Edward & Eliza

A Story of Discovery

Edward Clouston (1787-1866) of Kingshouse, West Mainland, Orkney, Scotland

and

Eliza Fox (1792/93-1836) of Williamsfield, St Thomas in the Vale, Jamaica

Volume 2 of 3

Mary Mill

2016
You have set me to thinking about the differences between West Indian and American slavery. I can't recall any parallel to the relationship between Jamaican masters and their “housekeepers” in this country, where at best such relationships were furtive and cruelly one-sided – perhaps the best known example is that of Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings. I know of no instance in which the children were accepted into white society; on the contrary, there are many cases in which the children were not only kept in slavery but sold to other owners.

I suppose the controlling difference was not so much a matter of more or less generosity and virtue but the fact that West Indian slavery was thousands of miles removed from the home country, while American slavery was embedded within the white society to which owners and overseers belonged.

*Thomas Philbrick to Mary Mill, 21 June 2005*
## Contents

### Volume 1
1. Finding Eliza – page 1  
2. West Africa – page 21  
3. 18th Century Jamaica – page 101  
4. Orkney – page 161  
5. 1800 to 1807 – page 219  
6. Edward 1808 to 1810 – page 271  
7. Edward 1811 to 1815 – page 329  
8. Eliza 1808 to 1815 – page 383  
9. 1816 to 1817 – page 427

### Volume 2
10. 1818 to 1819 – page 487  
11. 1820 – page 545  
12. 1821 to 1823 – page 603  
13. 1824 – page 661  
14. 1825 – page 721

### Volume 3
15. 1826 – page 773  
16. 1827 to 1828 – page 831  
17. 1829 to 1830 – page 887

### Web Sources
As far as possible I have given a link to a website for a record referred to in the text, regardless of where I first looked at the record. I checked all web links in November 2016.
CHAPTER 10

1818 to 1819

Williamsfield Crop Accounts, 1817 — Edward on Williamsfield, 1818 — Edward executor of the late James Fraser — Eliza, Edward’s housekeeper — Housekeepers — Williamsfield and James Hakewill — Williamsfield sugar works — Williamsfield Crop Account for 1818 sworn by Edward, 1819 — Francis Graham, Twickenham Park — Francis Graham and Lord Carrington — Slave Court, St Thomas in the Vale — Religious Instruction of slaves — Yellow Snake — Slaves houses and gardens — daily lives — funerals — entertainments
1818 is a memorable year in the lives of Edward and Eliza – in 1818 Edward was living on Williamsfield.

George Miller Andrews swore the Williamsfield crop account for the year 1817 on 26 January 1818.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Williamsfield [including Sandy Gut]</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proceeds of 160 Hhds &amp; 26 Tierces of Sugar</td>
<td>4791 - 2 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Casks Old Copper</td>
<td>87 - 13 - 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deduct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Stores Supertare Commission Postage &amp;c</td>
<td>1153 - 19 - 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pr Accounts of Geo Cuthbert &amp; Frans Graham dated</td>
<td>31st Decr 1817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of this years Expenses including Cattle</td>
<td>4539 - 5 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deduct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proceeds of 94 Pun Rum &amp; 19 Head of Cattle Sold</td>
<td>2051 - 2 - 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nightingale Grove [bottom line]</td>
<td>1777 - 4 - 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1947 - 10 - 11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
My photos, September 2008 – Williamsfield Bridge – Sharon at the door of her shop
Sharon with a bag of Nutmegs – a present to Christopher and me

On 3 September 1818 Edward was ‘on’ Williamsfield.

The earliest mention I have of Edward in connection with St Thomas in the Vale is on 30 June 1818 – the day James Fraser, above, made his Will.

From James Fraser’s Probate Inventory, below, 6th row down – ‘Amount of Salary due from 1st Jany to 30th June 1818’ – it appears that he died on 30 June 1818.
Chapter 10. 1818 to 1819

My photo – Jamaica Archives – Records of Probate Inventories, Lib 131, Fol 71 – Returned Island Secretary’s Office 8 January 1819 – James Fraser, late of the Parish of St Catherine, Planter deceased

Jamaica ss – The Execution of the within Warrant of appraisement appears by the Schedule hereunto annexed. Given under our hands & Seals the 8th day of Jany 1819.

George Mackerlie
Diederich Cooper

Jamaica ss – An Inventory and appraisement of all and singular the Goods and Chattels Rights and Credits which were of James Fraser late of the parish of Saint Catherin planter deceased

In Obedience to the Warrant of appraisement hereunto annexed we have inventoried and appraised all and singular the goods and chattels rights and credits which were of James Fraser deceased as they were shewn unto us by Edward Clouston and Duncan McKenzie his Executors or which we know did belong to the said deceased at the time of his death and We do find the same to the same amount to the sum of Eight hundred and fifteen pounds nine Shillings and Seven pence Current Money of Jamaica as will more particularly appear by reference above. Given under our hands and Seals this Eighth day of January anno domini 1819.

George Mackerlie
Diederich Cooper
As the overseer of Williamsfield Edward was employed by the Earl of Harewood’s planting attorney, Francis Graham – Edward’s employer during the time he was overseer of Georgia – see Chapter 6.

Eliza and Edward’s son Edward Clouston (aged one on 28 June 1820 – see Chapter 11) was born in 1818 or 1819. It therefore follows that Eliza was Edward’s ‘housekeeper’ in 1818. It was said that almost all unmarried men in Jamaica had a ‘housekeeper’.


One of the most striking papers in this work [Christian Record of Jamaica], is an article entitled Libertinism of Jamaica . . .

“. . . from the governor (we speak not of the present one) to the slave, an organised system of open and shameless concubinage has prevailed for generations past, and still prevails throughout the whole mass of society . . . With the exception of those who are married, (and not always those) and a few rare instances, members of council, members of assembly, custodes of parishes, magistrates, common-councilmen, vestrymen, merchants, masters in chancery, doctors, judges, barristers, attorneys, proprietors and attorneys of estates, overseers, bookkeepers, clerks, tradesmen, whites, browns, blacks – all in short have every man his ‘housekeeper,’ (Jamaica parlance), established in open whoredom, living in his house, or attached to it according to circumstances . . .”


. . . Every unmarried white man, and of every class, has his black or his brown mistress, with whom he lives openly; and of so little consequence is this thought, that his white female friends and relations think it no breach of decorum to visit his house, partake of his hospitality, fondle his children, and converse with his housekeeper – as if that conduct, which they regarded as disgraceful in their own class, was not so in the female of colour . . .

In 1816 Matthew Gregory Lewis was told by his Jamaica attorney that ‘it is the custom, sir, in this country, for unmarried men to have housekeepers’.

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Ub4NAAAAAQAkJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Journal of a West India Proprietor, kept during his residence in the island of Jamaica, by the late Matthew Gregory Lewis, published 1834 – page 169-170 – 8 February 1816 – extract

Soon after my arrival at Cornwall I asked my attorney whether a clever-looking brown woman, who seemed to have great authority in the house, belonged to me? – No; she was a free woman. – Was she in my service, then? – No; she was not in my service. I began to grow impatient. – ’But what does she do at Cornwall? Of what use is she in the house?’ – ‘Why sir, as to use . . . of no great use, sir’; and then, after a pause, he added in a lower voice, ‘It is the custom, sir, in this country, for unmarried men to have housekeepers, and Nancy is mine.’ But he was unjust in saying that Nancy is of no use on the estate; for she is perpetually in the hospital, nurses the children, can bleed, and mix up medicines, and (as I am assured) she is of more service to the sick than all the doctors. These brown housekeepers generally attach themselves so sincerely to the interests of their protectors, and make themselves so useful, that they in common retain their situation; and their children (if slaves) are always honoured by their fellows with the title of Miss. My mulatto housemaid is always called ‘Miss Polly’, by her fellow-servant Phillis. This kind of connection is considered by a brown girl in the same light as marriage. They will tell you, with an air of vanity, ‘I am Mr such-a-one’s Love!’ and always speak of him as being her husband; and I am told, that, except on these terms, it is extremely difficult to obtain the favours of a woman of colour. To gain the situation of housekeeper to a white man, the mulatto girl – directs her aim;
This makes her happiness, and her fame.
For a plantation slave, Edward was a good catch, but whether or not the father of Eliza’s two elder children, William Burrowes and Lewis Burrowes, died before Eliza and Edward met is unknown – see Chapter 7.
In Michael Scott’s novel *Tom Cringle’s Log* (see Chapter 5) Aaron Bang (George William Hamilton), Tom Cringle (Michael Scott) and Mr Stornaway (Edward Clouston) visit an estate in St Thomas in the Vale where the overseer, attended by his housekeeper, is dying of Yellow Fever.

By agreement, Mr Bang and I met Mr Stornaway this morning in order to visit some other estates together . . . Our chief object at present was to visit a neighbouring estate, the overseer of which was, we were led to believe from a message sent to Mr Bang, very ill with fever. He was a most respectable young man, Mr Stornaway told me, a Swede by birth, who had come to England with his parents at the early age of eight years, where both he and his cousin Agatha had continued until he embarked for the West Indies. This was an orphan girl whom his father had adopted, and both of them, as he had often told Mr Stornaway, had utterly forgotten their Swedish . . . We rode up in front of the door, close to the fixed manger where the horses and mules belonging to the busha are usually fed, and encountered a negro servant on a mule, with an umbrella-case slung across his back, and a portmanteau behind him, covered with the usual sheep’s fleece, and holding a saddle horse.

“Where is your master?” said Mr Bang.

“De dactor is in de hose,” replied quashie. “Busha dere upon dying.”

We ascended the rocky unhewn steps, and entered the cool, dark hall, smelling strongly of camphor, and slid over the polished floors towards an open door, that led into the back piazza, where we were received by the head book-keeper and carpenter. They told us that the overseer had been seized three days before with fever, and was now desperately ill; and presently the doctor came forth out of the sick-room.

“Poor Wedderfelt is fast going, Sir – cold at the extremities already – very bad fever – the bilious remittent of the country, of the worst type.”

All this while the servants, male and female, were whispering to each other; while a poor little black fellow sat at the door of the room, crying bitterly – this was the overseer’s servant. We entered the room, which was darkened from the jealousies being all shut, except one of the uppermost, which happening to be broken, there was a strong pencil of light cast across the head of the bed where the sick man lay, while the rest of the room was involved in gloom.

The sufferer seemed in the last stage of yellow fever; his skin was bright yellow, his nose sharp, and his general features very much pinched. His head had been shaven, and there was a handkerchief bound around it over a plantain leaf, the mark of the blister coming low down on his forehead, where the skin was shrivelled like dry parchment – apparently it had not risen. There was also a blister on his chest. He was restless, clutching the bedclothes, and tossing his limbs about; his mouth was ulcerated, and blood oozed from the corners; his eyes were a deep yellow, with the pupil much dilated, and very lustrous; he was breathing with a heavy moaning noise when we entered, and looked wildly round, mistaking Mr Bang and me for some other persons. Presently he began to speak very quickly, and to lift one of his hands repeatedly close to his face, as if there was something in it he wished to look at. I presently saw that he held a miniature of a fair-haired, blue-eyed Scandinavian girl; but apparently he could not see it, from the increasing dimness of his eyes, which seemed to distress him greatly. After a minute, during which no sound was heard but his own heavy breathing, he began to speak very rapidly, but no one in the room could make out what he said. I listened attentively – it struck me as being like – I was certain of it – it was Swedish, which in health he had entirely forgotten, but now in his dying moments vividly remembered. Alas, it was a melancholy and a moving sight, to perceive all the hitherto engrossing thoughts and incidents of his youth and manhood . . . I could plainly distinguish the name Agatha, whenever he peered with fast glazing eyes on the miniature. All this while a nice little brown child was lying playing with his watch and seals on the bed beside him, while a handsome coloured girl, a slight young creature, apparently its mother, sat on the other side of the dying man, supporting his head in her lap, and wetting his mouth every now and then with a cloth dipped in brandy.

As he raised the miniature to his face, she would gently endeavour to turn away his hand, that he might not look at one whom she, poor thing, no doubt considered was usurping the place in his fluttering heart, that she long fancied had been filled by herself solely; and at other times she would vainly try and coax it out of his cold hand, but the dying grasp was now one of iron, and her attempts evidently discomposed the departing sinner; but all was done kindly and quietly, and a flood of tears would every now and then
stream down her cheeks, as she failed in her endeavours, or as the murmured, gasped name, Agatha, reached her ear.

“Ah!” said she, “him heart not wid me now – it far away in him own country – him never will make me yeerie what him say again no more.”

Oh, woman, woman! who can fathom that heart of thine! By this time the hiccups grew stronger, and all at once he sat up strong in his bed without assistance, “light as if he felt no wound;” but immediately thereafter gave a strong shudder, ejecting from his mouth a jet of dark matter like the grounds of chocolate, and fell back dead – whereupon the negroes began to howl and shriek in such a horrible fashion, that we were glad to leave the scene.

Next day, when we returned to attend the poor fellow’s funeral, we found a complete bivouac of horses and black servants below the trees in front of the house, which was full of neighbouring planters and overseers, all walking about and talking, and laughing, as if it had been a public meeting on parish business. Some of them occasionally went into the room to look at the body as it lay in the open coffin, the lid of which was at length screwed down, and the corpse carried on four negroes’ shoulders to its long home, followed by the brown girl and all the servants, the latter weeping and howling; but she, poor thing, said not a word, although her heart seemed, from the convulsive heaving of her bosom, like to burst. He was buried under a neighbouring orange-tree, the service being read by the Irish carpenter of the estate...

William Berryman’s Jamaica drawings, 1808-1816 – La Duchesse
In James Hakewill’s book, published in 1825, George William Hamilton (the planting attorney to the 2nd Earl of Harewood – see Chapter 11) wrote the descriptive account of Williamsfield

https://openlibrary.org/search?title=Jamaica&author=Hakewill – A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica from drawings made in the years 1820 and 1821, by James Hakewill, published 1825 – Plate 16 – Williamsfield, St Thomas in the Vale

Williamsfield Estate, in the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale, according to what can be gathered from the old negroes (there being no early records), was first settled, nearly eighty years ago, by Mr Needham [Nedham], who was at that time a large proprietor in the Island; but while in its infancy (within three or four years after it was commenced), it was purchased by a Mr Harvey, who came from Barbadoes, and was a merchant in Kingston. From Mr Harvey it became the property of Daniel Lascelles, Esq, brother to the first Baron Harewood [Edwin Lascelles], from whom it descended to the present Earl. It contains 2,998 acres of land, including Sandy Gut, a small estate which was purchased and added to it in 1815; something more than 300 acres of this is in canes, about 500 fallow and in pasture; the remainder in excellent negro provision grounds, woodland and ruinate, but a great part of the two latter is incapable of any cultivation, from being extremely rocky and steep: the present crops exceed 300 hogshead of good sugar, with a pretty good proportion of rum. There are 304 negroes (negroes and people of colour) on the estate. The jobbing, or hired negro labour, is however considerable. The nearest shipping-places to which a waggon can go, are Port Henderson and Passage Fort, both of which are twenty-three or twenty-four miles distant. The principal road across the island, from Spanish Town to St Mary’s, passes through the estate, on the bank of a pleasant rivulet, between the works and dwelling house: the cane field and pasture land is a continuation of small steep hills with water-courses passing between them; the wood covers the hills towering over these. The soil is generally light and poor, but with a judicious use of manure, which the situation of the cane land renders the application of, a hard task for the stock, gives fair returns.

Nightingale Grove, in St Dorothy’s, is likewise the property of the Earl of Harewood...
Far left – the Sugar Works – far right – the Great House – the house where Edward lived during the years he was the overseer of Williamsfield.
Although James Hakewill’s drawing does not show the Mill Guttering (Aqueduct), in Edward and Eliza’s time it carried water down to the Mill House.

In March 2007, our first visit to Jamaica, Christopher and I were introduced by Rev Claudette Johnson (the Anglican priest who was in charge of a number of churches in the St Thomas in the Vale district) to Mr Tenn, an elderly shopkeeper at Williamsfield Bridge. He told us that Williamsfield Great House had been bulldozed flat 60 years ago – but some ruins of the sugar works still survived.
Mr Tenn asked two young men, Norman and the other whose name sounded like ‘Quopay’, to show us the ruins. From Williamsfield Bridge, Christopher and I followed our guides up the left bank of the Rio Oro, as they hacked a way with their machetes through dense undergrowth. It was dark and it was raining.

*My photos, March 2007 – Norman in the orange shirt, and ‘Quopay’ in the blue shirt*

The first ruins we came to appear to have been the Mill House and Rum Distillery
A little further on, after passing the solitary small bull, we arrived at another building – the Mill House
In front of Norman the trench where the water wheel once stood

On the far side of the trench, the mill wheel axle may have passed through the opening to the outside
At the bottom of the trench water drained through the archway, below right, to an underground drain from the Mill House to the Rio Doro
We followed Norman and ‘Quopay’ out through the Mill House archway.

They told us that this was a shaft down to the drain from the Mill House to the Rio Doro.
Behind the Mill House – a short section of the Mill Guttering
We followed our guides down to the Rio Doro – Norman and ‘Quopay’ made stepping stones for us to cross the river.

Looking back across the Rio Doro – our guides told us the archway was the lower end of the subterranean drain from the Mill House.
We then walked on up the track to the junction with the road and running down back to Williamsfield Bridge – see map below.

In September 2008, our second visit to Jamaica, Mr Tenn took Christopher and me, and my cousin Piers (who came with us that year), to the bend in the Rio Doro above the sugar works.

From Williamsfield Bridge we drove up the orange road to the pink track opposite blue arrow above.
My photos, September 2008 – walking down from the pink track (see map above) down to the Rio Doro Clive and Norman (one of our guides in March 2007)

Albert following Norman and Clive led the way down to the Rio Doro

And looking across the Rio Doro – much to our surprise – we saw . . .
... the upper end of the Mill Guttering – 3 arches intact – below, left and middle arch

Looking downstream
Below, middle and right arch

Looking upstream – Clive with Mr Tenn who told us that there were no ruins higher up the Rio Doro
Clive, Albert and Norman, my cousin Piers, and Sharon who came with us from Williamsfield Bridge

At the junction of the Mill Guttering with the Rio Doro there was once a dam across the river, and in 1813 a young man on Williamsfield was drowned bathing ‘near the dam head’.
An unfortunate accident happened on Williamsfield estate, in St Thomas in the Vale, the same day: A young Gentleman, of the name of Dollar, went into the river to bathe, near the dam head, when he got out of his depth, and was drowned.

The dam must have been very high to raise the water level high enough to flow down the Mill Guttering – or perhaps water was lifted up into the Guttering by water wheels.

http://discover.odai.yale.edu/ydc/Author/Home?author=James%20Hakewill%2C%201778-1843 – James Hakewill – watercolour 1820/1821 – Mill Yard, Holland Estate, St Thomas in the East – detail – it appears that the intention was to show water wheels lifting water from the mill stream into wooden gutters to supply water to the Mill House

William Berryman’s Jamaica drawings, 1808-1816 – pillars appear to be supporting guttering
On 8 January 1819 Edward swore the Williamsfield crop account for the year 1818.

My photo – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 53, Fol 77 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 23 Mar 1819 – Williamsfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, crop account for the year 1818 – sworn on 8 January 1819 by Edward Clouston before John Lunan – arrow points to 2 barrels of sugar and 1 hogshead of rum sold to Edward in 1818
### Williamsfield

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proceeds of 214 Hhds</td>
<td>6871 - 2 - 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Tierces Sugar</td>
<td>6429 - 1 - 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Puncheons Rum</td>
<td>442 - 0 - 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Deduct**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Insurance, Stores, Commission, Postage &amp;c</td>
<td>1634 - 6 - 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Accounts of George Cuthbert &amp; Fras Graham dated</td>
<td>4397 - 8 - 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Amount of this Years Expenses including Cattle**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proceeds of 119 Puns Rum 401lbs Sugar &amp; 6 old Cattle</td>
<td>2524 - 4 - 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Deduct**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Insurance, Stores, Commission, Postage &amp;c</td>
<td>1337 - 19 - 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*Illustrated London News, 9 June 1849 – Carting Sugar for Shipment*
Meanwhile in St Thomas in the East on 13 March 1818 two slaves were baptized by the Rector, Rev J M Trew, with the last name Clouston.

96 slaves belonging to Coley include – Edward Clouston, Negro – and – 23 slaves belonging to James Reid of Inverness plantation include – George Clouston (colour not recorded)

Note – James Reid was the overseer of Coley during the time that Edward was the overseer of Georgia (see Chapter 6) – and Inverness was the name given by James Reid to the 20 acres conveyed to him on 5 September 1812 (see Chapter 7).

In March 1819 the Earl of Harewood owned 321 slaves in St Thomas in the Vale.

For some time before 1819 Francis Graham and his wife Jamima Charlotte lived at Twickenham Park, and in 1819 he moved the headquarters of his plantation management business from Farm pen to Twickenham Park.

Twickenham Park is now the address of the General Register and Island Record Office.
In March 1817 Jamima Charlotte’s sister Margaret Graham (see Chapter 7) married Dr Michael Benignus Clare at Twickenham Park.


At the end of 1817 Francis Graham and Jamima Charlotte’s daughter Agnes died at Twickenham Park.


Died – At Twickenham Park, in St Catherine’s on Tuesday, Agnes, the infant daughter of Francis Graham, Esq.

And in April 1819 Francis Graham was preparing to move his business operations to Twickenham Park.


April 8, 1819.

All Demands against the above Property are required to be rendered to the Subscriber, prior to the 1st of June next ensuing.

Francis Graham
Francis Graham moved his business operations to Twickenham Park by the beginning of June 1819. On 1 June 1819 his lease of a moiety of Lord Carrington’s three pens and co-partnership with Lord Carrington expired. The lease and co-partnership first agreed in 1805 (see Chapter 6) was renewed when Francis Graham was in Britain in 1813 – Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 626, Fol 45, and Lib 626, Fol 49 – 24 March 1813.

Around the time the lease and co-partnership expired on 1 June 1819 ‘various differences’ arose between Francis Graham and Lord Carrington. It was agreed that the matter should go to arbitration and James Laing and David Finlayson where appointed Arbitrators. They reached their conclusions in 1821 – two years after Francis Graham’s death in 1820 – see Chapter 11.


