English Smuggling Activities in the Official and Private Documents

The "Spanish Trade" and the Logwood Trade from Jamaica in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries

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> The Subjects and Inhabitants, Merchants, Captains, Masters of Ships, Mariners of the Kingdoms, Provinces, and Dominions of each Confederate respectively, shall abstain and forbear to sail and trade in the Ports and Havens which have Fortifications, Castles, Magazines or Warehouses, and in all other Places whatsoever, possessed by the other Party in the *West Indies*, to wit, The Subjects of the King of *Great Britain* shall not Sail unto, and Trade in the Havens and Places which the Catholick King holdeth in the said *Indies*: Nor in like manner, shall the Subjects of the King of *Spain* Sail unto, or Trade in those Places which are possessed there by the King of *Great Britain*.[1]

The above is the article VIII of the Treaty of Madrid which England ratified with Spain in 1670. As stipulated in it, English vessels were prohibited to call at the Spanish territory in the West Indies and to do business with the Spaniards there. Likewise, Spanish vessels could not be found in the English possession. This article suggests that both parties traded with each other vigorously in the Caribbean before 1670. The fact of the matter was, however, that they would not stop their business, violating the provision even after the treaty.

Yes, as early as the seventeenth century when the English people set out to settle in the North America and West Indies, smuggling had been widespread throughout the Atlantic world. Bernard Bailyn remarked that "Britain's Atlantic world was far larger and more complex than its formal Atlantic empire."[2] His opinion is more persuasive when we take the illegal trade into consideration. Researches into smuggling are one of the keys which tell us vividly how the English Atlantic world was linked with other nations' ones, and how the English associated and coexisted with

1 *The State of the Island of Jamaica: Chiefly in Relation to its Commerce, and the Conduct of the Spaniards in the West-Indies* (London, 1726), 44–45.

2 Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), 85.

foreigners in the Americas. Once Charles Andrews admirably stated, if "we limit our observation to a single colony or to the group of thirteen colonies, as we are more or less bound to do when dealing with colonial history as prefatory to that of the United States, we get an imperfect view of our subject, if, indeed, that can be called a view at all which is taken at such close range."[3]

The various aspects of the illicit trade in the early modern era are to be brought to light through the contemporary documents. In general, the private documents such as correspondence or diaries are more serviceable for this subject than the official ones like customs records. It is the aim of this paper to investigate the details of such trade by the English in the Spanish Indies by making use of both private and official documents. Though the latter essentially cannot tell the story of smuggling openly, it appears to be possible to find the clues of the clandestine trade in them.

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It was the occupation of Jamaica by the English troops in 1655 which had a great significance for their economic activities in the Spanish American territory. The third biggest island in the Caribbean provided them with the facile access to the Spaniards, for it was situated at the center of the Spanish Indies and had proximities to the major Spanish settlements. Ships set sails continuously for the Spanish ports especially from the harbour of Port Royal, Jamaica in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The town of Port Royal which was well-known as "the very *Sodom* of the Universe" had thrived from privateering till it was almost destroyed by an earthquake in 1692.[4] A great quantity of money and plates the English privateers had taken from the Spaniards made it the richest of all the English settlements in the Americas at that time. For the privateers, also known as the buccaneers, the town was their "home port" where they could find supply, refreshment, and the market to sell the prize goods. According to a census of 1680, 1,200 of over 4,000 townspeople were the privateers.[5]

Alongside privateering, it was trade that brought the wealth to Jamaica. Though it is difficult to show how many proportion of the trade was illegal, some contemporaries guessed 75% or more was carried out clandestinely.[6] In his visiting Jamaica in the late 1680s, John Taylor saw that the Spanish coins, both gold and silver, were in circulation in the island.[7] We can easily suppose they had been taken from the Spanish colonies through privateering or smuggling.

3 Charles M. Andrews, "Colonial Commerce," *American Historical Review* 20 (1914), 48.

4 Edward Ward, "A Trip to Jamaica: With a True Character of the People and the Island" (1698), in *Five Travel Scripts Commonly Attributed to Edward Ward* (New York, 1933), 16 (quotation).

5 Nuala Zahedieh, "The Merchants of Port Royal, Jamaica, and the Spanish Contraband Trade, 1655–1692," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser. [hereafter *WMQ*], 43 (1986), 570 n1.

6 *The Assiento Contract Consider'd: As also the Advantages and Decay of the Trade of Jamaica and the Plantations, with the Causes and Consequences thereof. In Several Letters to a Member of Parliament* (London, 1714), 47.

7 David Buisseret, ed., *Jamaica in 1687: The Taylor Manuscript at the National Library of Jamaica* (Kingston, 2008), 241.

As for the trade within the realm of the British Empire, there exists a series of official documents named Naval Office Shipping Lists which were filled out by the Naval Officers placed in major colonial ports. They recorded the information of vessels entering or clearing each port. The lists tell us when and from where a vessel entered, or when she cleared and where to go. Other information included vessel's name, home port and tonnage, details of her cargo, shipmaster's name and the number of crew, etc. In this paper, the database built from these lists will be utilized: it is composed of the lists of Jamaica in 1680, 1682–1693, 1698–1700, 1703–1704, 1709–1714 and of Boston in 1686–1688, 1713–1717.[8] The number of vessels totaled 2,808 in the late seventeenth century and 2,166 in the early eighteenth.

Unfortunately, these lists inform little of the English business with the Spaniards, although not a few of the merchants of Port Royal got involved in such trade. Out of all 1,134 English merchantmen with their arrival recorded in Port Royal in 1683–1691, only less than 100 were recorded as coming from the Spanish territory. Most of them were small Jamaican vessels of 25 tons on average. In the folios in which the information of these vessels was put down, the Naval Officer sometimes filled out such phrases as "some returned goods which was carried out from hence [Port Royal]" or "forced in by distress of weather" instead of recording their cargoes. It is therefore probable that such ships were entered into the lists because they surely returned from the Spanish land but had not transacted business with the Spaniards there. No doubt hundreds of vessels from the Spanish ports were missing from the shipping lists though Jamaican sloops actually traded "about the island [Jamaica] and with the Spaniards and Indians" at that time.[9] "The Town of *Port-Royal*," said Francis Hanson, "is always like a continual Mart or Fair where all sorts of choice Merchandizes are daily imported not only to furnish the Island, but vast quantities are thence again Transported to supply the *Spaniards*, *Indians*, and other Nations."[10]

Regarding the shipping lists of clearances in Port Royal, the departures of 729 merchant ships were recorded in 1680–1693 and none of them were bound for the Spanish colonies. An English mariner Nathaniel Uring wrote in the early eighteenth

8 Naval Office Shipping Lists for Jamaica, 1680–1705, 1709–1722, C.O. 142/13–14; Naval Office Shipping Lists for Massachusetts, 1686–1719, C.O. 5/848, National Archives, London. The dates referred in this paper remain to be in the Julian calendar, and are not converted into the dates in the Gregorian.

