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## Jamaican science in the 1870s: Response by a Jesuit missionary to Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*

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### Abstract

James Splaine (1834–1901) was a Jesuit missionary working in Jamaica in the early 1870s whose manuscript *Diary* is an important source on Jamaican history. The marginalia in his copy of the fifth edition of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, which are available for viewing on Darwin Online, are here transcribed and analysed within their historical context. Although he was not a scientist, Splaine's marginalia are a sharp and well-informed critique of Darwin's logic and arguments for natural selection. They also make clear Splaine's preference for divine intervention in the process of speciation.

*Key words:* history of geology, James Splaine, marginalia, *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, divine intervention, *The Origin of Species*

### 1. Introduction

Our understanding of the history of geological studies of Jamaica in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century tends to be encapsulated by the contents of three monographs, namely those by De la Beche (1827), Sawkins (1869) and Hill (1899). Furthermore, there were some shorter published studies (such as Barrett, 1860; Duncan and Wall, 1865). Available documentation has enabled insights into the methodologies of some of these early savants (notably Chubb, 2010a, b). Yet these monographs show that ideas on the geology of the island progressed by saltation. For much of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, there were no geologists living in Jamaica; no geological survey, no university and, apparently, no informed amateurs publishing their observations. So, the 1830s to 1850s and 1870s to late 1890s were, apparently, periods of stagnation in geological

thought on the island. Who, if any one, was engaging with geological ideas in Jamaica? And how might they be recognised in the absence of research publications by the same?

Herein, we consider a slightly unusual source of information concerning the response to ideas in natural history in Jamaica in the 1870s. A reader's response to a book, if she or he for some reason wished to capture that reaction before it flits away like any other thought, may be jotted down in the margin if a pen or pencil is to hand. Ideally the book should be the reader's own property! Such marginalia can be an irritating distraction to any future reader of the book, but they can also be of great interest if they were written by a writer of note (Secord 2000; Gould, 1979, 2000, p. 92). Charles Darwin (1809–1882) is one such author, a geologist (Herbert, 2005) and natural historian who published his masterpiece *On the*

*Origin of Species* in 1859. *The Origin*, as it is generally known, is certainly one of the most important books ever published and although now revered by evolutionary biologists is still controversial in some religious contexts, especially in the United States. Darwin's marginalia in books from his personal library have all been published and are of considerable interest to historians of science (di Gregorio and Gill, 1990). But what of marginalia by other readers of *The Origin*, particularly, in the present case, one residing in Jamaica?

## 2. Splaine's copy of Darwin's book

This short contribution concerns marginalia by James Splaine (1834–1901) in his own copy of *The Origin*. These comments by Splaine are significant, being written at a time when Jamaica lacked an established scientific intelligentsia. If there was any interest in Darwin's ideas in Jamaica and the wider Antilles in the 1870s, there was no formal scientific lobby to promote natural selection. It may have been that Splaine's comments reflect the contemporary views of the island at a time without reputable scientific hierarchy.

Splaine's response to Darwin is interesting in itself, but also because Splaine has some historical importance. Splaine was an English Jesuit missionary whose diary from Jamaica in 1872 is an important source on the history of that country (see <https://www.jesuitarchives.co.uk/post/the-1872-jamaica-diary-of-fr-james-splaine-sj>).

Splaine owned a fifth edition of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, published in August 1869, ten years after the first edition. The fifth is the edition in which Darwin countered various apparently serious objections, including those of the deep-sea cable engineer Fleeming Jenkin, published anonymously in the *North British Review* in 1867 (see endnote below<sup>1</sup>). Jenkin claimed that blending inheritance would swamp new variations and prevent natural selection from creating new species and that the Earth was insufficiently old to have allowed life to have evolved as Darwin believed. Both of Jenkin's claims have subsequently been proved invalid and the extent to which Darwin's amendments in the fifth edition were directly in response to Jenkin is still being debated (see Bulmer, 2004). The fifth was also the edition in which Darwin first used Herbert Spencer's phrase

'survival of the fittest' (see introduction to the fifth edition at [http://darwin-online.org.uk/EditorialIntroductions/Chancellor\\_Origin5th.html](http://darwin-online.org.uk/EditorialIntroductions/Chancellor_Origin5th.html)), although he had already quoted this phrase the year before in his *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (1868). For a summary of the textual changes Darwin made in the fifth edition see his list of 'additions and corrections' which appears at the start of the volume; for the details of these changes see Peckham (1959).

