed all the money their poverty could afford, about £10, for the building of a new church." 14

Father Woollett, starting a school at Falmouth in 1866, got some one to allow him the free use of a room for the school, and brought out a teacher from Kingston. "He is promised eighteen children to begin with, who will pay him 6d. a week; and I promised him £25 out of my allowance, for the first year, and £5 for school-furniture, desks, etc." 15

The Jamaica Catholic Association was founded by Father Jones in 1867, to collect and distribute financial aid for the home missions. In its first year it collected £167 - 7s.-6d. Of this sum, it voted £100 for the erection of the iron church given by Captain Hibbert for Agualta Vale, £20 to finish the church at May River, and £10 for the poor. 16

13 Delany, 9. 86.
14 Letters and Notices, 11: 67, (1877)
15 Letters and Notices, 4: 11 (1867). By his "allowance" is meant the Government grant, of which more will be said later. 16. Delany, 73.
From the data given in one of his letters, it may be enlightening to tabulate Father Woollett's budget for the year 1867. It can be summed up thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCOME</th>
<th>EXPENDITURES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government Grant...£100</td>
<td>Personal (travel, servant, horses, etc.) £123-14-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Barrett's contribution. 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations, subscriptions... 32-19-9</td>
<td>Establishing schools 81-3-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of school books........ 6-8 -6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance from 1866........ 63</td>
<td>School liabilities (referred to above). 30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\text{\£252-8-3} + \text{\£234-17-6} = \text{\£486-25-9}
\]

This left him with a balance of \£17-10-9 with which to begin the year 1868. It will be noted that his income from collections and stipends amounted to only one-sixth of his total income and that the other five-sixths were made up chiefly out of Government grant and the single gift from Mr. Barrett.

The English Province was not in a position to contribute much directly to the maintenance of the Mission. Its indirect contribution, however, was a large one, in as much as it supported during their training years the men who were to give their services to the Mission. The Province also paid the travelling expenses of the missionaries from Europe to Jamaica; but there are indications that the money for this purpose came from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. For the year 1837, the sum of 800 francs is set down as given directly.
to the English Jesuits for their missionaries; and the only missionaries the English Jesuits then had were the two on their way to Jamaica.

There are no records at hand regarding the amount of alms collected in Europe by Father Dupeyron in 1864, by Father Dupont in 1878, and both in Europe and America by Father Porter in 1880. As to the efforts of Father Porter after the disastrous hurricane of 1880, his biographers say only this: "He begged alms in England and even in the United States, and eventually put things on a better footing than they had been before the calamity." Since Father Delany lists, as a result of the hurricane, four churches and six schools completely wrecked, and large damage done to four other churches, the alms which sufficed to replace all those structures was evidently considerable.

The steadiest source of alms was the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. The annual comptes-rendus published in the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi make clear that this Society gave financial aid to the Mission of Jamaica every year after it became a Jesuit Mission in 1837.

18 Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, (1838), 11: 290
20 Delany, 95.
The first contributions were given directly to the English Province. In later years, up to 1856, the contributions were divided: the larger part of the allotment to Jamaica went to the Vicar Apostolic, the smaller to the Jesuits directly. When Bishop Fernández died in 1855, and the Vicars Apostolic were thenceforth Jesuits, the contribution was given solely to the Vicar Apostolic.

It is a satisfaction to be able to present something definite as regards these contributions made by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. The moneys given for the Jamaica Mission between the years 1841 and 1855 can be tabulated in this way:

These figures are all taken from the annual comptes-rendus. In the compte-rendu for 1844 (Annales, 17: 179) the Mission of Jamaica is listed for the first time as sending some alms to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. The amount sent was 240 francs. By way of comparison, it may be noted that the gift of the Society to Jamaica in that year 1844, which was 15,000 francs, was the same amount as its gift to Bishop Henni in Milwaukee, and 3,000 francs more than its gift to Bishop Quarter in Chicago.

Unfortunately, Jamaica reduced its return contribution to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith to 150 francs in 1845 (Annales, 18: 213), to 200 francs in 1846 (Annales, 19: 185), and dropped it completely thereafter until 1854, when it gave the largest sum in its history, 677 francs, 75 centimes. (Annales, 21: 177)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>GIVEN TO VICARIATE</th>
<th>GIVEN TO JESUITS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>4,920 francs</td>
<td>1,000 francs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>10,640 &quot;</td>
<td>2,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>15,240 &quot;</td>
<td>600 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>15,000 &quot;</td>
<td>nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>4,000 &quot;</td>
<td>nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>4,960 &quot;</td>
<td>nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>3,200 &quot;</td>
<td>1,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>2,880 &quot;</td>
<td>nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>8,000 &quot;</td>
<td>5,140 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>9,500 &quot;</td>
<td>5,500 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>12,000 &quot;</td>
<td>3,750 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>13,000 &quot;</td>
<td>8,650 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>15,000 &quot;</td>
<td>3,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>11,000 &quot;</td>
<td>1,500 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>10,000 &quot;</td>
<td>nothing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total contributions recorded as given directly to the Jesuits in Jamaica between 1837 and 1854 amount to 31,990 francs. In the same period, Bishop Fernández received a total of 129,340 francs, or roughly about four times as much as was given to the Jesuits.

After 1855, the contributions of the Society were given solely to the Vicariate, with the identifying note in the comptes-rendus that it was a Jesuit Mission. The small return gifts from Jamaica to the Society began again in 1859, and with occasional lapses continued annually, in the sum of 500 francs, up to 1865. After that time, the contributions lapsed almost entirely until 1879, when they were resumed for nine more successive years, but in the smaller annual average of about 300 francs. Then they ceased for good.

A compilation of the sums given annually by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith to the Vicariate of Jamaica,
between 1856 and the coming of the American Jesuits in 1894 shows a total of 469,623 francs, 50 centimes. This added to the subsidies granted to Bishop Fernandez and to the Jesuits between 1837 and 1855 makes a grand total of 630,953 francs. Beyond doubt, this sum represents the largest single aid given toward the maintenance of the Jamaica Mission.

The second largest known source of financial help to the Mission was the government grant. This was of two sorts: a grant to the missionaries directly, and a grant-in-aid for the construction and maintenance of schools. Of the second we shall have to say something later, when dealing with the educational work of the Jesuits. But the direct aid to the missionaries, which was of considerable importance, must be considered here.

As early as 1842, the Jamaica House of Assembly, in answer to a petition from the Catholics of Cornwall and Middlesex, authorized a grant of £200 to help provide these Catholics

22 The total return alms sent from Jamaica to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith between 1844 and 1888 amounted to 8,983 francs 43 centimes, or a little less than 1\% of the moneys received by Jamaica from the Society. For this discrepancy there is a ready explanation in the poverty of the Catholics in Jamaica. But poverty will not explain why it is that, with the exception of Father Dupeyron's letter of 1840 (Annales, 13: 66-69), no account of the work of the Jesuits in Jamaica appears in the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi. This periodical, which began with the founding of the Society in 1822, was at first published only in French, although later in six languages. But there were other Jesuits than Father Dupeyron in Jamaica who could write in French.
(not blacks, but Europeans) with religious instruction. In 1843, the grant was reduced to £150, but was continued at that figure up to 1847, when it was further reduced to £100.

In this reduced sum, there was no trouble henceforth about the grant to the Jesuit missionaries until 1870, when the House of Assembly passed a bill desestabishing the Anglican Church in Jamaica. There was momentary uncertainty as to whether this act involved also the grant to the Jesuits. Father Woollett promptly petitioned that this special grant to the Catholic missionaries had nothing in common with the large establishment of the Anglican Church, but was of the same character as the like grant to the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Kingston. The Governor approved of his interpretation, and continued the grant. Succeeding Governors acted upon this ruling.

It must however be noted that this grant was only for the priests engaged in work in the outlying districts of Cornwall and Middlesex. There was no grant for the Catholic missionaries in Kingston, who, under the regime of the English Province, were usually six out of the eight Jesuits in the Mission.

23 Letter of Colonial Secretary to Father Dupeyron, January 1871; quoted in Delany, 77-78.
24 Letters and Notices, 24: 418 (1898).
25 Catalogus Provinciae Angliae, 1871-1893.
This fact, that the work of the English Jesuits was largely centered in Kingston, was due to no fault of the Jesuits. But it was a fact that as late as 1893, when the Mission was turned over to the American Jesuits, only two of the eight priests in Jamaica were stationed outside of Kingston. The great reason for this unequal distribution of the missionaries was the poverty of the countryside. The villages simply could not support resident priests.