9 Buisseret, ed., *Jamaica in 1687*, 236 (quotation).

10 Francis Hanson, *Preface to the Laws of Jamaica, Passed by the Assembly and Confirmed by His Majesty in Council, Feb. 23, 1683* (London, 1683), 55–56 [Quoted in Allan D. Meyers, "Ethnic Distinctions and Wealth among Colonial Jamaican Merchants, 1685–1716," *Social Science History* 22 (1998), 52–53]. Catching turtles was one of other occupations by Jamaican people. They sold them for food at the market in Port Royal (Edward Barlow, *Barlow's Journal of His Life at Sea in King's Ships, East and West Indiamen, and Other Merchantmen, 1659–1703* vol. 2, ed. Basil Lubbock (London, 1934), 315; Buisseret, ed., *Jamaica in 1687*, 233; Alfred Dewar, ed., *The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring* (London, 1928), 167–168). Naval Officers somehow recorded few traces of the trade with Native Americans. There remain frail clues that only a sloop per year returned to Port Royal from the Mosquito Coast in 1687–1688 and 1709–1711. "*Musquitos*," was "a Nation of *Indians* on the Continent, who never were conquered, or in Subjection to the *Spaniards*" (Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, 1709–1722, C.O. 142/13–14; *The State of the Island of Jamaica*, 53).

century: "This Town [Port Royal] has been formerly very rich, from whence a very great Trade has been carried on to all the *Spanish* Ports."[11] Nuala Zahedieh has pointed out the possibility that a large majority of the ships with their arrivals recorded and departures unrecorded left Port Royal for the Spanish ports.[12] It is also possible, as David Eltis supposed, that a part of the illicit transactions was carried out by the vessels without arrival and clearance records.[13]

The illegal trade with the Spaniards was, not unexpectedly, widely spread because it benefited both sides. As mentioned above, coins from the Spanish Indies made the island of Jamaica extremely rich. In the Spanish land, on the other hand, colonists were almost always short of their necessaries, for the seasonally despatched fleets from Spain brought insufficient quantities of commodities for them. Through the dealings with the Englishmen from Jamaica, the Spaniards could buy what they needed, including labor forces, cheaper than buying from their fellow countrymen. By virtue of this direct trade, they could meet their demand without paying duties and at the same time acquired the regular outlet for their own agricultural products.[14]

Jamaican merchants could sell slaves lawfully to the Spaniards by possessing the license, *asiento*. It enabled them to contraband other goods under the pretense of the trade in slaves.[15] It was, however, "the private trade from *Jamaica* to the Coast of *New Spain*" that had been "considerable, and brought more Mony into her Majesty's Dominions in a Year, than the [*asiento*] Contract can." In connection with this point, manufactures were imported from England to Jamaica in greater volume than they could consume inside their island because they could dispose of them to the Spanish Indies by way of the private trade.[16]

In the letters to their partners in London, William and Francis Hall, the Port Royal merchants, sometimes referred to such direct business with the Spaniards as the "Spanish trade."[17] Some of the merchants of Port Royal, including them, acted as the commission agents of the Spanish trade for their compatriots. According to their letters, the success in the contraband trade was affected considerably by the Spanish galleons: when the fleets were not likely to come to the Spanish Indies, the Spanish

11 Dewar, ed., *The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring*, 247.

12 Zahedieh, "The Merchants of Port Royal," 576–578. Some ships with their clearances unrecorded may have been sold in Jamaica, for it was not uncommon for the New England shipmasters to sell their vessels in the West Indies (Richard Pares, *Yankees and Creoles: The Trade between North America and the West Indies before the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 48; Joseph A. Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding in Colonial America* (Charlottesville, 1976), 98).

13 David Eltis, "New Estimates of Exports from Barbados and Jamaica, 1665–1701," *WMQ* 52 (1995), 636.

14 Nuala Zahedieh, "Trade, Plunder, and Economic Development in Early English Jamaica, 1655–89," *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 39 (1986), 216; Robert Allen, *An Essay on the Nature and Methods of Carrying on a Trade to the South-Sea* (London, 1712), 19.

15 Nuala Zahedieh, "The Capture of the Blue Dove, 1664: Policy, Profits and Protection in Early English Jamaica," in *West Indies Accounts: Essays on the History of the British Caribbean and the Atlantic Economy*, ed. Roderick A. McDonald (Kingston, 1996), 35–36.

16 *The Assiento Contract Consider'd*, 6 (quotation), 11–12, 47–49; Zahedieh, "Trade, Plunder, and Economic Development," 218–219.

17 William and Francis Hall to Thomas Brailsford, Sept. 10, 1688, June 13, 1689; Francis Hall and John Probin to Charles Peers and Edmund Tooke, Dec. 10, 1690, Brailsford v. Peers, C. 110/152, National Archives, London.

trade from Jamaica would be brisk.[18] That is, they could not encourage sending a great deal of commodities to Jamaica "except ye Gallons come not." In anticipation of the case that the galleons would not be despatched from Spain, William advised some London merchants that "if ye Galloones com's not this next Summer to these Indies, doubtless their will be a great want of Linnens both French & Dutch."[19]

Not only the inhabitants of Jamaica but their fellows who had come from England or the North American colonies participated directly in smuggling. The merchants or mariners at times headed for the Spanish colonies after a call at Jamaica, recognizing the business in the New Spain would be "a very profitable and advantageous Trade carried on thither from *Jamaica*."[20] Englishmen sometimes took advantage of a loophole in the said Treaty of Madrid: the article X permitted both the Spanish and English ships, in case of bad weather, being chased by pirates or enemies, or other inconveniences, to enter the ports of the other party, where they were to be treated with friendliness and allowed to repair their vessels and supply victuals or necessaries. This provision virtually opened the door for the smugglers, while the article VIII forbade both nations to trade with each other in the West Indies as stated above.

The Spanish trade was frequently ventured by the small Jamaican sloops which carried considerable sailors on board. To the "planters and sloop-masters" in Jamaica, the merchants in England often sold their goods which would later trade "amongst the Spaniards."[21] Before leaving the island, a sloop-master habitually augmented his crew with "the Seamen in *Jamaica*" who had been "chiefly employed in Sloops, either in Privateering or Trading on the Coast of *Spain*."[22] Utilizing the limited records in the Naval Officer's lists of entries from the Spanish territory, Zahedieh revealed that large numbers of seamen had been on board such smugglers.[23] In 1685–1691, Jamaican vessels recorded in the lists carried 13 men on average, and even Boston merchantmen averaging 32.9 tons took only seven seamen on board when arriving at Port Royal.[24] It was, however, usual for a sloop of 30 tons to carry 35 men for smuggling, and William and Francis Hall employed 45 sailors for their Spanish trade in the late 1680s. While preparing a small sloop and a supercargo to trade with the Spaniards, they also instructed their partners in London to despatch a ship of 100 to 130 tons with 25 sailors and doubly armed. They added that "here [in Port Royal] [we] can putt in twenty brave fellows that one is worth two with you for service & dexterity, a good saylor and an able master and mates will be requisite," intending to send 45 seamen, i.e. 25 from England and 20 employed in Port Royal, to the Spanish Indies.[25]

18 Halls to Brailsford, May 21, 1689, June 6, 1689, June 13, 1689, Oct. 19, 1689, *ibid*.
19 Halls to Brailsford, Sept. 10, 1688 (quotation); William Hall to Brailsford, et al., Mar. 14, 1688/89 (quotation), *ibid*.
20 Dewar, ed., *The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring*, 89.
21 Buisseret, ed., *Jamaica in 1687*, 241.
22 Dewar, ed., *The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring*, 165.
23 Zahedieh, "The Merchants of Port Royal," 586–587.
24 Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13.
25 Halls to John Aylward, Nov. 21, 1688, Mar. 11, 1688/89; William Hall to Brailsford, et al., Mar. 14, 1688/89 (quotation), Brailsford v. Peers, C. 110/152.

Table 1. Average Days in Port Royal, 1683–1691

Home Port of Vessels	*Number*	*Days*
England	253	86.2
London	149	92.2
Bristol	59	83.6
Ireland	25	73.2
English Colonies	117	42.1
North America	90	39.8
Boston	61	37.2
New York	16	43.4
West Indies	16	59.3
Jamaica (Days in Home)	14	54.7

Source: Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13.