Whereas by certain Articles of Agreement and Copartnership bearing date on – 24 March 1813 made between Robert Lord Carrington of GB (1) – and Francis Graham late of St Catherine, Esq since deceased (2) – Reciting therein – lease made between the same parties – same date – it was then and thereby agreed – among other things, that the Farm and pens there in mentioned should be carried on and conducted for the mutual benefit and advantage of the said parties – under the sole conduct and management and direction in the Island of Francis Graham and in such manner as he should think proper and most advantageous for the copartnership and that all concerns and affairs relating thereto in Great Britain and the furnishing the supplies necessary to be had from thence or from Ireland for the use of and during the continuance of the copartnership be under the sole care conduct and management of Robert Lord Carrington

And whereas the copartnership expired on 1 June 1819 And whereas various differences had arisen between Francis Graham in his lifetime and Robert Lord Carrington respecting the carrying on and conducting of the copartnership and the amounts of the same as follows

That the remittances made from time to time by Francis Graham in his lifetime to Robert Lord Carrington have not been made at the most advantageous periods and in due time after the monies had been received by Francis Graham nor were the monies so received credited by Francis Graham in his lifetime in the copartnership accounts in due time

That Francis Graham kept an establishment of clerks and their horses and servants at the Farm more than necessary for the carrying on of the copartnership business and in the like manner the horses and servants of George William Hamilton Esq were kept at the Farm

That several Stock are entered in the Farm accounts to a very large amount without any profit arising on their resale – And that Halfway Tree Mountain has been occupied for the use of the Farm without any rent being allowed for the same or any emolument arising there from being credited in the accounts of the copartnership and the expenses of the establishment of Francis Graham on or derived from the Farm

And whereas Francis Graham in his lifetime and Robert Lord Carrington had agreed to refer the matters in difference to the arbitration and umpirage of two indifferent person and bonds were accordingly prepared But Francis Graham departed this life before the said bonds were executed or the arbitration entered into

And whereas Robert Lord Carrington (1) and George William Hamilton, John Gale Vidal and Edward Sword as the acting Executors of Francis Graham (2) for the appeasing and pacifying and determining the several differences have submitted themselves and are become bound each to the other by their several obligations dated 26 January 1821 in the penal sum of £5,000 with conditions there under written to stand to obey and abide perform fulfil and keep the award arbitration order determination final end and judgment which shall be made by David Finlayson and James Laing of and concerning the several matters in difference here before stated and every article action cause or causes of actions or suits claims and
demands whatsoever touching or concerning the same so as such award arbitrament and determination final end and judgment of us the said arbitrators of and in the same premises be by us made and given up in writing under both our hands and seals ready to be delivered to the parties or such of them as shall require the same on or before 1 March then next ensuing the date thereof as by the said obligations and conditions do more fully appear

Now Know Ye that we David Finlayson and James Laing having deliberately and at large read examined and considered the lease of the Farm and other lands and negroes from Robert Lord Carrington to the late Francis Graham and the articles of agreement and copartnership between them and having taken into consideration the observations made by Robert Lord Carrington with respect to the advantages derived by Francis Graham from residing on the property as to the falling off in the sale of Small Stock Sheep and Corn as to the time that remittances were made and money overdrawn from the concern by Francis Graham and as to the outstanding debts due to the copartnership

On the first point we the arbitrators have examined George McKerley and James Tulloch who were overseers on the Farm during the time of the lease and we have also had some conversation on the subject with Mr Richard Welsh (Welch) of St Thomas in the Vale an old and eminent planter, Mr McKerley and Mr Tulloch state that in the dry seasons it was absolutely necessary to send the cattle and other stock from the Farm for the want of pasturage

That Mr Graham used to send part of them to a pen of his own in the neighbourhood of Spanish Town and the other part to his Estate of Tulloch in St Thomas in the Vale where they were pastured and for which no charge was made That if they had not been sent to Mr Grahams properties they must have been sent to other properties where the pasturage would of course have been charged That by sending them to Mr Grahams properties the cattle were saved there having been a loss of only one or two That they consider the advantage gained by the Farm in pasturage of the Cattle was considerably greater than any benefit derived by Mr Graham from his residence at the Farm and being supplied with small stock corn and grass for himself and establishment

www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/carviews/index.html – Daguerian Excursions in Jamaica, by Adolphe Duperly – 1840 – Lindo Store, Parish of St Anne
Chapter 10. 1818 to 1819

My photo, September 2008 – Tulloch

Award, dated 26 February 1821 – continued

Mr Welsh [Welch] states that he knows the Farm and the properties of Mr Graham he considers Tulloch Estate a very good place to send stock to at any time when the pens in the low lands were burnt up That the cattle sent from the Farm to Tulloch would benefit greatly by the change That Tulloch would no doubt derive some advantage from the manure but by no means equivalent to the advantage derived by the Farm the lives of the stock being actually thereby preserved under the above circumstances

Taking the eighth clause of the articles of agreement and copartnership into consideration we are of opinion and do award arbitrate and determine that as no charge was made by Mr Graham for the pasturage of the cattle annually sent from the Farm to his properties that no allowance should be made to Lord Carrington on account of Mr Grahams residence at the Farm which since his marriage in 1812 [1813] was only for a few months

With respect to the falling off in the sale of small stock sheep hogs and corn it appears to us from the evidence of Mr McKerley and Mr Tulloch that during the war there was always a great demand for stock of that description which fell off when the peace was concluded in consequence of which the attention of the overseer and bookkeepers on the property was drawn off to matters of greater consequence but that the sale of sheep and hogs was still kept up and continued nearly the same That the number of sheep killed in the year 1814 and 1815 were to supply the white persons on the property and did not exceed one sheep in a week which we consider by no means too great a number

We find that the land known by the description of Halfway Tree is included in the Lease of the Farm As to the time that remittances were made although part of the accounts were no doubt received and might have been remitted in the month of August Yet as the whole of the account could not have been collected so as
to be remitted in that month we conceive the delay until September was not so detrimental as to induce us to award any allowance for it.

With respect to the sums overdrawn by Mr Graham we have had an account laid before us of the particular sums and times and we are of opinion that Lord Carrington is entitled to receive from the estate of Mr Graham the sum of £430 4s 6d currency in that account. And which sum we do award shall be forthwith paid by the executors of Mr Graham to the attorney of Lord Carrington.

It appears to us since the death of Mr Graham some of the outstanding debts have been received by the executors of Mr Graham and that there are still a considerable number uncollected. We do award a list of balances to the time of Mr Graham’s death shall be made out and delivered over to the attorney of Lord Carrington to be by him collected and accounted for. And that a moiety of the debts collected between the 31 December 1819 and the period of Mr Graham’s death shall be paid over to the attorney of Lord Carrington at the time of delivering over the list of balances to him with interest thereon at 5 per cent per annum.

In Witness whereof we the said David Finlayson and James Laing the said arbitrators have to this our award set our hands and seals this 26 February 1821.

In March 1819 six slaves were tried at a Slave Court in St Thomas in the Vale at Bog Walk.


At a Slave-Court, held at Bog-Walk on Saturday last, the following trials came on:

Of Henry Marshall, belonging to Byndloss estate, found guilty of assaulting his Overseer, refusing to obey his orders, and using disorderly and rebellious language, and sentenced to be transported.

This Slave was defended by Counsel, and it appeared in evidence, that he had spread a report of a negro woman having been poisoned, who had died on the estate, by two other negroes belonging to the property. On being questioned by Mr Steele, his Overseer, on his return from St Ann’s, on the night of 15th February, he became quite insolent and abusive, saying he cared nothing about him, and that he would do as he liked. Upon which he was informed he would be put in the stocks. He then cried out, “Put me in the stocks! – No, you and me must die this night first.” The Overseer then placed himself between the prisoner and the door, and put his back to it to prevent his escape. Henry immediately collared him, and was collared by Mr Steele, whom he attempted to throw down, and a scuffle ensued, the noise of which brought Mr Thaw, a book keeper, from his bed, in his shirt, who laid hold of one of the prisoner’s hands, when he exclaimed, “ah! Good for you that Mr Thaw is in the house to-night, if they before saw trouble in their life, they should see it that night at Byndloss.” He then addressed himself to Mr Thaw, saying he had better go to bed, you have no business with it. Mr T replied, “what, go to bed, and leave you to kill your overseer, you rascal, no, you must kill me first,” Mr T still held him by the hand, and Henry said to Mr Steele, whom he grasped, “Ah, you don’t know who you are playing with;” who replied, he had reason to know him before. – They then got him down several times, but he had strength to get up five or six times. Another book keeper was sent for twice, Mr Gale, who came at last, when Henry said, “now I will go into the stocks,” though he still resisted. – Mr Steele then sent for a rope and shackles, and had them put through a hole at the bottom of the door, being afraid to open it lest he should escape, or some come to his assistance. When he first saw the shackles, he said, “the first negro that dared to put his hand upon him, he would kill them dead that night, so help him God, he would make the blood run, and called out, help, help, Byndloss negroes, come and help, and see what them do me.” He was not then secured, and Mr Gale observed, there were a great many negroes, come at the door, and that they had left the works. They then got his hands secured with the ropes, but with great difficulty; and got the bar and shackles on his feet. He then called out his hands were tied too tight, and that he wanted water. His hands were immediately loosened, and Mr Steele gave him water, observing, that whatever his intentions were, he was not badly inclined towards him. On his being secured the door was opened, and several negroes male, and female, found in the house, who were ordered out, but, not readily complying, they were pushed out and turned down the steps. This was about eight o’clock at night. From the top of the steps into the house
about fifty negroes were seen making a noise, but offering no violence. Mr Steele, however, with just apprehension, called for their arms, and told them the first that came up he would shoot; and if they did not go to their work, he would fire among them. The mill was about, and ought to be then, if they had not stopped it. They did not say any thing, nor attempt to come forward, but went to the cooper’s shop, talking, but it was not heard what was said. The arms were then got in order. The negroes did not go to work at the mill that night, nor until late next morning. At nine there were only eight instead of thirty, and many not at work until the day after. – Next morning, when they were about to remove Henry into the stocks, his wife behaved very violently, but no notice was taken of her. Henry also continued to be very abusive, even after being in the stocks, saying, “he did not come St Domingo, he knew nothing of St Domingo, he never walked there; he came to this country with two shackles and two padlocks on, but it would take more to hold him now, and that the country must turn!” It appeared in evidence that he was head cooper, and had for many years been considered the most valuable slave on the property, and continued so, until he became entangled with the preachers on Rose-Hall and other plantations; and this had not been the first time he acted in the same manner. On the night of the 15th, several of the negroes within hearing obeyed his call. – They were now more obedient than they had been before.

Adam, to Tulloch estate; William, to Wallen’s estate; Pattey, to J and P Burnett, Esqrs; George, to F J French Esq; and Ming, to Berwick estate; all found guilty of being incorrigible runaways, and severally sentenced to be transported.

Above – entangled with preachers on Rose-Hall and other properties – in 1827 Rev W G Burton, Rector of St Thomas in the Vale, wrote – ‘This parish is much infested with Black and Brown Preachers, who, in defiance of the law, inculcate the most dangerous Doctrines, and levy exactions from the deluded Negroes’ – see Chapter 16.

In the House of Lords on 4 March 1819 Lord Holland said ‘Many were of opinion that no further improvement could be made in the condition of the West India slaves, until they had acquired a greater degree of religious instruction’ – but who was best suited to give religious instruction to them was a vexed question.


House of Lords,
Thursday, March 4, 1819.
State of the Slaves in the West India Islands.

Lord Holland . . . Confining himself to the island of Jamaica, he had to state, that an Act had been passed there about a year and a half ago, to provide for the appointment of twenty Curates to give religious instruction to the negroes, at the rate of 300L, currency each. It had been found, however, that this sum was not sufficient to induce the necessary number of respectable Clergymen of the Church of England to go from this country and undertake the task. But, whatever defect there might be in this measure, he saw no reason to impute it to any unwillingness or want of zeal in the Colonial Legislatures. It had been found, as he had said, impossible to procure Clergymen regularly educated for the Church of England, inclined to go the West-Indies at the salary offered, and he knew not what farther measures had been adopted by the House of Assembly of Jamaica to obviate that objection; but experience had shewn, that persons, educated in a higher sphere of life, were seldom so successful in communicating religious instruction to men in the unfortunate situation of slaves as humbler instruments . . . As experience had proved the advantage of employing persons in a humble situation of life to communicate religious instruction to the negroes, he would recommend the employment of a sect, against whom he thought no objection could be maintained – he meant the Moravian brethren. He wished that the Colonial Assemblies had given more liberal encouragement to Missionaries; but at any rate he hoped they would avail themselves of the assistance of the worthy men of the sect to which he had alluded . . . In making the recommendation contained in the Address, for the general improvement of the negroes, their Lordships certainly did not confine their views to mere physical comforts. The supply of negroes from Africa being cut off, the black population of the West-India islands were placed in a situation in which they must necessarily make great improvement. The Colonists, doubtless, looked forward to this improvement; but at the same time it was natural, in their situation, that they should exercise much caution with respect to
the measures they were led to adopt in the different stages of its progress. Conciliation on all those subjects was the duty of the British Parliament. What ideas he threw out, therefore, were merely by way of recommendation. Many were of opinion that no further improvement could be made in the condition of the West India slaves, until they had acquired a greater degree of religious instruction; he was therefore induced to propose a plan embracing that object. All Colonial proprietors or agents were now compelled by law to register the number and the ages of the negroes on their respective estates. He would propose that in this Register there should besides be added the number of the negroes who had been baptised, and arrived at the possession of a competent knowledge of the Christian religion. As there was a deficiency of regular Clergymen, this Register might be made on the certificates of Moravian brethren. All the negroes thus proved to have attained to a competent religious knowledge, he would admit to give evidence in Courts of Justice.

Lord Bathurst . . . In what the Noble Lord had said respecting the appointment of Curates, he had done justice to the intentions of the Legislature of Jamaica. The salary of 300L. currency, which amounted to little more than 150L. had been found insufficient; and, besides, the duties which the Curates has to perform were not described. The objection as to salary had, however, been removed, and he hoped that proper appointments would speedily take place. The Noble Lord thought that there was a difficulty in procuring a proper supply of Clergymen of the Established Church, and certainly considerable difficulty had been experienced in that respect, though the Right Reverend Prelate who had been applied to had made every effort to overcome it. Great difficulty arose from this circumstance, that no person can be ordained by a Bishop, except for some specific preferment or duty within the Diocese of the Prelate. The Bishop of London, usually made the appointments, but in fact he had no legal authority over the West India islands . . . The Noble Lord had adverted to means of enabling a certain portion of the black population to give evidence in the Courts of Justice; and it appeared to him that for that purpose it was necessary for the negroes to possess a competent knowledge of the Christian Religion. He agreed with the Noble Lord in this view of the subject; for the mere certificate of baptism would not be proof of improvement in religious knowledge, if the negroes could obtain it without due preparation. They would willingly be baptised three or four times over, as they believed it to be a charm against enchantment. He readily acceded to the motion of the Noble Lord.

The Bishop of London said, the Noble Lord, who had in so able a manner brought forward this question, had done him nothing but justice in attributing to him a sincere wish for the religious and moral improvement of the negroes. He could not, however, agree with the Noble Lord in the manner in which he had proposed to communicate that religious instruction. The Noble Lord had been too ready in concluding that recourse ought to be had to sectaries, and that temporal inducements were necessary to induce Clergymen of the Church of England to perform their duty. The Church of England had as yet had very little opportunity of making efforts in the Colonies. The Clergymen appointed for Jamaica had, in some publications, been blamed for not doing more than they had yet accomplished; but what was expected of them was really beyond their physical powers. There were in Jamaica 19 parishes, of great extent, each of these parishes was from 30 to 40 miles long, and about 20 or so broad, it was not possible, therefore, for any man to maintain that sort of communication with the population of such parishes as might subsist between a Clergyman and the population of a parish in England. When he was informed of the act granting 300L. currency as salary for Curates, he made inquiry among merchants acquainted with Jamaica as to the propriety of that sum, and they assured him, that it was not sufficient to maintain any person in the character of a Gentleman. In consequence of his representations on the subject, the salary had been increased to 500L. currency, which he understood amounted to something between 230L. and 250L. sterling. This it was expected would be found sufficient, and thus one great difficulty as to the appointments was removed. He did not yet, however, know what conditions would be proposed along with the salary . . . It had been found, after an inquiry made by the Law-Officers of the Crown, that the Bishop of London had no jurisdiction over the Colonies. They had, however, from the necessity of the case, continued to act, and had corresponded on the subject of appointments with the Governors of the West-India Islands. The Learned Prelate proceeded to detail at great length measures which have been adopted for the religious instruction of the negroes, and observed, that instruction was best confided in the hands of the Clergy of the Established Church.

Today sugar is only grown on three properties in St Thomas in the Vale – Tulloch, Francis Graham’s old estate, and Wallens and New Works, formerly John Blackburn’s estates – see Chapter 5.
Next morning, I rode out at daylight along with Mr Bang, who had arrived on the previous evening. We stopped to breakfast at a property of his about four miles distant, and certainly we had no reason to complain of our fare – fresh fish from the gully, nicely roasted yams, a capital junk of salt beef, a dish I always glory in on shore, although a hint of it at sea makes me quake; and, after our repast, I once more took the road to see the estate, in company of my learned friend. There was a long narrow saddle, or ridge of limestone, about five hundred feet high, that separated the southern quarter of the parish from the northern. The cane-pieces, and cultivated parts of the estate, lay in a deed level of deep black mould, to the southward of the ridge, from which the latter rose abruptly. The lower part of the ridge was clothed with the most luxuriant orange, shaddock, lime, star-apple, breadfruit, and custard apple-trees, beside numberless others that I cannot particularize, while the summit was shaded by tall forest timber. Proceeding along a rough bridle-path for the space of two miles, we attained the highest part of the saddle, and turned sharp off to the right, to follow a small footpath that had been *billed in the bush*, being the lines recently *run* by the land-surveyor between Mr Bang’s property and the neighbouring estate, the course of which mine host was desirous of personally inspecting. We therefore left our horses in charge of the servants, who had followed us, running behind, holding on by the tails of our horses, and began to brush through the narrow path cut in the hot underwood. After walking a hundred yards or so, we arrived at the point where the path ended abruptly, abutting against a large tree that had been felled, the stump of which remained, being about three feet high, and at least five in diameter. Mr Bang immediately perched himself on it to look about him, to see the *lay* of the land over the sea of brushwood. I remained below,
complaining loudly of the heat and confined air of my situation, and swabbing all the while most energetically, when I saw my friend start.

“Zounds, Tom, look behind you!” We had nothing but our riding switches in our hands. A large snake, about ten feet long, had closed up the path in our rear, sliding out its forked tongue, as it twisted itself, at the height of my head from the ground, amongst the trees and bushes, round and round about, occasionally twining its neck round a tree as thick as my body, on one side of the path, and its tail round another, larger in girth than my leg, on the other; when it would, with prodigious strength, but the greatest ease, and the most oily smoothness, bend the smaller tree like a hoop, until the trunks nearly touched, although growing full six feet asunder; as if a tacklefall, or other strong purchase, had been applied; but continuing all the while it was putting forth its power, to glide soapily along, quite unconcernedly, and to all appearance as plant as a leather thong, – shooting out its glancing neck, and glowing about with its blasting fiery eyes, – and sliding the forepart of the body onwards without pausing, as if there had been no strain on the tail whatsoever, until the stems of the two trees were at length brought together, when it let the smaller go with a loud spank, that shook the dew off the neighbouring branches, and the perspiration from Tom Cringle’s forehead – whose nerves were not more steady than the tree – like rain, and frightened all the birds in the neighbourhood; while it, the only unstartled thing, continued steadily and silently on its course, – turning and looking at us, and poking its head with arm’s length, and raising it with a loud hiss, and a threatening attitude, on our smallest motion.

“A modern group of the Laocoon – Lord, what a neck-cloth we shall both have presently!” thought I.

Meanwhile, the serpent seemed to be emboldened from our quietude, and came so near, that I thought I perceived the hot glow of its breath, with its scales glittering like gold and silver, and its diamond-like eyes sparkling; but all so still and smooth, that unless it were an occasional hiss, its motions were noiseless as those of an apparition.

At length the devil came fairly between us, and I could stand it no longer. We had both up to this period been really and truly fascinated; but the very instant that the coast was clear in my wake, by the snake heading me, and gliding between me and Mr Bang, my manhood forsook me all of a heap, and, turning tail, I gave a loud shout, and started off down the path at speed, never once looking behind, and leaving Bang to his fate, perched on his pedestal, like the laughing satyr; however, the next moment I heard him thundering in my rear. My panic had been contagious, for the instant my sudden motion had frightened the snake out of his way, he started forth after me at speed, and away we both raced, until a stump caught my foot, and both of us, after flying through the air a couple of fathoms or so, trundled head over heels, over and over, shouting and laughing. Pegtop now came up to us in no small surprise, but the adventure was at an end, and we returned to Mr Bang’s to dinner.

Philip Henry Gosse wrote that the Yellow Boa, or Yellow Snake, ‘is not infrequently found in houses and even in beds’.


A serpent of the Boa kind (Chilabothrus inornalus) is commonly found around Bluefields, and I believe in most parts of the Island, and is distinguished by the appellation of Yellow Snake. It commonly attains a length of eight or ten feet, and a diameter of two inches and a half in the thickest part of the body. The ground colour is yellow, varying from bright golden to a clay-colour, marked with black in irregular spots and confluent bands. These are very few and remote at the fore-parts, but increase posteriorly, the yellow at length disappearing except as scattered spots on an uniform black ground. In the female there is comparatively little black colour . . .

From its size and aspect the Yellow Snake is looked on with considerable terror by the inhabitants, though no one pretends to have known of a fatal result from its bite. The worst evils that I hear of as consequent upon its attacks are flesh wounds attended with local inflammation, and rendered difficult to heal by the teeth sometimes breaking off in the flesh: terror, however, will occasionally induce fever in the patient. Instances are rare of even these results; the reptile usually retreating with precipitation if attacked. It is not infrequently found in houses and even in beds. I have been told of a gentleman, who on awaking in the morning felt a pressure on his head, which on turning his eyes he found to proceed from a huge Boa coiled up on his pillow: terror-struck, he neither dared to stir nor to cry; and thus he lay till his domestics, anxious at his non-appearance, looking through the window of his bedroom; and discovered the spell.
They soon rushed in, and killing the dreaded intruder, released their master. A serpent of this species was discovered in my own bedroom one night at Content, as I was preparing to retire for rest. Though certainly not within the bed, it was but a few inches from my pillow; but the motive of its intrusion, which proved fatal to it, and afforded me the original of a drawing and description, was probably the pursuit of the rats that scampered along the rafters over the bed . . .

. . . Sam has seen a Boa ascend a mango-tree, on one of whose branches a fowl was perching, and when at some distance from the prey begin to dart out and vibrate its tongue, its eyes fixed on the fowl while it slowly and uniformly drew near; the poor hen all the time intently watching the foe, but without stirring or crying. Help came fortuitously, just as the Snake was about to strike, and the fowl was rescued . . .

B J Vernon described killing a Yellow Snake in a hen coop.

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=t7ILAAAIAIAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Early Recollections of Jamaica, with the particulars of an eventful passage home via New York and Halifax, at the commencement of the American War in 1812 . . . by B J Vernon – published 1848 – page 7-8

One morning at an early hour, an old negress, who from her peculiarly misshapen form and exaggerated features had been derisively named Venus, and who had charge of the poultry, came to my bed-room door in a state of great excitement and alarm, crying out, “Young Massa, make haste come! big big yellow snake da nyam de chicken.” I arose in haste and proceeded with her to the stockhouse.

A hen had, on the previous evening, been carefully shut up in a coop with six half-grown chickens, to secure them from the rats; during the night an enormous snake had squeezed himself through the bars and devoured three of her brood. Having satisfied his appetite for the time, he lay coiled up in huge folds at the bottom of the coop. The poor hen and her three remaining chickens were strutting to and fro upon their torpid enemy, uttering uneasy cries. I held in my hand my cutlass; having roused the gorged monster by a sharp prick with its point, with a loud hiss he darted his head through the bars, and gave me a favourable opportunity of cutting it off; which I was not slow in effecting, to the great satisfaction of Venus. She liberated the hen and chickens from their doleful confinement, and with some difficulty I removed the carcass of the snake, in which there were visible three protuberances, distinctly marking the positions of the chickens he had swallowed. He measured about nine feet in length, and the same number of inches round the thickest part. I usually carried a cutlass in my daily walks, and destroyed many of these destructive creatures.

My photo, November 2009 – St Thomas in the Vale

Alexander Barclay in his Practical View of the Present State of Slavery described the Negro houses and gardens.
The most common size of the negro houses is 28 feet long by 14 broad. Posts of hard wood about 9 feet long, or 7 above ground, are placed at a distance of two feet from one another, and the space between is closely wattled up and plastered. The roof is covered with the long mountain-thatch, palmetto-thatch, or dried guinea-grass, either of which is more durable than the straw thatch used in this country. Cane tops are also used for the purpose, but are not so lasting. To throw off the rain the thatch is brought down a considerable distance over the walls, which in consequence look low, and the roof high. The house is divided into three, and sometimes four apartments. The room in the middle, occupying the whole breadth of the house, has a door at each side, to admit a circulation of air. This is the sitting apartment, and here the poorer classes make fire and cook their victuals; the more wealthy have a separate kitchen at a little distance. The smaller houses have the sitting room in one end, and two sleeping apartments in the other.

Behind the house is the garden, filled with plantains, ochras, and other vegetables, which are produced at all seasons. It abounds also with cocoa-nut and calabash trees. A good cocoa-nut will be a meal to a man, and boiled among the sugar (which the negroes frequently do), would be a feast to an epicure. It contains also about a pint of a delicious juice, called ‘cocoa-nut milk;’ the leaves, which are thick, and twelve or fifteen feet long, are shed occasionally all the year round, and not only make excellent fuel, but are sometimes used for thatch. The nut also yields oil for lamps, and the shell is made into cups . . . every negro village looks at a distance like a cocoa-nut grove . . .

In March 2007 when Norman and ‘Quopay’ were showing Christopher and me around Williamsfield, they knocked down coconuts, cut the tops of with their machetes and give them to us drink the water.
Then another young man joined us – he twisted vegetation together, looped it between his ankles, and shinned up a coconut palm.

*My photos, March 2007 – Williamsfield*
Chapter 10. 1818 to 1819

My photos, March 2017 – Williamsfield
The calabash tree produces a large fruit, not eatable, but nevertheless valuable, as the skin of it is a hard and solid substance, like the shell of a nut, and when scooped out, answers the purpose of holding water, or cut across the middle makes two cups or dishes. Every negro has his calabash, and many of them are carved with figures like those which are tattooed on the skins of the Africans. They are used to carry out their breakfast to them when at work in the field; and from their lightness and strength, are preferable for this purpose to almost any other kind of dish. Tin pans, however, are sometimes used. In the garden too, and commonly under the shade of the low outbranching calabash tree, are the graves of the family covered with brick tombs.
Chapter 10.  1818 to 1819

Alexander Barclay – page 313-331 – extracts continued

They have also their hogsties: poultry houses are not wanted; the chickens are carefully gathered at night, and hung up in baskets, to preserve them from the rats. The fowls lodge at all seasons in the trees about the houses. The premises belonging to each family are commonly surrounded with a fence; their provision grounds are generally at some distance.