Splaine's marginalia in the first half of his copy of *The Origin* reveal something of his response to Darwin's theory of evolution, a few years before publication of Darwin's even more controversial *Descent of Man* (Darwin, 1871). It seems likely that Splaine bought *The Origin* new in England before he left for Jamaica. It would have cost him 15 shillings (see Peckham, 1959). Since there are no marginalia beyond chapter six and none of them mention Jamaica, Splaine may have been reading the book before he arrived there. The marginalium on p. 210 cannot have been written before the end of November, however, and he did give his location as 'Jamaica W.I.' under his signature on the title page.

Splaine's copy with its marginalia has been digitised and made available on Darwin Online at <http://darwin-online.org.uk/content/frameset?itemID=F387&viewtype=image&pageseq=1>.

The book has Splaine's signature on the title page, as well as 'Biblioteca Res[ident] S Josephi S[ancti?]. J[esus]. Bristol' on the front end paper, although this is so dark as to be almost invisible on the scans. The signature is stamped over with 'Trenchard Street Bristol' which obviously postdates the signature.

Although there was no known direct contact between Splaine and Darwin, the latter had a strong interest in the island, as shown by his correspondence with the antislavery naturalist Richard Hill of Jamaica (but apparently unrelated to R. T. Hill) in 1859–1860 (for details see Burckhardt et al. 1985–2022, vols. 6 and 7). For Richard Hill see Cundell (1935). Also see endnote<sup>2</sup>.

Another intriguing aspect of this story relates to the Canadian writer Charles Grant Allen (1848–1899), one of the most prominent popularisers of Darwin's theory of evolution and one of his first biographers (van Helvert and van Wyhe, 2021). Early in his career, in the early 1870s, Allen went to

Jamaica to teach at Queen's College in Spanish Town and it was there that he first saw a copy of *The Origin*, the book that changed his life. In 1881, a few months before he died, Darwin presented Allen with a copy containing a flattering inscription. Although it seems that Splaine just missed Allen's arrival in Jamaica, the importance to both of them of reading this great book in Jamaica at almost the same time is an unexpected coincidence.

### 3. James Splaine's life

Splaine was born into a devout Catholic family in Liverpool in 1834. Three of his four brothers became priests and his sister became a nun. He studied at Stonyhurst College from 1848 to 1854 and at the age of twenty he joined the Society of Jesus. Being proficient in Italian and Latin he was a keen writer, starting a diary from the beginning of his Jesuit career. His facility with Latin is demonstrated by the inscription on the front endpaper and by its use in the marginalium on p. 238 (see below). According to Splaine's obituary (Anon, 1902–1903, pp. 353–354) his diary was filled with “numberless jottings of information on a variety of subjects, and with poetical effusions and songs, both grave and gay, interspersed with descriptive or humorous illustrations”. He was ordained in 1867 and according to the blog post he left for Jamaica on 2 November 1869, missing the first issue of the new science journal *Nature* by two days, although later he did have access to the *Medical Times and Gazette* of 27 November, as we note below.

Splaine's Jamaica diary is a remarkable record of his mission working in the Portland area, north and north-east of Kingston, mainly among the peasant community of freed African slaves and Haitian refugees. Splaine was ultimately disappointed that his mission had little success converting the essentially African community to European morality or away from their animistic religion. His diary records how his non-religious services, such as dealing with medical emergencies and poltergeists, were appreciated by his congregation, but that was not his mission. Stewart (1984) made clear that Splaine became increasingly intolerant of what he regarded as the

depravity and laziness of the ‘niggers’ – a word he used with increasing frequency. To quote Stewart: “In the final analysis, Splaine was paternalistic and racist” (1984, p. 106). His diary is, however, an almost unique record of life in the ex-slave communities which were mainly ignored by the much more influential Protestant missions.

Unfortunately, the diary is silent in respect of Darwin or indeed of any scientific discussion. It is dated 1872 and it indicates that Splaine left Jamaica in October that year for the United States and Canada. His varied subsequent career and publications are detailed in Anon (1902–1903).

On his return to England in 1873 Splaine became a prominent member of the St Joseph Jesuit church at Trenchard Street in Bristol, a city like Liverpool built largely on the proceeds of West Indian slavery. The Jesuits had taken over St Mary-on-the-Quay Church in 1860 and purchased it in 1871, using St Joseph's as a hall and school as the two buildings were only 200 m apart. Presumably Splaine's copy of *The Origin* was given to the school library, but the book's subsequent history until Chancellor purchased it from an Oxford book collector in the early 1980s is unknown.