There was indeed no small number of mariners in Jamaica at that time. Not a few sailors, while they were in the West Indies, had desire to desert their ships for higher wages or escaping from the cruel treatments by the captain and officers of their merchantmen or men-of-war. They often ran away from their ships en masse probably in Port Royal or Bridgetown, Barbados. As the former had been the English naval base in the West Indies, many sailors aboard warships would always wait for the opportunities for desertion while staying there.[26] If they deserted in Jamaica and were employed in the Spanish trade, they could get higher wages than before.[27] Some merchant seamen under employment also must have brought the manpower for the contraband trade. Ships from England, by far bigger than the colonial vessels, frequently stayed in Port Royal around for three months for the disposal of out cargo and gathering return cargo (Table 1). There being no wages accrued to them while their merchantmen were at anchor, seamen sometimes took part in a short voyage from Jamaica.[28] The Spanish trade was accordingly one of the well-suited choices for them.

A shipmaster of England or North America, during his stay in Jamaica, could venture smuggling either by his own vessel or by chartering a Jamaican sloop. Even in the case he remained in Jamaica, he could be concerned in this business by consigning his cargo to an island sloop-master and a supercargo. In this connection, if London merchants entrusted a Jamaican sloop-master and supercargo via the Hall brothers, the sloop—a sloop-master and his men—and supercargo had a right to receive half the profit of the goods sold. The 10% of the proceeds were used to be given to the Halls

26 cf. Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (Cambridge, 1987), 104–106; April Lee Hatfield, "Mariners, Merchants, and Colonists in Seventeenth-Century English America," in *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, ed. Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas (Baltimore and London, 2005), 150; Michael Pawson and David Buisseret, *Port Royal, Jamaica* (Oxford, 1974; revised Kingston, 2000), 67, 181.

27 Zahedieh, "The Merchants of Port Royal," 586.

28 Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 141.

as a commission.[29]

After the crew had been augmented, vessels headed for where to trade with the Spaniards. Where were the places then? A contemporary document lists such place names as "on the Coast of *Carthagena*, St. *Martha*, the Bay of *Honduras*, &c." as the sites of the private trade by Jamaican merchants.[30] Other text says that English vessels traded "along the Coast from *Rio de la hacha* to *Chagrie*" and sometimes made for "*Mexico*, *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*," and the most beneficial part was carried "on the Coast of *Porto-Bello* and *Carthagena*."[31] The Halls wrote that their "friends" would trade, one "on ye cost of Port Velo" and the other "on yt of Carthagena." It is possible their friends were the resident English agents in the Spanish colonies. They also intended to "venture a sloope on ye Coast of Caraccas" several months later. But they referred to the spot of business just as "ye coast" more often.[32]

It was usual for smugglers to rendezvous with the Spaniards in creeks or the smaller towns rather than in the larger ones. The Spanish trade was indeed "collusive" and "clandestine." In trading with the Spanish colonists, the English laid their vessels in the "private Creeks" for fear of being taken by the Spanish coast guards, *guarda costas*, though not a few of such Spaniards also purchased commodities from them.[33] In the year 1711, Captain Uring practiced the illicit trade with Jamaica as the starting point. When his sloop, "well mann'd and arm'd," had been lying in the harbor of "*Grout*," four or five miles away from the town of Portobello, he sent a man who could speak Spanish to the town with letters to the merchants there. Then Uring's canoe fetched the merchants aboard his sloop at appointed date. After they had fixed a time and place of their business and the quantities of articles to trade, the Spaniards went back to the town. Uring had dealings with them the next day. While staying there for six weeks, he also met with the merchants of Panama who had come by going across the Isthmus in the disguise of poor peasants. Uring intended to traffic with the merchants of Cartagena next. This time again, he did not enter into the large city, mooring his sloop in "*Brew*," eight miles from Cartagena.[34]

It was dry goods and "about 150 Negros" that Captain Uring put on board his sloop. Trading in African slaves, in other words the reexportation of them from Jamaica to the Spanish land, was one of the most profitable business for the English. Uring and his men delivered slaves and dry goods to the Spaniards in exchange for "Gold and Silver" after they had identified the genuineness of the money.[35] Expecting the Spanish galleons would not come, the Halls, about 20 years earlier than Uring, planned with Captain Brusser to sell slaves to the Spanish Indies. James Brusser, a

29 Halls to Aylward, Nov. 21, 1688; William Hall to Brailsford, et al., Mar. 14, 1688/89, Brailsford v. Peers, C. 110/152.

30 *The Assiento Contract Consider'd*, 49.

31 Allen, *An Essay on the Nature and Methods of Carrying on a Trade to the South-Sea*, 20–21.

32 Halls to Brailsford, Mar. 11, 1688/89 (quotation), June 6, 1689, Sept. 20, 1689 (quotation); Halls to Aylward, Nov. 21, 1688, Mar. 11, 1688/89; Francis Hall to Brailsford, Feb. 1, 1689/90; William Hall to Brailsford, Feb. 6, 1689/90, Brailsford v. Peers, C. 110/152.

33 Allen, *An Essay on the Nature and Methods of Carrying on a Trade to the South-Sea*, 19–20.

34 Dewar, ed., *The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring*, 113–114.

35 *Ibid.*, 114.

captain of the *Blossom*, who had arrived at Port Royal in October 1689 and departed for London in April 1690, brought 280 slaves from Angola.[36] They anticipated each adult slave would be sold at £25 and boys and girls at £15–25. Except "ill fortune will be attend us," they wrote with confidence, "doubtless a prodigious profitt will be thereon."[37]

Other than African slaves, English smugglers trafficked in textile fabrics. The Halls frequently advised their partners what and how many to send from London to Jamaica. They often referred to dry goods such as calico, holland, lawn, linen, osnaburg, *plattillo* [a sort of linen], roan, etc. that London merchants sometimes needed to trade with other European countries to acquire. Provisions were other important goods for the Spanish trade though it was, according to the Halls, "a lottery" to sell them because they were not always in great demand in the Spanish Indies.[38]

In exchange for the said articles, Jamaican sloops and the vessels of England or North America obtained gold and silver coins or plates and other products in the Spanish colonies. "There is belonging to the Harbor [of Port Royal]" reported the Naval Officer in 1679, "about 80 sayle of Burkes, Sloops and Ketches, that fetch Goods to Port Royal from other parts of the Island [of Jamaica] and Trade with the Spaniards for Hides, Tallow, Cocoa, ps. 8/8 [pieces of eight] and Plate."[39] The commodities smuggled into Jamaica were generally what then Jamaica could not produce in larger quantities or supply cheaper than other areas.[40]

It is, however, difficult to trace such goods after they were imported into Jamaica. In respect of gold and silver money, the Naval Office Shipping Lists, the said official documents of the English trade, remain to be silent. Unfortunately for us, the Naval Officers in Jamaica did not record Spanish money as the loading of vessels unless they had been fetched from the Spanish wrecks. Though Spanish money must have flowed into England or other English colonies via Jamaica, a part of them seems to have been circulated inside the channel of smuggling. It is understandable that Spanish ships also entered into the English possessions with the excuse of some accident. While staying in Jamaica, the Spaniards made contracts with the island residents to sell their goods, for which Jamaican people generally paid in specie.[41] There is every possibility that those money had been originally brought into Jamaica by way of smuggling.

As a consequence of the Spanish trade, even the reliability of the shipping lists was influenced in some respects. While many smugglers were omitted to be filled out in them, some of the recorded vessels carried contraband goods even if they had

36 Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13.