The two priests who lived at The Retreat and at Belmont had to serve twenty stations in Cornwall and Middlesex; and the six priests in Kingston cared for seven stations ranging as far as Avocat, thirty-five miles away. This sort of work involved a great deal of travelling; and the travel, in a country then so poorly developed as Jamaica, involved much hardship, through lack of roads, lack of adequate housing at the stations, and often lack of proper food.

In the outlying counties there were practically no roads suitable for wheeled vehicles. Hence the missionaries, because the distances they traversed between stations were great, had to journey on horseback. The horses did not cost a great deal; Father Woollett sets down £3 to £12 as the range of price; but

26 For the year 1875-1876 only, a third priest, Father Anthony Butler, lived at Agualta Vale. *Catalogus Provinciae Angliae*, 1876.
food for them was hard to get and fairly expensive. This latter fact was the foundation for Father Woollett's plea in 1868 that it was cheaper for the missionary to keep six horses than to keep three.  

Father Woollett explains the paradox convincingly enough. The explanation was called forth by an article of Lady Hubert's in Temple Bar, which Father Woollett had not read, but had heard talked of in Kingston, and which mentioned that he kept five horses for his work.

In point of fact, he insisted, he could not afford to keep only five horses, and still less could he afford to keep four or three horses. If he had the smaller number of horses, he would have to work them constantly; and that meant he would have to buy corn (maize) to feed them. Now, at the taverns corn cost 16s. ($4.00) a bushel. He had to have three horses, he explained, for each journey of a month; one for himself, one for his servant, and the third for baggage and as a reserve saddle horse. If he had six horses, he could leave three of them at grass (which cost nothing) in alternate months, and work the other three on such grazing as they could get on the way and at stopping-places. In this way, he saved the expense of corn-feeding, which would be necessary if he worked three horses continuously.

27 Letters and Notices (1868), 5: 202-204.
Jamaica is a land of rains. Although there is a specific "rainy season" from May to November, "there is no record of a completely rainless month." At Kingston, the rainfall is not excessive: an annual mean of 32.6 inches. But on the plateau the annual mean rainfall reaches 100 inches, and is as high as 208 inches on the northeast side of the Blue Mountains. That sort of rain made even the horseback trails hard going; and meant flooded streams and plains to cross, and dangerous boggy places in the so-called "roads". These hardships of travel crop up constantly in the accounts sent to England by the missionaries.

The rains also rotted the thatch-roofs and the clay-wattled walls of houses and bush-churches. Poverty made it impossible for the missionaries to cope with this constant decay. There are plenty of passages like this, taken from a letter of Father James F. Splaine:

"At present the only house at May River is the confessional, a little box seven feet square, or the sacristy which has less available space... At Preston I have to sleep in a Negro's hut. The walls are only three feet high, the bed is a board covered with a dried cow's hide, and the ventilation is very imperfect, considering that six or seven Negroes sleep in it with me. The windows consist of two little holes, neither of them six inches square; and the Negroes shut the one on their side every night, for they have a horror of the cool night air." 30

30 Ibid. (1871), 7: 154.
Father Thomas Porter, writing in 1887, says of himself and the other Jesuits:

"We are all as poor as can be. Once in the country a piece of honeycomb was sent in for my breakfast, with a request that I would return the wax. Very few of them own beds; they sleep on a mat on the ground. Pray for them, and pray for me." 31

There is no novelty in this. It is the routine hardship of life in a poor, tropical mission; something to be taken in one's stride, as part of the ordinary day's work. But by all human ways of estimating, such poverty is depressing, and is an obstacle to efficient missionary work.

CHAPTER V

THE AMERICAN JESUITS IN JAMAICA

I

As a rule, missionary work is plodding work. The brilliance, natural and supernatural, of such a career as that of St. Francis Xavier of St. Peter Claver or Father Anchieta, is an exception. There was no such brilliance in the work of the English Jesuits in the Jamaica Mission. Nevertheless, there was plenty of quiet heroism, in the monotonous round of religious efforts, whose effectiveness depended not only on the capacities of the missionaries themselves, but upon the mysterious dispensations of God's Providence, and upon a variety of circumstances not in the control of the missionaries.

The English Jesuits had worked faithfully and well in Jamaica. When, in the course of events, on November 1, 1893, Father Luis Martin, the General of the Jesuits, transferred two of their Caribbean missions to other Provinces, they had few natural bonds to break between them and Jamaica. The Jamaica Mission was allotted to the Maryland-New York Province, and the Mission of British Honduras to the Missouri Province. In place of these, the English Province was ordered to take over the formerly independent Mission of Zambesi in South Africa.

Woodstock Letters (1893), 22: 564.
The first American Jesuits arrived in Kingston, April 7, 1894. They were only three: Fathers John J. Collins, Patrick F.X. Mulry, and Andrew Rapp. Two English Jesuits, Fathers Hogan and Martyn-Parker, left at once for England; but Bishop Gordon, Fathers Beauclerk, McCormick, and Spillmann, and Brother Reddington, five in all, remained to carry on the work until more American Jesuits could be sent to replace them.

There was no reason to expect any jubilation in the Maryland-New York Province over its newly assigned Mission; it was just another task to be carried on simply and faithfully. There was, however, the natural interest of novelty about the new venture; the first foreign mission of an American Province. Henceforth, it is to the Woodstock Letters that we must look for information about the work of the Jesuits in Jamaica.

A survey of the Woodstock Letters from this point of view is interesting. Between 1893 and the present issue of 1942, there have been thirty-eight articles dealing with the Jamaica Mission. Of these, fourteen appeared in the first two years, whilst the novelty of the Mission was still fresh. There was one article in 1897; then silence for nearly three years. In the issues for 1900, there were three articles about Jamaica; then another silence for three years. In successive volumes,

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1903-1907, there were five articles, one a year; then two years of silence. In 1915-1916, there were five articles, a series, on Obeah and Duppyism; then five years of silence. The last article on Jamaica to appear in the Woodstock Letters, a very brief excerpt from a local newspaper, was in 1930. All told, there are thirty-six years of the Woodstock Letters since 1897 which have not a word about the Jamaica Mission.

Still, the flagging interest of the Woodstock Letters in Jamaica must not be taken as an indication that the work itself of the American Jesuits in Jamaica lacked vigor and zeal. Quite to the contrary, the new missionaries took hold with a will. The Maryland-New York provincial, Father William Pardow, promptly visited the Mission, to look over the field and take counsel on the spot. More American Jesuits followed the first three: Fathers Jeremiah Coleman and Patrick Kelly within a few months, Fathers Denis Lynch and Abraham Emerick with a year.

There was no rush about changes in administration. Bishop Gordon stayed on as Vicar Apostolic until ill health compelled him to return to England in 1906. But on November 25, 1898, he surrendered his office of Jesuit superior, which he had held since August 15, 1889, to Father James Noonan.

In September, 1898, Father Henry Beauclerk left Jamaica. He had been six years in the Mission, and had done splendid work. He was transferred to Demerara, and worked there until 1909, when in ill health, he went to Barbadoes, and died there September 9, 1909. The last of the English Jesuit priests in Jamaica was Father William Spillmann, who died in Kingston, March 3, 1902, after twenty-four years in the Mission.

Father Mulry succeeded Father Noonan as superior on October 21, 1903, and continued in office until March 12, 1906, when Father John J. Collins took his place. Then, when Bishop Gordon left for England in that year, Father Collins was appointed Vicar Apostolic, and was consecrated as titular Bishop of Antiphellos, October 28, 1907. The Mission was now completely American.

The Catalogue of the Mission for the last year of Bishop Gordon in Jamaica shows that he had under his jurisdiction fourteen American Jesuits: twelve priests, and two lay brothers. Three of the priests were living alone in the out-

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7 Father Spillmann was a musician of note, who composed and directed much of the music for the services in Holy Trinity Church. The people looked upon him as a saint, for his zeal and above all his patience in the confessional. Delany 121. There is not even an obituary notice of him in either Letters and Notices or The Woodstock Letters.
8 Catalogus Provinciae Md.-N.Y. Delany, 125.
lying residences; all the other Jesuits were in Kingston. The total number of Jesuits was just twice as large as when the Mission was turned over in 1893.