The furniture in a negro house of course varies very much according to the industry or otherwise of the family. Some of the Africans have no idea of domestic comfort, and are so improvident that it is utterly impossible to make them comfortable. They will sell their very clothes to buy rum, nay, the pot given them to cook their victuals in; and I have known several instances of their pulling down and burning the very watling of the houses provided for them, rather than take the trouble to collect fire-wood, although in abundance almost at their doors. With these nothing can be done; but their number is now small. The ordinary class of negroes have fixed beds, covered with deal boards and mats, on which they sleep under a single blanket or sheet, which is all that the climate requires. The rest of the furniture consists of a trunk or chest to hold their clothes, a small cupboard for their cups and dishes, iron pots and tin pans for cooking, a plain deal table, bench, and a few chairs. The more wealthy, of which the number has increased much during the last ten years, sleep on beds filled with the dried leaves of the plantain tree, used also by the free people of colour; and the whole furniture, as I have before observed, is such as would astonish an English visitor, who, seeing it, would not easily believe himself in the house of a slave.

My photos, November 2009 – top – St Thomas in the Vale – bottom – St Thomas in the East
The longest and shortest day differ only about two hours in Jamaica, and the negroes are always home between six and seven o’clock in the evening, except those detained in their turn at the works during crop time. The evening is their time of enjoyment, and they sit up late, visiting and entertaining one another. About half-past eleven is the hour at which they generally go to bed, and they rise about half-past five, taking only six hours of sleep; but many of them take also a short sleep between twelve and two, their resting hours in the middle of the day. They designate the hours of the night by the crowing of the cocks – ‘before cock crow,’ signifies before two o’clock; then follows ‘second cock crow’ – then ‘cock crow fast’ – and, lastly, ‘day cut,’ or dawn. The noise which some hundreds of cocks make about day-dawn in a negro village, amidst the usual stillness of a tropical morning, cannot easily be imagined by those who have not heard it.

Regularly when the work of the day is over, the driver goes to the overseer, to give an account of what has been done, and receive instructions he communicates to the people under him, that they may know where to meet at work the following morning. When they get up at day dawn, the first thing each does is to take his breakfast to the cook. It consists of plantains, edoes, or yams, or a few of each, with a little fresh or salted fish, or crabs, which are very abundant. These articles are sometimes boiled plain, sometimes made into a soup with some vegetables, according to the various tastes and means of individuals. Women having young children generally cook their husbands’ breakfast, and take it out to them when they go to work, or, if not going to the same field, give it to the cook to take out. Any of the people that feel unwell, instead of going to work, are in attendance at the overseer’s door in the morning, to obtain admission to the hospital; and although there may be nothing the matter with some of the applicants (for, like sailors and others, they like ‘to skulk’ occasionally), they are readily indulged with a dose of medicine and day or two of rest. Few days, indeed, pass on any estate but some solicit and obtain this indulgence.

Pregnant women and people advanced in life are employed with the young people at light work. For three months before lying in, and two months after, a woman does no work whatever. When the child is about a couple of months old she takes it out to the field. All the ‘pickininny mummies’ go to the same work, and the children are put down together in some shade near the field: one half of the mothers go to work, and the others sit with the children, nursing and doing needle work for themselves, and changing with the others every two hours or so. If it should rain they go home; or if a child should be fretful or apparently unwell, they either take it home or to the hospital. When a child is weaned, its mother carries it to the nursery in the morning, where it is attended to during the day, and she calls at night to take it home to her own house.

Breakfast, as has already been stated, is carried out to the field about nine o’clock. The driver or head man sits down by himself; the others form into little groups, according to their intimacies and attachments; and although each has his own dish (except that a man and his wife have but one for both), it is not uncommon for the whole group to mess together, and finish first one dish and then another. After
breakfast they have generally, and in wet weather (the only time perhaps that it is of use to them) always, an allowance of rum given them. Some drink it off immediately – others club and make up a bottle, which they take in turn and carry home to use or sell as they think proper. In very wet weather they do not go out to work at all; or if, after they are gone to the field, the day turns out very bad, they are called in. At twelve o’clock at noon the shell is blown, and they disperse to enjoy two hours of rest, or to employ the time at their own concerns – mending their fences or hogssties, fishing, bathing, washing, carrying home fire-wood, cane-tops, or hog-meat, &c. A few roasted plantains, with a little fish, is all they seem to care about eating in the middle of the day; breakfast and supper being their chief meals. At half-past one o’clock the shell is blown again, and they re-assemble in the field at two.

The plantations have been very happily termed sugar gardens, and the general labour performed by the negroes may be compared to the cleaning and weeding of gardens in this country. The hardest work on them, as already noticed, is the turning up of a small portion of the field every year to be replanted. This is most commonly done by jobbing negroes, who become so much accustomed to this description of labour, that they will sometimes grumble at being sent to what is considered lighter work.

As to the overworking of the negroes, how is the belief of it to be reconciled with the well known fact, that they sit up amusing themselves for nearly one half the night, and take only six hours sleep? Let the man in this country accustomed to hard labour, say, if he finds six hours of sleep sufficient to restore exhausted nature? or if, when the toils of the day are over, he finds any enjoyment equal to repose? The negroes perform willingly and cheerfully their regular and accustomed quantity of work, but any attempt of an overseer to exact more is determinedly resisted and resented, and, as I have already had occasion to notice, the sure consequence is, that everything on the estate goes wrong.

Besides the regular physician who visits the hospital two or three times a week, or oftener if there is occasion, and examines all the patients individually, there is on every estate an ‘hospital doctor’ and a sick nurse; the former is an intelligent man (most commonly of colour), who, acting for years under the directions of the white doctor, acquires a sufficient knowledge of the common complaints of the negroes, to be capable of administering some simple medicines in cases of slight indisposition; in more serious cases, the physician, if not present, is sent for immediately, and must give prompt attendance, or his office is soon filled by some other person: the interest of the proprietor and character of the overseer, are too deeply concerned, even putting humanity out of the question, to excuse any degree of negligence on the part of the medical attendant. But it would be doing an injustice to the gentlemen of the faculty merely to say that they are not negligent in their attendance on the negroes: some of them, as in other countries, are more zealous than others in the discharge of their duties, both to whites and blacks; but it is rare to see them wanting in a proper feeling for, and interest in their patients; and I have myself witnessed many instances where a medical gentleman has paid all the attention to a sick negro that he could have done to his master, sitting up with him for nights, or, if he left him to take a few hours’ sleep, it was with injunctions to the attendants to call him up immediately, if any change should take place. It is almost unnecessary to add, that every article in the shape of medicine (including port and Madeira wine, &c) likely to be useful, is always afforded. In short, no expense or trouble is spared.

One of the best disposed and most trustworthy women on the estate, is sick nurse, to attend the hospital; her duty is, to keep the hospital, and the sick in it, clean, and to cook such victuals for the patients as may be prescribed. I may also notice, that besides the attendance of the medical practitioner, the hospital doctor, and sick nurse, a negro dangerously ill is always allowed the presence of some of his own family.

In every hospital there are of course separate apartments for the men and the women; and generally an apartment where delinquents are confined in the stocks.

THE NURSERIES are neat buildings on a ground floor, with platforms for the children to sleep upon, and a spacious yard enclosed as a play ground. They are under the superintendence of the best nurses, and however able the parents may be to provide for them, they are supported by the master with the food best adapted for their age, such as oatmeal, rice, and a pot of good soup for the whole once a day.

... earth, air, and water here swarm with animal life, – with many creatures that are useful, and many given, as it would seem, rather as a curse than a blessing to man. Clouds of troublesome musquitoes, and still more troublesome sandflies, occasionally fill the air; while the water swarms with fish, and the earth with crabs, rats, lizards, snakes, and other smaller vermin, centipedes, scorpions, cockroaches, and especially ants, which are every where in the fields and in the houses. One species of these, which form their nests in trees, are used for feeding young poultry. The nest, or a part of it about the size of a beehive,
is broken off and carried home on the end of a stick or pole. Being broken and the fragments struck against one another, the young ants shower down upon the ground or into a pool of water, and are greedily devoured by young chickens and ducklings.

*My photos – March 2007 – Williamsfield – ants’ nest*
William Berryman’s Jamaica drawings 1808-1816 – caption – the most charming Picture – admirable Figures
Michael Scott wrote that at a distance a Negro village – ‘had the appearance of one entire orchard of fruit-trees’.

Tom Cringle’s Log, by an anonymous author (Michael Scott), published 1834 – page 139-141

I had been exceedingly struck with the beauty of the negro villages on the old settled estates, which are usually situated in the most picturesque spots, and I determined to visit the one which lay on a sunny bank full in view from my window, divided on two sides from the cane pieces by a precipitous ravine, and on the other two by a high logwood hedge, so like hawthorn, that I could scarcely tell the difference, even when close to it.

At a distance it had the appearance of one entire orchard of fruit-trees, where were mingled together the pyramidal orange, in fruit and flower, the former in all its stages from green to dropping ripe, – the citron, lemon, and lime-trees, the stately glossy-leaved star-apple, the golden shaddock and grape-fruit, with their slender branches bending under their ponderous yellow fruit, – the cashew, with its apple like those of the cities of the plain, fair to look at, but acrid to the taste, to which the far-famed nut is appended like a bud, – the avocado, with its Brobdingnag pear, one of which would have covered Adam like a bishop’s apron, and a fruit for all the world in size and shape like a blackamoor’s head; while for underwood you had the green, fresh, dew-spangled plantain, round coco root, the yam and granadillo, with their long vines twining up the neighbouring trees and shrubs like hop tendrils, – and peas and beans, in all their endless variety of blossom and of odour, from the Lima bean, with a stalk as thick as my arm, to the mouse pea, three inches high, – the pine-apple, literally growing in, and constituting, with its prickly leaves, part of the hedgerows, – the custard-apple, like russet bags of cold pudding – the cocoa and coffee bushes, and the devil knows what all, that is delightful in nature besides; while aloft, the tall graceful cocoa-nut, the majestic palm, and the gigantic wild cotton-tree, shot up here and there like minarets far above the rest, high into the blue heavens.

I entered one of the narrow winding footpaths, where an immense variety of convolvuli crept along the penguin fences, disclosing their delicate flowers in the morning freshness, (all that class here shut up shop at noon) and passion flowers of all sizes, from a soup plate to a thumb ring.

Above – penguin fences = Bromelia Pinguin, or Wild Pineapple.

My photos, March 2007 – Williamsfield
South of Williamsfield – Mount Olive

Williamsfield
The huts were substantially thatched with palm leaves, and the walls woven with a basket-work of twigs, plastered over with clay, and whitewashed; the floors were of baked clay, dry and comfortable. They all consisted of a hall and a sleeping-room off each side of it; in many of the former I noticed mahogany sideboards and chairs, glass decanters, while a whole lot of African drums and flutes, and sometimes a good gun, hung from the rafters; and it would have gladdened an Irishman’s heart to have seen the adjoining piggeries. Before one of the houses an old woman was taking care of a dozen black infants, little naked, glossy, black guinea pigs, with party-coloured beads tied around their loins, each squatted like a little Indian pagod in the middle of a large wooden bowl, to keep it off the damp ground.

While I was pursuing my ramble, a large conch-shell was blown at the overseer’s house, and the different gangs turned in to dinner; they came along, dancing and shouting, and playing tricks on each other in the little paths, in all the happy anticipation of a good dinner, and an hour and a half to eat it in, the men well clad in Osnaburg frock and trowsers, and the women in baize petticoats and Osnaburg shifts, with a neat printed calico short gown over all.

The following night there was a to be a grand play or wake in the negro houses, over the head cooper, who had died in the morning, and I determined to be present at it, although the overseer tried to dissuade me, saying that no white person ever broke in on those orgies, that the negroes were very averse to their doing so, and that neither he, nor any of the white people on the estate, had ever been present on such an occasion. This very interdict excited my curiosity still more; so I rose about midnight, and let myself gently down through the window, and shaped my course in the direction of the negro houses, guided by a loud drumming, which, as I came nearer, every now and then sunk into a low murmurings roll, when a
strong bass voice would burst forth into a wild recitative; to which succeeded a loud piercing chorus of female voices, during which the drums were beaten with great vehemence; this was succeeded by another solo, and so on. There was no moon, and I had to thread my way along one of the winding footpaths by star-light. When I arrived with a stone-cast of the hut before which the play was being held, I left the beaten track, and crept onwards, until I gained the shelter of the stem of a wild cotton-tree, behind which I skulked unseen.

The scene was wild enough. Before the door a circle was formed by about twenty women, all in their best clothes, sitting on the ground, and swaying their bodies to and fro, while they sung in chorus the wild dirge already mentioned, the words of which I could not make out; in the centre of the circle sat four men playing on gumbies, or the long drum formerly described, while a fifth stood behind them, with a conch-shell, which he kept sounding at intervals. Other three negroes kept circling round the outer verge of the circle of women, naked all to their waist cloths, spinning about and about with their hands above their heads, like so many dancing dervishes. It was one of these three that from time to time took up the recitative, the female chorus breaking in after each line. Close to the drummers lay the body in an open coffin, supported on two low stools or trestles; a piece of flaming resinous wood was stuck in the ground at the head, and another at the feet; and a lump of kneaded clay, in which another torchlike splinter was fixed, rested on the breast. An old man, naked like the solo singer, was digging a grave close to where the body lay. The following was the chant:

“I say, broder, you can’t go yet.”

THEN THE CHORUS OF FEMALE VOICES.

“When de morning star rise, den we put you in a hole.”

CHORUS AGAIN

“Den you go in Africa, you see Fetish dere.”

CHORUS

“You shall nyam goat dere, wid all your family.”

CHORUS

“Buccra can’t come dere; say, dam rascal, why you no work?”

CHORUS

“Buccra can’t catch Duppy [Ghost], no, no.”

Three calabashes, or gourds, with pork, yams, and rum, were placed on a small bench that stood close to the head of the bier, and at right angles to it.

In a little while, the women, singing men, and drummers, suddenly gave a loud shout, or rather yell, clapped their hands three times, and then rushed into the surrounding cottages, leaving the old grave-digger alone with the body.

He had completed the grave, and had squatted himself on his hams beside the coffin, swinging his body as the women had done, and uttering a low moaning sound, frequently ending in a loud pech, like that of a paviour when he brings down his rammer.

I noticed he kept looking towards the east, watching, as I conjectured, the first appearance of the morning star, but it was as yet too early.

He lifted the gourd with the pork, and took a large mouthful.

“How is dis? I can’t put dis meat in Quacco’s coffin, dere is salt in de pork; Duppy can’t bear salt,” another large mouthful – “Duppy hate salt too much,” – here he ate it all up, and placed the gourd in the coffin. He then took up the one with the boiled yams in it, and tasted it also.

“Salt here too – who de debl do such a ting” – must not let Duppy taste dat.” He discussed this also, placing the empty vessel in the coffin as he had done with the other. He then came to the calabash with the rum. There is no salt there, thought I.

“Rum! ah Duppy love rum – if it be well strong, let me see – Massa Niger, who put water in a dis rum, eh? Duppy will never touch dat” – a long pull – “no, no, never touch dat.” Here he finished the whole, and placed the empty vessel beside the others; then gradually sunk back on his hams with his mouth open, and his eyes staring from the sockets, as he peered up into the tree, apparently at some terrible object. I looked up also, and saw a large yellow snake, nearly ten feet long, let itself gradually down directly over the coffin, between me and the bright glare, (the outline of its glossy mottled skin glancing in the strong
light, which gave its dark opaque body the appearance of being edged with flame, and its glittering tongue, that of a red hot wire,) with its tail round a limb of the cotton-tree, until its head reached within an inch of the dead man’s face, which it licked with its forked tongue, uttering a large hissing noise.

I was fascinated with terror, and could not move a muscle; at length the creature slowly swung itself up again, and disappeared among the branches.

Quashie gained courage, as the rum began to operate, and the snake to disappear. “Come to catch Quacco’s Duppy, before him get to Africa, sure as can be. De metody parson day de debil old sarpant – dat must be old sarpant, for I never see so big one, so it must be debil.”

He caught a glimpse of my face at this moment; it seemed that I had no powers of fascination like the snake, for her roared out, “Murder, murder, de debil, de debil, first a sarpant, den like himself; seen him white face behind de tree; see him white face behind de tree;” and then, in the extremity of his fear, he popt, head foremost, into the grave, leaving his quivering legs and feet sticking upwards, as if he had been planted by the head, like a forked parsnip reversed.

At this uproar, a number of negroes ran out of the nearest houses . . .

My photo, December 2011 – northern outskirts of Kingston – Hope Gardens – Cotton Tree

J Stewart wrote that the Negroes usually buried their dead in a small plot of ground adjoining their houses.


Adjoining to the [Negro] house is usually a small plot of ground, laid out into a sort of garden, and shaded by various fruit-trees. Here the family deposit their dead, to whose memory they invariably, if they can afford it, erect a rude tomb. Each slave has, besides this spot, a piece of ground (about half an
acre) allotted to him as a provision-ground. This is the principal means of his support; and so productive is the soil, where it is good and the seasons regular, that this spot will not only furnish him with sufficient food for his own consumption, but an over-plus to carry to market. By means of this ground, and of the hogs and poultry which he may raise (most of which he sells), an industrious negro may not only support himself comfortably, but save something. If he has a family, an additional proportion of ground is allowed him, and all his children from five years upwards assist him in his labours in some way or other. On the sugar plantations the slaves are not allowed to keep horses, cows, sheep, or goats,* and they are obliged to prevent their hogs from wandering over the estate.

*On the pens, and coffee and other settlements, they are usually allowed to keep a few goats, but neither horses nor cattle.

The common food of the slaves is salt meat (commonly pork), or salted fish, boiled along with their yams, cocos, or plantains, mixed up with pulse and other vegetables, and highly seasoned with native pepper (capsicum Indicus). Pimento they never use in their food. They receive from their masters seven or eight herrings per week, a food which most of them, who can afford better, despise; and they accordingly sell them in the markets, and purchase salted pork, of which they are exceedingly fond. They also get about eight pounds of salted cod-fish once or twice a-year: this food is more a favourite with them than herrings, for no reason that can be imagined, but because the former is a greater rarity than the latter. They cannot afford to indulge themselves with a fowl or a duck, except upon particular occasions.*

*Some of the Africans eat the cane-field rat, which they regard as a great luxury.

The common dress of the male slaves is an osnaburgh or check frock, and a pair of osnaburgh or sheeting trowsers, with a coarse hat. That of the women is an osnaburgh or coarse linen shift, a petticoat made of various stuff, according to their taste and circumstances, and a handkerchief tied round their heads. Both men and women are also provided with great-coats (or croocas, as they call them) of blue woollen stuff. Neither sex wears shoes in common, these being reserved for particular occasions, such as dances, &c when all who can afford it appear in very gay apparel – the men in broad-cloth coats and fancy waistcoats, and nankeen or jean trowsers, and the women in white or fancy muslin gowns, beaver or silk hats, and a variety of expensive jewellery. But it is only a small proportion who can afford to dress thus finely. The annual allowance of clothing which they receive from their owners is as much osnaburgh as will make two frocks, and as much woollen stuff as will make a great-coat; with a hat, handkerchief, knife, and needles and thread to make up their clothes. This specific quantity an owner is obliged by law to give to his slaves. But all of them who can afford to buy finer dress, seldom appear, excepting at work, in the coarse habiliments given them by their masters.

The slaves have little time to devote to amusements, but such occasions as offer they eagerly embrace. Plays, as they call them, are their principal and favourite one. This is an assemblage of both sexes, dressed out for the occasion, who form a ring round a male and female dancer, who perform to the music of the drums and the songs of the other females of the party, one alternately going over the song, while her companions repeat in chorus. Both the singers and the dancers shew the exactest precision as to time and measure. This rude music is usually accompanied by a kind of rattles, being small calibashes filled with seed of a plant called by the negroes Indian shot. Near at hand this music is harsh and clamorous, but at a distance it has not an unpleasant sound. When two dancers have fatigued themselves, another couple enter the ring, and thus the amusement continues. So fond are the negroes of this amusement, that they will continue for nights and days enjoying it, when permitted. But their owners find it prudent and necessary to restrain them from it, excepting at Christmas, when they have three days allowed them. This and harvest home may be considered as their two annual festivals. Little do they consider, and as little do they care, about the origin and occasion of the former of those festivals; suffice it to say, that Buckra gives them their three days – though, by the bye, the law allows only two, in consideration of the injury they may sustain by three successive days of unbounded dissipation, and of the danger, at such time of unrestrained licentiousness, of riots and disorder.

On these occasions the slaves appear an altered race of beings. They show themselves off to the greatest advantage, by fine clothes and a profusion of trinkets; they affect a more polished behaviour and mode of speech; they address the whites with greater familiarity; they come into their masters’ houses, and
drink with them. The distance between them appears to be annihilated for the moment, like the familiar footing on which the Roman slaves were with their masters at the feast of the Saturnalia. Pleasure throws a temporary oblivion over their cares and toils; they seem a people without the consciousness of inferiority or suffering.

Many of them, however, but especially the men, give themselves up to excessive intemperance, which, with their nocturnal dances, often produces sickness, and sometimes even death. Such is the violent exercise they undergo in these dancings, such the headless manner in which they abandon themselves for successive nights and days to this favourite amusement, even in the open air, during the Christmas holidays, that were this unrestrained indulgence permitted for two or three weeks, instead of as many days, it would probably destroy a great number of these thoughtless people. After their riotous festivity, they experience a degree of lassitude and languor which for some days incapacitates them for much exertion or labour.

Plays, or dances, very frequently take place on Saturday nights, when the slaves on the neighbouring plantations assemble together to enjoy this amusement. It is contrary to the law for the slaves to beat their drums after ten o’clock at night; but this law they pay little regard to. Their music is very rude; it consists of the *goombay* or drum, several rattles, and the voices of the female slaves, which, by the bye, is the best part of the music, though altogether it is very rude. The drums of the Africans vary in shape, size, &c according to the different countries, as does also their vocal music. In a few years it is probable that the rude music here described will be altogether exploded among the creole negroes, who shew a decided preference for European music. Its instruments, its tunes, its dances, are now pretty generally adopted by the young creoles, who indeed sedulously copy their masters and mistresses in every thing. A sort of subscription balls are set on foot, and parties of both sexes assemble and dance country dances to the music of a violin, tambarine, &c. But this improvement in taste is in a great measure confined to those who are, or have been, domestics about the houses of the whites, and have in consequence imbibed a fondness for their amusements, and some skill in the performance. They affect, too, the language, manners, and conversation of the whites: those who have it in their power have at times their convivial parties, when they will endeavour to mimic their masters in their drinking, their songs, and their toasts; and it is laughable to see with what awkward minuteness they aim at such imitations. They have also caught a spirit of gambling from their masters, and often assemble and play at games of hazard with the dice, though there is a law against such species of gambling, and such slaves as are found assembled for this purpose are liable to punishment. At horse-races, betting goes on among the negro servants who are present as regularly as among their masters.

*William Berryman’s Jamaica drawings, 1808-1816 – detail*
CHAPTER 11

1820

Edward swore the Williamsfield crop account for the year 1819 on 10 January 1820.

My photo – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 54, Fol 94 – Williamsfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – crop account for year 1819 – entered Island Secretary’s Office 23 Mar 1820 – sworn on 10 January 1820 by Edward Clouston before Robert William Harris – arrow points to Edward Clouston 60 Galls = 1 Hhd's Rum
In December 1819 Francis Graham was unwell with fever and on 9 January 1820 he was ‘only now recovering slowly’.

### Williamsfield

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proceeds of 296 Hhds &amp; 21 Tierces Sugar</td>
<td>6944 - 5 - 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Puns Rum</td>
<td>7198 - 17 - 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deduct Insurance Stores Postage Commission &amp;c</td>
<td>1558 - 10 - 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pr Accounts of Geo Cuthbert &amp; Frans Graham dated 31st Octr 1820</td>
<td>4913 - 15 - 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of this years Expenses including Cattle</td>
<td>5640 - 7 - 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proceeds of 124 Puns Rum Sold</td>
<td>2614 - 16 - 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deduct</td>
<td>1642 - 2 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note – Nightingale Grove – bottom line</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3998 - 5 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>904 - 1 - 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
23 December 1819 – Sir – As Mr Graham has had fever for 8 or 10 days he is not able to write you by this Packet . . .

9 January 1820 – Sir – Since Mr Sword wrote to you the few lines copied above, I am very sorry to say Mr Graham has had a most severe return of fever, from which he is only now recovering slowly, & still is so weak as not to be able to attend to business . . .

After Francis Graham’s lease and co-partnership with Lord Carrington expired on 1 June 1819, Twickenham Park, St Catherine, was the head quarters of Francis Graham’s plantation management business (see Chapter 10). Meanwhile he and his wife Jamima Charlotte were living south of Twickenham Park at the Villa Pen.

Francis Graham died at the Villa Pen on 1 February 1820.
At the Villa Pen, near Spanish Town, Jamaica, on the 1st of February last, after a protracted illness, Francis Graham, Esq, formerly a Representative in the Assembly for the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale, in that Island, – a Gentleman of a very benevolent disposition, and whose death will not only be severely lamented by his disconsolate family, but by many who have experienced his kindness.