37 Halls to Brailsford, Oct. 19, 1689, Brailsford v. Peers, C. 110/152.

38 Halls to Brailsford, Sept. 10, 1688, Mar. 13, 1688/89, May 21, 1689, June 6, 1689, June 13, 1689, Feb. 1, 1689/90; William Hall to Brailsford, et al., Mar. 14, 1688/89; Halls to Aylward, Nov. 21, 1688 (quotation), *ibid.*; Allen, *An Essay on the Nature and Methods of Carrying on a Trade to the South-Sea*, 18.

39 "An Accompt of What Passengers, Servants and Slaves has been Brought to this Island, with Accompt of What Goods hath been Exported from the 25th June 1671 to the 25th March 1679, being 7 yeares 9 moneths," C.O. 1/43, fol. 59, National Archives, London.

40 *The Assiento Contract Consider'd*, 2. cf. Thomas C. Barrow, *Trade and Empire: The British Customs Service in Colonial America, 1660–1775* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 149.

41 *The State of the Island of Jamaica*, 32–33.

nothing to do with the illegal trade: the Spanish sugar, cocoa, indigo, etc. which the English had smuggled from the Spanish Indies were carried on board the vessels bound for England or English North America as Jamaican products. Because of the illegal exportation from Jamaica, at the same time, the total amount of Jamaican produce was recorded less than it actually was.[42]

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Though the shipping lists up to this point have been more uncommunicative than other documents, there remains a chance for them to narrate a true picture of the illicit trade when we limit our concerns to a certain article: it was the logwood trade to be considered in the following. Besides the aforementioned articles, logwood which was used to dye the cloth in Europe was imported in volume from the Spanish America into England via Jamaica. As there was very little logwood indigenous to Jamaica, Englishmen quite often cut it at the Bays of Campeche and Honduras. Not only the dyewood had value in itself but was suitable to make up for the unoccupied space in the hold of a ship.[43]

The logwood trade, to be exact, was not necessarily illegal. England repeatedly claimed their right to cut the wood along the Yucatán and Honduran coasts. This claim was based on the article VII of the Treaty of Madrid, in which Spain had formally recognized English possession of where the "King of *Great Britain*, and his Subjects do at present hold and possess" in the Americas. It was an English assertion that in addition to Jamaica, St. Kitts, and Barbados, the logwood coasts were recognized by Spain as the English possession, there having been settled mainly by the English, not Spanish, logwood cutters. Englishmen from Jamaica vigorously traded in logwood with them, namely their compatriots in Campeche or Honduras. From a Spanish point of view, however, cutting logwood and its export by the English were undoubtedly illegal activities and Spain excitedly tried to seize the English vessels approaching the coasts. Since the coasts were disputed points between both parties, the Naval Officers recorded some, evidently not all, vessels which had returned to Jamaica from there. Out of the said 100 or so vessels entering from the Spanish Indies in 1683–1691, 65 were from the logwood coasts: 42 from the Bay of Campeche and 23 from the Bay of Honduras.

42 Buisseret, ed., *Jamaica in 1687*, 241; Eltis, "New Estimates of Exports," 635. Even in regard to the trade within the realm of the English empire in the first place, the information of ships' loadings is not always precise. We have 25 vessels which were recorded both their clearances in Boston and entries in Port Royal between 1686 and 1688. In their arriving at Jamaica, no more than six of them carried the same articles as had been recorded in Boston. The case that only fish was added in their arrival data is not be regarded as a contradiction, because it was usual for Boston vessels to be loaded with fish in Newfoundland or some fishing village in New England after leaving their home port. At the same period only two out of 13 vessels, on the other hand, were recorded to have carried the identical goods in their departures from Port Royal and arrivals at Boston (Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13, 1686–1719, C.O. 5/848).

43 G. V. Scammell, "'A Very Profitable and Advantageous Trade': British Smuggling in the Iberian Americas circa 1500–1750," *Itinerario* 24 (2000), reprinted in his *Seafaring, Sailors and Trade, 1450–1750* (Aldershot, 2003), 158.

As early as 1660s, English set about cutting logwood there. Spain regarded all English vessels trading in logwood as pirates and captured them as many as possible. Particularly after the treaty of 1667 with Spain, in which English had promised to sweep the buccaneers, a number of privateers took up a new job of logwood-cutting. Therefore most of the logwood cutters were the buccaneers or ex-buccaneers.[44] The buccaneers who had settled in the Bay of Campeche did not necessarily give up plundering. Besides wood-cutting, they often pillaged the nearby towns of Native Americans.[45] In 1720, the governors of the English colonies reported that piracy increased in American waters whenever Spain regulated the logwood-cutting.[46]

It was not easy for the Spaniards to seize the vessels in the act of smuggling, though they accounted for 75 English vessels in Honduras alone in 1671–1674.[47] Considering the nature of sailors who constantly moved from port to port after their work of unloading, catching all the participants in the illicit trade would be virtually impossible.[48] Spain accordingly decided that logwood or pieces of eight on board English vessels were the evidences of the illegal trade. Spaniards tried to capture all the English vessels carrying such articles because they, in Spanish theory, could not exist in the English colonies. Some English vessels and mariners were actually apprehended by reason of having the said articles on board, even in the case of not being concerned in smuggling. For instance, some of the captured mariners purchased logwood in a market in Jamaica and others received pieces of eight by way of Jamaican sloops engaging the treasure-hunting in the Spanish wrecks.[49] In the Caribbean, Englishmen were more frequently exposed to danger than in other waters without doubt. According to the shipping lists of Boston, 1686–1688, more than 90% of the vessels (12 vessels out of 196) trading in North American waters did not have guns on board, while about 23% of the merchantmen (83 out of 363) which departed for the West Indies or arrived at Boston from there did.[50]

The English ventured to make for the logwood coasts one after another at the risk of being captured by the Spaniards. When they returned to Jamaica without accident, logwood would be sold at £25–30 per ton in Port Royal, which was to be

44 When suspected of committing piracy, pirate Captain Joseph Bannister made an evasive answer that he had intended to cut logwood (Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal*, 71). Even after having changed his job to logwood cutter, ex-pirate John Coxon was wanted by the Jamaican authority (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1685–1688*, no. 965, Nov. 2, 1686; *Ibid*., no. 1010, Nov. 24, 1686).

45 William Dampier, "Mr. Dampier's Voyages to the Bay of Campeachy" (1699), in *Dampier's Voyages* vol. 2, ed. John Masefield (London, 1906), 156.

46 Arthur A. Wilson, "The Logwood Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Essays in the History of Modern Europe*, ed. Donald C. McKay (New York, 1936), reprinted in *The Atlantic Staple Trade*, ed. Susan Socolow (Aldershot, 1996), 480 n7.

47 Scammell, "'A Very Profitable and Advantageous Trade,'" 158.

48 cf. Merrill Jensen, ed., *American Colonial Documents to 1776* (London, 1955), 374.

49 *The State of the Island of Jamaica*, 20.