II

At first sight, one might get the impression that the new missionaries were more aggressive and energetic than the English Jesuits had been. At any rate, they began at once to show some of the characteristic enterprise of their nation. They promptly established three new mission stations in fields which the English Jesuits, for lack of men and money, had not been able to reach. Two of these new mission stations were at Mount Joseph, some ten miles beyond May's River, and at Tom's River, over near King Weston. But it must be noted that it was the English Jesuit, Father Beauclerk, who in 1896 began these two. The third, at Murray Mountain, was begun by Father Emerick, who soon had a little stone building ready to serve as both church and school. It was dedicated on February 13, 1900, by Bishop Gordon.

Father Emerick liked solid things. He put up another stone building at Alva, to be used as school and parish hall,
and made a great ceremony of opening it for the people on October 9, 1905. The day before, in the face of much hostile criticism from the Protestants, he had unveiled an immense crucifix erected on the lawn in front of his residence at Brown's Town.

The English Jesuits had in several places been content to rent or borrow their residences, or even to beg the use of a room in some one's house. But the Americans, not so much at ease in an alien country, built houses of their own, at Spanish Town and Murray Mountain.

In Kingston, the Jesuits had been living at 26 North Street, in crowded quarters which had somehow also to give room to the classes of St. George College. Father Mulry, shortly after he became superior in 1903, bought a large property, known as Winchester Park, in the center of Kingston. To this site, the classes of St. George College were transferred in 1905. Later, the new cathedral and the Jesuits' residence were to be built there.

The year 1905, was one for additions to the material equipment of the Mission. Bishop Gordon sold the property of the old St. Martin's Church, and with the proceeds of the

12 Ibid. (1906), 35: 211.
13 Delany, 119-120.
built a fine two-story structure adjoining Holy Trinity Church on Sutton Street. This building was appropriately known as Gordon Hall, and was used as a headquarters for the parish organizations and as a place of social gatherings and recreation. It was completed and formally opened for use on August 11, 1905.

These new missionaries were mostly young men. Four of them had not yet made their final vows as Jesuits when they were sent to Jamaica. They had enthusiasm and great hopes, and were confident that their Province would stand back of the new Mission to be a ready help in its needs. But although Bishop Gordon delighted in their coming and worked as hard as any of them, age and infirmity were gathering upon him. He was able to start some projects he had long looked forward to, and to smooth the transition in administration for the newcomers; and then he had to give up.

Father Collins had been called back to his Province in 1902, had worked for two years on the home missions, and then had been made rector of Fordham University, New York. When Bishop Gordon was forced to retire, Father Collins came, on March 9, 1906, as Apostolic Administrator. At once, he stepped

15 Woodstock Letters (1909), 38: 115. Delany, 123.
into the new spirit of material expansion. He bought a large estate, Bushy Park, a few miles west of Kingston, which he intended to use as a model farm and a means of training boys.

These are only a few of the large and outstanding instances of material advance made possible in the Mission by the advent of more men and the assurance of more money.

III

The material development of the facilities of the Jamaica Mission was of course, only a means toward enlarging the spiritual work of the missionaries. What Bishop Gordon had in mind, much more than new houses and lands, was new projects. The first of these was the founding of a Catholic periodical. It was called Catholic Opinion, was published monthly, and its subscription cost 2s. 6d. a year. It was more than a mere parish bulletin, since it contained notices of the detailed work of the missionaries and some good historical sketches of the whole Mission. The first issue appeared in January, 1896, with Father Dennis Lynch as editor; but as long as he remained in Jamaica, Bishop Gordon was most active in its management.

17 Delany, 125, 135, 139.
Most of the new projects were concerned with the educational work of the Jesuits, and these will be considered in a separate chapter. Moreover, there were also schemes for the material aid and social betterment of the Catholics of Jamaica. The social schemes, it is true, had an educational side, since they were all based upon the idea of helping the Jamaicans to help themselves. We may properly view them as humanitarian and economic in purpose. As an illustration of their character and difficulties, we may single out the projects aimed at improving the lot of orphans and destitute children. They may be briefly sketched as grouped around the initial orphanage set up at the institution universally known in Kingston as "Alpha."

Alpha was the name of an estate of about fifty acres on the eastern outskirts of Kingston, which Father Thomas Porter bought in 1880. Here he began with an orphanage and industrial school for girls. The sketchy sort of religious community of women that he organized was primarily intended to care for these children. These Jamaica Sisters, as they were popularly called, were never very numerous. When the Sisters of Mercy came to Kingston in 1890, they absorbed this local congregation as individual accretions to their own order.

At that time also additional cottages were built at Alpha, to house an orphanage and school for boys. When the American Jesuits came, there were about ninety children at Alpha. It was for the future of these boys that Bishop Gordon was so much concerned. In 1898, he began sending ten of the boys from Alpha to the old estate at Reading, which Father Woollett had acquired for the Jesuits. His plan was to put the boys on trial at farming. If after eighteen months training they proved their industry and skill, each would be given ten acres of land as his own. At first the Bishop appointed a native Jamaican named Thomas to look after the boys. Thomas could not control or teach them. Then for eight or nine months three Sisters of Mercy from Alpha made a trial effort at Reading. They too had to give up the undertaking.

But Bishop Gordon would not give it up. He next bought a large banana plantation, "Donnington", in the Parish of St. Mary, and negotiated with the Italian Salesian Fathers of Don Bosco to take it over as an agricultural school for his boys. Seven Salesians, Fathers Barni, Velotia, Ricardi, Biebuych, Deehan, and two lay brothers, entered upon the task in the years 1902 and 1903.

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21 Ibid. (1900), 29: 13.
22 Father Deehan had finished his studies in the Salesian Congregation, and was ready for ordination when he came to Kingston. He was ordained priest by Bishop Gordon on April 7, 1902, the first priest to be ordained in Jamaica. Delany, 122.
The Salesians wanted parishes also. In 1904, the old Mission station at Falmouth and the new church which Father Emerick had built at Refuge were put under their care. In 1905, the Salesians begged to be relieved of the burdensome and unsuccessful experiment of Donnington, and were given charge of the Mission station at Reading.

When Father Collins became Administrator in 1906, he bought another big estate, Bushy Park, just a few miles west of Kingston. He brought the Salesians in from Reading, and again tried at Bushy Park the scheme of a model farm and training school. This attempt also failed of success. The Salesians gradually withdrew their men from the work, and the last of them, Father Barni and the two lay brothers, who had also been the first to come, left Jamaica on April 14, 1908, after six years in the island. Thenceforth the Jesuits were again solely in charge.

These were generous plans. That they failed in their aim to indoctrinate young Jamaicans with enthusiasm for work and with skill in farming was due to no fault of the missionaries. Where the fault lay may appear when we come to consider, in another chapter, the ways of Jamaicans. Bushy Park was sold in 1909, when the money it brought was badly needed in the

Mission; and Donnington was sold by Bishop O'Hare in 1920, to meet another need.

None the less, the routine and essential work of the Mission went on, undeterred by the failure of these special schemes to help the people. That work was, like all spiritual work, addressed to the minds and wills of the Catholic Jamaicans, through the ministry of the sacraments, through religious instruction in church and school.

IV

In the midst of this eager material and spiritual development of the Mission there came the disastrous earthquake of 1907. The major shock, which swept across the whole island, occurred on Monday afternoon, January 14th. Its severest effect by far were experienced in Kingston itself, where the loss of life was estimated as about 800 out of a population of some 40,000, and nearly $50,000,000 set down as the value of the buildings destroyed. Brick and stone buildings were universally wrecked. The flimsier native structures of wood yielded to the vibrating shock of the earthquake, and were comparatively little damaged. But fire, following on the quake, swept away many of these, and completed the destruction of the central business portion of Kingston.

24 Delany, 135, 211.
The Mission buildings throughout Jamaica suffered the same fate. There were twenty-nine churches and nearly as many schools in the Mission when the disaster came, besides several convents, the Orphanage buildings, Gordon Hall, and St. George's College. Most of these were built of brick or stone; and hence 26 were thrown down.

The Jesuits, and the Sisters, who escaped without loss of life and with only a few seriously hurt, did heroic work in caring for the injured and dying, and in trying to restore order amongst the panic-stricken people. When Admiral Davis brought three American warships to the rescue, on January 17th, he sent doctors and sailors to establish an open-air hospital in the Jesuits' place, Winchester Park. All of these, with scarcely a Catholic amongst them, were generous in their praise of the work done by the Jesuits and the Sisters, who devoted themselves to nursing the injured. But because Admiral Davis sent marines to quell a revolt amongst the prisoners in the penitentiary, the Governor, Sir Alexander Swettenham, asked the American warships to withdraw from the harbor, and refused further aid from them.