Splaine was President of the Bristol Catholic Temperance Campaign for a while and in that capacity he invited Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, to give a talk on temperance at the Colston Hall in May 1876 (this is the same Colston whose statue was defaced and pushed into Bristol Harbour in 2020 and is now on display in Bristol Museum). He is also listed under the leadership of Father Thomas Hill, Priest at St Mary-on-the-Quay 1873–1893, alongside nine others, including the poet Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844–1889; see Hankins, 1993). Splaine died in Richmond, Yorkshire, in 1901 (not 1899 as given by Stewart, 1984).

### 4. What do Splaine's marginalia reveal?

The first six chapters of the book have over 30 marginal comments obviously written by Splaine. The Bristol-based marine zoologist William Benjamin Carpenter (1813–1885) is the only author referred to (on p. 210) in the marginalia. Carpenter was the author of many important publications including the highly

influential *Principles of General and Comparative Physiology* (1839) which subsequently went through five editions. It was from the 1841 edition that Robert Chambers quarried his understanding of Karl von Baer's theory of embryological development as the entire basis for the theory of evolution propounded in his anonymous *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (Chambers, 1844). It was also in the 1851 edition of *Principles* that Carpenter was the first to use the word 'evolution' in anything like the modern vernacular sense (see Gould, 1977) and in 1859 Darwin sent him a copy of the first edition of *The Origin*. The report on deep-sea dredging by Carpenter which Splaine quotes on p. 210 appeared in December 1869.

Carpenter's views on evolution are covered in some detail by Ospovat (1981), Desmond (1989), Desmond and Moore (2009) and Lidwell-Durnin (2020). Darwin himself referred to Carpenter in the fifth edition of *The Origin*: on p. 380 in reference to the Precambrian 'pseudofossil' *Eöozoon* (subsequently debunked) and on p. 410 in reference to the apparent slow evolution of microfossil foraminiferans. That Carpenter was long-known to espouse 'the development hypothesis' is evidenced by his commission from the publisher John Churchill to enhance the scientific respectability of *Vestiges*, published by Churchill from 1844 onwards (see Secord, 2000). Carpenter, Darwin and Ada Lovelace were among the many suspected of having authored *Vestiges* before Robert Chambers was publicly acknowledged in 1884, although Darwin was sure it was Chambers as early as 1845. It is not clear whether in 1844 Carpenter knew who the author was.

Carpenter was one of Darwin's most important followers and in 1860 wrote a favourable though qualified review of *The Origin* in *The National Review*. Carpenter had a varied career, visiting St Vincent and Grenada in 1832–1833, being tutor to Lovelace's children in the 1840s and, as discussed in connection with Splaine's comments on p. 210, Carpenter did important work on deep-sea sampling in the late 1860s. He was also the son of an important Unitarian and a supporter of the temperance cause (Desmond and Moore, 2009), both facts which may have drawn Splaine to Carpenter's writings. On the other hand, Carpenter shared with Darwin an abhorrence of slavery and might presumably have objected to Splaine's racist views.

The marginalia are written in a very literary style and taken together constitute a sophisticated and sometimes sarcastic (e.g. p. 232) critique of Darwin's logic and arguments. Usually Splaine refers to 'Mr. Darwin' (e.g. p. 221), but some of the comments read as a conversation, such as using 'your argument' (p. 190) or 'your theory' (p. 238). In total they show that Splaine thought Darwin unjustified in excluding the possibility of divine intervention in the creation of species (see Roberts, 1999).

In total the marginalia betray Splaine's resistance to accepting natural selection, Darwin's primary mechanism of evolution (e.g. p. 162). This resistance seems to stem from Splaine's certainty that variation must be caused by divine intervention, a view Darwin argued strenuously against. Splaine does, however, make an acute criticism of Darwin's logic, as for example on p. 221, where he points out that Darwin is 'hardly fair' in setting up a 'straw man' in opposition to his own view. Splaine also sharply attacks any example of Darwin's tendency to make what appear to be untestable assumptions, as, for example, in positing common ancestors on p. 232. Perhaps Splaine's most profound statement is on p. 239 where he says there is no necessary contradiction between Creation and the obvious unity within major taxonomic groups.