50 Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1686–1719, C.O. 5/848.

worth £90–110 in the European markets.[51] While a contemporary estimated about 15,000 tons of logwood were imported into Great Britain at the period between 1713 and 1716, another supposed more than 12,000 tons were imported yearly.[52] Logwood trade was even more attractive for some traders because they could traffic with the Spaniards under the pretence of trading in logwood with English cutters.[53]

As well as the illicit business with the Spaniards, the logwood trade was one of the means not to waste the lingering days in Jamaica for the mariners of England or North America. It was the availability of sugar that determined the port times there, and vessels carrying sugar on board accounted for a little less than 90% in the late seventeenth century (1680, 1682–1693) and about 80% in the early eighteenth century (1709–1711, 1713–1714) of all the vessels bound for England or North America.[54] Since the large ships from England were obliged to stay for a long time as mentioned above, it was not unusual for the mariners to go to the logwood coasts, letting the agents in Port Royal to collect their out cargo. Along with a period of time for collecting sugar, a time to wait for a convoy to England brought an opportunity to try the logwood trade.[55] They could reach the Bay of Campeche only in 12 to 14 days from Jamaica if favoured by wind. Given the great risks involved in the trade, sailors often demanded a raise in wages from their captains.[56]

In 1675 there were 250–270 logwood cutters, mostly English, in the area of the Lagune of Trist Island in the Bay of Campeche, where William Dampier traded with them. English cutters lived in companies, three to ten in each, in huts by the creeks,

51 Nuala Zahedieh, "'A Frugal, Prudential and Hopeful Trade': Privateering in Jamaica, 1655–89," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 18 (1990), reprinted in *The Organization of Interoceanic Trade in European Expansion, 1450–1800*, ed. Pieter Emmer and Femme Gaastra (Aldershot, 1996), 403; Dampier, "Mr. Dampier's Voyages," 149.

52 Wilson, "The Logwood Trade," 481; *The State of the Island of Jamaica*, 16.

53 Wilson, "The Logwood Trade," 477.

54 Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, 1709–1722, C.O. 142/13–14.

55 W. A. Claypole and D. J. Buisseret, "Trade-Patterns in Early English Jamaica," *Journal of Caribbean History* 5 (1972), 17–18; Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal*, 93; William Hall to Brailsford, Jan. 17, 1689/90; Thomas Knight to Brailsford, May 8, 1690, Brailsford v. Peers, C. 110/152.

56 Dampier, "Mr. Dampier's Voyages," 114; Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 139. It was not infrequent for Jack Tar to try to push their demands, and they could resort to strike, desert, or even mutiny if rejected by their captains. Some seamen refused to work in port on Sundays although they were at times impious. An English seaman Edward Barlow complained about the poor circumstances of Jack Tar: "all young men," except for sailors, "may lie safe at night, and at the week's end have his due for what he hath worked for, and a good meal of victuals on Sunday, though he have none all the week before. But Sundays and work-days are all alike to us [sailors], and we should be glad to eat, if we had it, such as many give to the dogs in England" (*ibid.*, 97–111, 114–115, 153, 167, 169–179; Barlow, *Barlow's Journal*, 162). According to the shipping lists, however, vessels rarely cleared port on Sundays (Table). There is some probability that this fact mirrored seamen's claim for a rest on Sundays.

Table The Days of the Week Vessels Cleared Boston or Port Royal, 1680, 1682–1693

Monday	*Tuesday*	*Wednesday*	*Thursday*	*Friday*	*Saturday*	*Sunday*	*unknown*
205	164	172	204	184	171	8	8

Source: Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13, 1686–1719, C.O. 5/848.
Note: The Julian calendar was borrowed from Thomas L. Purvis, *Colonial America to 1763* (New York, 1999), 287–291.

engaging in wood-cutting on weekdays and hunting the cattle on Saturdays in the dry season. They numbered in 500, including servants and slaves, in the Belize district alone in 1730s. According to Dampier who had experienced the life among them in the Bay of Campeche, it was really hard and dangerous to follow the cutting. They had to carry the heavy wood on the muddy ground, and suffered always from heat, humidity, and vermin, and sometimes from alligators or storms. "It is not my Business," wrote Dampier, "to determine how far we might have a right of cutting Wood there, but this I can say, that the Spaniards never receive less Damage from the Persons who generally follow that Trade, than when they are employed upon that Work."[57]

Logwood cutters waited eagerly for the vessels from Jamaica. When Captain Uring and his party arrived at a harbour in the Lagune of Trist, they fired guns to give notice to the cutters of their arrival. In a day or two days later, the cutters came on board Uring's vessels where they traded in logwood and purchased goods from mariners. What they needed were such commodities as provisions, rum, sugar, small arms, gunpowder, shot, cutlasses, hangers, axes, osnaburg for their clothes, shoes, and "Bills payable at Jamaica." As strong liquor was one of the most important articles for them, they often mobbed on board English vessels and had a drinking bout with mariners. The cutters used to stay on board for several days, and were reluctant to work till they ran out of drinks. The master of a vessel was respected by them if he was generous, but a miserly master would be paid with the logwood of bad quality for the consumed liquor.[58]

Table 2 shows the home ports of the vessels which entered into the harbour of Port Royal with logwood: in other words the Naval Officer recorded their coming back from "the Bay of Campeche" or "the Bay of Treece [the Lagune of Trist Island]" or "the Bay of Honduras." Considering the common practice of chartering the small sloops in Jamaica especially by the captains of larger ships, some of 45 Jamaican vessels appear to have been steered by the mariners from other ports. Captain Uring actually hired a sloop and a brigantine before going to see the logwood cutters in 1720.[59] On the assumption that shipmasters having the same name recorded in the shipping lists were the same persons, Captain Chapin seems to have chartered Jamaican ketch the *Mary* for the logwood trade (Table 3).

Other Jamaican vessels were not chartered and were maneuvered by the local masters. A part of them were perhaps managed by a single master in the illegal trade, and the shipping lists recorded some possible vessels (Table 4). Though their home ports were not put down in the lists of 1709–1711, there is high probability that they were of Jamaica. While the *Mayflower* and *Henry* engaged only in the Spanish trade and the *Eagle*, *George Adventure* and *Martha* in the logwood trade, the *Joseph & Elizabeth* was

57 Dampier, "Mr. Dampier's Voyages," 122, 153–155, 178–181, 224–225 (quotation); Dewar, ed., *The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring*, 241; Wilson, "The Logwood Trade," 481–482.

58 Dewar, ed., *The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring*, 167, 241–243; Dampier, "Mr. Dampier's Voyages," 122, 156, 179 (quotation).

59 Dewar, ed., *The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring*, 246.

Table 2. The Home Ports of the Vessels Entering into Port Royal from the Logwood Coasts, 1683, 1685–1691

London	*Ireland*	*New England*	*New York*	*Jamaica*	*unknown*
7	1	10*	1	45**	1

Source: Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13.
Note: * Seven vessels were registered to be of Boston, one of Rhode Island.
** Eight vessels were registered to be of Port Royal.

Table 3. Shipmasters Who Possibly Chartered the Local Vessels in Jamaica

Master	*Vessel*	*Home Port*	*Date of Arrival at Port Royal*	*from Where*	*Date of Departure from Port Royal*	*to Where*
Ebenezer Chapin	Prosperous	Boston			Aug. 17, 1687	Jamaica*
	Prosperous	Boston	Jan. 3, 1687	Bay of Campeche		
	Mary	Jamaica	May 28, 1688	Bay of Campeche		
	James	Jamaica	Aug. 30, 1689	Barbados		
	Mary				Aug. 12, 1691	London
William Whitty	William & Thomas	Jamaica	Mar. 6, 1688	Bay of Honduras		
	Prosperous				June 13, 1689	New York

Source: Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13, 1686–1719, C.O. 5/848.
Note: * departure from the port of Boston