27 Delany, 127 although regretting this incident, praises Swettenham as "in all other respects one of the best of the Governors."
The Jesuits carried on the hospital for three weeks after the American naval rescuers were forced to retire. In this they were helped, not only by the Sisters, but by two generous physicians, one of whom, Dr. George Lecesne, was a former pupil of St. George's College. They cared for 319 patients, of whom eight died.

At once, Father Collins and his fellow Jesuits set about the huge task of reconstruction. Four Jesuits had come to Kingston just before the earthquake to conduct a mission in Holy Trinity church. Two of these returned to the States to beg financial aid; the other two stayed to help in the emergency. A number of letters in the course of 1907 make acknowledgement of the moneys collected in Jesuit churches in the United States for Jamaica.

Father Williams wrote: "By February 11th the Catholic schools had all been reopened, some in the open air." Within a month of the disaster, there were "somewhat over fifteen hundred children actually in attendance at the Catholic schools of Kingston." The reason for this haste in getting the schools going again was not merely the obvious one of carrying out the

29 Woodstock Letters, 36: 22.
31 Ibid., 36: 398, and 47: 366.
school programme. There was another reason also: the danger that the Protestants might usurp the Catholic schools sites, and thus take advantage of the local laws to oust the Catholics from their school privileges and grants in these particular districts.

Father Collins was appointed titular Bishop of Antiphellos and Vicar Apostolic of Jamaica, and was consecrated in the Jesuit church of St. Francis Xavier, New York, on October 28, 1907. Father John Harpes took his place as Jesuit superior of the Mission. The work of collecting funds for a new cathedral was begun immediately; and the other churches of the city were rebuilt with alms gathered in the United States. Two of these churches, St. Peter Claver's and St. Francis Xavier's were dedicated in 1908; two others in 1910. The corner-stone of the new cathedral was laid on December 13, 1908; and in the meantime work was begun on a new residence for the Jesuits, at Winchester Park, which was occupied for use on July 9, 1910. The cathedral was completed at a cost of nearly $150,000, and was dedicated on February 5, 1911.

33 Woodstock Letters (1912), 41: 291-297.
34 Delany, 236-139, prints a list of contributions toward the cost of the cathedral
Thereafter the work went ahead as if there had been no disaster. More Jesuits came. There were twenty-one of them in Jamaica in 1911: the Bishop, seventeen priests, three brothers. Two years later, the number had grown to twenty-three, of whom twenty were priests, and only two lay brothers. Five of the priests were teaching in St. George's College; and one of these, Father James V. Kelly, was also editor of Catholic Opinion. There were five priests outside of Kingston, one each at Spanish Town, Brown’s Town, and Buff Bay, and two at Mantego Bay.

Father William O'Hare succeeded Father Harpes as superior on August 17, 1915. In 1918, Bishop Collins asked Propaganda for permission to retire. The permission was granted; and Father O'Hare was named Vicar Apostolic on September 2, 1919, and consecrated titular Bishop of Maximianopolis on February 25, 1920. The next year, 1921, negotiations were begun to form a separate New England Province out of part of the northern territory of the Maryland-New York Province. These were completed, and the new Province proclaimed, July 31, 1926. On January 6, 1929, the New England Province was charged with the Jamaica Mission.

38 *Woodstock Letters*
There were then between 30,000 and 40,000 Catholics in Jamaica, nearly half of these in Kingston. There were some 6,500 children in the Catholic schools of Kingston. The official Jesuit statistics for the year 1927-1928 give these figures:

- Baptisms: 2,362
- Confessions: 76,260
- Communions: 281,011
- Marriages: 301

In its general outlines, the work of the American Jesuits in Jamaica was naturally the same as the work of the English Jesuits before them. The differences were chiefly these two: the American Provinces were able to send more men to the Mission; and the lesser distance now between the Mission and its Province made possible both a more frequent change of missionaries and an easier approach for begging alms from the people of the United States.

Thus the number of Jesuits in Jamaica grew steadily from the eight priests and one brother of 1894 to the impressive total of fifty-nine Jesuits in 1942: besides Bishop Thomas Emmet, fifty-four priests and four brothers. There were three Mission stations outside of Kingston in 1894; now there are 39

*Fructus Ministerii Prov. Md.-N.Y., 1927-1928.* The uncertain figures for the Catholic population indicates a lack of proper census, which will be considered later.
fourteen, served by twenty-five resident priests; and the faculty of St. George's College had grown to eighteen priests.

The facility of replacing sick or worn-out missionaries by new recruits from the American Provinces did not mean that no Jesuit stayed long in Jamaica. There were many who remained eight or ten years. Father Peter Kayser came in 1896, and stayed to celebrate his silver jubilee as a priest at Kingston in 1917. He spent twenty-two years in Jamaica, twelve of them in the country missions.

Father Patrick Mulry came with the first American Jesuits in 1894, when he had been a priest only one year. He worked in the Mission for twenty-eight years, as parish priest in Kingston, as superior from October, 1903, to March, 1906, as editor of Catholic Opinion for many years, as missionary in the out-lying stations. He went back to New York in the spring of 1922, only because he had a cancer of the stomach; and died there on November 2d of that year.

Nor did the greater ease of opportunity for begging alms in America mean that the Jamaica Mission under American Jesuits was wealthy, or even in comfortable financial condition. On

40 Catalogus Provinciae Novae Angliae, 1942; pp. 50-57.
41 Woodstock Letters, (1934), 63: 101-107. This obituary notice of Father Kayser who died at Monroe, N.Y. in his eighty-first year, contains a letter of his, written in 1931, filled with kindly reminiscences of his years in Jamaica.
the contrary, the struggle in the Mission to make both ends meet was never-ending; and the poverty of the Jesuits was often extreme.

The people back in the States from whom the missionaries begged aid were made aware of this poverty now and then, when the Mission properties were wrecked by storm or earthquake. Thus the earthquake of 1907 touched the charity of many and brought some relief money to the stricken Jesuits. Yet very few outside of Jamaica paid much attention to the storm of 1900, which destroyed the banana plantation on which St. Peter Claver's Orphanage chiefly depended for support; or to the hurricane of 1903, which wrecked churches, schools, and priests' residences at May River, Port Antonio, and all through the districts served by Fathers Hardin, Emerick, and Bridges.

Least of all did the people at home appreciate the constant pressure of poverty on the Jamaican Jesuits, quite independent of any spectacular disaster. When Father Williams wrote movingly of the distress caused by the earthquake of 1907, he reminded his readers that financial distress was no new experience for the missionaries.

43 Writing several months after the earthquake, Father Williams said: "The total amount thus far received will cover only one fifteenth of the actual losses." *Woodstock Letters*, 36: 22.
"Less than a year before the earthquake the Provision Dealer had refused to sell the Kingston Community any more meat till they would pay their bills, saying that their credit was gone; while it was only toward the close of the past year that a commotion was caused in the city by the arrival of the missionary from one of the outlying districts in a rig that aroused no end of merriment amongst the street urchins, even among the graver elders of the city. With the advance of time the harness had gradually devolved into a mass of ropes and shoe-strings, while what might be called a carriage had in no way been backward in a similar devolution. Per force his own blacksmith and wheelwright, this good Father had replaced with a barrel stave each spoke as it rattled from the wheel, and when finally the bottom of the carriage gave way, a piece of tin roof was securely fastened in place with wire." 46

It was good for the fathers to have a sense of humor about these conditions; but a sense of humor butters no parsnips. All through their letters, the missionaries often make plain how little help they could get from the native Jamaicans. The Mission had constantly to borrow money to keep going; and then trust to some future aid from the States to meet the debt. Thus, at the time of the earthquake the Mission debt in Kingston alone was £3,300. Some of the funds gathered after the earthquake had had to go to pay these debts; and another debt of £12,000 had to be incurred in order to build the new cathedral.

46 Woodstock Letters, 36: 22-23.
47 Ibid., 36: 400.
48 Delany, 138-139.
The situation may be seen clearly if we analyse Father Delany's list of contributions toward the building of the Cathedral. The sum of £16,915, 11s, 9d, was raised from various sources, and to this was added the borrowed £12,000 which was needed to complete the cathedral. Of this £16,915, nearly one-third, 32% to be exact, was got through the sale of Bushy Park and the old property at 26 North Street; 30% came from individual donations in Jamaica; 15% was collected in the Jesuit parishes in the United States; 13% came from garden parties and similar entertainments; and only 10% came from church collections in Jamaica.