On Tuesday last at the Villa Pen, near this town, after a long and painful illness, in the 42nd year of his age, Francis Graham Esq. To eulogize this lamented character would be superfluous: his benevolence and humane disposition are already duly appreciated, and will ever be justly remembered by that numerous circle of acquaintances, relations, and friends, who have now sustained so irreparable a loss.

From whence proceeds yon awful sound?  
Why gapes the dark sepulchral ground?  
Protract – protract you dismal bell  
Nor let it sound his funeral knell  
Close, close you grave; nor let it be  
The prison of -------- HUMANITY!

February 1, 1820          John Hickie
My photo, March 2007 – Francis Graham’s tomb – top

Sacred to the Memory of
FRANCIS GRAHAM ESQRE.
of Tulloch Castle
in St Thomas in the Vale
and for some time Member of the Honourable House of Assembly
son of the late
Alexander Graham of Drynie
British Consul at Fayal
born on the 17th of October 1778
died the 1st of February 1820
and of his infant son
COLIN
born on the 23rd of October 1814
and died on the same day
Also of his daughter
AGNES
born on the 5th of October 1816
died the 30th of December 1817
also
COLIN GRAHAM
eldest son of
Colonel Colin Dundas Graham K. W. &c.
born on the 31st of August 1801
died the 21st of October 1814
Their Remains are Deposited in This Vault

Above – Colin Graham, eldest son of Colin Dundas Graham, arrived in Jamaica in 1812 with Francis Graham and his wife Jamima Charlotte and their sister Margaret (see Chapter 7).

Colin and Agnes were Francis Graham’s only children by his wife Jamima Charlotte. He was however survived by two mixed race and illegitimate children, Nancy Graham and Colin Graham – see below Francis Graham’s Will.

In April 1820 George William Hamilton wrote to Rowland Alston and to Thomas Milles, Mrs Rose Milles’ brother in law.


5 February 1820 – Sir – With much real sorrow I have to acquaint you of the death of our respected friend Mr Graham – this melancholy event took place on the 1st instant after a long and painful illness . . .

15 April 1820 – Dear Sir – With deep sorrow I acquaint you of the death of our late friend Mr Graham, an event which many will long deplore – it took place on the 1st Febr 1820 . . .

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Wills, Old Series, Lib 96, Fol 184 – Will of Francis Graham, dated 25 January 1820, Entered Island Secretary’s Office 4 February 1820 – extracts/summary
I give and bequeath unto my mother Nancy Graham widow now resident in the Island of Fayal for the term of her natural life an annuity or yearly sum of £300 of lawful money of Great Britain – I also give and devise unto my said mother and her assigns for and during the term of her natural life all and every my houses lands tenements and hereditaments in the Island of Fayal and in the Island of Pico – I give and bequeath unto each of my three sisters Nancy Graham Spinster Margaret Graham Spinster and Mary Graham Spinster for the term of their natural lives an annuity of £100 each of lawful money of Great Britain.

I also give and bequeath unto Nancy Graham Spinster my reputed daughter by Eliza Jackson now residing at Edinburgh the yearly sum of £200 Sterling for her maintenance until she shall be married on which event the same annuity or yearly sum is to cease and it shall happen that my said reputed daughter Nancy Graham shall marry with the previous Consent in writing of any two of my Executors hereinafter named or the survivor of such Executors then I give and bequeath unto my said reputed daughter Nancy Graham upon her day of Marriage or as soon thereafter as the same can conveniently be raised and paid out of my said Estates the principal sum of £5,000 Sterling But if she shall marry without such previous consent then it is my will that she shall not be entitled to have or receive any part of the said legacy but that the same and every part thereof shall thereupon sink into and become part of the residuum of my said Estate and in Lieu of such legacy I direct that my said daughter shall receive out of my Estate one annuity or yearly sum of £100 Sterling only for and during the term of her natural life and I direct that the said annuity of £200 or £100 as the case may be shall be being issued and payable out of my Estate real and personal.

I do hereby order and direct my Executors – to lay out and invest in their or his names or name the sum of £2,000 of lawful currency of Great Britain in the funds or on Government or real Securities in Great Britain upon trust to pay and apply the yearly dividends interest and income thereof into and for the benefit of my reputed son Colin Graham at present residing at Twickenham Park, Saint Catherine, for his maintenance and Education until he shall attain his age of twenty one years and on his attaining that age then I direct my said Executors to pay assign or transfer over to him the said sum of £2,000 or the stocks funds or securities whereon the same shall be then invested.

Note – by Jamaica law £2,000 was the maximum allowed to be bequeathed to a mixed race and illegitimate person living in Jamaica.

Also I order and direct my Executors – to lay out and invest in their or his names or name as the sum of £4,000 of lawful money of Great Britain in the funds or our Government or real securities in Great Britain upon trust to pay and apply the yearly dividends interest and income thereof unto and for the benefit of Francis Vidal the son of John James Vidal late of Saint Catherine Esq and towards his maintenance and education until he shall attain the age of twenty one years and on his attaining that age then I direct my Executors in whose names or name the said sum of four thousand pounds shall be invested to pay assign or transfer over to him the said Francis Vidal the said sum of four thousand pounds or the Stocks funds or securities whereon the same shall be then invested.

Whereas I was lately in treaty with Henry Davidson and Aeneas Barkly of the City of London Esqs for a plantation or farm in the parish of Saint Dorothy called Millwards Bog with the Slaves and Stock whereon now I do hereby authorise and empower my Executors – to sell and dispose of all my rights and interest of in and to any lease which has been or may hereafter be granted to me or any other Estate or interest which I have and may acquire of and in the said farm called Millwards Bog slaves and stock.

Also I do hereby authorise and empower my said Executors – to sell and dispose of all my real Estate and slaves in this Island foresaid and Except the slaves hereinafter manumised either together or in parcels.

I do hereby manumise enfranchise and forever set free the following slaves – Davy a Mulatto belonging to my Estate called Tulloch – Eleanor of Colour belonging to my said Estate and attending the Great house and Sophia also of Colour, now about the overseers house on my said Estate Tulloch and the two eldest daughters of the said Sophia.
All the rest residue – in this Island or elsewhere – I give devise and bequeath to my dear wife Jamima Charlotte Graham.

I appoint my wife Jamima Charlotte Graham, Aeneas Barclay, Michael Benignus Clare, George William Hamilton, Edward Sword and John Gale Vidal all of of Saint Catherine Esqs Executors of this my will and Guardians of my said reputed son and daughter named Colin Graham and Nancy Graham during their respective minorities – Signed and sealed by Francis Graham on 25 January 1820 – Witnesses – Thomas James Brown – William Duncan – Charles Vansittart Campbell

After Francis Graham died his widow Jamima Charlotte returned to Britain. On 26 April 1822 she married Major George Gun Munroe (later knighted) of Poyntzfield in the Black Isle, Scotland.


April 26. At Richmond, Major George Gun Munroe, of Poyntzfield, to Jemima [sic] Charlotte, relict of Francis Graham, Esq of Tulloch Castle, Jamaica.

Francis Graham and Eliza Jackson’s daughter Nancy Graham (1804/05-1883)

Eliza Jackson, in her Will, mentioned her daughter Nancy Graham in Scotland.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Wills, Old Series, Lib 108, Fol 155 – Will of Eliza Jackson, dated 20 October 1827 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 9 May 1828 – extracts/summary

I Eliza Jackson of Kingston Spinster – my Executors immediately after my decease to sell and dispose of the following named 5 slaves for the best price or prices that can be had or gotten – the nett proceeds arising from the sale of such slaves I hereby give devise and bequeath unto my beloved daughter Nancy Graham at present residing in Scotland to be remitted or paid unto her as she may think proper to direct

Unto my dear sister Margaret Ann Smith – 1 slave also all my wearing apparel trinkets &c – Unto my beloved nephew John Holcombe Laing – 1 slave – Unto my beloved niece Mary Eliza Laing – 1 slave – Unto my beloved nephew Edward Dickson Laing – 1 slave

All the rest residue and remainder of my Estate both real and personal or of whatever nature or kind so ever I give demise and bequeath unto my beloved daughter Nancy Graham


While Michael Benignus Clare (knighted in 1822) was away from Jamaica in the second half of the 1820s he gave a power of attorney to Herbert Jarrett James of Spanish Town. In 1828 and 1829 Herbert Jarrett James wrote to Michael Benignus Clare concerning the legacy left to Nancy Graham by her mother Eliza Jackson.


26 April 1828 – I have received your favour of 15 Feby last concerning a power of Atty to Turner & myself from Miss Nancy Graham which shall be recorded as soon as I learn from Colin Graham the particulars with which you desired him to furnish me. I applied to him and he promised to let me have them but he has not yet done so . . .

10 May 1828 – . . . C Graham has not yet furnished me with the particulars of your Wards claims to enable me to do anything for her, he sent a negro woman with 3 children with a paper for sale
which I understand are part of the property left for payment of Miss Grahams legacy but purchasers are difficult to be met with and it may be some time before they are disposed of . . .

14 June 1828 – . . . Miss Jacksons Will does not appear to have been seconded altho her Exec R Laing says it has been formerly he stated there would be about £400 coming to your Ward but now nothing he has not answered my letter, I have therefore directed a Caveat to be entered on the Estate that he may be Cited to produce the Will I fear whatever this man gets into his hands will be lost to Miss Nancy Graham but as yet I am unable to do anything for her . . .

July 1828 – . . . As yet nothing has been done for Miss Nancy Graham, altho I long since gave directions for a Caveat to be entered on her Mothers Estate to oblige Mr Laing to produce the will & were it worth while while I would have it produced in Solemn form, as it is strange that she should have left her property to other persons in preference to her only child . . .

25 August 1828 – . . . I was furnished with the accompanying Dkt of Miss Jacksons Will which you will perceive was entered in the Secretary’s office in May I had only a few minutes previously been talking to Colin Graham upon the subject of his sister’s situation . . .

13 October 1828 – . . . G W Hamilton is unable to afford any assistance in bringing Mr Laing to settlement in respect of Miss Jackson’s affairs . . .

5 January 1829 – . . . in respect to Miss Nancy Grahams affairs no further expence has been or will be incurred without your positive directions . . .

13 March 1829 – . . . for Miss Graham nothing can be done but through the Court of Chancery and as Mr Laing is not worth one shilling it is needless incurring any expence . . .

On 8 November 1828 – Nancy Graham was of Cromarty House in the Black Isle, northeast Scotland.

www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/wills.htm – Sir Michael Benignus Clare of Spanish Town – Will made in London dated 8 November 1828 – extract

. . . unto Miss Nancy Graham of Cromarty House in the county of Cromarty in North Britain the daughter of my late friend Francis Graham Esqr decd during her natural life or until she shall receive or be paid the legacy of five thousand pounds left her by her fathers will one annuity or yearly sum of fifty pounds . . .

Note – Col Colin Dundas Graham, father of Jamima Charlotte and Sir M B Clare’s wife Margaret died at Cromarty House on 7 July 1828 (see Chapter 7).

On 24 August 1830 – Nancy was in Jamaica – see below Colin Graham.


https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search# – Church Registers – Banns & Marriages – Parish of Cromarty – Lieutenant Alexander Gordon Graham of the Hanoverian Service and Miss Nancy Graham both at Cromarty House were married on 25 October 1833


https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search# – Census

1861 – 63 Frederick Street, Edinburgh – Alex G Graham, Captain, late Hanoverian Guards, Banker, born Holland – wife Nancy Graham, born West Indies – one son

1871 – 16 Church Street, Cromarty – Alex G Graham, Retired Capt in Hanoverian Service, Banker, born Amsterdam, Holland, British Subject – wife Nancey [sic] Graham, born Spanish Town, Jamaica, British Subject – four daughters and three servants

1881 – 29 Church Street, Cromarty – Nancy Graham, widow, Annuitant, born Spanish Town, Jamaica, British Subject – two daughters and two servants

On 22 May 1883 Nancy Graham died at Cromarty.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and Surname</th>
<th>Nancy Graham</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rank or Profession, and whether Single, Married, or Widowed.</td>
<td>Widow of Captain Alexander Gordon Graham (Hanoverian Service)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When and where Died</td>
<td>May Twenty-Second – 11 H. 35 M. A.M. Church Street, Cromarty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex – Age</td>
<td>Female – 78 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name, Surname, &amp; Rank or Profession of Father.</td>
<td>Francis Graham West Indian Sugar Planter (deceased)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Francis Graham’s son Colin Graham (died 1835) – date/place of birth unknown, and mother unknown

Colin Graham, as owner, registered slaves in 1820, 1823, 1826, 1829 and 1832.

1820 – Increase by purchase – 1 Slave – sworn on 25 September 1820 by Colin Graham before Thomas James Brown (one of the men who witnessed Francis Graham’s Will)

1823 – Increase by purchase 1 Slave – Total 2 Slaves – sworn on 27 September 1823 by Colin Graham before John Lunan
Chapter 11. 1820

1826 – Decrease by death 1 Slave – Total 1 Slave – sworn on 27 September 1826 by Colin Graham before John Lunan

1829 – Increase 8 Slaves – 3 by birth – 1 by purchase – 4 by lease & sale and returned formerly by George William Hamilton as Executor of Francis Graham – Total 9 Slaves – sworn on 28 September 1829 by Colin Graham before R Williams

1832 – Increase 2 – 1 by purchase – 1 by birth – Decrease 2 – 1 by sale – 1 by death – Total 9 Slaves – sworn on 26 September 1832 by Colin Graham before John Lunan


To my Sister Nancy Graham now residing with me £50 Jamaica Currency ... unto Henrietta Graham the youngest daughter of the late Colonel Colin Dundas Graham and now residing with her sister Mrs Jamima Charlotte Monro of Poyntzfield House near Fortrose north Britain £150 Sterling...

To Sarah Dick one of the Daughters of the late John Dick of Douglas Castle Plantation, St John – to Jane Moody of Kingston Spinster – to Clementina and Cecilia Hamilton the Daughters of my friend Cheney Hamilton now residing in Spanish Town ... Executors ... to purchase the freedom of Polly otherwise named Mary Ann Williams and my reputed daughter by her named Elizabeth Frances Graham...

By the Will of my late Father Francis Graham dated 25 January 1820 ... he bequeathed me £2,000 Sterling and directed his Executors ... to invest the sum ... and to apply the Yearly dividends thereof to my use until I shall have arrived at the age of twenty one years which said principal sum ... together with interest due thereon from 1 January 1828 at the rate of one £168 Currency per annum I have not Yet received save and Except the sum of £84 received in the Year 1830 on account of the said Interest...

Note – above – 1 January 1828 – ? Colin Graham’s 21st birthday


Codicil – to my infant daughter not yet baptized by Sarah Dick...


This section is a copy of notes I gave to Andrew Graeme (author of the website) in August 2006.

Below – Francis Graham’s Probate Inventories – Parish of St Catherine and Parish of St Thomas in the Vale.

My photos – Jamaica Archives – Records of Probate Inventories, Lib 134, Fol 1 – Francis Graham – two Probate Inventories – Returned Island Secretary’s Office 13 December 1820

Parish of St Catherine – extracts/summary

Jamaica ss – An Inventory and appraisement of all and singular the Goods and Chattels Rights and Credits which were of Francis Graham late of the parish of Saint Catherine Esq deceased in the parish of St Catherine – at the Villa Pen – plus – Counting House at Twickenham Park – plus – Schedule of Debts due – as shown by his acting Executors Michael Benignus Clare, George William Hamilton, Edward Sword and John Gale Vidal unto John Lunan and William M Robbie – amounted to £36,525 - 5s - 5¼d Jamaica Currency
### Chapter 11. 1820

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carved Cup.</td>
<td>14, 13, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brought forward</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Bacos Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Bacos Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Bacos Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Baco Baskets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 11.  1820

8 Pair White 126 / Piece Collar China 22 40 Pair Stock 85
3 2 32 Folded Cloth 13 200 8 60 120 Bagging Taffeta
20. 5

Bought forward
6 128. 5 629. 5 16 8

Room 906 1 Writing Desk 28 1 Seat Table 8 1 Secretary Desk
2 Longing Stairs 2 1 Washhand Stand 16. 8 1 Old Table
2 Fold 12 8

14. 8 136. 8
Room 407 1 Headrest 2 Mattress pillows and Helmet with
Furniture Cushions 2 Super 40 Weight Chair 53 1 8 2 Longing Stairs
25 6. 8 1 Round Table 25 6. 8 1 Small Table 28 2 Drawers
196 1 Stand 13 6. 8

123 1
Room 908 1 Bedchair 2 Mattress cushions Helmet with
Furniture Cushions 2 Super 2 Longing Stairs 35 1 Washhand Stand
21 6. 8 1 Table 25 6. 8 1 Longing Stairs 21 1 Upstairs
Curtain 18 11 2 Pictures 18 3 Curtains 25
1 Bed 23 1 Night Chair 20

140 6. 8
Room 909 1 Dog Chair 32 1 Bedchair 2 Mattress cushions
Helmet with Furniture and Basket 40 1 Chest
Drawers 21 1 Longing Stairs 21 1 Table 25 2 Washhand
Stands 23 13 4 1 Night Chair 8 3 Curtains 23. 4
106 6. 8

Earned forward
153 2. 5 209. 5 16 8

Room 9010 Table and
36 Table Frames 85%
24 Desert tea 25%
4 Furniture 14%
2 Small Curious 15%
1 Large 40
2 Dog Baskets 50

54 Coverers circa at

14. 70 c
1 Soup Paddle sold for
4 Chicken Gums 8
1 Assorted Woolf 40
2 Tea Store 8 10
2 Wine Gums 3 6 8
2 All Fig. Cakes with Hand and Gums 40
1 Tea Pot 1 Sugar dish with Tray 1 Milk
Oat sold for
6 Coffee Pot 14 3 Salt Gums 2.13. 4
1 Bell sold for 3 11. 4 2 Chamber Stands
Sticks and Shovellers 85 6. 8
1 Bread Basket 2 2 pair Knives and
Plates sold for 84

242 6 8 1582 5 207 5 16 8

Earned forward
242 6 8 1582. 5 207. 5 16 8

2 Lamb Shells with 3 Holes 8 6
1 Assorted Tea 2 2 Hours 8
2 Jars
2 Jars
2 Lamb Shells 10
15 Jars Ointment 8 5 Jars 1 Egg

18 8 193 8 11 8
Chapter 11. 1820

559


### Chapter 11. 1820

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Breakfast Table 1.6.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small de half round date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight day clock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case with Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Master Side Tables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Stationary Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash in the chest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Carried forward**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Book case with Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Book Table 1.5.2.11orn. case 28.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teak Risers 3.13 For cases 60 Mahogany Table with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Risers 1.5 White Pine Desk &amp; Seat 21 Remains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Noted Side Tables 151 Small Mahogany Writing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desk 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Hall 2 Letters 210 Large with 2 Side Drawers 532</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Pine Desk &amp; Seat 21 White pine Table 136 all top</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Master Side Tables 101 1 orm. case 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Room No.1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Breakfast Table 1.6.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small de half round date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight day clock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case with Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Master Side Tables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Stationary Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash in the chest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Carried forward**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Book case with Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Book Table 1.5.2.11orn. case 28.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teak Risers 3.13 For cases 60 Mahogany Table with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Risers 1.5 White Pine Desk &amp; Seat 21 Remains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Noted Side Tables 151 Small Mahogany Writing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desk 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Hall 2 Letters 210 Large with 2 Side Drawers 532</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Pine Desk &amp; Seat 21 White pine Table 136 all top</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Master Side Tables 101 1 orm. case 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Room No.2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Breakfast Table 1.6.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small de half round date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight day clock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case with Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Master Side Tables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Stationary Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash in the chest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Carried forward**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Book case with Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Book Table 1.5.2.11orn. case 28.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teak Risers 3.13 For cases 60 Mahogany Table with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Risers 1.5 White Pine Desk &amp; Seat 21 Remains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Noted Side Tables 151 Small Mahogany Writing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desk 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Hall 2 Letters 210 Large with 2 Side Drawers 532</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Pine Desk &amp; Seat 21 White pine Table 136 all top</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Master Side Tables 101 1 orm. case 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Room No.3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Breakfast Table 1.6.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small de half round date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight day clock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case with Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Master Side Tables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Stationary Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash in the chest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Carried forward**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Book case with Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Book Table 1.5.2.11orn. case 28.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teak Risers 3.13 For cases 60 Mahogany Table with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Risers 1.5 White Pine Desk &amp; Seat 21 Remains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Noted Side Tables 151 Small Mahogany Writing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desk 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Hall 2 Letters 210 Large with 2 Side Drawers 532</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Pine Desk &amp; Seat 21 White pine Table 136 all top</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Master Side Tables 101 1 orm. case 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Room No.4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Bedstead with Mattress and footstool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>530 Night case 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Bedstead with Mattress &amp; footstool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Small Side Table 170 Night case 22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Carried forward**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Book case with Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Book Table 1.5.2.11orn. case 28.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teak Risers 3.13 For cases 60 Mahogany Table with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Risers 1.5 White Pine Desk &amp; Seat 21 Remains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Noted Side Tables 151 Small Mahogany Writing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desk 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Hall 2 Letters 210 Large with 2 Side Drawers 532</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Pine Desk &amp; Seat 21 White pine Table 136 all top</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Master Side Tables 101 1 orm. case 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Room No.5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Breakfast Table 1.6.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small de half round date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight day clock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case with Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Master Side Tables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Stationary Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash in the chest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Carried forward**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Book case with Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Book Table 1.5.2.11orn. case 28.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teak Risers 3.13 For cases 60 Mahogany Table with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Risers 1.5 White Pine Desk &amp; Seat 21 Remains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Noted Side Tables 151 Small Mahogany Writing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desk 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Hall 2 Letters 210 Large with 2 Side Drawers 532</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Pine Desk &amp; Seat 21 White pine Table 136 all top</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Master Side Tables 101 1 orm. case 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Room No.6**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Bedstead with Mattress and footstool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Small Side Table 170 Night case 22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Carried forward**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Book case with Stationary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Book Table 1.5.2.11orn. case 28.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teak Risers 3.13 For cases 60 Mahogany Table with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Risers 1.5 White Pine Desk &amp; Seat 21 Remains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Noted Side Tables 151 Small Mahogany Writing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desk 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Hall 2 Letters 210 Large with 2 Side Drawers 532</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Pine Desk &amp; Seat 21 White pine Table 136 all top</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Master Side Tables 101 1 orm. case 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 561</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Wilson</td>
<td>98.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payne &amp; Richard</td>
<td>9.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Scott</td>
<td>9.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Courcy</td>
<td>5.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Munro</td>
<td>16.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James A. Pachon</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Abbingham</td>
<td>26.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Morris</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Smith</td>
<td>26.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Ramsey</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Garner</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Campbell</td>
<td>5.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Tracy</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Lynch</td>
<td>21.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langley Estate</td>
<td>2.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterhouse Estate</td>
<td>20.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha Carter</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estate Park Newfoundland</td>
<td>32.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Applewhite</td>
<td>7.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George others</td>
<td>7.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darrell others</td>
<td>2.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estate H. V. Dillon</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estate Buchan's concert</td>
<td>44.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Macdonald</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterhouse Estate</td>
<td>103.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald &amp; James Macdonald</td>
<td>110.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor Rea</td>
<td>24.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha Lake</td>
<td>92.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. McLean</td>
<td>11.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles McMillan</td>
<td>60.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Turner</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Bayou Estate</td>
<td>150.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George William Hamilton</td>
<td>455.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bondall Estate</td>
<td>620.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenshaw Park Estate</td>
<td>62.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Hemm</td>
<td>103.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Trust Estate of Judith Hunter</td>
<td>68.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogers St. for Andrew Keene, Blackheath Fortinelle</td>
<td>68.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Southfield Estate</td>
<td>683.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogers St. for Blue Castle Estate</td>
<td>450.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. N. Campbell</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Ogil</td>
<td>640.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Carried up**

**Brought forward**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Carried up**

**Brought forward**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Carried up**

**Brought forward**
Francis Graham’s Probate Inventory for St Thomas in the Vale – extracts/summary

Jamaica ss – An Inventory and appraisement of all and singular the Goods and Chattels Rights and Credits which were of Francis Graham late of the parish of Saint Catherine Esq deceased in the parish of St Thomas in the Vale – as shown by his acting Executors Michael Benignus Clare, George William Hamilton, Edward Sword and John Gale Vidal Esqs unto Richard Welch and James Seton Lane – amounted to £54,931 14s 4d Jamaica Currency
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sofa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mahogany side tables</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 oak breakfast table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mahogany side board chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany side board chair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mahogany side chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£1010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** All items purchased were for use in the estate.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fish, Line, Line</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper, Spain</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt, Small =</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse, White</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse, Black</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse, Pony</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse, Driver</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse, Side</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse, Sides</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse, Tail</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse, Full</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 32.982.79

Chapter 11. 1820
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Mahogany Bedstead with 2 Mahogany and Furniture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Mahogany Table</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Mahogany Table</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Table Cloths</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Mahogany Shells 5 for Indian Cases</td>
<td></td>
<td>12-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Mahogany Shells</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Sconce Bells</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Mahogany Shelves 1/4 Cover 1/2 Cover</td>
<td></td>
<td>12-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Mahogany Box Case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Mahogany Window Blinds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Square Mahogany Thread 4 Square Blue Thread</td>
<td></td>
<td>1-3-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Carried forward                                      | 53,197   | 12-4 |

Bought forward                                        | 53,197   | 12-4 |

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bookcases Room No. 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Mahogany Bedstead 2 mahogany Mosquito</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mahogany Shells</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mahogany Sheets 1/2 Bolster 1/2 Pillow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Mahogany Bedstead 2 mahogany Mosquito</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shells</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mahogany Sheets 1/2 Bolster 1/2 Pillow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mahogany Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td>1-3-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Carried forward                                      | 53,371   | 12-4 |

Bought forward                                        | 53,371   | 12-4 |
On 3 April 1820 (a month after Francis Graham died) Edward Lascelles, the 1st Earl of Harewood died at Harewood House in London.