Table 4. Vessels Which Made Two or More Trips from Jamaica to the Spanish Indies

Vessel	*Home Port*	*Master*	*Date of Arrival at Jamaica*	*from Where*	*to Where Next*
Eagle	Jamaica	William Alford	Nov. 7, 1688	Bay of Campeche	
			Apr. 3, 1689	Bay of Campeche	
George Adventure	Jamaica	John Lewis	Apr. 24, 1689	Bay of Campeche	
			Sept. 4, 1689	Bay of Campeche	
Mayflower		Thomas Porter	Aug. 22, 1709	Spanish coast	Spanish coast
			Oct. 1, 1709	Spanish coast	Spanish coast
			Nov. 24, 1709	Spanish coast	Spanish coast
Henry		William Potts	Feb. 2, 1709	Spanish coast	Spanish coast
			Mar. 23, 1709	Spanish coast	Spanish coast
			Apr. 27, 1710	Spanish coast	Spanish coast
			Oct. 2, 1710	Truxillo [Trujillo]	Spanish coast
Martha		John Lewis	Feb. 2, 1709	Bay of Campeche	Bay of Honduras
			May 30, 1710	Bay of Honduras	Bay of Campeche
Joseph & Elizabeth		Thomas Morgan	Apr. 3, 1710	Royal de hatch [Rio de la Hacha]	Spanish coast
			May 8, 1710	Royal de hatch [Rio de la Hacha]	
			June 13, 1710	Spanish coast	Spanish coast
			Aug. 11, 1710	Spanish coast	Spanish coast
			Nov. 21, 1710	Spanish coast	
			Mar. 28, 1711	Bay of Campeche	Bay of Campeche

Source: Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, 1709–1722, C.O. 142/13–14.

Table 5. Shipmasters Who were Recorded as Masters of Plural Jamaican Vessels

Master	*Vessel*	*Home Port*	*Date of Arrival at Port Royal*	*from Where*	*Date of Departure from Port Royal*	*to Where*
Jeremiah Conway	Richard & Charles	Jamaica	Apr. 19, 1686	Bay of Campeche		
	Phillip & Martha	Jamaica	Feb. 25, 1686	Treece [Lagune of Triest]		
Daniel Plowman (Daniel Ploughman)	Adventure	Jamaica	Dec. 2, 1687	Wrack [Spanish wreck]		
	Prosperous	Jamaica	June 13, 1688	Wrack [Spanish wreck]		
	Prosperous	Jamaica	Dec. 13, 1688	Wrack [Spanish wreck]		
	Prosperous	Jamaica	Aug. 13, 1689	New York		
	Elizabeth	Jamaica	Feb. 21, 1689	Bay of Campeche		
	Ann	Jamaica	Nov. 25, 1691	Gambo [Gambia]		
	Ann				Mar. 17, 1692	New York
Giles Shelley (Giles Shelly)	Diligence	Jamaica	Dec. 22, 1687	Wrack [Spanish wreck]		
	Prosperous	Jamaica	Nov. 9, 1688	New York		
	Prosperous	Jamaica	Apr. 1, 1689	Bohemia Islands		
	Samuel	Jamaica	May 24, 1689	Bay of Honduras		
	Samuel	Jamaica	Jan. 3, 1689	New York		
	Samuel	Jamaica	Aug. 4, 1690	New York		
	Samuel				Aug. 22, 1690	New York
	Samuel	Jamaica	Jan. 12, 1690	New York		
	Samuel	Jamaica	June 17, 1691	New York		
John Oake	Seaflower	Jamaica	Jan. 23, 1687	Bay of Honduras		
	Swan	Jamaica	Apr. 16, 1688	Bay of Honduras		
	Three Johns	Jamaica	Feb. 27, 1688	Barbados & Saltatudas [Salt Tortuga]		
	Three Johns	Jamaica	Aug. 27, 1689	Boston		
	Warrinton				Sept. 26, 1691	London
George Thoms (George Tombs)	Primrose	Jamaica	Dec. 4, 1688	Bay of Honduras		
	Josiah	Port Royal	Nov. 22, 1689	Bay of Campeche		
	Three Johns				Aug. 20, 1691	London

Source: Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13.
Note: * departure from the port of Boston

active in both transactions.

Needless to say, there were Jamaican shipmasters who took charge of two or more local vessels in a short period of time. Among them, some must have ventured smuggling as appeared in the Table 5: while some may have always traded clandestinely, others engaged both in the legal and illegal trade with frequent changes of their vessels. It can be indicated that William Whitty in the Table 3 was the man of this kind too as we have no clue to identify the home port of his *Prosperous*. It must be pointed out, however, that there also remains possibility that he was a mariner of other port and hired a Jamaican vessel the *William & Thomas*.

Some vessels occasionally took part in the illicit trade though they were operated mainly in the trade within the English domain (Table 6). Concerning the masters of such vessels who have their names recorded over and over again in the shipping lists, we can reproduce the course of their movements to some degree. Besides moving back and forth among English ports, Captains William Lord (Figure 1), Thomas Prince (Figure 2) and Thomas Winsor (Figure 3) had been to the logwood coast once.

Judging from the shipping lists alone, the vessels bound for the logwood coasts seem to have carried few sailors. As opposed to the larger number of seamen employed in the Spanish trade, the logwood-trading vessels—shown in the Table 2, averaging

Table 6. Vessels Which Made for both the English and Spanish Territories

Vessel	*Home Port*	*Master*	*Where Recorded*	*Date of Arrival*	*from Where*	*Date of Departure*	*to Where*
Loyal Trade	London	Henry Oake (Henry Oakes)	Port Royal	Nov. 21, 1685	London		
			Port Royal			May 3, 1686	London
			Port Royal	Sept. 17, 1687	London		
			Port Royal	Feb. 2, 1687	Bay of Honduras		
			Port Royal			May 7, 1688	London
			Port Royal	May 13, 1689	London		
			Port Royal			July 22, 1689	London
Fellowship	Salem or Boston	Robert Glanvill (Robert Glanfiell)	Boston			May 2, 1686	Newfoundland
			Port Royal	Nov. 25, 1686	Barbados & Curacao		
			Port Royal	Oct. 1, 1687	Salem		
			Port Royal	Feb. 4, 1687	Bay of Honduras		
			Boston	June 27, 1688	Bay of Honduras		
Friendship	Boston	William Hall	Boston			May 2, 1687	St. Christopher
			Boston	June 21, 1688	Wreeck [Spanish wreck]		
			Boston			July 23, 1688	Jamaica
			Port Royal	Sept. 15, 1688	Boston		
			Port Royal	Jan. 25, 1688	Bay of Honduras		
			Port Royal	Dec. 31, 1689	Boston & Madeira		
Providence	Boston or Jamaica	Edward Collins (Edwards Collins)	Boston			Aug. 29, 1687	Providence
			Boston	Oct. 28, 1687	Ile Thera & Providence		
			Port Royal	Nov. 6, 1688	Coast of Cathegena [Cartagena]		
			Port Royal	Apr. 9, 1689	Bay of Campeche		
			Port Royal	July 12, 1689	Bay of Campeche		
John & Joseph	Jamaica	Richard Baker	Boston			Sept. 14, 1687	Jamaica
			Port Royal	Nov. 14, 1687	Boston		
			Port Royal	June 6, 1688	Wrack [Spanish wreck]		
			Port Royal	Oct. 12, 1688	Bay of Campeche		
			Port Royal	Feb. 22, 1688	Cathegena [Cartagena]		
Speedwell	London or Jamaica	Henry Watkins (Henry Watkens)	Port Royal	July 16, 1688	London & Curacao		
			Port Royal	Nov. 18, 1689	Boston		
			Port Royal	Jan. 31, 1689	Bay of Campeche		
			Port Royal	Dec. 9, 1690	Boston & Nevis		
			Port Royal	July 7, 1699			New York

Source: Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13, 1686–1719, C.O. 5/848.