In the outlying stations financial conditions were even worse than in comparatively prosperous Kingston. Writing from May River, on January 17, 1909, Father Mulry good humoredly recounts a typical instance of finances:

"One of them (the church committee) has a large board on which he marks down the monthly dues which a certain number pay him and which he also checks off on the cards which they present to him for the purpose. The sum total of the monthly dues received today was 11s. 3d., and the Mass Collection was 10s. 8d. 3 farthings - in all five dollars and forty-two cents to help support priest and horse and poor in the locality, keep buggy and harness and church and two schools in repair, and, just now, build buggy-house and room for priest. Evidently not much to spare on frills." 49

49 Woodstock Letters, 38: 198. Three years earlier, he mentioned that at Falmouth, where there were two, Sisters of Mercy resident, the total collections at Mass, Sunday School, and evening services amounted to 9s. 1½d. ($2.28) Ibid., 35: 212.
Father Mulry noted that there were two hundred people present at the Mass when this collection was taken up; which means that their contributions averaged not quite two and a half cents apiece.

Father Maurice E. Prendergast, in 1912, tried to raise money by a raffle at the Mission station of Friendship. He bought 36 articles, and issued 300 raffle books, with 20 names in each. A chance at the prizes cost 3d (6 cents) each. But the Negroes thought they need only sell 36 chances for 36 prizes; so Father Prendergast had to postpone the raffle and turn the meeting into a dance which lasted from 22:30 to 5:00 A.M.

There was one property which brought in some revenue to help support the outlying missions. This was Reading Pen, which Mr. Buchanan had given to Father Woollett, with the proviso that the income from it should be used for the mission stations in Cornwall. It brought in about 200 a year. The other outlying missions had to look to Kingston for help.

The obvious fact is that the hill people of Jamaica are poor. But there are other circumstances affecting the Jamaicans which must be considered at least briefly if we are to understand the work of the Jesuits amongst them. These we must take up in the next chapter.

50 Ibid., 41: 295.
51 Father John Harpes, in Woodstock Letters, 36: 399.
CHAPTER VI

THE WAYS OF JAMAICANS

I

The work of the Jesuits in Jamaica was naturally conditioned by many circumstances, chief amongst which must be counted the character of the Jamaican people. As a first step in appreciating that character, we must recall that the people of Jamaica are predominately Negro. The official census of 1938 gave a total population of 1,173,645 persons; and of these less than 2% were white. Another 2% or so were East Indians, remnants of the great coolie labor importations of the 1840's. But since the date of the last census, 12,000 war evacuees from Gibraltar were sent to Jamaica. These were Spanish speaking people, for whose spiritual care the Jamaican Jesuits borrowed from the New Orleans Province Father John Buckley, S.J., who had been doing parish work amongst the Mexicans in El Paso, Texas.

There is no intention here to disparage the Negro, in emphasizing the fact that nearly eighty percent of the people

1 Platt, Wright, Weaver, and Fairchild, European Possessions in the Caribbean Area, New York, 1941; pp. 11-12. This figure works out to 267 persons to the square mile, as compared, say with 94 to the square mile in Illinois. World Almanac, 1942: p. 587.

of Jamaica are black and another eighteen percent are of mixed negroid stock. But the Negro had cultural qualities of his own, which unquestionably must be taken into account by the priests who work with and for him.

We meet with some of those qualities as soon as we ask the apparently simple question: how many Catholics are there in Jamaica? It seems impossible to get a definite and clear-cut answer to the question. It is true that the Government reports religious affiliations in its census; but the Jesuit writers show a tendency to doubt the accuracy of the Government figures. On the other hand, the estimates offered by the Catholics themselves are vague and conflicting.

Donovan, for instance, who spent all his life in Jamaica, puts down the figures of 10,000 Catholics in 1881, 12,000 in 1891, and 14,000 in 1908. His round numbers indicate an estimate only, not an exact counting. But without any startling increase by birth, conversions, or immigration to account for the jump in the estimate, an anonymous Jesuit missionary, in 1916, claimed 18,000 Catholics for Kingston alone. The Government census of 1921 gave 28,737 as the total number of Catholics in Jamaica; but Father Delany claimed that the number was nearly 40,000,

3 Catholic Encyclopedia, 8: 271
4 Woodstock Letters (1917), 46: 45, 50. The figures are 12,000 for Holy Trinity Parish, 6,000 for St. Anne's Parish.
5 Handbook of Jamaica, 1923; p 78.
6 Delany, 208.
We are not unfamiliar with such discrepancies here in the United States; and we may suspect that, in part at least, they are due to lack of diligence in our own Catholic reckoning. But in Jamaica the wide range of estimates of the number of Catholics is to be explained largely by the amazing religious fluidity of the Jamaican Negro. In an astonishingly large number of instances, he has no firm anchorage of religious belief; he refuses to stay put in any religion.

There is, therefore, what one may call a floating fringe of Catholics, who attend various other churches in addition to occasional attendance at Catholic services, and who are moved a good deal by the whim of the moment in deciding their religious affiliations. This religious bobbing around is bewildering to the white missionary; but is not unnatural amongst the simple black people, with their emotional immaturity and instability.

Black people are not stupid. The missionaries insist that, average for average, they are at least the equals of the whites in intelligence. But the black folks of Jamaica seem to keep the temperament of children, smart children, if you will,

7 Letters and Notices, 7: 263. Beauclerk, Woodstock Letters, 25: 73-74. Father Rapp had a whole Moravian congregation wander into his church services. Ibid., 24; 102. "It is hard to make them understand that they are not allowed to go to other churches." Ibid., 46; 370.
but still childishly ready to be moved by their imaginations and emotions, childishy irresponsible, happy-go-lucky, unstable.

Their are many earnest, intelligent, and logical Catholics amongst the Jamaican Negroes. But there are also enough of the vaguely uncertain Catholics amongst them to make accuracy in religious statistics impossible. Yet even counting in this shifting fringe of Catholics who think it odd to make any fuss about difference in religion, and who float from one church to another, the Catholics of Jamaica do not exceed four percent of the total population.

II

If we recall further that these Negro folks, with so large an element of emotional instability in their make-up, live in a tropical country, well-watered and fairly rich in natural resources for food and clothing and shelter, we can readily understand that they are not as industrious as people of sterner purpose in harsher lands. That fact underlies the domestic economy of Jamaica, and at least indirectly enters into the problem of the missionaries who work amongst the Jamaicans.

The poverty of the people, and their consequent inability to support the Mission, is more pronounced in the countryside and the small towns than it is in Kingston. There are two reasons for this fact. The first is that the small part of the population which is white or chiefly white in race, centers in
and around Kingston; and it is these people who hold the leadership in commerce, finance, and the professions, the sources of cash income. The second is that the majority of the Negroes live either by casual labor for others, at low wages, or by small subsistence farming; and neither of these yield much in the way of surplus cash income.

There is no need to labor the result of this situation on the financial support of the Mission. There is little ready money in Jamaica, especially outside of Kingston. The Jamaican Negro is not stingy. In fact, the missionaries often recount touching instances of generosity amongst the people, as in their gifts of food. But the people do not work very hard, and do not acquire much beyond their bare livelihood; they simply have little to give to the Church.

Mere subsistence in a tropical country does not call for a great deal of work; and it is quite natural that the people should not expend any more energy in work than is necessary. There are philosophers who may applaud them for that contentment with simple living, and that freedom from the restless ambition of other men. At the same time, these Negro folks have the

9 Encyclopedia Britannica (14th ed.), 12: 873.
normal human desires for impressive clothes, for wedding feasts and celebrations, for keeping up the social conventions which even a primitive people sets up. In these things, they must "save face" like all other human beings; their pride is as much involved in conforming to these conventions as is the pride of wealthier people.

One disastrous effect of this situation is evident in the problem of concubinage amongst the Jamaicans, Catholics as well as others. Marriage means a wedding celebration, at least as lavish as that of their neighbors. If they cannot afford the celebration, they will not venture upon the marriage. Donovan quotes the records of the Registrar General as authority for stating that 65% of the births in Jamaica are illegitimate. The missionaries come back to complaints on this score repeatedly, sometimes angrily, sometimes with half-humorous resignation. But they confess that they have had relatively little success in persuading the Jamaicans to get married. Poverty is not, of course, the sole reason for this reluctance of the Jamaican Negroes to getting married. It is part of their childish irresponsibility that they do not like to tie themselves down

12 Catholic Encyclopedia, 8: 271. Woodstock Letters, 32: 171. Father Mulry, speaking of his baptisms, says, "If one out of ten is legitimate you may consider yourself fortunate." Woodstock Letters, 32: 171.
by the obligations of marriage. In this reluctance there is also some of the racial memory of their old tribal customs in Africa, which have had an amazing endurance in their new environment. Marriage, after all, is part of the Buckra's, the white man's, civilization, something alien to the Negro people.