... His lordship died at his house in Harewood Place, Hanover Square, London, April 3rd 1820, in his eighty-first year, having survived his eldest son Edward six years, and being succeeded by his second son, Henry. His remains were brought from London, and interred in the family mausoleum at Harewood church, near Leeds. An immense train of relatives, carriages, and friends followed in the funeral procession, as the last mark of respect due to his rank and exalted virtues. “Few noblemen,” it was said at the time, “will be more sincerely lamented, and there are few whose loss will be more acutely felt by the poor residing on or near his noble domain. To all his domestics he has been liberal, and has provided amply for the future comfort of those of longer servitude.” To those whom this nobleman was known, it is needless to panegyrise his virtues; and to those to whom he was a stranger, all our praises will fall short of his merits...

Henry Lascelles (1767-1841), the 2nd Earl of Harewood

From 1796 to 1806 Henry Lascelles and William Wilberforce were the two MPs for the County of York.

They were also friends. On 25 January 1806 William Wilberforce wrote that Henry Lascelles ‘acts from a warm and honest heart as ever man had.’


I have this instant seen the papers, and will certainly attend;¹²¹ but I must say it would have been better in my colleague to consult and combine more about it. If so, perhaps all opposition might have been prevented. But Lascelles acts from a warm and honest heart as ever man had.
In the 1806 three way election contest for the two County of York seats, Henry Lascelles withdrew as a candidate on 1 November. In a letter written on the same day, William Wilberforce referred to his ‘personal goodwill to Mr Lascelles’.

... for certainly I whisper to you IN PERFECT CONFIDENCE (what I cannot be as glad of as you, from my personal goodwill to Mr Lascelles, though I am most scrupulously and conscientiously neutral between him and his opponent) that Mr Fawkes also will be victorious.

His lordship was born on Christmas day, 1767... Although from his early youth strongly attached to country life, he had throughout his long career, taken a prominent part in public affairs. At the general election of 1796 he succeeded Henry Duncombe, Esq, as one of the members for Yorkshire; his elder brother, Edward, Viscount Lascelles, having already a seat in parliament for Northallerton. He was a frequent speaker in the House... He moved, on 27th January, 1806, the address for a public funeral of Mr Pitt; and a few days after, the grant of £40,000 to pay the debts of that illustrious man. He was ever a staunch friend of the Pitt Club... He had been re-elected for Yorkshire in 1802: but in 1806 it was judged expedient that he should give way to the Whig candidate, Mr Walter Fawkes. At the general election in the following year occurred the memorable contest for Yorkshire, the first that had been attempted for sixty-six years. The other candidates were the late Mr Wilberforce, in the Tory interest, and the second Earl Fitzwilliam, then Lord Milton, in that of the Whig. The struggle lasted for fifteen days, when Mr Lascelles was beaten by a small majority... Mr Lascelles shortly after came into parliament for the borough of Westbury. In October, 1812, he was elected for Pontefract. On the 11th of the same month, Mr Wilberforce having retired, he was elected for the County of York, by the unsolicited suffrages of the freeholders, having Lord Milton for his colleague. He withdrew from the representation of the county at the general election of 1818, and on the 2nd of June in that year he was chosen for Northallerton... His parliamentary services as a commoner were of the most effective kind; for, independently of his just influence with the Government of the day, his attention to business was unremitting, and the soundness of his judgment was as his industry... In 1819, when the second Earl Fitzwilliam was deprived on the lord-lieutenancy of the West-Riding [of Yorkshire], on account of partisan politics, the Earl of Harewood succeeded to that influential position, and retained it to the hour of his death... As a peer of the realm, the noble earl, though firm in his constitutional and Conservative principles, belonged to what may be termed the middle or moderate party. His sound sense and extensive practical knowledge, even more than his wealth and station, gave him great weight in the House of Peers, and with the [Tory] Government for the time being... During the [Whig] administrations of Lords Grey and Melbourne, no attempt was made to deprive him of the lieutenancy, for no real cause of complaint was given; though Lord Harewood never blinked his opinions, and on several occasions originated proceedings, the effect of which was to attach considerable blame to certain members of the Government with regard to an irregular appointment of magistrates. In local politics the earl, for some years preceding his death, took no very prominent part. In the judgment of some of his friends, he did not take that lead which in right belonged to him; though, on the other hand, there was no flinching from principle... In all the private relations of life the late earl was a bright example of a rigid discharge of “home duties.” As a husband, father, magistrate, landlord, friend, he was truly great, though unostentatious to simplicity. His charities to the poor were as extensive as his
means were ample; they were gratefully recorded in the hearts of thousands who went “the way of all flesh” before him. For many years he maintained, at his sole expense, the Harewood Hunt in all its ancient reputation and splendour; and he may be said to have died in its service, for he had joined the hounds on the day of his decease . . . His lordship married, September 3rd, 1794, Henrietta, eldest daughter of the late Lieutenant-General Sir John Saunders Sebright, Bart, and by that lady, who survived him, he had issue seven sons and four daughters . . .


Henry Lascelles, 2nd Earl of Harewood

George Cuthbert (the surviving attorney to the 1st Earl of Harewood) and George William Hamilton were the Jamaica attorneys to the 2nd Earl of Harewood.

George William Hamilton (1786-1857), Francis Graham’s right hand man (see Chapter 5), was the 3rd son of John Hamilton of Northpark, Glasgow, and Helen, nee Bogle.


The Glasgow Hamiltons are descended from David Hamilton of Elrick . . .

VI. – John Hamilton of Northpark, born 1754, died 1829, was a merchant in Glasgow, and was thrice Lord Provost. He married Helen, daughter of Archibald Bogle . . . He was a most valuable citizen of Glasgow, and merited, and obtained the respect and affection of its inhabitants. When the new entrance to the city from the east was formed, it was called after him “Great Hamilton” Street. He had issue: (I.) John, who died in Jamaica [around 1800]; (II.) Archibald, of whom presently; (III.) George William, merchant [planter] in Jamaica, died in 1858 [1857]; (IV.) Robert, merchant in Jamaica, died in London in 1840; (V.) William of Northpark, Lord Provost in 1826 . . . [sons 6, 7 and 8 died young] . . .

Above – Robert, merchant in Jamaica, was one of the co-partners with Michael Scott in Kingston – see Chapter 12 – Hamilton, Scott & Co – and Bogles & Co

G W Hamilton was born on 18 October 1786 – https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search# – Church Registers – Births & Baptisms – and matriculated at Glasgow University in 1799

See – https://archive.org/details/matriculationalb00univuoft – The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow from 1728 to 1858 – page 190

The earliest record I have of G W Hamilton in Jamaica is in 1808 – (Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 570, Fol 98 – conveyance as security for a Mortgage from George William Hamilton to Francis Graham & al) – but he probably arrived in 1803 or 1804 around the age of seventeen or eighteen.

For part of the time while Edward was in Britain, 1814-16, G W Hamilton was also there. He sailed in June 1814 from Port Royal for Plymouth and arrived back from London in January 1816.

British Library & London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 2 Jul 1814, page PS 18 – Sailed from Port Royal since our last – June 27 – includes

HMB Snake, Grape, for Havanna and Portsmouth


Sat, 27 Jan 1816, page PS 19 27 January 1816 – Arrived at Port Royal – 25 January includes


G W Hamilton, Aaron Bang in Tom Cringle’s Log, was ‘known by his friends as Bang from his fondness of practicing with firearms’.


http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=AJULAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Tom Cringle’s Log, by an anonymous author (Michael Scott), published 1834 – page 361

. . . my massa Aaron Bang . . . surely you can’t know he – surely he never see him shoot snipe, and wild-duck – oh dear, why him kill wild-duck on the wing – ah, me often see him knock down teal wid single ball, one hundred – ah, one hundred and fifty yards . . .

Michael Scott, G W Hamilton and his brother Robert Hamilton were racing enthusiasts.
Chapter 11. 1820

British Library & London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica –


Sat, 7 Nov 1818, page PS 24 – October 1818 – Kingston Races – Stewards: Geo Wm Hamilton, Robert Graham, and James Franklin – Treasurer: George Sanderson


After Francis Graham died his widow Jamima Charlotte appointed G W Hamilton and James Laing her joint attorneys. They were also joint attorneys to a number of absentee proprietors who were formerly represented by Francis Graham.

On 10 March 1820 James Laing and G W Hamilton were attorneys to the proprietor of the Bog Pen.

British Library & London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 1 Apr 1820, page (5) – pages not numbered

Spanish Town, March 10, 1820.

For Sale, The Bog Pen, situate on the Old-Harbour Road about six and a half Miles from Spanish-Town, adjoining Nightingale Grove Estate and Spring Garden Pen, with 91 Slaves, and about 370 Head of Horned Stock. This Property consists of upwards of 2000 Acres of Land, well watered, and abounding with Cashew Timber, fit for Ship Builders, and with valuable Logwoods and other Timbers. Possession may be had on the 1st of August next, or sooner, by arrangement with the present Tenants. Time will be given for Payment to approved Purchasers. For particulars apply to James Laing and George W Hamilton, Attornies to the Proprietor.

Following the death of King George III on 29 January 1820, the House of Assembly of Jamaica was dissolved. In the 1820 Jamaica General Election there were three candidates for the two St Thomas in the Vale seats – Michael Benignus Clare, George William Hamilton, a candidate for the first time, and George Marshall.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 1 Apr 1820, page Add PS 25

Spanish-Town, March 25, 1820.

To the Freeholders of St Thomas' in the Vale.

Gentlemen,

As the death of our late venerable Sovereign will soon occasion a General Election, permit me to offer myself a Candidate for the honour of again representing your Parish. Having already possessed this flattering mark of your confidence, I am encouraged to hope, that a short absence from the island, for the benefit of my health, will not deprive me of the honour of your support.

With great respect, I am, Gentlemen, your most obliged and obedient servant,

M B Clare

Spanish-Town, March 25, 1820.

To the Freeholders of St Thomas' in the Vale.

Gentlemen,

Having been applied to by many Proprietors of your respectable Parish, to offer myself as a Candidate to represent you in the Hon House of Assembly at the next General Election, I feel it impossible to decline an invitation so highly gratifying to my feelings.

In the event of filling that important situation, my long residence among you will, I trust, be a sufficient pledge that no exertion shall be wanting on my part to merit the confidence reposed in me.

I am, respectfully, Gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

Geo W Hamilton
Golden Grove, March 30, 1820.

To the Worthy and Independent Freeholders of the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale.

Gentlemen,

His Grace the Governor having this day officially announced the death of his late Majesty King George the Third and the Accession of his present Majesty King George the Fourth, it is obvious that these events will be soon followed by a Dissolution of the House of Assembly: I therefore beg leave to offer myself as a Candidate for the honour of again representing you, and solicit your votes and interests accordingly.

Being a Parishioner, and a Freeholder of the Vale, and having for thirteen Sessions constantly attended to, and faithfully discharged, to the best of my humble judgment, the duties of the trust so repeatedly confided in me, I could not but hope that such strong claims upon your consideration would obtain that support which, on my late personal canvass was so handsomely offered to me, and which I trust, will be the means of returning me the fourth time to be one of your Representatives.

I have the honour to remain, Gentlemen, your most obedient and humble servant.

Geo Marshall

PS. I am neither in league with, nor in opposition to, any other Candidate.

M B Clare and G W Hamilton were elected the members for St Thomas in the Vale.

Michael Benignus Clare (1777-1832), knighted in 1822, was the brother in law of Francis Graham and one of his executors, see above.

M B Clare was born on 27 March 1777 at Maidford, Northamptonshire – 2nd son of Rev Michael O’Clare


http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/ – Rev Michael O’Clare was Curate of Orlestone, Kent, in 1769, Curate of Eversholt, Bedfordshire in 1770, and Rector of Maidford from 1772 until his death in 1798.

www.gazettes-online.co.uk – London Gazette, 27 January 1874 – . . . Sir Michael Benignus Clare, who was born in the year 1777, at Maidford, in Nottinghamshire, and who resided in Jamaica . . .
He received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1797 at the University of Edinburgh – see –
http://search.ancestry.co.uk/search/group/histnews – Edinburgh Advertiser, 23 June 1797


M B Clare was a Mason and in 1816 he was appointed Provincial Grand Master for Jamaica and its Dependencies of the United Grand Lodge of England

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 30 Nov 1816, page Add PS 25

Free-Masons’ Hall, Kingston, Nov 25, 1816.

By Order of the Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Master.

Whereas his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England, has been pleased to constitute and appoint by Letters Patent, Michael Benignus Clare, M D Provincial Grand Master for the island of Jamaica, with full power and authority to govern and direct the Royal Craft throughout the said Island, and its Dependencies, according to the Constitutions of the Ancient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons:

Notice is hereby given, That a Grand-Lodge will be held at Free-Masons’ Hall on Thursday the 12th December next, when the Patent will be read and recorded, and the instructions therewith received. The installation of the Grand Master, and the appointment of Grand Officers, will then take place . . .

In 1817 he married Margaret Graham (sister of Francis Graham’s wife Jamima Charlotte), the eldest daughter of Lieutenant Colonel Colin Dundas Graham – see Chapter 10 – Twickenham Park, residence of Francis Graham, marriage of M B Clare.

M B Clare was knighted in 1822 at the request of Louis XVIII.

Lady Nugent’s Journal of her residence in Jamaica from 1801 to 1805 – new and revised edition by Philip Wright, published 1966 – Index of Persons

Clare, Dr. (later Sir) Michael Benignus, 1777-1832, Inspector Gen. of Hospitals and Physician Gen. (militia) 1808-1832, MC [Member of the Council of Jamaica] 1827-1832; knighted 1822 at the request of Louis XVIII in acknowledgement of his services to French refugees and prisoners of war in Jamaica.

In 1825, when Sir M B Clare and his wife were ‘making a tour of pleasure’ in the United States, they met Prince Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, near Niagara Falls, and he and his party travelled on with the Clares until they reached Albany. Later they met again unexpectedly and Prince Bernhard wrote – ‘Here I had the pleasure to meet Sir Michael Clare’.


At the end of May 1820, torrential rain caused considerable damage to the River Road (road through the Rio Cobre Gorge) and in St Thomas in the Vale.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 3 Jun 1820, page PS 23

Weather. – During last week a considerable quantity of rain fell, and on Saturday night . . . And continued almost incessantly throughout the two following days and nights, being perfectly calm during the whole period, with a good deal of thunder and lightning on Sunday afternoon. The Rio-Cobre was in consequence swollen to a greater height than we have seen it for many years, the water, on Monday
morning, reaching to the spring of the arch of the iron bridge, and almost up to the Magazine on the road leading down to the river. Several fences have been thrown down, but we have heard of no material damage sustained in this vicinity. The road to Kingston was considerably under water, though the postman managed to get up regularly every day.

The River Road, we are sorry to learn, has suffered considerably, and the flat bridge much injury. The new Rio-Cobre and Black-River bridges have received no injury, but those of Rio Magno and Byndloss are completely carried away.

Extract of a letter from St Thomas’ in the Vale, dated May 25.

“The continuance of the heavy rain all Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Tuesday night, raised the water to such an alarming height as will astonish you, bringing with it such abundance of large trees as tore away every thing before them. Both arches of Byndloss bridge are gone. The centre arch of the Rio-Magno bridge, not quite finished, was carried away at nine o’clock on Tuesday morning, and the one next to the high bank at half past eight at night, so that only the one next to the cane-piece is standing at this moment, under which the gully has taken its chief course, running very strong, the other two passages being partly choked with huge trees, wild canes and bamboos. The rain only ceased at six o’clock yesterday evening, and at this instant it is threatening to come again. The post, which left Spanish-Town last Saturday, has been detained here until this morning.”

The ‘iron bridge’, erected in 1801 (now a footbridge) crosses the Rio Cobre between Spanish Town and Twickenham Park.

https://openlibrary.org/search?title=Jamaica&author=Hakewill – A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica from drawings made in the years 1820 and 1821, by James Hakewill, published 1825 – Bridge over the Rio Cobre, Spanish Town

1820 was the second year slaves were registered in Jamaica – the 1820 Triennial Returns of Slaves.
Below – instructions for making the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and future Triennial Returns of Slaves.

August 5, 1820. Triennial Returns.

The following Clause of the “Act for a more particular Return of Slaves in this Island, and the Enrolment thereof,” regulating Triennial Returns, is published for the benefit of all concerned.

IV. And be it further enacted, That all and every person and persons, who shall be present in this island on the twenty-eighth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and twenty, and in every third succeeding year, and shall then be in possession of any slave or slaves within the same, whether as owner, mortgagee, trustee, guardian, executor, administrator, sequestrator, committee, receiver, assignee, lessee, attorney, agent, or otherwise howsoever, do and shall, on or before the twenty-eighth day of September, render in to the Clerk of the Vestry of the parish where such slave, or slaves are possessed shall be considered to be most permanently settled, worked, or employed, a true and perfect list or return in writing, according to the schedule, marked B, hereunto annexed; which shall state in the first place the total of males and females contained in the last return, and shew the increase and decrease (if any there be) in the same, and shall state the name of every slave constituting part of such increase and decrease, beginning with the males, and distinguishing where the list of males ends, and the list of females begins, and the colour, reputed age, and whether African or Creole, in the columns so respectively entitled; and in the column entitled “Remarks,” the names of the mothers of children, if both mother and child are in the same list; and as to any runaways for more than three months then next preceding the word “Runaway;” and further, in the case of increase, such return shall state, in the column entitled “Increase and cause thereof,” whether the increase has been by births, acquisitions, or removal from another parish, of the coming back of old runaways; and in case of births, then the name of mothers shall be specified respectively opposite to the names of the children born; and in case the same shall be by acquisition, then it shall be stated, opposite to the name of every such slave in the said increase column, in whose name, and in what particular list or return, such acquired slave stood enrolled at the last preceding period for making returns under this act, or if born since, then in whose name, and in what particular list or return, the mother of such newly acquired slave stood enrolled at that period; or should such acquisition have been made of any slave or slaves lawfully imported into this island since the last return, then it shall be stated in the said increase column that the same was or were so imported and the port or place at which such importation was made, and the name of the vessel and master; and if such increase should be by removal merely from any other parish of this island, the slave being in the same possession, then such removal shall be mentioned in the increase column, with the name of the parish from whence removed; and should such increase have been by the coming back of any runaway, who may have been absent above three years, then in the said increase column such coming back of such runaway shall be specified: And in case of decrease such return shall state, in the column entitled “Decrease, and cause thereof,” opposite to the name of every such slave constituting a part of such decrease whether the same shall have been by death, grant, sale, manumission, or by removal to any other parish in the same possession, naming the parish, or by the lapse of three years since the first running away of any slave, standing enrolled in the last preceding return for the same person or persons or estate: And at the foot of every such return, required by this clause, there shall be stated in distinct lines, the total number of slaves in possession on the twenty-eighth day of June, in the year for which such return shall be made, also in like manner the total number of births and deaths since the last return: And the same shall be verified by the oath (or in case of a quaker, by his affirmation) of the person or one of the persons, if there be more than one, making such return, to be subscribed by the party, and subjoined to the said return, and to be made and taken in the form and manner, and before the like judges and justices, as already enacted with respect to the verification of returns to be made for the twenty-eighth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen: And every such return, so to be made on the twenty-eighth say of September, one thousand eight hundred and twenty, and at any succeeding period for making the triennial returns required by this clause, if made for any person or persons or estate, for whom there shall have been no prior return made, shall be in every particular, as near as circumstances will admit, in like manner as the return in respect to increase for or on account of any person or estate, for whom a former return shall have been made: Provided always, that tenants by parol of any slave or slaves shall not be bound to make the triennial returns required by this clause except as before excepted in the first clause of this act, but all such triennial returns required by this clause, in respect to slaves so held by parol, shall be made as required in respect to the return to be made.
for such slaves on the twenty-eighth day of September, one thousand eight-hundred and seventeen, by the
said first clause of this act: and, in order to avoid as much as possible all irregularities and mistakes in
making such triennial returns as are required by this clause, the receiver-general shall provide, at the
expense of this island, a sufficient number of printed forms, according to the schedule, marked B, hereunto
annexed, to be lodged in convenient time before the twenty-eighth day of June, one hundred and eight
hundred and twenty, and so before the twenty-eighth day of June in every succeeding period of three
years, when such returns are to be made, with the several clerks of the vestries, and which shall be
delivered to all persons applying for the same, at a price not exceeding five pence for each sheet: and the
clerks of the vestries are not to receive any returns of slaves, as by this clause required, unless the same, or
the last sheet of every such lists or returns, if such list or return shall consist of more than one sheet, shall
be made upon one of such printed forms, and each preceding sheet shall contain the same number of
columns and be headed in the same manner, as such printed sheet.

Registers – 1820 (copy-registers)

St Thomas in the Vale – page 185-186 – 2nd Earl of Harewood’s Return of Slaves (Williamsfield) –
extracts/summary

A Return of Slaves in the Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale, in the possession of George Cuthbert and
George William Hamilton as Agents to the Right Honourable the Earl of Harewood, on the Twenty
Eighth day of June in the Year of our Lord 1820 – on 28 June 1817: 151 Males – 175 Females – Total
Manumission – Ann Munro, Mulatto, aged 20 – sworn on 23 September 1820 by George William
Hamilton before George Singer – Received and filed on 26 September 1820 by James S Lane, Clk of
Vestry

Bessy and her family – Increase 3 – Decrease 1

Increase by birth – Edward Clouston, Quadroon, Age 1, son of Eliza Fox (and Edward Clouston)

Increase by birth – Julian Milligan, Mulatto, Age 2, daughter of Ann Balfour

Syke, Negro, Age 1, daughter of Myrtilla since baptized Eleanor March

Decrease by death – Lewis Burrowes, Quadroon, died aged 7 – (son of Eliza Fox)

In 1820 Edward made three Triennial Returns of Slaves

1. St Thomas in the East – page 83-84 – Return of Slaves in the possession of Edward Clouston as
Owner on 28 June 1820 – by last Return 8 slaves – on 28 June 1820 – Total 7 slaves

Decrease 1 by Death – Hamilton, baptized Alick Hamilton

Sworn on 8 September 1820 by Edward Clouston before James Stewart

2. St George – page 442 – Return of Slaves in the possession of Edward Clouston as Attorney to Rev
Alexander Johnston on 28 June 1820 – by last Return 0 slaves – on 28 June 1820 – Total 2 slaves
Increase 2 slaves – Claimed as Inherited from the Estate of the late Doctor Elphinston and given in last Return by George Quinlan as Administrator of the late William Johnston deceased Sworn on 18 September 1820 by Edward Clouston before P. D……….. (illegible)


Increase 2 slaves – Registered (in 1817) by Alexander McRae as Executor to the late Malcolm Scollay deceased – inherited (by Peter Scollay) as Brother and Heir at law to Malcolm Scollay deceased – Decrease 1 slave sold

Sworn on 26 September 1820 by Edward Clouston before William Hewitt

Edward registered a power of attorney from Rev Alexander Johnston at the Island Secretary’s Office in 1820 – Jamaica Island Record Office – Index to Grantees, Records of Powers of Attorney, 1819/20 to 1879/82 – 1820 – Lib 214, Fol 209

Note – other than the Index to Grantees, the Records of Powers of Attorney, 1819/20 to 1879/82, are missing. Also earlier 19th century Records of Powers of Attorney and Indexes are missing.

Rev Alexander Johnston, a son of William Johnston and Mary, nee Brown, was the minister of Monquhitter, Aberdeenshire, from 1776 to 1829. In 1775 he married Jean Elphinston.


Peter Scollay – weaver of Kirkwall, Orkney – was the youngest brother of Malcolm Scollay (died 1815) of Clarendon, Jamaica, and John Scollay of Kingston, Jamaica – see Chapter 9. James Laing’s uncle, Malcolm Laing of Jamaica (died 1781) mentioned John Scollay in his Will – see Chapter 3.