33.6 tons—took on merely seven to eight men on average. Surprisingly a few vessels of England or North America carried fewer crew in their returning to Jamaica from the logwood coasts than the number of sailors when they had entered into Jamaica.[60] Captain Uring, however, had taken a pilot into his party and augmented the sailors to 16 before going to the Bay of Honduras, and sailed in consort with a New England ship in 1719. He had ventured to the logwood coasts with other vessels also in 1711 and 1712.[61] It is therefore obvious that sailing with consorts was mariners' other means of reinforcement. We can see in the shipping lists that two or three vessels returned to Port Royal on the same day, which appears they had acted together. On January 23, 1688, two vessels, the *Stephen* of London and *Lydia* of Boston, got to Port Royal from the Bay of Campeche. Eight days later, the *Return* and *Speedwell*, both of London, and *John & Mary* of Boston came back from thence. In 1709, the brigantine *Vine* and the

60 Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13.
61 Dewar, ed., *The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring*, 115, 165, 232–233.

sloop *Susanna* showed the same pattern on December 6.[62]

Not a few vessels, other than the ones of Jamaica, returned to their home ports directly from the logwood coasts or other Spanish colonies. Any shipmasters could pursue this course only except when they had chartered Jamaican vessels. It was reported by the Naval Officer in 1679 that "There has been about 40 sayl that came Laden here [Port Royal] from severall Places viz. New England, Ireland, Maderas, Windward Islands and discharged and so went for the Bay of Campeche for Logwood or Trading with the Spaniards, and did not returne here."[63] For instance, Captain Glanvill in the Table 6 went back to New England directly from the Bay of Honduras in 1688. In the Jamaican lists of departures in 1709–1711, the destinations of four vessels were recorded as "The Bay of Campeachy and London," "The Bay of Campeachy and Boston," or "The Bay of Campeachy and Virginia," which suggests they did not return to Jamaica. The Naval Officer in Boston recorded in the early eighteenth century that higher proportion of vessels traded in the Bay than in the last century: 17 vessels departed from Boston directly for Campeche in 1714 alone and 52 arrived at Boston directly from there between 1713 and 1716.[64]

As is imagined from what was mentioned just above, the New England merchants and mariners had been really active in the logwood trade along with their fellows in England and Jamaica. Considerable mariners of Boston, as a matter of course, moved back and forth between their home port and the English West Indies for their well-known activity, namely the exportation of provisions and timber. Some masters were intent on the shuttling trade to Jamaica or Barbados as shown in the Figures 4–6. But then, New England welcomed the privateers from the Caribbean from 1660s at the latest, and the merchants invaded the Spanish Bay of Campeche in pursuit of dear logwood in the early 1670s.[65]

Both Captains Dampier and Uring had acted with New England merchantmen in the Campeche area. The former first went to the Bay of Campeche together with Captain Johnson of New England in 1675, and he was taken on board Johnson's vessel as a passenger in his second time. During his living among the logwood cutters in the following year, the cutters, having prepared the wood which had already been cut, logged, and chipped, "expected a Ship from New-England in a Month or two, to fetch it away." When lying in the Lagune of Trist in 1712, Captain Uring linked up with a New England ship.[66] Shipmasters even had a choice of hiring out their vessels while staying in Jamaica. In 1676, a Boston ship was freighted by two Scotsmen and an Irishman who intended to go to New England. Before returning to Boston, the master and his men, together with the freighters, called at the Lagune for logwood-

62 Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, 1709–1722, C.O. 142/13–14.

63 "An Accompt of What Passengers, Servants and Slaves has been Brought to this Island," C.O. 1/43, fol. 59.

64 Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1709–1722, C.O. 142/14, 1686–1719, C.O. 5/848.

65 Zahedieh, "The Capture of the Blue Dove," 38; Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), 131.

66 Dampier, "Mr. Dampier's Voyages," 114, 143, 181 (quotation); Dewar, ed., *The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring*, 169.

	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March
1685										Boston	Boston→Jamaica ? – Mar. 16	
1686	Jamaica Mar. 16 – Apr. 15	Jamaica →Boston Apr. 15 – May 20	Boston May 20 – ?	Boston → Madeira		Madeira		Madeira→Jamaica ? – Nov. 30	Jamaica Nov. 30 – Jan. 15		Jamaica →New England Jan. 15 – ?	
1687		New England			New England →Jamaica ? – Sept. 2	Jamaica Sept. 2 – Sept. 23	Jamaica→Boston Sept. 23 – ?	Boston	Boston → Salem; Salem	Salem →Madeira	Madeira	Madeira →Jamaica ? – Apr. 16
1688		Jamaica Apr. 16 – ?	Jamaica → Campeche	Bay of Campeche	Campeche →Jamaica ? – Sept. 10	Jamaica Sept. 10 – Oct. 12	Jamaica→Boston Oct. 12 – ?		Boston	Boston → Salem; Salem	Salem →Madeira	
1689	Madeira	Madeira→Jamaica ? – July 1		Jamaica July 1 – ?								

Figure 1. William Lord (*Sarah* of Boston or Port Royal)

Source: Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13, 1686–1719, C.O. 5/848.
Note: When the dates of entry or departure are fixed, sections are partitioned by solid lines. If not, dotted lines are used. (This rule is also applied in the Figures 2–6.)

	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March
1685								Boston	Boston→Jamaica ? – Jan. 4	Jamaica Jan. 4 – ?	Jamaica→Madeira	
1686		Madeira	Madeira→Boston ? – Aug. 4		Boston Aug. 4 – Sept. 6	Boston →Virginia Sept. 6 – ?		Virginia		Virginia →Boston	Boston ? – Apr. 5	
1687	Boston →Madeira Apr. 5 – ?	Madeira	Madeira →Boston	Boston ? – Aug. 19	Boston →Virginia Aug. 19 – ?		Virginia	Virginia →Boston ? – Dec. 13	Boston Dec. 13 – ?		Boston→Jamaica ? – Mar. 17	
1688	Jamaica Mar. 17 – ?	Jamaica →Boston ? – May 28	Boston May 28 – June 20	Boston→Madeira June 20 – ?	Madeira	Madeira →Curacao	Curacao; Curacao →Jamaica; Jamaica Oct. 11 – ?	Jamaica →Campeche	Bay of Campeche	Campeche →Jamaica ? – Feb. 18	Jamaica Feb. 18 – Mar. 12	
1689	Jamaica→Boston Mar. 12 – ?	Boston										

Figure 2. Thomas Prince (*Dolphin* of Boston)

Source: Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13, 1686–1719, C.O. 5/848.

	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March
1686						Boston ? – Sept. 20	Boston→Barbados Sept. 20 – ?	Barbados	Barbados →Jamaica ? – Jan. 3	Jamaica Jan. 3 – ?		Jamaica→Boston
1687		Boston ? – May 26	Boston→Barbados May 26 – ?	Barbados	Boston →Jamaica ? – Sept. 7	Jamaica Sept. 7 – ?		Jamaica → Honduras	Bay of Honduras	Honduras →Jamaica ?-Jan. 10	Jamaica Jan. 10 – ?	Jamaica →Boston ? – Apr. 17
1688		Boston Apr. 17 – May 28	Boston→Barbados May 28 – ?	Barbados								
1689								Barbados	Barbados →Jamaica ? – Jan. 13	Jamaica Jan. 13 – ?		
1690								Boston	Boston→Jamaica ? – Jan. 17	Jamaica Jan. 17 – ?	Jamaica→Boston	
1691	Boston	Boston→Jamaica ? – June 10	Jamaica June 10 – ?	Jamaica→Boston		Boston	Boston→Jamaica ? – Nov. 6	Jamaica Nov. 6 – ?				

Figure 3. Thomas Winsor (Windsor) (*Friendship* of Boston)

Source: Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13, 1686–1719, C.O. 5/848.