It is difficult to assess how largely the Jamaican Negroes have held to the social conventions of their far-off native land, even after centuries of life in the midst of a white civilization. The Negroes are not articulate about such things; they hold to their customs, but do not explain or defend them. Hence the white men who try to write about such things have not access to full knowledge. But something, not much, has been learned of the folk-lore and superstitions which are a blend of custom and religion with the Negroes of Jamaica.

III

These African inheritances of the Jamaican Negroes are of great importance, not merely for their influence upon marriage and social conventions, but because they form a considerable barrier to the practice and spread of Christianity. This is

14 Gardner, 184-186. Letters and Notices (1866), 3: 157-158. The Negro revolts, such as this of 1865, which cost more than a thousand lives, sprang from the smoldering racial hostilities, not from any maltreatment of the Negroes.

15 Some of the Negro Protestant ministers curiously weave voodooism into kind of revivalism, very attractive to the Negroes, but most obviously not Christian. See the account by a missionary of the strange cult led by "Lord Bedward, Woodstock Letters (1921), 50: 287-291. See also, for a wider view of this abuse, Joseph J. Williams, S.J., Voodoos and Obeahs, New York, 1932, pp. 220-236; Psychic Phenomena of Jamaica, New York, 1934, pp. 21, 59, 196, 211, 215-217.
particularly true of the mysterious and little understood rites of voodooism in its two chief forms: Obeahism and Mialism.

Father Abraham Emerick lived very close to the Jamaican Negroes for ten years, and learned so much of their ways that, as he said, "the natives look upon me as one big Obeah man." He wrote a series of articles about voodooism for the Woodstock Letters; but even he warns the reader that the Negroes keep many of their beliefs and practices still secret.

Of all these dark superstitions, "Obeah is the principal, and is to the rest what pride is to the vices, the root of them all. It is a cancerous growth with thousands of roots and ramifications, rotting and eating away the vitals of the religious, social, and even physical life of the people." 18

Obeah is "the superstitious belief that certain men and women, known as Obeah-men and Obeah-women, can exercise certain preternatural power over places, persons, and things, and produce effects beyond the natural power of man, by agencies other than divine." 19

That these "agencies other than divine" are diabolic seems pretty certain; although that is too large a question to go into here. Obeah in practice makes use of charms and potions almost always, of poisons not infrequently, and sometimes of human sacrifices. It is filled with the dark terrors of

16 Woodstock Letters (1915), 44: 188.
18 Emerick, Woodstock Letters, 44: 189-190.
19 Ibid., 44: 191.
diabolism. The Colony of Jamaica has stringent laws against the practice of Obeah, and makes earnest effort to enforce the laws. But Father Williams claims that the laws are really ineffective to banish the practice; they do little more than drive it farther underground.

Mialism, in theory and in its origins, is the opposite or antidote to Obeahism. The Mial-man was a priest, who was called upon to undo the harm wrought by the Obeah-man and his Shuman, or cham. But in the course of time, the Mial-man and the Obeah-man tended to merge into the modern general Voodoo, with only certain differences of rite to distinguish one from the other. But it is the Mial-man who is still popularly supposed to deal with Duppies, ghosts, and to act as a medium in communicating with "dets", as the Jamaicans call the spirits. A distinctive part of Mial-worship are the processions, in which the Negroes march with a peculiar hip-movement, and which so readily work in with the Protestant type of revivalism.

22 Emerick, Woodstock Letters, 45: 40.
23 Ibid., 45: 43-44.
24 Ibid., 45: 45-47. Williams, Voodooos and Obeahs, 145-151, 153-160, 172-175.
With these two forms of Voodooism there is a blending of more or less innocent folk-lore, all the way from the charming "Anansi" stories, through a knowledge of medicinal herbs and simples, up to strange death and burial customs, and traditional developments of control by hypnotic suggestion; all of which makes the boundaries of Voodooism very hard to define.

There is no difficulty in seeing that these characteristics of the Negro culture of Jamaica constitute a whole series of problems for the missionaries; economic problems, social problems, moral problems, credal problems. In view of these, the astonishing thing is, not that religious progress has been slow in Jamaica, but that it should have been as rapid and great as it is.

To have won and held for Christianity even four percent of such a people is an achievement that speaks much for the zeal and devotedness of the missionaries.

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25 Anansi is the spider, and the Anansi stories are kin to the Brer Rabbit stories of Uncle Remus. Williams, Voodoos and Obeahs, 119, 142; Psychic Phenomena of Jamaica, 25, 36, 40, 47.

CHAPTER VII

THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE JESUITS IN JAMAICA

I

The eternal hope of mankind is that we can do a better job with the problems of life by our training of the next generation. That hope is at the heart of all educational effort. The Jesuits in Jamaica were animated by that same hope, and hence from their very start gave much attention to the work of education. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that, outside of their dependence upon God's direct achievements through grace, the Jesuits placed all their reliance upon education.

There is a distinct educational character to sermons, public lectures and private exhortations, the incessant instruction in religious beliefs and practices, which are so large a part of all missionary effort. The Jesuits in Jamaica made use of all types of effort and have supplemented them by every device within their power, even to the recent introduction of the Chapel Car as a means of reaching and attracting the people. 1

1 Philip D. Kiely, S.J., "Chapel Car in Jamaica", Jesuit Missions, May, 1942; pp. 116-117. The Chapel Car was given to the Mission by Bishop Cushing, Auxiliary Bishop of Boston, and other friends in Boston.
To most men talk of education means talk of schools, which are the great formal means of instructing and training the young. It goes without saying that the Jesuits fostered schools and even had a school of their own. Their traditions as a teaching order do not fail them in the mission field.

When the English Jesuits came to Jamaica, they found few Catholic schools, and those often inadequately staffed by lay teachers who were not much ahead of their pupils in acquaintance with books. When they turned the Mission over to the American Jesuits, they left them the sound beginnings of a school system, with five parish schools in Kingston, having 1,182 children in attendance, and at least a few schools in the outlying missions. There were, besides, St. George's College in Kingston, with thirty pupils, an industrial school for boys, with twenty-four, and an industrial school for girls with thirty-nine pupils.

This system of schools the American Jesuits zealously developed, as best they could, to meet the peculiar conditions of the Mission. Ultimately it comprised three types of schools: the elementary schools conducted as part of the Government

2 Woodstock Letters (1893), 22: 564.
3 No exact figures are given as to the number of the schools outside of Kingston. But in 1894, Father Collins wrote, "We have at least ten schools conducted by Protestant teachers." Ibid., 24: 99. That fact evidences that there were considerably more than ten schools attached to the Mission.
system of denominational schools, strictly parochial schools, and the small number of private secondary schools. It will help to clearness if we consider each type separately.

II

As in the British Colonies generally, the school system in Jamaica follows the pattern set up in England. For more than a hundred years that pattern has included some sort of scheme for maintaining denominational schools by the aid of Government grants. In Jamaica, up to 1844, the grant was an Imperial Grant, a lump sum voted from Westminster or the Colonial Office, to be allocated within the Colony. After that year, the burden fell directly upon the Colony itself. From 1844 to 1864, the Jamaica legislature voted $15,000 a year for elementary schools. Then it began more exact and detailed legislation.

The scheme of schools then set up remained in force, with minor changes, until 1899; and even then the changes did not destroy its essential character. Father Collins summarized the laws regarding education in Jamaica in 1894. They permit "Anyone to start or open a school anywhere on the island, provided he guarantees an actual attendance of thirty-two children, and provided also there is no school within a certain

distance of the new one." The distance varied with conditions of density of population.

A prerequisite was that the school have the backing of some religious group to maintain it, or that the teacher offer the security of his established reputation as a guarantee that the school would be likely to persist. The appointment of teachers was left to the religious group, but the rating of the teacher for compensation depended upon his passing a Government examination. That compensation was further measured by the percentage of attendance of the pupils, and their rank in passing final Government examinations at the end of each school year. It is an equitable system.