James Laing’s youngest brother Samuel mentioned Peter Scollay in his Autobiography


As long as I can remember anything I remember a thin, standard-like weaver of fine linen, Mr Peter Scollay. Time made little alteration in his figure of dress. He was still in the same decent clothing and was the same spare creature whose clothes seemed too large for his dimensions. He was my father’s nearest [Scollay] relation. The last of the Scollays – of the old Norwegian race of Scula. He was a genealogist so far as to know the cousinships of most of the county gentry with each other, was a leading man at funerals, being himself of kin to many respectable people, and (an author) in matters of kindred. He attended funerals and did honour, if no one else did, to the cake and wine. How he contrived to exist on his little means was inconceivable to me, but he did exist and with great respectability. He was not without the feeling of propriety of a gentleman and, although bred to his father’s trade of a weaver, his grandfather had been a clergyman, (so) he was always looked upon as belonging to the class of gentry. He never walked or associated with tradesmen or working people. A simple primitive resigned man living unheeded is a rare character in these bustling days. Poor even to the verge of want yet uncomplaining and bearing his lot with patience rather than striving to better it. If all the world were of the same turn we should want industry and enterprise but here and there such a character contrasts well with the busy world.
A man who is decidedly poor yet enjoys his forenoon walk by himself, and lives in his poverty as independently and contentedly as the wealthy man, is a curiosity in our money seeking generation.

Shortly after Edward swore Peter Scollay’s Return of Slaves on 26 September, he left Jamaica and on 21 October 1820 he arrived back from St Jago de Cuba (or Santiago de Cuba).

In Tom Cringle’s Log Michael Scott described sailing from Port Royal to Santiago de Cuba

We had to beat up for three days before we could weather the east end of Jamaica, and tearing work we had of it. I had seen bad weather and heavy seas in several quarters of the globe... but the devil such another tumblification had I ever experienced – not as to danger, for there was none except to our spars and rigging, but as to discomfort – as I did in that short, cross, splashing, and boiling sea, off Morant Point. By noon, however, on the second day, having had a slant from the land-wind in the night previous, we got well to windward of the long sandy spit that forms the east end of the island, and were in the act of getting a small pull of the weather braces, before edging a way for St. Jago, when the wind fell suddenly, and in half an hour it was stark calm – “una furiosa calma,” as the Spanish sailors quaintly enough call it.

We got rolling tackles up, and the topgallant-masts down, and studding-sails out of the tops, and lessened the lumber and weight aloft in every way we could think of, but, nevertheless, we continued to roll gunwale under, dipping the main yard-arm into the water every now and then, and setting every thing adrift, below and on deck, that was not bolted down, or otherwise well secured.

When I went down to dinner, the scene was extremely good. Old Yerk, the first lieutenant, was in the chair – one of the boys was jammed at his side, with his claws fastened round the foot of the table, holding
a tureen of boiling pease-soup, with lumps of pork swimming in it, which the aforesaid Yerk was baling forth with great assiduity to his messmates. Hydrostatics were much in vogue—the tendency of fluids to regain their equilibrium (confound them, they have often in the shape of claret destroyed mine) was beautifully illustrated, as the contents of each carefully balanced soup-plate kept swaying about on the principle of the spirit level. The Doctor was croupier, and as it was a return to dinner to the captain, all hands were regularly figged out, the lieutenants, with their epaulets and best coats, and the master, purser, and doctor, all fittingly attired. When I first entered, as I made my obeisance to the captain, I thought I saw an empty seat next to him, but the matter of the soup was rather an engrossing concern, and took up my attention, so that I paid no particular regard to the circumstances; however, when we had all discussed the same, and were drinking our first glass of Teneriffe, I raised my eyes to hob and nob with the master, when—ye gods and little fishes—who should they light on, but the merry phiz—merry, also! no more—of Aaron Bang, Esquire, who, during the soup interlude had slid into the vacant chair unperceived by me.

“Why, Mr Bang, where, in the name of all that is comical, where have you dropped from?” Alas! poor Aaron—Aaron in a rolling sea was of no kindred to Aaron ashore. His rosy gills were no longer rosy—his round plump face seemed to be covered with parchment from an old base-drum, cut out from the centre where most bronzed by the drumstuck—there was no speculation in his eyes that he did glare withal—and his lips, which were usually firm and open, disclosing his nice teeth, in frequent grin, were held together, as if he had been in grievous pain. At length he did venture to open them—and, like the ghost of Hamlet’s father, “it lifted up its head and did address itself to motion, as it would speak.” But they began to quiver, and he once more screwed them together, as if he feared the very exertion of uttering a word or two might unsettle his moniplies.

... But his [Aaron Bang’s] time was up, his minutes were numbered, and like a shot he bolted from the table, skulking or rather clawing away towards the door, by the backs of the chairs, like a green parrot, until he reached the marine at the bottom of the ladder, at the door of the captain’s cabin, round whose neck he immediately fetterlocked his fins.

He had only time to exclaim to his new ally, “My dear fellow, get me some brandy and water, for the love of mercy”—when he blew up, with an explosion like the bursting of a steam-boiler—“Oh dear, oh dear,” we could hear him murmuring in the lulls of his agony—then another loud report—“there goes my yesterday’s supper, hot grog and toasted cheese”—another roar, as if the spirit was leaving its earthly tabernacle—“dinner—claret—Madeira—all cruel bad in a second edition—cheese, teal, and ringtail pigeon—black crabs—calapi and turtle-soup”—as his fleshly indulgences of the previous day rose up in judgment against him, like a man’s evil deeds on his death-bed. At length the various strata of his interior were entirely evacuated—“Ah! I have got to my breakfast—to the simple tea and toast at last. Brandy and hot water, my dear Transom, brandy and water my darling, hot, without sugar”—and—“Brandy and water” died in echoes in the distance as he was stowed away into his cot in the captain’s cabin. It seems that it had been arranged between him and Transom that he was to set off for St Thomas in the East, the morning on which we sailed, and to get a shove out in the pilot-boat schooner, from Morant Bay, to join us for the cruise; and accordingly he had come on board the night previous when I was below, and being somewhat qualmish he had wisely kept his cot; the fun of the thing depending, as it seemed, on all hands carefully keeping it from me that he was on board.

Next morning we got the breeze again, when we bore away for Santiago de Cuba, and arrived off the Moro Castle on the fifth evening at sunset, after leaving Port Royal harbour... During the night we stood off and on under easy sail, and next morning, when the day broke, with a strong breeze and a fresh shower, we were about two miles off the Moro Castle, at the entrance of Santiago de Cuba.

I went aloft to look around me. The sea-breeze blew strong, until it reached within half a mile of the shore, where it stopped short, shooting into the smooth belt of water beyond, where the long unbroken swell rolled like molten silver in the rising sun, without a ripple on its surface, until it dashed its gigantic undulations against the face of the precipitous cliffs on the shore, and flew up in smoke. The entrance to the harbour is very narrow, and looked from my perch like a zigzag chasm in the rock, inlaid at the bottom with polished blue steel; so clear, and calm, and pellucid was the still water, wherein the frowning rocks, and magnificent trees on the banks, and the white Moro, rising with its grinning tiers of cannon, battery above battery, were reflected veluti in speculum, as if it had been in a mirror.
https://archive.org/details/cubapastpresent00verr – Cuba Past and Present, by A Hyatt Verrill, published 1914 – Entrance to Santiago Harbour

www.loc.gov/item/73691504 – created/published ?1765 – A Sketch of the harbour of St Iago de Cuba
We had shortened sail, and fired a gun, and the signal for a pilot was flying, when the captain hailed me. “Does the sea-breeze blow into the harbour yet, Mr. Cringle?”

“Not yet, sir; but it is creeping in fast.”

“Very well. Let me know when we can run in. Mr. Yerk, back the main-topsail, and heave the ship to.”

Presently the pilot canoe, with the Spanish flag flying in the stern, came alongside; and the pilot, a tall brown man, a Moreno (Mulatto), as the Spaniards say, came on board. He wore a glazed cocked hat, rather an out-of-the way finish to his figure, which was rigged in a simple Osnabrug shirt, and pair of trowsers. He came on the quarter-deck, and made his bow to the captain with all the ease in the world, wished him a good morning, and taking his place by the quarter-master at the conn, he took charge of the ship. “Señor,” quoth he to me, “is de harbour blow up ye t? I mean, you see de viento walking into him? – de terral – dat is land-wind – has he cease?”

“No,” I answered; “the belt of smooth water is growing narrower fast; but the sea-breeze does not blow into the channel yet. Now it has reached the entrance.”

“Ah, den make sail, Señor Capitan; fill de main-topsail.” We stood in, the scene becoming more and more magnificent as we approached the land.

The fresh green shores of this glorious island lay before us, fringed with white surf, as the everlasting ocean in its approach to it gradually changed its dark blue colour, as the water shoaled, into a bright joyous green under the blazing sun, as if in sympathy with the genius of the fair land, before it tumbled at his feet its gently swelling billows in shaking thunders on the reefs and rocky face of the coast, against which they were driven up in clouds, the incense of their sacrifice. The undulating hills in the vicinity were all, either cleared, and covered with the greenest verdure that imagination can picture, over which strayed large herds of cattle, or with forests of gigantic trees, from among which, every now and then, peeped out some palm-thatched mountain settlement, with its small thread of blue smoke floating up into the calm clear morning air, while the blue hills in the distance rose higher and higher, and more and more blue, and dreamy, and indistinct, until their rugged summits could not be distinguished from the clouds through the glimmering hot haze of the tropics.

“By the mark seven,” sung out the leadsman in the starboard chains. – “Quarter less three,” responded he in the larboard, showing that the inequalities of the surface at the bottom of the sea, even in the breadth of the ship, were at least as abrupt as those presented above water by the sides of the natural canal into which we were now running. By this time, on our right hand, we were within pistol-shot of the Moro, where the channel is not above fifty yards across; indeed there is a chain, made fast to a rock on the opposite side, that can be hove up by a capstan until it is level with the water, so as to constitute an insurmountable obstacle to any attempt to force an entrance in time of war. As we stood in, the golden flag of Spain rose slowly on the staff at the Water Battery, and cast its large sleepy folds abroad in the breeze; but, instead of floating over mail-clad men, or Spanish soldiers in warlike array, three poor devils of half-naked mulattoes stuck their heads out of an embrasure under its shadow. “Señor Capitán,” they shouted, “una Botella de Roma, por el honor del pais.” We were mighty close upon leaving the bones of the old ship here, by the by; for at the very instant that of entering the harbour’s mouth, the land-wind checked us off, and very nearly hove us broad-side on upon the rocks below the castle, against which the swell was breaking in thunder.

“Let go the anchor,” sung out the captain.

“All gone, sir,” promptly responded the boatswain from the forecastle. And as he spoke, we struck once, twice, and very heavily the third time. But the breeze coming in strong, we fetched way again; and as the cable was promptly cut, we got safely off. However, on weighing the anchor afterwards, we found the water had been so shoal under the bows, that the ship, when she stranded, had struck it, and broken the stock short off by the ring. The only laughable part of the story consisted in the old cook, an Irishman, with one leg and half an eye, scrambling out of the galley nearly naked, in his trousers, shirt, and greasy nightcap, and sprawling on all fours after two tubs-full of yams, which the third thump had capsized all over the deck. “Oh you scurvy-looking tief,” said he, eyeing the pilot; “if it was running us ashore you were set on, why the blazes couldn’t ye wait until the yams were in the copper, bad luck to ye – and them all scraped too! I do believe, if they even had been tatties, it would have been all the same to you.” We stood on, the channel narrowing still more – the rocks rising to a height of at least five hundred feet from the water's edge, as sharply and precipitously as if they had only yesterday been split asunder; the
splintered projections and pinnacles on one side having each their corresponding fissures and indentations on the other, as if the hand of a giant could have closed them together again.

Noble trees shot out in all directions wherever they could find a little earth and a crevice to hold on by, almost meeting overhead in several places, and alive with all kinds of birds and beasts incidental to the climate; parrots of all sorts, great and small, **clomb**, and hung, and fluttered among the branches; and pigeons of numberless varieties; and the glancing woodpecker, with his small hammerlike **tap, tap, tap**; and the West India nightingale, and humming-birds of all hues; parrots of all sorts, great and small, **clomb**, and hung, and fluttered among the branches; and pigeons of numberless varieties; and the glancing woodpecker, with his small hammerlike **tap, tap, tap**; and the West India nightingale, and humming-birds of all hues; while cranes, black, white, and grey, frightened from their fishing-stations, stalked and peeped about, as awkwardly as a warrant-officer in his long-skirted coat on a Sunday; while whole flocks of ducks flew across the mast-heads and through the rigging; and the dragon-like guanas, and lizards of many kinds, disported themselves among the branches, not lazily or loathsomely, as we, who have only seen a lizard in our cold climate, are apt to picture, but alert, and quick as lightning, their colours changing with the changing light or the hues of the objects to which they clung, becoming literally in one respect portions of the landscape.

And then the dark, transparent crystal depth of the pure waters under foot, reflecting all nature so steadily and distinctly, that in the hollows, where the overhanging foliage of the laurel-like bushes darkened the scene, you could not for your life tell where the elements met, so blended were earth and sea.

“Starboard,” said I. I had now come on deck. “Starboard, or the main-topgallant-masthead will be foul of the limb of that tree. Foretop, there – lie out on the larboard fore-yardarm, and be ready to shove her off, if she sheers too close.”

“Let go the anchor,” struck in the first lieutenant.

“Now here are we brought up in paradise,” quoth the doctor.

“Curukity coo – curukity coo,” sung out a great bushy-whiskered sailor from the crows' nest, who turned out to be no other than our old friend Timothy Tailtacke, quite juvenilified by the laughing scene. “Here am I Jack, a booby among the singing-birds,” crowed he to one of his messmates in the maintop, as he clutched a branch of a tree in his hand, and swung himself up into it. But the ship, as Old Nick would have it, at the very instant dropped astern a few yards in swinging to her anchor, and that so suddenly, that she left him on his perch in the tree, converting his jest, poor fellow, into melancholy earnest. “Oh Lord, sir!” sung out Timotheus in a great quandary. “Captain, do heave ahead a bit – Murder – I shall never get down again! Do, Mr. Yerk, if you please, sir!” And there he sat twisting and craning himself about, and screwing his features into combinations evincing the most comical perplexity.

The captain, by way of a bit of fun, pretended not to hear him.

We were mighty close upon leaving the bones of the old ship here, by the by; for at the very instant of entering the harbour's mouth, the land-wind checked us off, and very nearly hove us broadside upon the rocks below the castle, against which the swell was breaking in thunder.

“Maintop, there,” quoth he.

The midshipman in the top answered him, “Ay, ay, sir.”

“Not you, Mr. Reefpoint; the captain of the top I want.”

“He is not in the top, sir,” responded little Reefpoint, chuckling like to choke himself.

“Where the devil is he, sir?”

“Here, sir,” squealed Timothy, his usual gruff voice spindling in to a small cheep through his great perplexity. “Here, sir.”

“What are you doing there, sir? Come down this moment, sir. Rig out the main-topmast-studding-sailboom, Mr. Reefpoint, and tell him to slew himself down by that long water-withe.”

To hear was to obey. Poor Timothy clambered down to the fork of the tree, from which the withe depended, and immediately began to warp himself down, until he reached within three or four yards of the starboard fore-topsail-yardarm; but the corvette still dropped astern, so that, after a vain attempt to hook on by his feet, he swung off into mid air, hanging by his hands.

It was no longer a joke. “Here, you black fellows in the pilot canoe,” shouted the captain, as he threw them a rope himself. “Pass the end of that line round the stump yonder – that one below the cliff, there – now pull like devils, pull.”

They did not understand a word he said; but, comprehending his gestures, did what he wished.

“Now haul on the line, men – gently, that will do. Missed it again,” continued the skipper, as the poor fellow once more made a fruitless attempt to swing himself on to the yard.
“Pay out the warp again,” sung out Tailtackle—“quick, quick, let the ship swing from under, and leave me scope to dive, or I shall be obliged to let go, and be killed on the deck.”

“God bless me, yes,” said Transom, “stick out the warp, let her swing to her anchor.”

In an instant all eyes were again fastened with intense anxiety on the poor fellow, whose strength was fast failing, and his grasp plainly relaxing.


Tom Cringle’s Log – page 256-282 – extracts continued

“See all clear to pick me up, messmates.”

Tailtackle slipped down to the extreme end of the black withe, that looked like a scorched snake, pressed his legs close together, pointing his toes downwards, and then steadying himself for a moment, with his hands right above his head, and his arms at the full stretch, he dropped, struck the water fairly, entering its dark blue depths without a splash, and instantly disappeared, leaving a white frothy mark on the surface.

“Did you ever see anything better done?” said Yerk. “Why he clipped into the water with the speed of light, as clean and clear as if he had been a marlinspike.”

“Thank Heaven!” gasped the captain; for if he had struck the water horizontally, or fallen headlong, he would have been shattered in pieces—every bone would have been broken—he would have been as completely smashed as if he had dropped upon one of the limestone rocks on the iron-bound shore.

“Ship, ahoy!” We were all breathlessly looking over the side where he fell, expecting to see him rise again; but the hail came from the water on t’other side. “Ship, ahoy—throw me a rope, good people—a rope if you please. Do you mean to careen the ship, that you have all run to the starboard side, leaving me to be drowned to port here?”

“Ah, Tailtackle! well done, old boy,” sung out a volley of voices, men and officers, rejoiced to see the honest fellow alive. He clambered on board, in the bight of one of twenty ropes that were hove to him.

When he came on deck the captain slyly said, “I don’t think you’ll go a birdnesting in a hurry again, Tailtackle.”

Tim looked with a most quizzical expression at his captain, all blue and breathless and dripping as he was; and then sticking his tongue slightly in his cheek, he turned away, without addressing him directly, but murmuring as he went, “A glass of grog now.”

The captain, with whom he was a favourite, took the hint. “Go below now, and turn in till eight bells, Tailtackle. Mafame,” to the steward, “send him a glass of hot brandy grog.”

“A northwester,” whispered Tim aside to the functionary; “half and half, tallow-chops—eh!”

“Ready with the gun forward there, Mr. Catwell?” said Yerk. “All ready, sir.”

“Fire!”
Pent up as we were in a narrow channel, walled in on each side with towering precipitous rocks, the explosion, multiplied by the echoes into a whole broadside, was tremendous, and absolutely deafening.

The cold, grey, threatening rocks, and the large over-hanging twisted branches of the trees, and the clear black water, and the white Moro in the distance, glanced for an instant, and then all was again veiled in utter darkness, and down came a rattling shower of sand and stones from the cliffs, and of rotten branches, and heavy dew from the trees, sparkling in the water like a shower of diamonds; and the birds of the air screamed, and, frightened from their nests and perches in crevices, and on the boughs of the trees, took flight with a strong rushing noise, that put one in mind of the rising of the fallen angels from the infernal council in Paradise Lost; and the cattle on the mountain-side lowed, and the fish, large and small, like darts and arrows of fire, sparkled up from the black abyss of waters, and swam in haloes of flame round the ship in every direction, as if they had been the ghosts of a shipwrecked crew, haunting the scene of their destruction; and the guanas and large lizards which had been shaken from the trees, skimmed and struggled on the surface in glances of fire, like evil spirits watching to seize them as their prey. At length the screaming and shrieking of the birds, the clang of their wings, and the bellowing of the cattle, ceased; and the startled fish subsided slowly down into the oozy caverns of the sea, and, becoming motionless, disappeared; and all was again black and undistinguishable, the deathlike silence being only broken by the hoarse murmuring of the distant surf.

“Magnificent!” burst from the captain. “Messenger, send Mr. Portfire here. “The gunpowder functionary, he of the flannel cartridge, appeared. “Gunner, send one of your mates into the maintop, and let him burn a blue light.”


Tom Cringle’s Log – page 256-282 – extracts continued

The lurid glare blazed up balefully among the spars and rigging, lighting up the decks, and blasting the crew into the likeness of the host of Sennacherib, when the day broke on them, and they were all dead corpses. Astern of us, indistinct from the distance, the white Moro Castle reappeared, and rose frowning,
tier above tier, like a Tower of Babel, with its summit veiled in the clouds, and the startled sea-fowl wheeling above the higher batteries, like snow-flakes blown about in a storm; while, near at hand, the rocks on each side of us looked as if fresh splintered asunder, with the sulphureous flames which had split them still burning; the trees looked no longer green, but were sicklied o’er with a pale ashy colour, as if sheeted ghosts were holding their midnight orgies among their branches – cranes, and waterfowl, and birds of many kinds, and the insect and reptile tribes, their gaudy noontide colours merged into one and the same fearful deathlike sameness, flitted and sailed and circled above us, and chattered, and shrieked; and the unearthly-looking guanas, and numberless creeping things, ran out of the boughs to peer at us, and a large snake twined itself up a scathed stump that shot out from a shattered pinnacle of rock that overhung us, with its glossy skin, glancing like the brazen serpent set up by Moses in the camp of the Israelites; and the cattle on the beetling summit of the cliff craned over the precipitous ledge to look down upon us; and while everything around us and above us was thus glancing in the blue and ghastly radiance, the band struck up a low moaning air; the light burned out, and once more we were cast, by the contrast, into even more palpable darkness than before. I was entranced, and stood with folded arms, looking forth into the night, and musing intensely on the appalling scene which had just vanished like a feverish dream – “Dinner waits, sir,” quoth Mafame.

“Oh! I am coming;” and kicking all my romance to Old Nick, I descended, and we had a pleasant night of it, and some wine and some fun, and there an end – but I have often dreamed of that dark pool, and the scenes I witnessed that day and night

William H Meyers Diary, 1838-39 – View of St Jago de Cuba from Powder House Island

The next morning after breakfast I proceeded to Santiago, and landed at the custom-house wharf, where I found every thing bustle, dust, and heat; several of the captains of the English vessels were there, who immediately made up to me, and reported how far advanced in their lading they were, and inquired when we were to give them convoy, the latest news from Kingston, &c. At length I saw our friend Ricardo Campana going along one of the neighbouring streets, and I immediately made sail in chase. He at once recognized me, gave me a cordial shake of the hand, and inquired how he could serve me. I produced two letters which I had brought for him, but which had been forgotten in the bustle of the preceding day; they were introductory, and although sealed, I had some reason to conjecture that my
friend, Mr. Pepperpot Wagtail, had done me much more than justice. Campana, with great kindness, immediately invited me to his house. “We foreigners,” said he, “don’t keep your hours; I am just going home to breakfast.” It was past eleven in the forenoon. I was about excusing myself on the plea of having already breakfasted, when he silenced me. “Why I guessed as much, Mr. Lieutenant, but then you have not lunched; so you can call it lunch, you know, if it will ease your conscience.” There was no saying nay to all this civility, so we stumped along the burning streets, through a mile of houses, large massive buildings, but very different in externals from the gay domiciles of Kingston. Aaron Bang afterwards used to say that they looked more like prisons than dwelling-houses, and he was not in this very much out. Most of them were built of brick and plastered over, with large windows, in front of each of which, like the houses in the south of Spain, there was erected a large heavy wooden balcony, projecting far enough from the wall to allow a Spanish chair, such as I have already described, to be placed in it. The front of these verandahs was closed in with a row of heavy balustrades at the bottom, of a variety of shapes, and by clumsy carved woodwork above, which effectually prevented you from seeing into the interior. The whole had a Moorish air, and in the upper part of the town there was a Sabbath-like stillness prevailing, which was only broken now and then by the tinkle of a guitar from one of the aforesaid verandahs, or by the rattling of a crazy volante, a sort of covered gig, drawn by a broken-kneed and broken-winded mule, with a kiln-dried old Spaniard or dona in it.

https://archive.org/details/historyofcubaorn00balluoft – ‘History of Cuba; or Notes of a Traveller in the Tropics... by Maturin M Ballou, published 1854 – Characteristic Street Scene

J Stewart wrote that American flour and lumber were imported into Jamaica from St Jago de Cuba.

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ME88RWLP90oC&source=gbs_navlinks_s – A View of the Past and Present State of the Island of Jamaica... by J Stewart, late of Jamaica, published 1823 – page 122-124

It has been the policy of Great Britain to shut the ports of her colonial possessions to all flags but her own – with such exceptions only as necessity or expediency dictated, – with a view of possessing herself of the carrying trade, directing their products into her market, and supplying them with her manufactures. Among the deviations from this policy was the permission granted to the West India islands to draw provisions and lumber from the United States, imported in either British or American bottoms, for which they gave rum, molasses, &c in return.* This trade was at all times highly beneficial to the islands, because they were supplied by it with articles of which they were perpetually and unavoidably in want, and found in it a ready and profitable vent for some of their own produce. But these products having fallen to ruinously low prices in the British and British North American markets (the only ones to which the islands had for a long time access), the renewal of intercourse was owing, first, to the refusal, on the part of Great Britain, to allow this trade to be carried on in any other than her own bottoms; and, secondly,
to the refusal of the United States to permit it on any other principle than that of a perfect reciprocity of advantages. The former was right in endeavouring to obtain for herself, if she could, the whole of the carrying trade in the proposed intercourse; the latter acted naturally and rationally in rejecting a proposition so incompatible with the principles on which two independent states ought to carry on a commercial intercourse. As a remedy for this disagreement of opinion, it was proposed by the British, that a port of entrepot should be established, into which the Americans should bring their cargoes, and take from thence West Indian produce brought hither in British bottoms; and New Providence [Bahamas] was named as being the most central and convenient. But this proposal the Americans likewise refused to accede to. They said, that, by such an arrangement, a vast disproportion of the carrying trade would be thrown into the hands of the British. Nevertheless, considerable quantities of American flour and lumber found their way thither and into other ports, and were thence exported to the West Indies; and St Jago de Cuba, in the island of Cuba, became also a medium for conveying these articles to Jamaica. But this did not relieve the planters; the merchants by whom this trade was carried on charged considerable profits on those articles, and thus was the cost greatly enhanced to them, and they had not a sufficient vent for their rum and molasses. What the planters required – and which has since been granted by the British government – was permission to the Americans to bring their provisions and lumber direct to the islands, where they might be obtained at a moderate rate, in exchange for rum, molasses, &c at the island current prices.†

*Permission, under the free-port act, is also given to Spanish vessels of a certain description, to import into Jamaica articles the growth and produce of their American and West Indian possessions.