Splaine's marginalia are also interesting in providing a comparison to the views of an almost contemporary Catholic biologist, St George Jackson Mivart (1827–1900), whose *Genesis of Species* of 1871 demanded a serious response from Darwin in the form of an entire new chapter in the sixth edition of the *Origin* in 1872 ([http://darwin-online.org.uk/Editorial-Introductions/Chancellor\\_Origin6th.html](http://darwin-online.org.uk/Editorial-Introductions/Chancellor_Origin6th.html)) ([http://darwin-online.org.uk/EditorialIntroductions/Chancellor\\_Origin6th.html](http://darwin-online.org.uk/EditorialIntroductions/Chancellor_Origin6th.html)). Mivart, like Splaine, believed that variation was divinely directed so in his view the origin of species was not an entirely natural process. Mivart was regarded by Darwin and his supporters, especially T.H. Huxley under whom Mivart had trained, as having become a traitor to the evolutionary cause after his conversion to Rome. He also upset Darwin by criticising his son George's views on eugenics and the unfortunate Mivart was also excommunicated by the Catholic Church for denying the existence of Hell. See Vorzimmer (1972), Desmond and Moore

(1991) and Haught (2013) for detailed discussions of Mivart and the Catholic Church's antagonism to evolution more generally.

### 5. The marginalia

The following is a transcription of the marginalia in the book, all of which are in pencil. *The quotes from Darwin are in italics.* Some are from chapter four, two from five, but by far the most from six.

#### **Historical sketch:**

*p. xvi:* [underlinings of 'progressive development' and 'spontaneous generation' in Darwin's discussion of Lamarck.]

#### **Chapter Four: Natural Selection:**

*p. 134:* immediately following the famous and only diagram in *The Origin*: ['X' in margin by 'and generally to vary in nearly the same manner as their parents'] X If they tend to vary in the same direction as their parents, then they must have lost part of the intensity of that tendency as it showed itself in the original stock; and if so, variability has a limit, for the tendency goes on diminishing.

*p. 136:* ['...but we have only to suppose the steps in modification..' 'only' underlined] Only to suppose it! – why, that is to take it for granted, no proof given.

*p. 145:* ['Lamarck' in margin alongside first printed mention of the French naturalist.]

*p. 145:* ['as far as we can see' underlined] Our not being able to see it is no proof at all. Why should it not be an advantage to them? Besides, all the original stocks are supposed to have been very simple, & as we might ask of them too as of these, what use would high organisation be to them?

*p. 146:* ['live under some disadvantage' underlined] I suppose they get as much air as they want, & that is all they would take if they were on the land.

*p. 148:* ['no one ought to feel surprised at much remaining as yet unexplained on the origin of species' underlined] hear! hear!

*p. 149:* ['...life history of any one organic being...' ] cf p. 145.

*p. 162:* [X 'no explanation' underlined] X except the will of the Creator, & this is the only explanation we can expect of the first appearance of a modification of a structure; and until some other explanation is given the real cause of the origin of species must remain a mystery. Granting all that Mr. Darwin lays down about fixing of varieties & development, still the first &, so to speak incidental variation is the real origin of the species; & no explanation has been given of how this variation arises, except creation. It follows that species are created.

#### **Chapter Five: Laws of Variation:**

*p. 170:* ['from not being blown out to sea' underlined] & much the worst of escaping death by crushing etc.

*p. 190–191:* [inserted after '..in the several species?'] R. For the same reason that it commenced to vary, or develop as you would say. You can't tell what that is.- we might to [ask del] your question put another question: why should it not. At the same time one is not bound to suppose that /what are called species are all really different creations.

#### **Chapter Six: Difficulties on theory:**

*p. 210:* ['as climate and height or depth graduate away insensibly' underlined; after 'climate' '?' at end] Dr Carpenter has discovered: "that a difference of bottom temperature between 32° and 47° existed at points only 8 or 10 miles distant from each other.... & that where this was the case in the cold area the bottom....was inhabited by a ....fauna of an arctic or boreal character while in the adjacent warm area...the fauna presented characteristics due to the more temperate climate. Atlantic

dredgings.” [This is a quote from Carpenter’s report on the deep-sea explorations he had carried out with Wyville Thompson and Gwyn Jeffreys on HMS *Porcupine* (Rice, 1986). The full account of these very important findings<sup>2</sup> was Carpenter et al. (1869–1870), but Splaine is quoting from the summary on p. 629 in vol. 2 of *The Medical Times and Gazette* for 27 November 1869, which refers to the report made to the Royal Society on 18 November. The summary includes mention that Charles Lyell was present at the meeting and considered the findings “almost revolutionary in their character”. The findings convinced Carpenter that there exist currents at great depth in the oceans, a view initially not held by his co-workers, and he published a further article ‘On the temperature and animal life of the deep sea’ in *Nature* on 10 March 1870.]