But one result of this scheme was to set up a most unholy squabbling amongst the various denominations to control school districts, get in their own schools, and keep others from qualifying for the Government grant. The English Jesuits, until the coming of Bishop Gordon in 1889, rather held aloof from this scramble for schools and school grants. They did what they could for schools in Kingston, with the aid of the Franciscan Sisters. But although these had come to Kingston in 1857, their advance was so slow that, thirty-two years later, when Bishop Gordon came, they had only 150 children in their

Woodstock Letters (1895), 24: 98.
convent elementary school, and less than that number in St. Joseph's boys' school of Holy Trinity Parish. In the rest of Jamaica there were only half a dozen Catholic schools, with less than 100 pupils as their total combined attendance.

Bishop Gordon threw himself whole-heartedly into the promotion of schools, risking many contentions with the Protestant ministers, mostly Negro, in his efforts to secure additional schools entitled to the Government grant-in-aid, and often unable to staff his schools with Catholic teachers.

In 1899, these changes were made in the school laws: a (schools not needed were to be closed or consolidated with other schools; b) no new schools supported by Government grants were to be denominational. This was aimed at abolishing the miserable sectarian rivalry; but in fact it worked hardship on some Catholic schools. Hence, in 1911, the Board of Education made special exemptions for Catholic schools "in districts sparsely populated and difficult of access", made more secure provision for religious instruction, and provided that when a Catholic school had to be consolidated with another, it must always be with another Catholic school.

6 Donovan, Catholic Encyclopedia, 8: 273.
8 Delany, 167-168. Father Delany goes into much detail in analysing the successive changes in the school laws.
(It may be added, in parenthesis, that the wrangling amongst the Protestants continued. The Catholics never had more than five percent of the Government-supported schools of Jamaica. The figures for 1927 are as follows: of the 679 elementary schools supported by Government grant, the Catholics had 36, the Church of England had 193, Baptists 111, Wesleyans 74, Moravians 57, various minor sects 90, and there were 118 undenominational schools. The total school registration was 9120,000; the average attendance 75,000).

A report by Father O'Hare in 1917 indicates in detail how this Government grant actually financed the schools. In that year the Mission had 31 Catholic schools functioning in the Government-supported denominational system. There were 94 teachers and 4,744 children in these schools. The total Government grant for teachers was £3,028, 17s, 6d. (a little over $15,000), which worked out to an average of £2, 13s, 9d. ($13.18) a month for each teacher.

Since the actual allotment of pay is by rating according to class of teacher's certificate, number of pupils, and success of pupils in the annual examination, some of the teachers

10 Woodstock Letters, 46: 368. There were also Government grants-in-aid toward construction and maintenance of schools, but these were voted annually upon merits of individual applications: Jamaica Handbook, v.a.
received much more than $13 a month, and some of the pupil teachers got as little as $1.25 a month. Even these wages, low as they may seem to be, are not low by Jamaican standards, where unskilled labor is paid as little as two shillings a day and skilled labor as little as four shillings a day, and the cost of living averages between 11 shillings and 17 shillings a week in towns, and much less in the country.

If we look into the figures given by Father O'Hare, we find that of the 4,714 children in Catholic schools, 3,862 were in and around Kingston, and only 852 were in the schools of the outlying districts. In many of these schools, the Protestant children far outnumbered the Catholic. The Jesuits, therefore were never entirely satisfied with the Government system of schools

III

Even before the time of Bishop Gordon, the Jesuits had tried to organize distinctive parochial schools, managed by and for Catholics, and paid for by Catholic contributions. By 1914, there were 14 such parochial schools; but in that year six of

11 Woodstock Letters, 46: 368.
12 European Possession in the Caribbean Area, 1941; p. 13.
13 Woodstock Letters, 46: 55, and passim. Here are a few sample figures: St. Joseph's, Spanish Town, 235 children in school, "mostly non-Catholics"; at Donnington, 50 children, "a few of whom are Catholics." Woodstock Letters, 46: 360-361. A curious fact is that Protestant parents often brought illegitimate children to be baptized as Catholics. Ibid., 46: 55.
them had to be closed for lack of funds. Then in 1915 Mother Katherine Drexel came to the rescue, and promised £6, 10s. ($32.50) a month, which paid for teachers in three of the schools. Three others were aided by the Jesuit pastors; and the remaining two managed to get by on tuition fees and contributions.

The outlook for parochial schools is not, therefore, promising. The chief difficulty is financial; and that arises from a deeper difficulty, the apathy of the people. Schools rarely appeal to children; and the Jamaicans, large and small, are pretty much children.

There are two continuation schools, one for boys and one for girls, in Kingston. Their total enrollment in 1917 was about 150. These two schools are also outside of the Government grant, and therefore must be maintained by the Catholics themselves.

Yet it was to the parochial type of school that the Jesuits first leaned. There were not enough Jesuits to allow them to devote much time personally to teaching in these schools, but they kept a closer supervision over them than over the Government schools under their care; and it was out of one of

14 Ibid., 46: 368.
15 Ibid., 46: 370.
the parochial schools in Kingston that the Jesuit college of
St. George really grew.

The Franciscan Sisters also favored from the start the
parochial school, or even a convent school not attached to any
parish. It was only after Bishop Gordon took up strongly the
development of the Government-supported school that the Fran­
ciscan Sisters began to teach in those schools. Then they began
timidly, sending two sisters to Spanish Town from Monday to
Friday, to teach in St. Catherine's school. Their school was
rated with a mark of 69, with only two schools in Jamaica rated
higher.

By 1917, there were thirty Franciscan Sisters in Jamaica,
who taught in seven schools, besides their own Academy in
Kingston; but only three of these schools were parish schools.
The total number of pupils under their care was 1,396, of which
a large part were non-Catholics.

The Sisters of Mercy came from London in 1890, and at once took charge of the industrial schools at Alpha, which
became their headquarters, just as Nuns' Pen was the headqua­

16 This was the parish school begun in 1850, by Spanish
Jesuits exiled from Colombia. It was only after many changes
that it became St. George's College. Delany, 59-60.
17 Father Mulry, Woodstock Letters (1895), 24: 231.
18 Father O'Hare, Ibid., 46: 48.
19 Thus of the 167 children in the Franciscans' school at
Spanish Town "nearly two-thirds are not Catholic." Ibid.,
24: 232.
The Sisters of the Franciscan Sisters. The Sisters of Mercy began schools in the outlying missions as early as 1901, when Father Emerick gave them the schools at Alva and Murray Mountain, to the no small anger of the parsons. In 1917, these sisters taught in four elementary schools, with 779 pupils, and had 512 more children in their care in the two industrial schools and the House of Mercy for older girls.

Occasionally, a Protestant minister would "poach" a Catholic school district. That meant that he took advantage of the Catholic teacher's allowing his school to fall below the required attendance as a condition of keeping the Government grant, and promptly moved in with a Protestant school as into a legally unoccupied territory. On such occasions, the Jesuit priest in charge had to take over the school himself, build up its attendance, and by the prestige of his own better education win back its lost grant-in-aid. Father Beauclerk had such a task on his hands in 1895, at May River.

As the schools grew in numbers, the priests and sisters were not able to furnish teachers for all of them. Lay teachers

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20 The Franciscan Sisters call this property Alverニア but Nun's Pen sticks as the universal name. It was given them in 1859 by the parents of Josephine and Caroline d'Aquin, when the two sisters joined the Franciscans. Delany, 65.
21 Woodstock Letters (1901), 30: 150.
22 Father O'Hare, Woodstock Letters, 46: 48-49.
were not always easy to get, nor were they always competent, or even always Catholic. A normal school to train lay teachers was begun in 1917, with nine pupils; but it did not grow very vigorously. In and near Kingston, the sisters tried to have some of their own members in each school, with lay assistants. Thus, for instance, in St. Joseph's School, Spanish Town, the two Sisters of Mercy had four lay teachers to help them handle 235 pupils.

All in all, the Catholic elementary schools, both Government and parochial, have done as good work as the circumstances permitted, and have at least held their own with the other schools in quality of work. The missionaries sometimes claimed that it was the superior quality of their teaching which brought them so many non-Catholic children. But the indications are that it was rather to propinquity, and even to the genial laissez-faire of the Jamaican Negro, that the large number of non-Catholic pupils was due.