†The renewal of the intercourse between the islands and the United States has not, it seems, been productive of all the good the planters expected from it. The Americans want money, not rum, for their commodities, and the planters have no money to give them.

Below – provisions, lumber, etc imported into Kingston with the entries at the Custom House in September 1816.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 28 Sep 1816, page PS 19

An Account of Provisions, Lumber, &c imported into Kingston, commencing with the entries at the Custom-House on the 8th inst.

In the schooner Delight, from Philadelphia: - 418 bbls Cornmeal; 100 half ditto Flour; 100 kegs Crackers; 20,000 Shingles; 44 taires Rice.

In the sloop Diana, from St Lucia: - 133 hhds Claret, 271 cases ditto, and 4 half casks White Wine.

In the schooner Lavinia, from Charleston, 30 tieres and 15 half ditto Rice, and 55,000 Shingles.

In the schooner Victory, from the Spanish Main: - 30 tons Nicaragua Wood, and 5 Horses.

In the brig Florida, from Philadelphia: - 674 bbls Cornmeal; 281 bbls and 51 half ditto Flour; 25,000 Shingles.

In the sloop Stoakesfield, from London:- 253 cases trunks and casks Merchandise; 20 baskets Cheese; 1 Copper Tache; 18 bars Cast Iron; 2 bundles Truss Hoops; 12 kegs Paint; 6 jugs Oil; 5 tons and 83 galls Beer.

In the schooner Betsey, from Santa Martha; - 49 bales Cotton, 20 Hogs, and 1 Horse.

In the snow Wellington, from Philadelphia: - 1132 bbls Cornmeal; 100 ditto Flour; 8 ditto Rye; 29,450 Shingles, and 100 bbls Flour.

In the schooner Spring, from ditto: - 20 tieres and 4 half ditto Rice; 250 bbls Flour; 101 ditto Cornmeal; 65 bbls and 50 half ditto Bread; and 1000 Red Oak Staves.

In the brig Tinly, from Wilmington: - 107,229 feet Lumber: 124 pieces Timber; 37,900 Red Oak Staves; 342,525 Cypress Shingles; and 24 Spars.

In the brig Alpha, from Philadelphia: - 1100 bbls Flour; 796 ditto Cornmeal; 25 half bbls and 50 kegs Crackers; 3790 Staves; 28,900 Shingles; 25,900 feet Whetpine Boards; and 90 Sheep.

In the brigantine Glatton, from Norfolk: - 200 bbls Flour; 200 bags peas; 30,300 White Oak Staves; 12,800 Headings; 92,400 Red Oak Staves; and 155,900 Shingles.

In the schooner Amelia, from Chagres: - 296 seroons Cocoa, and 27 boxes Bark.
In the brigantine Decouverte, from the Indian Coast: - 73 Horses; 20 Horned Cattle; and 16 Asses.
In the brig Sir John Sherbrooke, from Greenock: - 861 boxes, 103 trunks, 22 bales Dry Goods; 180 kegs Paint; 739 bars Iron; 4 Iron Axles; 97 coils Rope; sundry Plantation Stores; 1 tun of Ale.
In the sloop Samuel, from the Indian Coast: - 227 pieces Fustic, and 12 Hogs.
In the schooner Fan Fan, from New-Orleans: - 250 bbls Flour; 64 ditto Cornmeal; 13,500 Shingles; 3 bags Rice.
In the schooner George, from the Spanish Main; - 120 Mules; 10 Asses; 30 Sheep; 2 Horses.
In the schooner Esperanza, from Santo Domingo: - 118 bags Rice, 3 ditto Corn, and 6 tons Logwood.
In the schooner Elizabeth, from ditto: - 116 head of Cattle, and 25 logs of Mahogany.
In the schooner Caridad, from St Jago de Cuba: - 350 bushels of Corn.
In the schooner Antonio, from Monte-Christo: - 99 Cattle, 12 Goats, 10 Hogs, and 32 Seroons Tobacco.
In the schooner San Miguel, from Santo Domingo: - 23 Horned Cattle, and 300 bushels of Garlic.
In the brig Lowland Lass, from Quebec: - 22 bbls Salmon; 19,016 puncheons Packs; 66,008 Staves and Headings; 68 packs Shingles; 4 bbls Essence of Spruce; 30 pipes and 1 hhd Teneriffe Wine; and 24 Spars.
In the Sloop Maggy Lauder, from San Blas: - 12,000 lbs Tortoiseshell; 800 lbs Sarsaparilla; and 1000 lbs Cocoa.
In the schooner Pam be Civil, from Halifax: - 103 hhds 18 bbls and 53 boxes dry Fish; and 25 bbls Mackerel.

In Foreign Vessels.
In the schooner Felicidad, from Porto-Cavelo: - 358 bales Cotton, and 27 seroons Indigo.
In the schooner N S del Rosario, from Santo Domingo: - 30 Horned Cattle.
In the schooner Esperanza, from Santo Domingo: - 118 bags Rice, 3 bags Corn, and 6 tons Logwood.
In the schooner Flecha, from Campeachy: - 224 bags Rice, and 20 tons Logwood.
In the schooner San Antonio, from Monte-Christo: - 59 head Cattle; 18 Hogs; and 6 seroons Spanish Tobacco.
In the schooner Clara, from Santo Domingo: 150 bbls Corn; 55 ditto Rice; and 4 tons Logwood.

http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/12653.html – John Lynn – 1834 – off Port Royal – A Bermudian Schooner – in the foreground the fishermen have caught a turtle
Edward arrived at Port Royal in the Schooner Delight from St Jago de Cuba on 21 October 1820.

The Schooner Delight, Gilbert, sailed from Port Royal for St Jago de Cuba on 5 October 1820 – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 7 Oct 1821, page PS 17 – no passengers sailing in the Delight were listed.


The Schooner Delight was consigned to Messrs Thomas Higson and Co.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 21 Oct 1820 – page PS 18
Thomas Higson (1773-1836) –

http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/b/Barche08.htm – Monumental Inscriptions –

Kingston Parish Churchyard, continued – Sacred to the memory of Thomas Higson, Esquire who was for many years a Merchant of this City, & for some time Island Botanist


James Hakewill drew his view of Kingston and Port Royal (see below) from Windsor Farm – ‘the residence of Thomas Higson’.

https://openlibrary.org/search?title=Jamaica&author=Hakewill – A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica from drawings made in the years 1820 and 1821, by James Hakewill, published 1825

The city of Kingston was founded in the year 1693. The plan of it was drawn by Colonel Lilly, an experienced engineer, and in propriety of design it is perhaps not excelled by any town in the world. The plan is a parallelogram, one mile in length by half a mile in breadth, traversed regularly by streets and lanes, alternately crossing each other at right angles, except in the upper part of the town, where a large square is left – but the buildings have not spread much beyond the boundary of the original plans.

The harbour is formed by an inlet of the sea, which after passing Port Royal, divides into two branches: the western, flowing to Passage Fort and the mouth of the Rio Cobre, forms a small bay of shallow water; the eastern branch runs beyond Kingston to Rock Fort, making a course this way of nine miles in length, and in the broadest part, facing which the town is situated, of two miles in breadth. For a considerable way above and below the town, the channel is deep enough to admit ships of the greatest burthen; a thousand sail may anchor here in perfect safety, and the water is so deep at the wharfs, that vessels of 200 tons lie alongside to deliver their cargoes. At the bottom of the town, near the water-side, is the market-place, which is plentifully supplied with butcher’s meat, poultry, fish, and vegetables. The latter are brought from the Liguanea mountains, and are excellent; the beef is chiefly from the pastures of Pedros, in St Ann; the mutton from the salt-pan lands in St Catherine. The square before-mentioned, at the upper end of the town, is more generally called the Parade. On the south side, forming the N. W. angle of King Street, is the parish church, a plain convenient brick structure, but without any pretensions to architectural beauty; on the north side are the barracks and theatre: the former accommodates about 400 men; the latter will contain about 700 persons; it belongs to the public, and the performers pay into the public funds ten pounds for every night of performance. But the handsomest building in Kingston is the Scotch Church in Duke Street, which was erected about the year 1814 [opened 1819] by a public subscription, from a plan of James Delancy, Esq. It is of an octagon figure, extending eighty-six feet nine inches in the clear, from east to west, and sixty-two feet seven inches from north to south, having four entrances, east, west, north and south, with a portico over each entrance. It is calculated to hold 1,000 persons. The number of houses paying tax in Kingston are about 1,300; of the untaxed it is difficult to obtain the precise number, but they may be stated at between three and four hundred.

In 1802 the royal assent was given to the act for constituting Kingston a corporation, under the name of the Mayor, Alderman, and Commonalty of the City and Parish of Kingston.

PORT ROYAL

Is situated on the point of a peninsular [sic], or narrow neck of land, called the Palisadoe, which projecting from the main land about eight miles and three quarters, forms a barrier to the harbour of Kingston against the sea.

The foundation of it was laid by General Brayne in 1757 . . . In 1692 it contained upwards of three thousand five hundred inhabitants; the greater number of the houses were of brick several stories in height, founded close to the very brink of the water, on a loose bank of land. The fort, which mounted sixty pieces of cannon, and the rest of the houses, were built on the rocky part of the peninsula. On 7th of June 1692, between eleven and twelve o’clock at noon, began that terrible earthquake, which in two minutes produced such a scene of devastation. All the principal streets which were next the water sunk at once,
with the people in them; a high rolling sea followed, closing immediately over them. Not less than sixteen hundred were thus swallowed up. Some of the streets were laid several fathoms under water, and it stood so high as the upper rooms of those that remained. It is computed that about two thousand whites and negroes perished; the harbour had all the appearance of agitation as in a storm; and the huge waves rolled with such violence, as to snap the cables of the ships, drive some from the anchors, and overset others.

But the great advantage of the situation again attracted inhabitants, and by degrees, as the popular fears subsided, the town increased in buildings and inhabitants (though far short of its former state) till 1703, when it was destroyed a second time, by fire. This ruinous accident caused another desertion to Kingston, which thus began to thrive by the decline of her elder sister... But what the earthquake and conflagration had spared was nearly demolished by a violent hurricane, which happened on the 28th August 1722...

The view is taken from Windsor Farm, the residence of Thomas Higson, Esq, and embraces a part of Kingston, the harbour, Port Royal, and the mountains of St Catherine.

Below – Cynric R Williams’ 1823 description of Kingston

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=HZBUAAAACAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – A Tour through the Island of Jamaica from the Western to the Eastern End in the year 1823, by Cynric R Williams – published 1826 – page 221-224 – extracts

This town is most beautifully situated on the edge of the harbour, from which the land rises to the north, until it terminates at the Blue Mountain Peak. The streets, or rather roads, for there is no pavement, are wide and spacious, and in many places you may walk under piazzas for a length of way, although few white persons walk about the town, except in Port Royal Street, or Harbour Street, which are the general resort of men of business, being composed of stores and counting houses; a top chaise is the convenient vehicle, that is, a gig, with an awning of leather to keep off the sun's rays, which are really intolerable from mid-day to three o'clock in the afternoon. I have got one side of my face dyed purple, by standing uncovered in the sun for not more than a minute, and that at seven o'clock in the morning... There is a very handsome church, and a noble parade, hotter than any other place in the island. The neighbouring
country is thronged with pretty villas, which are called pens, the residences of the merchants and shop-keepers, who pass the day in their stores, and resort to them as soon as business is over. The harbour is immense, and entirely land-locked, except at the entrance by Port Royal, where there are two forts to protect: it, one on the neck of the sand where Port Royal stands, the other called the Apostle's Battery, on the main land. Port Royal is now but an insignificant place; earthquakes and fires and hurricanes have brought it to this pass . . .

The natives here have wherries to cross the harbour to Port Royal; pretty boats that carry two sails: the harbour itself is notorious for sharks. The view from Port Royal towards Kingston is magnificent in the extreme; one cannot but regret that a country, which in beauty and luxuriance equals our ideas of Paradise, should have a climate certainly hostile to John Bull and his family; but I forget again that the sea-shore is the only hostile part. That blue mountain before me, soaring into the cloudless heaven, is the abode of health if not of wealth . . .

James Edward Alexander, arriving at Port Royal in 1831, wrote – ‘we saw a mosquito fleet of wherries and schooner-rigged canoes bearing down upon us from Kingston’.
than on several voyages crossing the Atlantic. The canoe carried a heavy press of sail, the sea washed into us – the sea-breeze was very strong – the crew belayed the sheet, negro fashion, and the gaf top-sail – fins of blue sharks might be seen cutting the wave near us; the hands sat on the weather-gunwale, and after several lurches we “brought up” at a wooden wharf in Kingston.

In walking through the long, straight, dusty, and hot streets of Lower Kingston, I remarked that the houses were two-storied, with verandahs “aloft and alow,” and numerous stores, on the doors of which was written in chalk, “Oats on sale, herrings, &c.” to show that fresh supplies had just arrived. A crowd of negro boys ran past, dragging along by a string, with great shouting and cruelty, an unfortunate guana; it turned and gaped at them like a young crocodile, when the cowards took to their heels. I took shelter from the heat (90º) and stifling dust in the comfortable lodgings of Madam Sabut, who had two buxom and lively daughters.

_A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica from drawings made in the years 1820 and 1821, by James Hakewill, published 1825 – Harbour Street, Kingston_

Michael Scott described looking down on Kingston from the Liguanea range


The beautiful cottage where we were sojourning was situated about three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and half way up the great prong of the Blue Mountains, known by the name of the Liguanea range, which rises behind, and overhangs the city of Kingston . . .

Immediately underfoot rose several lower ranges of mountains – those nearest us, covered with laurel-looking coffee-bushes, interspersed with negro villages hanging amongst the fruit-trees like clusters of birds’ nests on the hill-side, with a bright green patch of plantain suckers here and there, and a white painted overseer’s house peeping from out the wood, and herds of cattle in the Guinea-grass pieces. Beyond these, stretched out the lovely plain of Liguanea, covered with luxuriant cane-pieces, and groups
of negro houses, and Guinea-grass pastures of even a deeper green than that of the canes; and small towns of sugar-works rose every here and there, with their threads of white smoke floating up into the clear sky, while, as the plain receded, the cultivation disappeared, and it gradually became sterile, hot, and sandy, until the Long Mountain hove its back like a whale from out the sea-like level of the plain; while to the right of it appeared the city of Kingston, like a model, with its parade, or *place d’armes*, in the centre, from which its long lines of hot sandy streets stretched out at right angles, with the military post of Uppark camp, situated about a mile and a half to the northward and eastward of the town. Through a tolerably good glass, the churchspire looked like a needle, the trees about the houses like bushes, the tall cocoa-nut trees like harebells; a slow crawling black speck here and there denoted a carriage moving along, while wagons, and their teams of eighteen and twenty oxen, looked like so many centipedes...

The cloud rolled onward from the east, and spread out, and out, as it sailed in from seaward, and on, and on, until it gradually covered the whole scene from our view (shipping, and harbour, and town, and camp, and sugar estates,) boiling and rolling in black eddies under our feet. Anon the thunder began to grumble, and the zigzag lightning to fork out from one dark mass into another, while where we sat, was bright and smiling under the unclouded noon-day sun. This continued for half an hour, when at length the sombre appearance of the clouds below us brightened into a sea of white fleecy vapour like wool, which gradually broke away into detached masses, discovering another layer of still thinner vapour underneath, which again parted, disclosing through the interstices a fresh gauze-like veil of transparent mist, through which the lower ranges of hills, and the sugar estates, and the town and shipping, were once more dimly visible; but this in turn vanished, and the clouds, attracted by the hills, floated away, and hung around them in festoons, and gradually rose and rose until presently we were enveloped in mist...

*My photo, November 2011 – from the top floor of the Courtleigh Hotel, New Kingston, looking towards the Liguanea range*

*Tom Cringle’s Log – page 507-510 – extracts*

... Next day it was agreed that we should all return to Kingston, and the day after that, we proceeded to Mr Bang’s pen, on the Spanish Town road, as a sort of half-way house, or stepping-stone to his beautiful residence in St Thomas in the Vale, where we were all invited to spend a fortnight...

Next morning, we set out in earnest on our travels for St Thomas in the Vale, in two of our friend Bang’s gigs and my aunt’s ketureen, laden with her black maiden and a lot of bandboxes, while two mounted servants brought up the rear, and my old friend Jupiter, who had descended, not from the clouds,
but from the excellent Mr Fyall [Francis Graham], who was by this time gathered to his fathers, to Massa Aaron, rode a musket-shot a-head of the convoy to clear away, or give notice of any impediments, of wagons or carts, or droves of cattle, that might be meeting us.

After driving five miles or so, we reached the seat of government, Spanish Town. Here we stopped at the speaker’s house – by the way, one of the handsomest and most agreeable men I ever saw – intending to proceed in the afternoon to our destination. But the rain in the forenoon fell so heavily, that we had to delay our journey until next morning . . .

At length, at grey-dawn the next day, as the report of the morning gun came booming along the level plain from Port-Royal, we weighed and finally started on our cruise. As we drove up towards St Thomas in the Vale, from Spanish Town, along the hot sandy road, the plain gradually roughened into small rocky eminences, covered with patches of bushes here and there, with luxuriant Guinea-grass growing in the clefts; the road then sank between two abrupt little hills – the Guinea corn fields began to disappear, the grass became greener, the trees rose higher, the air felt fresher and cooler, and proceeding still farther, the hills on either side swelled into mountains, and became rocky and precipitous, and drew together, as it were, until they appeared to impend over us. We had now arrived at the gorge of the pass, leading into the valley, through which flowed a most beautiful limpid clear blue stream, along the margin of which the road wound, while the tree-clothed precipices rose five hundred feet perpendicularly on each brink. Presently we crossed a wooden bridge, supported by a stone pier in the centre, when Jupiter pricked a-head to give notice of the approach of wagons, that our cavalcade might haul up, out of danger, into some nook in the rock, to allow the lumbersome teams to pass.

“What is that?” – I was driving my dearie in the leading gig – “is that a pistol shot?” It was the crack of the long whip carried by the negro waggoner, reverberated from hill to hill, and from cliff to cliff; and presently the father of gods came thundering down the steep acclivity we were ascending.

“Massa, draw up into dat corner; draw up.”

I did as I was desired, and presently the shrill whistle of the negro waggoners, and the increasing sharpness of the reports of their loud whips, the handles of which were as long as fishing-rods, and their wild exclamations to their cattle, to whom they addressed themselves by name, as if they had been reasonable creatures, gave notice of the near approach of a train of no fewer then seven wagons, each with three drivers, eighteen oxen, three hogshead of sugar, and two puncheons of rum.
Come, thought I – if the negroes are overworked, it is more than the bullocks are, at all events. They passed us with abundance of yelling and cracking, and as soon as the coast was clear, we again pursued our way up the ravine, than which nothing could be more beautiful or magnificent. On our right hand now rose, almost perpendicularly, the everlasting rocks, to a height of a thousand feet, covered with the richest foliage that imagination can picture, while here and there a sharp steeple-like pinnacle of grey-stone, overgrown with lichens, shot up, and out from the face of them, into the blue sky, mixing with the tall forest trees that overhung the road, festooned with ivy and withes of different kinds, like the rigging of a ship, round which tendrils of many a beautiful wild flower crept twining up, while all was fresh with the sparkling dew that showered down on us, with every breath of wind, like rain. On our left foamed the roaring river, and on the other brink the opposite bank rose equally precipitously, clothed also with superb trees, that spread their blending boughs over the chasm, until they wove themselves together with those that grew on the side we were on, qualifying the noonday fierceness of a Jamaica sun into a green twilight, while the long misty reaches of the blue river, with white foaming rapids here and there, and the cattle wading in them, lengthened out beneath in the distance. Oh! the very look of it refreshed one unspeakably.

Presently a group of half-a-dozen country Buccras – overseers, or coffee-planters, most likely, or possibly larger fish than either – hove into sight, all in their blue-white jean trousers, and long Hessian boots pulled up over them, and new blue square-cut, bright-buttoned coatees, and thread-bare silk broad-brimmed hats. They dashed past us on goodish nags, followed at a distance of three hundred yards by a covey of negro-servants, mounted on mules, in white Osnaburg trousers, with a shirt or frock over them, no stockings, each with one spur, and the stirrup-iron held firmly between the great and second toes, while a snow-white sheep’s fleece covered their massas’ portmanteaus, strapped on to the mail pillion behind.

We drove on for about seven miles, after entering the pass, the whole scenery of which was by far the finest thing I had ever seen, the precipices on each side becoming more and more rugged and abrupt as we advanced, until all at once we emerged from the chasm on the parish of St Thomas in the Vale, which
opened on us like a magical illusion, in all its green luxuriance and freshness. But by this time we were deucedly tired, and Massa Aaron’s mansion, situated on its little airy hill above a sea of canes, which rose and fell before the passing breeze like the waves of the ocean, was the most consolatory object in the view; and thither we drove as fast as our wearied horses could carry us, and found every thing most carefully prepared for our reception . . .

Aaron Bang’s ‘mansion’ was the Great House on Tulloch estate – the house where George William Hamilton lived in St Thomas in the Vale in the 1820s and 1830. It was pulled down some time ago and another house was built on the same site – my photo, March 2007 – site of the old Tulloch Great House

*Tom Cringle’s Log* – page 510-513 – the morning after arriving at Massa Aaron’s Mansion

“Massa” – quoth Jupiter – “you take cup of coffee, dis marning, Massa?”

“Thank you – certainly.”

It was by this time grey dawn. My window had been left open the evening before, when it was hot and sultry enough, but was now cold and damp, and a wetting mist boiled in through the open sash, like rolling wreaths of white smoke.

“What is that – where are we – in the North Sea, or on the top of Mont-Blanc? Why, clouds may be all in your way, Massa Jupiter, but” –

“Cloud!” rejoined the deity – “him no more den marning fag, Massa; always hab him over de Vale in de marning, until de sun melt him. And where is you? – why, you is in Massa Aaron house, here in St Thomas in de Vale – and Miss” –

“Miss,” said I – “what Miss?”

“Oh, for you Miss,” rejoined Jupiter with a grin, “Miss Mary up and dress already, and de horses are at the door; him wait for you to ride wid him before breakfast, Mass, and to see de clearing of de fag.”

“Ride before breakfast! – see the clearing of the fog!” – grumbled I. “Romantic it may be, but consumedly inconvenient.” However, my knighthood was at stake; so up I got, drank my coffee, dressed, and adjourned to the piazza where my adorable was all ready rigged with riding-habit and whip; straightway we mounted, she into her side-saddle with her riding-habit, and who knows how many
petticoats beneath her, while I, Pilgarlic, embarked in thin jean trowsers upon a cold, damp, indeed wet, saddle, that made me shiver again. But I was understood to be in love; ergo, I was expected to be agreeable. However, a damp saddle and a thin pair of trowsers allays one’s ardour a good deal too. But if any one had seen the impervious fog in which we sat – why, you not see a tree three yards from you – a cabbage looked like a laurel bush, and Sneezor became a dromedary, and the negroes passing the little gate to their work wereabsolute Titans. – Boom – a long reverberating noise thundered in the distance, and amongst the hills, gradually dying away in a hollow rumble. – “The admiral tumbling down the hatchway, Tom – the morning gun fired at Port Royal,” said Mary; and so it was.

The fire flies were still glancing amongst the leaves of the beautiful orange-trees in front of the house; but we could see no farther, the whole view being shrouded under the thick watery veil which rolled and boiled about us, sometimes thick, and sometimes thinner, hovering between a mist and small rain, and wetting one’s hair, and face, and clothes, most completely. We descended from the eminence on which the house stood, rode along the level at the foot of it, and after a canter of a couple of miles, we began to ascend a bridle-path, through the Guinea-grass pastures, which rose rank and soaking wet, as high as one’s saddlebow, drenching me to the skin, in the few patches where I was not wet before. All this while the fog continued as thick as ever; at length we suddenly rose above it – rode out of it as it were.