p. 217: [‘*who would have ventured*’ underlined] can’t see the difficulty.

p. 218: [‘*seldom*’ underlined] [‘if ever’ inserted after ‘*seldom*’.]

p. 219: [‘*I have often watched a tyrant fly-catcher....insects in the water*’ scored in margin] [‘!’ at end of paragraph.] [This is the famous ‘whale bear’ paragraph, much shortened from the first to the second edition; see Chancellor, 2015.]

p. 220: [‘*it never climbs a tree!*’ underlined] How could it, poor thing, when it is in a place where “not a tree grows.” [This was quoted by Chancellor and van Wyhe (2009, p. 249; see also van Wyhe 2009, p. 367).]

p. 221: [‘*He*’ underlined] Who is he? There is a mean between him, whoever he be, and Mr Darwin. It is hardly fair to parade the opposite extreme as the only alternative from thinking with oneself. This Mr D. does more than once. Cf p. 203 etc & infra\* & p. 187, & p. 167.

p. 221: [‘*habits have changed*’ underlined] have they?

p. 221: [‘*He who believes*’ underlined]\*

p. 223: [‘*though insuperable by our imagination, cannot be considered real.*’ underlined]

p. 236: [‘*we must suppose...*’ double-scored in margin]

p. 228: [‘*Originally constructed for one purpose*’ underlined] How is this fact known?

p. 229: [‘*no reason to doubt that the swimbladder has actually been converted*’ underlined] Is there any reason for believing it?

p. 230: [‘*need not be doubted*’ underlined]

p. 229: [‘*understand*’ underlined] How? Would it have been any less inconvenient to have the food slipping into an air vessel than into the lungs? If not, then the strangeness of the arrangement still recurs.

p. 230: [after ‘*...being washed out of the sack?*’] Perhaps no one would. There would have been less reason for doing it than there is now.

p. 230: [‘*that any organ could not have been*’] has [inserted after ‘*organ*’; parentheses around ‘*could not have*’]

p. 231: [‘*we are too ignorant*’ underlined] This is a splendid way of meeting a difficulty.

p. 231: [‘*far more serious difficulty*’, *widely remote*’ and ‘*from a common ancestor*’ underlined] cf. infra ++

p. 232: [‘*is no reason to suppose...progenitor*’ and ‘*Thus the greater difficulty disappears*’ underlined] ++ cf. supra. The difficulty of referring them to a common ancestor is got over by not referring them to a common ancestor.

p. 233: [against ‘*those who believe in distinct creations*’] Why shouldn’t it?

p. 238: [‘*...and unknown*’ underlined] How do you know of them if they are unknown. Of course that is your theory, but is this not rather like a *petitio principii*? [i.e. a fallacy in which a conclusion is taken for granted in the premises.; Perhaps Splaine’s use here of Latin was prompted by Darwin’s use a few lines below of Linnaeus’s famous aphorism ‘*Natura non facit saltum*’?, i.e. ‘nature does not make leaps’.]

p. 239: [inserted after ‘*...Creation, should there*’] not.

p. 239: [‘*Why should not Nature...*’ parentheses added around ‘*not*’] And so we can on the theory of Creation, not necessarily of every single so called species, but of classes wh[ich] have a certain range of variation. It is not correct to suppose that Creation would do away with the connection & unity that we see in nature. In this consists half its beauty, as the Creator knows equally as well as we do “not to put too fine a point on it.” As the character of an individual may be read in his every word & act, in his writings, or his paintings or his hobbies, so may the character of God be read in the endless variety of His works all stamped with unity.

p. 246: [‘*be observed*’ underlined] Do insects go by sight in looking for food? v.g. [i.e. ‘*verbi gratia*’, for instance] the bee described in p. 236 etc. Could he see the ridges that he sought inside the flower?

p. 247: [‘*not the delight of man*’ underlined] It’s being done through sexual selection is not a proof that it was not so done for man.

p. 249: [‘*can we consider as equally perfect*’ underlined] Not if complex & perfect are convertible terms.