IV

It may be already evident from this sketch that there is no great field for secondary education in Jamaica. All the secondary schools, Catholic and non-Catholic, are naturally

24 Ibid., 46: 370. Father Delany does not even mention the normal school.
25 Ibid., 46: 55
centered in Kingston. The countryside is both too poor and too little interested to maintain secondary schools.

With the two Catholic high schools for girls the Jesuits have little to do, beyond acting as chaplains for the sisters and the pupils. There are three orders of sisters in Kingston, after the coming of the Dominican Sisters of Perpetual Adoration who came from France in October, 1911. But only two of these have high schools, one each, in Kingston. The Franciscan Sisters have their high school at Nuns' Pen, the Sisters of Mercy have theirs at Alpha. Both are small, with only 180 pupils in the two of them in 1917, and not more than 300 at present.

The main concern of the Jesuits with secondary education in St. George's College. This was begun, as we have seen, by refugee Spanish Jesuits in 1850. It had a very precarious existence for many years, and for all of thirty years scarcely deserved the name of high school, to say nothing of meriting the name of college. Every now and then, it tried and abandoned the idea of attracting students from round about by becoming a boarding school. Up to the destruction of the property by the

27 These nuns had a small private school from the beginning, and in 1917 took over St. Joseph's Sanatorium in Kingston. Delany, 209.
28 Delany, 208.
There were nine boarders, and fifty-one day students. This experiment lasted from 1895 to 1897.
earthquake of 1907, the college was housed on North Street, most of the time at 26 North Street, but for two years, 1895 to 1897, at the corner of North and East Streets. When the Jesuits rebuilt after the earthquake, St. George's College was moved out to Winchester Park, where it has been ever since.

The first building for the College at Winchester Park was small, containing only the necessary class rooms. In 1912, permission was got from Rome to put up a new college building. The cornerstone was laid on April 13, 1913, and the building was completed and ready for use in September, 1914.

From its beginning, St. George's College was staffed by Jesuit priests, assisted by some lay teachers. Only for a short time under the English Jesuits was the experiment tried of having a few scholastics spend part, at least, of their teaching period in the College. The American Jesuits never had scholastics in Jamaica. One reason for this is that the teaching priests can also be used for occasional and emergency aid to the priests directly engaged in ministerial work; another is that the teaching priests, through Mass stipends, are able to assist the financial needs of the college.

31 Delany, 120.
32 Woodstock Letters, 38: 282.
33 Acta Romana Societatis Jesu, 1912, p. 72.
34 Delany, 181, 184.
35 Letters and Notices, (1872), 8: 239-249. Delany, 72, 80.
The College receives no aid from a Government grant, although the possibility of such a grant has been recognized. But the Jesuits believe that they are more independent in their management of the College without a Government grant. They do, however, look for subsidies, especially in their costs of building, from the alms gathered in the United States.

Nor have they leaned on assistance from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. The Society has continued its annual contribution to the Vicar Apostolic, begun with an annual gift of 6,000 francs to Bishop Gordon. But the First World War upset the collections for the missions, which the Society had hitherto gathered chiefly from France. In the reorganization after the war, in which the United States took the leading place which formerly had been held by France, the missions dependent upon America got more of their help direct from the United States.

The few statistics at hand regarding St. George's College indicate a steady growth, with little or no change in the character of the College. Thus, in 1909, when the College had settled into normal existence after the earthquake of 1907, there were four Jesuit priests teaching there, with an unspecified number of lay assistants. These conducted seven classes of boys, the students numbering about 100 in all, of

Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, Comptes-rendus, V.A.
whom 30 were Protestants, and 12 Jews. By 1917, the College had 149 students, with seven Jesuit teachers. In 1921, the number of students had grown to about 200 boys. At present, the College has nearly 300 students, with fourteen Jesuit priests in addition to the rector, engaged in teaching and administration.

At first sight, it may seem astonishing that there is so little news about the College in Letters and Notices and Woodstock Letters. Even letters written directly from the College deal mostly with the affairs of the outlying missions. But on consideration, that fact is quite what one should expect. College routines are pretty much the same everywhere; there was no novelty about them to the readers of the Jesuit Letters. The greater interest of the readers was naturally in the work of the missionaries rather than in that of the teachers. Writers and readers knew, without any need to emphasize the fact, that in class room or out in the bush, the Jesuits in Jamaica were working toward one end, the aim that brought them to Jamaica and kept them there, the greater glory of God in the spread of His truth and love amongst the people of Jamaica.

Woodstock Letters, (1909), 38: 283. "The boys give little trouble as regards discipline. They study well and are as bright as any boys I ever taught in the States."

Ibid., (1917) 46: 370.
Delany, 208.
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For the purpose of this thesis, most desirable source material would be found in the Archives of the Jesuits in Rome and the provincial archives in the Provinces of England and Maryland-New York. None of these archives is available to the writer.

Published Source Materials

Next in value to these are the two sources chiefly used in this thesis: Letters and Notices of the English Province, and The Woodstock Letters: A Record of Current Events and Historical Notes Connected with the Colleges and Missions of the Society of Jesus in North and South America.

Letters and Notices have been published since 1863 at Manresa House, Roehampton, near London, the Novitiate and Provincial's Residence of the English Province. Roughly one volume a year, they have been meant for private circulation amongst the Jesuits only. The material in them concerning Jamaica is considerable in bulk; but none of it is consecutive history. It consists of letters or extracts from letters, published sporadically, without definite plan or sequence.
These letters deal mainly with details of the Jesuit work, as seen immediately by the writers of the letters. They have the advantage of first hand information, and the weakness of a lack of co-ordination or of any general view of the work of the Jesuits. Thus, no one made any effort to gather data for the earlier years of the Jamaica Mission, between 1837 and the first issue of Letters and Notices in 1863; and there is a complete silence about the transfer of the Mission to the Maryland-New York Province.

Between the years 1862 and 1893 there are in Letters and Notices more than thirty letters from English Jesuits in Jamaica. In addition, there are some obituary notices of Jesuits who had worked in Jamaica, and summaries of the spiritual work accomplished, in numbers of sermons preached, confessions heard, sacraments administered, and the like.

For the period after 1894, The Woodstock Letters, which have been published since 1872 at Woodstock College, Maryland, give much the same sort of data as Letters and Notices for the earlier period: private letters, printed for the private use of the Jesuits. Letters and Notices has no general index; but The Woodstock Letters has two indexes, the first for 1872-1896, the second for 1897-1924.

The official collection of Papal and Jesuit documents have little to say about Jamaica. In the Acta Apostolicae Sedis.
which was begun in 1909, there is no mention of Jamaica until volume 11 (1919), when the appointment of Right Rev. William F. O'Hare, S.J., as Vicar Apostolic is noted, pp. 382, 387, 489. The same bare notice of the appointment of Bishops Dinand and Emmet, in later volumes, is all that is to be found in this source.

Acta Romana Societatis Jesu, begun in 1906, has one reference to Jamaica, IV, 72 (1912), mentioning permission to build a new college building. There is one letter in Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, 13: 66-69 (1841).

For the background of the Jesuits' work in Jamaica there is abundant material. Detailed reference to much of this is given in the footnotes to this thesis. But mention should be made here of some of the more important books and periodicals.

For the earliest history, a great bibliographic aid is Robert Streit, O.M.I., Bibliotheca Missionum, vols. 1-10, Munster, 1916-1938. This often has abstracts of pertinent contemporary documents. Similar abstracts are to be found in Cyriacus Morellus (pseudonym for Domingo Muriel, S.J.) Fasti Novi Orbis et Ordinationum Apostolicarum ad Indias Pertinentium Breviarium, Venice, 1776; but this work is slightly disfigured by occasional printer's errors and inaccuracies.
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The most voluminous Jesuit writer on Jamaica is Father Joseph H. Williams, S.J. His first book, *Whisperings of the Caribbean: Reflections of a Missionary*, New York, 1925, contains collected sketches dealing with the very earliest history of the Spaniards on the island, and with local folk-lore. *Whence the "Black Irish" of Jamaica?*, New York, 1932, is a brief study of the Cromwellian Irish exiles in Barbados and Jamaica. It has an extensive bibliography. *Voodooos and Obeahs: Phases of West Indian Witchcraft*, New York, 1932, studies the origin of some African cults and their transfer to Haiti and Jamaica. *Physic Phenomena of Jamaica*, New York, 1934, is a more extended anthropological study of African cults and superstitions in Jamaica. Both of these latter books have bibliographies. All are useful for studying some of the background of the Jesuits' work in Jamaica; but none of them touches upon that work.

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