	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March
1686	Boston →Jamaica ? – Apr. 19	Jamaica Apr. 19 – June 15		Jamaica→Boston June 15 – Aug. 9		Boston Aug. 9 – ?	Boston→Jamaica ? – Nov. 24	Jamaica Nov. 24 – Dec. 23		Jamaica→Boston Dec. 23 – ?	Boston ? – Apr. 22	
1687		Boston→Jamaica Apr. 22 – June 11	Jamaica June 11 – July 4	Jamaica→Boston July 4 – ?			Boston		Boston→Jamaica ? – Jan. 12	Jamaica Jan. 12 – Feb. 9		Jamaica→Boston Feb. 9 – Apr. 5
1688		Boston Apr. 5 – May 30	Boston→Jamaica May 30 – July 23	Jamaica July 23 – Aug. 11	Jamaica→Boston Aug. 11 – Sept. 24		Boston Sept. 24 – ?		Boston→Jamaica ? – Dec. 29	Jamaica Dec. 29 – Feb. 8		Jamaica→Boston Feb. 8 – ?
1689		Boston		Boston→Jamaica ? – Aug. 23		Jamaica Aug. 23 – ?						

Figure 4. John Pullen (*Katherine* of Boston)

Source: Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13, 1686–1719, C.O. 5/848.

	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March
1682			Jamaica ? – July 17		Jamaica→Boston July 17 – ?	Boston						
1683							Boston	Boston→Jamaica ? – Nov. or Dec.	Jamaica Nov. or Dec. – Jan. ?		Jamaica→Boston Jan. ? – ?	Boston
1684										Jamaica ? – Feb. 3	Jamaica→Boston Feb. 3 – ?	
1685	Boston							Boston		Boston→Jamaica ? – Jan. 25	Jamaica Jan. 25 – Feb. 22	Jamaica→Boston Feb. 22 – ?
1686	Boston ? – May 2	Boston→Jamaica May 2 – July 12		Jamaica July 12 – Aug. 7	Jamaica→Boston Aug. 7 – Sept. 20		Boston Sept. 20 – ?	Boston→Jamaica ? – Dec. 21	Jamaica Dec. 21 – Jan. 10	Jamaica→Boston Jan. 10 – ?		Boston ? – Apr. 15
1687		Boston→Jamaica Apr. 15 – June 1	Jamaica June 1 – June 15	Jamaica→Boston June 15 – ?	Boston							

Figure 5. Nathaniel Cary (*Mary & Elizabeth* of Boston)

Source: Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13, 1686–1719, C.O. 5/848.
Note: Nathaniel Cary in Figure 5 appears to have been the same person as Cary in Figure 6.
There are some possibilities, that is, he changed or renamed his vessel, or was employed by different owners in about the summer of 1687.

	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March
1687							Boston	Boston→Jamaica ? – Dec. 5	Jamaica Dec. 5 – ?	Jamaica→Boston ? – Feb. 13		Boston Feb. 13 – Apr. 3
1688	Boston→Jamaica Apr. 3 – May 14	Jamaica May 14 – June 6	*Jamaica →Boston June 6 – July 9	Boston July 9 – Aug. 9	Boston→Jamaica Aug. 9 – Sept. 19	Jamaica Sept. 19 – ?						
1689	Boston	Boston→Jamaica ? – June 8	Jamaica June 8 – July 24		Jamaica→Boston July 24 – ?	Boston						

Figure 6. Nathaniel Cary (*Owners Adventure* of Boston)

Source: Naval Office Shipping Lists database, 1680–1705, C.O. 142/13, 1686–1719, C.O. 5/848.
Note: * The Naval Officer in Port Royal recorded that the *Owners Endeavor*, Nathaniel Cary master, departed to Boston on June 6, 1688.
This appears to have been a mistake in writing the vessel's name.

trading.[67]

New England played an important part also in the traffic with the Spaniards as they could provide provisions at much lower cost and in better conditions than their rivals thanks to its relative proximity to the West Indies. In the late seventeenth century, however, they ran short of specie because of the less contacts with pirates or privateers and the more strengthened regulation of the contraband trade than before.[68] Colonists then revolted against the Dominion of New England in various places, and overthrew the government in 1689. Edward Randolph, a collector of the customs in Boston, attributed the policy of the government—to make colonists observe the Navigation Acts and prevent them from having access to the Spanish colonies or pirates—to the cause of the rage among colonists.[69]

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In retrospect, keeping records of the Naval Office Shipping Lists, that is, trying to get hold of the movement of vessels and their cargoes was one of the official devices of English authority to prevent all sorts of the illegal trade. Therefore the lists in essence cannot be used as the historical sources of smuggling activities. As is evident from the above, however, they can be used against the record keepers' intentions when we make them into a database. They from time to time let us know the conditions of the illicit trade by providing us with some clues included in them or by openly presenting the information of the vessels concerning such trade.

In pursuing either the Spanish or logwood trade, it is indispensable that the official and private documents are complementary to each other. Though the Naval Officers had put down little information about the Spanish trade clearly, the private documents explained to us in this paper what the official lists cannot tell. It seems to be one of the ways for us to consider the illegal activities "commodity by commodity" for making the best use of the shipping lists since the difficulty, danger, and method

67 Dampier, "Mr. Dampier's Voyages," 183–185. cf. Pares, *Yankees and Creoles*, 75. The master and an Irish freighter had a conflict of opinion in the Lagune. The fact that sailors followed the former on that occasion suggests the possibility the master and crew on board Boston merchantmen, especially the smaller vessels, consisted of the local mariners. According to Daniel Vickers, the mariners on board a Salem vessel were composed mainly of the people in the same community: they were related through birth or by living in the same neighborhood. Judging only from the number of seamen and the tonnage recorded in the Jamaican lists, Boston vessels (averaging 7.1 men / 32.9 tons in 1685–1691) were similar to those of Salem (8.4 men / 32.7 tons). In the small vessels or in the short voyages, the power of a master over sailors was not tyrannical but "paternalistic." Though Boston was a significant port town at that time and some larger ships were owned there, it appears that shipmasters had less authorities so far as the Boston vessels engaging in the West Indian trade were concerned (cf. Daniel Vickers with Vince Walsh, *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven, Conn., 2005); Daniel Vickers, Lewis R. Fischer, Marilyn Porter, et al., "Reviews of Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750*, with a Response by Marcus Rediker," *International Journal of Maritime History* 1 (1989), 311–313; Marcus Rediker, "The Common Seaman in the Histories of Capitalism and the Working Class," *ibid.*, 342–345).

68 Scammell, "'A Very Profitable and Advantageous Trade,'" 163; Bailyn, *The New England Merchants*, 182.

69 Barrow, *Trade and Empire*, 36.

of smuggling differed according to the articles.[70] With regard to the logwood trade, in truth, the shipping lists became garrulous as well as other texts due to the special circumstances surrounding the possession of the logwood coasts. In tracing the movement of any vessel or shipmaster, the official records had superiority while the private ones gave us vivid illustrations of specific events.

The English trade in the Spanish Indies was undoubtedly a well-established system in which Jamaica played a key role as a gateway to the outside of their empire. Any seafarers could set it out during their stays in Jamaica, while it was even nothing but routine for some Jamaican merchants or mariners. The participants in the illegal trade may have used to move around in the Caribbean world freely as if they were on the map without color-coding. It is easy enough to see that the more strictly the Naval Officers had tried to record the lists or to control the smugglers, the more desire among colonists for smuggling would have expanded. As is general knowledge, there was no end to cases of the illegal trade throughout the American colonial period.

70 cf. James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (Cambridge, 1972), 205.