## 6. Discussion

It is important to remember that, by inclination and training, Charles Darwin was a geologist (Herbert, 2005) and several chapters within *The Origin* address geological aspects of his theory. In 1859 Darwin received the highest honour of the Geological Society, the Wollaston Medal (Herries Davies, 2007, p. 121). Thus, *The Origin* was a publication by a leading geologist, albeit one whose range of interests embraced the whole field of natural history (see, particularly, Herbert, 2005, chapter 10, ‘*Geology and the Origin of Species*’). So, in examining Splaine’s marginalia in *The Origin*, it must be borne in mind that this is a response to ideas by a geologist. It thus takes on an added significance in being a very rare reaction to geological ideas in Jamaica (but not directly concerned with the island) by a resident on the island, between the First Geological Survey (1860s) and the researches of R. T. Hill (1890s).

The marginalia by James Splaine in his copy of the 1869 fifth edition of *The Origin* constitute a coherent dialogue with Darwin concerning the latter’s theory of evolution by natural selection. Splaine, being a Jesuit missionary, was understandably concerned that Darwin was writing God out of the script of Creation, although a more famous Jesuit geologist writing in the Twentieth Century managed to accommodate evolution within his faith (Teihard de Chardin, 1999).

In 1872 Splaine kept an important diary of his mission on Jamaica which probably dates from about the time of his marginalia, but is regrettably silent about evolution or any other scientific matters. Splaine’s marginalia are confined to the first six chapters of *The Origin* which are those most focussed on showing that natural selection is a true cause and both capable of and responsible for creating species from pre-existing species. Like many readers with strong religious faith, Splaine could not grasp Darwin’s view that variations – the raw material of natural selection – arise randomly with respect to evolutionary trends. Instead, Splaine – like Mivart discussed above – believed that variations are divinely directed, thus creating species, as he stated clearly on p. 162.

As a whole Splaine’s critique is penetrating and reveals a sharp and logical intellect, as shown by his lengthy comment on p. 210 on W.B. Carpenter’s report on benthic faunas in the Atlantic. He also displays a

keen, but rather sarcastic, sense of humour, notably regarding the Pampas Woodpecker on p. 220. The marginalium on p. 239 is an eloquent expression of his belief that God's work is not confined to directing variation, but extends up the taxonomic scale so that His personality can be 'read' throughout nature. Finally, on p. 247, he shows that he is not convinced that female mate choice, according to Darwin's theory of sexual selection, is a better explanation than God's artistic skills for the beauty of many male animals.

In summary, James Splaine's response to Darwin during his mission on Jamaica is a significant snap-shot of the Victorian 'crisis of faith' which was largely caused by Darwin's theory of evolution. As such it added a new dimension to our understanding of scientific and religious thought in the Caribbean of the Nineteenth Century.

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## Endnotes

1. These findings of relatively warm water and dramatically temperature-dependent faunas at great depth were so important because they conclusively disproved the existence of the 'azoic' zone. The zone theory had been established four decades previously by the Edinburgh naturalist and Darwin's friend Edward Forbes (1815–1854). Forbes had hypothesised that there were distinct submarine ecological zones with diversity decreasing with depth until no life could exist (the so-called 'azoic' zone). Evidence against the zone had gradually accumulated, especially the corals found attached to the damaged Sardinia to Bona telegraph cable brought up for repair by Fleeming Jenkin (see our section 2) from 1,200 fathoms (2,184m) depth in 1860. Sadly, Forbes died of kidney failure too early to see these results.
2. Darwin was also involved in the controversy concerning John Edward Eyre, Governor of Jamaica 1862–1866, the Australian explorer born in England, who wreaked savage reprisals after the Morant Bay peasant rebellion in Jamaica with great cruelty in 1865 (439 were killed, 600 flogged and 1,000 homes were destroyed). Darwin was one of many Britons who joined J. S. Mill's Jamaica Committee who called for Eyre's punishment for the murder of the rebel leader Richard Gordon. This was opposed to Thomas Carlyle's Eyre Defence Committee with other senior intellectuals including Alfred Tennyson (see Desmond, 1997, p. 351; Desmond and Moore, 2009). Eyre was eventually pardoned after a legally significant trial, with a Government pension.