St Thomas in the Vale is, as the name denotes, a deep valley, about ten miles long by six broad, into which there is but one inlet comfortably passable for carriages – the road along which we had come. The hills, by which it is surrounded on all sides, are, for the most part, covered with Guinea-grass pastures on the lower ranges, and with coffee plantations and provision grounds higher up. When we had ridden clear of the mist, the sun was shining brightly overhead, and everything was fresh and sparkling with dewdrops near us; but the vale was still concealed under the wool-like sea of white mist, only pierced here and there by a tall cocoa-nut tree rising above it, like the mast of a foundered vessel. But anon the higher ridges of the grass pieces appeared, as the fog undulated in fleecy waves in the passing breeze, which, as it rose and sank like the swell of the ocean, disclosed every now and then the works on some high-lying sugar estate, and again rolled over them like the tide covering the shallows of the sea, while shouts of laughter, and the whooping of the negroes in the fields, rose from out of obscurity, blended with the signal cries of the sugar boilers to the stockholemen of “Fire, fire – grand copper, grand copper,” and the ca’ing, like so many rooks, of the children driving the mules and oxen in the mills, and the everlasting splashing and panting of the water-wheel of the estate immediately below us, and the crashing and smashing of the canes, as they were crushed between the mill rollers; and the cracking of the wain and waggonmen’s long whips, and the rumbling, and creaking, and squealing of the machinery of the mills, and of the carriage-wheels; while the smoke from the unseen chimneystalks of the sugar-works rose whirling darkly up through the watery veil, like spinning watersprouts, from out of the bosom of the deep. Anon the veil rose, and we were once more gradually enveloped in clouds. Presently the thickest of the mist floated up, and rose above us like a gauze-like canopy of fleecy clouds overhanging the whole level plain, through which the red quenched sun, which a moment before was flaming with intolerable brightness overhead, suddenly assumed the appearance of a round red globe in an apothecary’s window, surrounded by a broad yellow sickly halo, which dimly lit up, as if the sun had been in eclipse, the cane-fields, then in arrow, as it is called, (a lavender-coloured flower, about three feet long, that shoots out from the top of the cane, denoting that it is mature, and fit to be ground,) and the Guinea-grass plats, and the nice-looking houses of the bushas, and the busy mill-yards, and the noisy gangs of negroes in the field, which were all disclosed, as if by the change of a scene.

At length, in love as we were, we remembered our breakfast; and beginning to descend, we encountered in the path a gang of about three dozen little glossy black piccaninies going to their work, the eldest not above twelve years of age, under the care of an old negress. They all had their little packies, or calabashes, on their heads, full of provisions; while an old cook, with a bundle of fagots on her head, and a fire stick in her hand, brought up the rear, her province being to cook the food which the tiny little workpeople carried. Presently one or two book-keepers, or deputy white superintendents on the plantation, also passed, – strong healthy-looking young fellows, in stuff jackets and white trowsers, and all with good cudgels in their hands. The mist, which had continued to rise up and up, growing thinner and thinner as it ascended, now rent overhead about the middle of the vale, and the masses, like scattered clouds, drew towards the ledge of the hills that surrounded it, like floating chips of wood in a tub of water, sailing in long shreds towards the most precipitous peaks, to which as they ascended they attached themselves, and remained at rest. And now the fierce sun, reasserting his supremacy, shone once more in all his tropical fierceness right down on the steamy earth, and all was glare, and heat, and bustle.
On 21 October 1820 (the day Edward arrived at Port Royal from Santiago de Cuba) the St Thomas in the Vale Vestry advertised for a building ‘in the vicinity of Dover-Castle, Rio Magno, or Williamsfield Plantation’, for the Curate of the parish ‘to perform Divine worship in’.

*London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 2 Dec 1820, page 6*

Vestry-Office, St Thomas’ in the Vale, Oct 21, 1820.

Any Person or Persons being in the possession of a Building in the vicinity of Dover-Castle, Rio-Magno, or Williamsfield Plantation, which might be converted into a suitable Place to perform Divine Worship in, by the Curate of this Parish, will render in Proposals to the Vestry, which will be held on the 9th day of December next, stating the terms upon which they will rent the same.

By order,       James S Lane, Clk. Vest.

Vestry-Office, St Thomas’ in the Vale, Oct 21, 1820.

Whereas the undermentioned Work is required to be done at the Church of this Parish, any Person willing to undertake the same, will render in Proposals to the Vestry, which will be held at the Bog-Walk Tavern, on Saturday the 9th day of December next, with the name of a Surety for the due performance of the same.

By order,       James S Lane, Clk. Vest.

Mason’s Estimate.

To fill in, and raise the floor of the Church three inches, and to cover the same with flagstones or tiles.

Carpenter’s Estimate.

To repair the shingling of the roof where required.
Curates were appointed to assist the Rector ‘in propagating the Gospel amongst the slaves’ and ‘in educating them in the Christian religion’ (see Chapter 9 – Jamaica Curate Act). In St Thomas in the Vale the Rector, Rev William Godfrey Pollard Burton, stood out as one of the rectors in Jamaica for his efforts to convert slaves to Christianity.

William Godfrey Pollard Burton (1791-1847), often referred to as Wm G Burton, was Rector of St Thomas in the Vale from 1816 to 1847.

W G P Burton was baptized around 16 May 1791 at Faccombe, Hampshire — www.familysearch.org

His father Rev William Burton was appointed Curate of Faccombe cum Tangle in 1789 and Rector in 1790 — http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/
From 1791 to 1808 Rev William Burton was Vicar of Horsford in Norfolk and from 1793 to 1808 he was also Perpetual Curate of Horsham St Faith’s, Norfolk – [http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/]

Rev William Burton appears to have gone to Jamaica in 1808, and died on 12 December 1808 at Montego Bay.

[https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=v6BEAQAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Gentleman’s Magazine for year 1809 – page 278 – Obituary – 1808]

Dec. 12. At Montego-bay, in Jamaica, after a few days illness, the Rev. William Burton, late of Horsford, Norfolk.

At the time of his death he was Rector of Trelawney (or Trelawny), Jamaica.


Burton, Mrs Harriet, widow of the late Rev William Burton, formerly rector of Faccombe cum Tangley, Hants, and afterwards rector of Trelawney, in the island of Jamaica, in the Cloisters, Windsor Castle, aged 78.


By 20 January 1816 Rev W G P Burton had returned to Jamaica


St Ann’s, Jan 20, 1816.
Jamaica Free School.

The Rev Wm G Burton respectfully informs his Friends and the Public, that the above School will be reopened on Thursday, 1st February next.

The Rev W G Burton is also prepared to receive such Private Scholars as his Friends may think fit to entrust to his charge, upon the same terms as his predecessor. For particulars apply to the Headmaster at the School.

In May 1816 he was appointed Rector of the parish of Vere – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 18 May 1816, page PS 21 – and in September 1816 he was appointed Rector of St Thomas in the Vale.

Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 28 Sep 1816, page PS 19 – Died – In St Thomas in the Vale on the 8th inst. the Rev William Williamson, many years Rector of that Parish – Sat, 28 Sep 1816, page PS 19 – Civil Appointments – Sept. 18. The Rev Wm. G. Burton to be Rector of the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale

On 16 November 1816 Rev W G P Burton married Mrs Eliza Ledwick

[https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=QiQwAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Colonial Journal, Vol II, 1816 – page 559 – Marriages – Jamaica – 1816 – 6 November – At St Andrew’s, the Rev Wm G Burton to Mrs Eliza Ledwick]
CHAPTER 12

1821 to 1823

The Williamsfield crop account for the year 1820 was sworn by Edward on 25 January 1821.

In St Thomas in the Vale in March 1821 the Earl of Harewood owned 317 slaves and Edward owned 6 slaves on ‘Orkneys’ in St Thomas in the East.

Orkneys (or Orkney) was the name Edward gave to the 10 acres he purchased from Lewis Grant in 1809 – see Chapters 6 and 7. The earliest mentions I have of ‘Orkneys’ is in 1819.

St Thomas in the East, Blue Mountain Division – 1820 Jamaica Almanac – Giving-In 1st Quarter 1819 – (name blank) – Orkneys: 7 Slaves – 1821 Jamaica Almanac – Giving-In 1st Quarter 1820 – (name blank) – Orkneys: 7 Slaves

In February 1820 there were two mentions of Orkney on a list of people and/or properties in St Thomas in the East that had not Given-In to the Vestry.

List of Persons and Properties, in this parish, Assessed for not Giving-In to Vestry Accounts of Clothing and Provisions served and supplied, as also Accounts of the Increase and Decrease of Slaves, for the year 1819, according to Law:
Chapter 12. 1821 to 1823

In alphabetical order – 270 names of people or properties – they include

- Newfield
- Orkney
- Orange Hill
- Old and New Pera
- Oxford
- O'Hagan, Mary Ann
- O'Hagan, Michael
- Old Morkland
- Orkney
- Panton, Isaac

The Rolls will be closed on Wednesday the 16th February next.

Fred F Hill  Clk. Vest.

James Hakewill, the artist who was in Jamaica in 1820 and 1821, sailed from the island in the Active from St Ann’s Bay at the end of March 1821 – *Jamaica Royal Gazette, Sat, 31 Mar 1821, page PS 19.*

While he was in Jamaica, James Hakewill made two drawings of Nightingale Grove, St Dorothy, and two of Williamsfield, St Thomas in the Vale. He included one of Williamsfield in his book (see Chapter 10), and the whereabouts of the others is unknown.


> Harewood, Earl of. – Nightingale Grove, St. Dorothy’s; two views.
> —Williamsfield, St. Thomas in the Vale; two views.

Two men died at Williamsfield on 31 October 1821.

[https://familysearch.org/](https://familysearch.org/) (accessed June 2011) – St Thomas in the Vale Parish Register, 1816-1826 – Burials 1821 – include

Below – John Boyd’s death announcement – died on 20 October – not 31 October, as recorded.

*London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 3 Nov 1821, page PS 22 – Died*

At Williamsfield estate, St Thomas in the Vale, on the 20th ult, after two days illness of a malignant fever, Mr John Boyd, a young man, whose sincerity and openness of disposition endeared him to everyone.

John Boyd’s death was also announced in the Edinburgh Magazine.
In summer 1819 Yellow Fever ‘committed dreadful havoc among British troops in Jamaica, particularly among some regiments recently arrived’.

Michael Scott described visiting Up-Park camp, a little to the northeast of Kingston, when Yellow Fever was ‘making fearful ravages amongst the troops’.

Our object, however – publish not to Askalon – was, not so much to admire the charms of nature, as to enjoy the luxury of a real Havannah cigar, in solitary comfort; and a glorious perch we had selected. The shade was grateful beyond measure. The fresh breeze was rushing, almost roaring, through the leaves and groaning branches, and everything around was green, and fragrant, and cool, and delicious; by comparison that is, for the thermometer would, I daresay, have still vouched for eighty degrees. The branches overhead were alive with a variety of beautiful lizards, and birds of the gayest plumage; amongst others, a score of small chattering green paroquets were hopping close to us, and playing at bopeep from the lower surfaces of the leaves of the wild pine, (a sort of Brobdignag parasite, that grows like the mistletoe, in the clefts of the larger trees,) to which they clung, as green and shining as the leaves themselves, and ever and anon popping their little heads and shoulders over to peer at us; while the red-breasted woodpecker kept drumming on every part of the bark, for all the world, like old Kelson, the carpenter of the Torch, tapping along the top sides for the dry rot. All around us the men were lounging around in the shade, and sprawling on the grass in their foraging caps and light jackets, with an officer here and there lying reading, or sauntering about, bearding Phoebus himself, to watch for a shot at a swallow, as it skimmed past; while goats and horses, sheep and cattle, were browsing the fresh grass, or sheltering themselves from the heat...
beneath the trees. All nature seemed alive and happy - a little drowsy from the heat or so, but that did not much signify . . .

At length the forenoon wore away, and the bugles sounded for dinner, when we adjourned to the mess-room. It was a very large and handsome saloon, standing alone in the lawn, and quite detached from all the other buildings, but the curtailed dimensions of the table in the middle of it, and the ominous crowding together of the regimental plate, like a show-table in Rundle and Bridge's back shop, gave startling proofs of the ravages of the “pestilence that walketh in darkness, and the destruction that wasteth at noonday;” for although the whole regiment was in barracks, there were only nine covers laid, one of which was for me. The lieutenant-colonel, the major, and, I believe, fifteen other officers, had already been gathered to their fathers, within four months from the day on which the regiment landed from the transports. Their warfare was o'er, and they slept well. At first, when the insidious disease began to creep on apace, and to evince its deadly virulence, all was dismay and anxiety - downright, slavish, unmanly fear, even amongst case-hardened veterans, who had weathered the whole Peninsular war, and finished off with Waterloo. – The next week passed over – the mortality increasing, but the dismay decreasing – and so it wore on, until it reached its horrible climax, at the time I speak of, by which period there was absolutely no dread at all. A reckless gaiety had succeeded . . .

But as I do not intend to write an essay on yellow fever, I will make an end, and get on shipboard as fast as I can, after stating one strong fact, authenticated to me by many unimpeachable witnesses. It is this; that this dreadful epidemic, or contagious fever – call it which you will – has never appeared, or been propagated at or beyond an altitude of 3000 feet above the level of the sea, although people seized with it on the hot sultry plains, and removed thither have unquestionably died . . .


[www.flickr.com/photos/caribbeanphotoarchive/8322676017/in/set-72157608733491554 – A Duperly & Sons, c1890 – Tom Cringle Cotton Tree, Spanish Town Road](www.flickr.com/photos/caribbeanphotoarchive/8322676017/in/set-72157608733491554 – A Duperly & Sons, c1890 – Tom Cringle Cotton Tree, Spanish Town Road)
In 1821 Edward made another trip away from Jamaica and returned in mid December 1821 from St John, New Brunswick. Why he was in New Brunswick is unknown, but it seems possible that he may have been arranging for supplies to be shipped to Jamaica.

https://archive.org/details/cihm_37396 – Sketches of New-Brunswick... by an Inhabitant of the Province, published 1825 – page 61 – Exports from New Brunswick to the West Indies were boards, shingles, fish and other articles in return for rum, sugar, molasses, etc.

In 1820 and 1821 James Laing and George William Hamilton were dealing in large quantities of lumber

Jamaica National Library – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 19Aug 1820, page Sup 9

July 31, 1820. Lumber Wanted.

Tenders will be received to the 31st August for supplying Red and White Oak Staves and White Pine Boards all of the best quality, and deliverable, One-Third in November, One-Third in January, One-Third in February, as follows: Or Tenders, for any part of the quantity specified below, will be received, to be paid for in Rum, delivered at the respective Barquegard, or by Acceptances, at the opinion of the Subscribers. The Contractors will have the preference of supplying the Shingles and Pitch-pine Lumber that may be required during the year. For further particulars, mode, time of payment, &c apply, in Spanish Town, to

James Laing, and George W Hamilton

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Red Oak Staves</th>
<th>White Oak Staves</th>
<th>Pieces Heading</th>
<th>Feet White Pine Boards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At Port-Henderson</td>
<td>77,500</td>
<td>18,500</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>54,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Passage-Fort</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Kingston</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Yallahs-Bay</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Montego-Bay</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>9,500</td>
<td>2,850</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Port Morant</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Manchioneal</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Salt-River</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Long’s Wharf</td>
<td>45,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Old Harbour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Annotto-Bay</td>
<td>44,000</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>5,100</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Port-Maria</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Frankfort-Bay</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>6,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below – descriptions of New Brunswick


Situation. New Brunswick is bounded on the N. by Lower Canada; on the E. by the Gulf of St Lawrence; on the S. E. by Nova Scotia, and the Bay of Fundy; on the W. by Maine and Canada.

Chief Towns. Frederickton is the capital. It is on St John’s river, about 80 miles form the mouth, at the head of sloop navigation.

The city of St. John’s is the largest town. It is near the mouth of St. John’s river and contains upwards of 2,000 inhabitants.

Population. The population of the province is estimated at more than 60,000.
The Gulf Stream, flowing from the Gulf of Mexico up the coast of North America and across the Atlantic, was followed by vessels sailing from the Caribbean to North America and by vessels sailing to Europe.
Vessels sailing from Jamaica for North America or Europe either sailed between Cuba and Haiti, the Windward Passage (see Chapter 8), or along the south coast of Cuba into the Gulf of Mexico and on through the Gulf of Florida. J Stewart wrote in 1823 that the Windward Passage was ‘only practicable for deep-laden ships when there is a strong weather-current in their favour’.

In 1824 Alexander Innes, a passenger on the ship Kingston, described sailing from Port Royal on his way to England. In the extract below he described sailing from Port Royal, round the east end of Jamaica, along the south coast of Cuba to the Gulf of Mexico, and northeast through the Gulf of Florida into the Atlantic.


Off Port Royal

On Board the Kingston Wedy 25th Feb 1824

Unmoored from the Harbour of Kingston at 11 oClock. A.M. and dropt anchor her at 3. P.M. the only circumstance that occurred coming down was losing one of our Boats in the Narrows, however it is expected that the Boat will be found. The Pilot who is a brown man seems a smart Sailor. The Captain and Col. Fulton only came on board about an hour ago -- -- -- -- -- --

Thursday 26th Feby 1824

The wind is fair the sails are bent

Jamaica! Sultry land adieu

Weighed anchor this morning at 6. oClock tacked several times to the southward and Northward under all sail . . .

Friday 27th Feby 1824

The first part of these 24 hours moderate: all sails bent. At 10 A.M. strong breezes and clear weather tacked occasionally. – I feel very much for Col Fulton he is extremely sick the cause of his leaving Jamaica is bad health.
Saturday 28th Feb'y 1824

Strong adverse winds throughout this day Captain Binney anxious to go by St Domingo to avoid the Florida Shore, and the Coast of Cuba. Col Fulton still exceedingly sick. I think he is half resolved to return to Jamaica.

\[ Saturday 29th \text{ Feb'y 1824} \]

A.M. Fresh winds... Col. Fulton read the prayers for the day to me in the after Cabin... I understand it is the practice of Capt Binney to read to his crew, but to day it blew so strong he could not leave the deck.

\[ At 6. P.M. Morant Point bore N.N.E. At 8. P.M. tacked to the Southward, and at 10. P.M. tacked to the Northward. At midnight strong winds and squally. \]

Monday 1st March 1824

A.M. Fresh winds. At 4. A.M. strong gales split the Fore Sail and unbent it. At 8. P.M. the Valorous Frigate along side. Col Fulton who has suffered dreadfully from sickness wishes the Captain of the Valorous to take him back to Port Royal. Capt. Binney did every thing in his power in aid of the Col's wishes; he lowered his Boat, and sent his first Mate to the Valorous to signify Col. Fulton's anxious desire. Whither the noble son of Neptune had ever read Lord Chesterfield's works, which I question much, from the uncouth manner he addressed the Mate, also from the unfeeling answer he sent to Col. Fulton... At 9 A.M. finding it impossible to beat to wind ward the Capt had made up his mind to go through the Gulph of Florida “Helms a Lee” is the cry. At noon fair weather cut all reefs. At 8 PM Pedro Point bore N.W. distant 14 miles. At midnight fine weather under all sail.

\[ Tuesday 2nd \text{ March 1824} \]

A.M. Fresh winds and cloudy. Took in the top gallant sails and stay sails. At 8 PM cut 1st reef of the fore top sail. At Midnight fresh winds and dark cloudy weather... I find Captain Binney a fine genteel young man. He is well acquainted with all the respectable families in Kingston, having been long on the station as Flag Lieut to Admiral Douglass.

Wednesday 3rd March 1824

Fresh breezes and fine. At 1. P.M. saw the Island of Grand Cayman bearing E.N.E. distant 5 miles, at 3. P.M. hove too off the southwest end of the Island, immediately a Canoe came along side, with Eggs, Turtle, & Fruit. The natives were all of a yellow colour with long lank hair, they spoke English astonishingly well. The Island appeared extremely low and sandy. This being Ash Wednesday Coll. Fulton read the prayers appointed for the day. We are very happy and comfortable on board, our society is rather circumscribed, the Capt has got a good selection of Books which we resort to when we tire of conversing.

Thursday 4th March 1824

A.M. First Trade wind. At noon moderate and fine weather. At midnight strong gale took in all sails, the Captain whispered to me to say that he is half resolved to put into the Havana in the Island of Cuba, I wish he may that I have an opportunity of seeing it, altho’ I cannot imagine can be his motive. Probably for the purpose of taking in more cargo.

Off Cuba Friday 5th March 1824

Fresh winds and fine weather. At 1. A.M. wind E.N.E. very squally took in the fore top gallant sails and double reefed the top sail. At 6. A.M. saw the Island of Cuba. At 11 passed Cape Antonio steered N.N.E. at 1. P.M. saw a very suspicious looking Schooner coming up a stern, supposed by the Captain to be a Pirate, from her build and rig, and also from the well known truth that this Coast is sadly infested with these marauders. All sail was instantly set on our vessel to join a Shop ahead. At sunset the Schooner still a stern but gaining fast on us. It is a cruel act of our legislature that they will not permit Merchantmen to carry Guns without paying a very high duty.

I am very much surprised that so many men of talent who have seats in the Senate, and so much risk at sea do not exert their eloquence to have this evil remedied. It is a subject I allow that requires to be heard on all its bearings. The act for prohibiting Merchantmen from carrying Guns, is only of a few Years standing, — it originated in consequence of the frequent Piracies committed by Captains of Trading vessels. But the respectability I may say of all the West India Capt's (being ½ pay officers of the Navy) does not justify the Quorum of St Stephens for with holding from them the means of protecting their own and their employers property. We can muster 21 men in this Vessel, but we not a Gun nor a Grain of Gun powder on board.

\[ Off Cuba Saturday 6th March 1824 \]
Tacked occasionally. The Ship and Schooner we saw yesterday still in sight! The Capt has stowed away all his specie, he has on board on his own account £1500 worth of Colonial produce not ensured. Col Fulton is taken seriously ill, poor man I pity him much. The Island of Cub appears in some places very mountainous. It was discovered by the Spaniards in 1594 it lies north of Jamaica and N.W. of St. Domingoo.—I do not feel myself by any means well to day. I must take medicine. I have a great wish to go on shore as are quite close to the land, almost as near as one could throw a stone, it is provoking that we cant land, almost as much so as a hungry man feels, smelling a good Dinner, and knowing that he cannot get it. At noon light airs close in with Collorados a very dangerous shoal. At 2 PM. Tacked. At midnight strong breeze.

Off Cuba Sunday 7th March 1824

A.M. Fair weather. At 4. A.M. tacked to the southward and at 10 A.M. tacked to the northward. At noon the Captain read prayers to the Crew.

There appears a very high chain of mountains which seemed to run from one side of this Island to the other the land near the sea is very level and the trees grow down to the waters edge. At 7 PM saw a light a stern, thought by all in the Ship to be a light from some cave or den of the Pirates on shore, “a signal to us to bear from the land” At midnight fine weather.

Off Cuba Monday 8th March 1824

Light breezes and fine tacked occasionally to the southward and northward. At midnight ditto weather.

The Schooner has left us—

Off Cuba Tuesday 9th March 1824

Wind Easterly. At 1. A.M. saw the Mora light at the entrance of the Havannah Harbour. At 2 a large vessel full of men on our Lee Bow so certain was the Captain of her being a Pirate, that he up Helm and here we lie under the protection of the Guns of the Mora Fort. —4. P.M. the Vessel we so much dreaded turned out to be a Spanish Ship from Malaga with wine 5. P.M Pan Matenga (?) bore S.S.E At 11 PM entered the Gulf of Florida which divides the Bahama Islands from Florida, it is considered a very intricate and dangerous navigation. At midnight light breezes and fine weather.

Gulf of Florida Wednesday 10th March 1824

A.M. Light and variable winds at 3 A.M. very squally At 8. A.M. tacked to the westward At Noon light airs. Midnight ditto weather.—

Gulf of Florida Thursday 11th March 1824

Moderate breezes and fine weather, winds variable at 9. A.M. sun [?] saw Florida about Cayo Lurgo [Cuba].—The whole of this day light winds, we are quite close to the Town of Cayo Lurgo. The heat was very great to day. —

Gulf of Florida Friday 12th March 1824

A.M. Fine weather, at noon saw a Sloop full of men to leeward. The Captain judging her to be a Buccaneer, he determined to show a bold front, for this purpose the whole of the crew were ranged on the Quarter Deck, and armed with such weapons as the Ship afforded. In the course of my life I never witnessed a more laughable scene. It was really a subject worthy of Hogarth’s pencil. I regret that my powers of description are so feeble otherwise I would endeavour and portray it. Mr Sharp the Columbian officer appeared more frightened than any one in the Ship.

In the Atlantic Ocean

Saturday 13th March 1824

Fine breezes and moderate weather. At noon ditto weather. The Sloop still in Company, found the current had carried us 40 miles the last 24 hours. I begin to feel it cold. Steered N.N.E.

Sunday 14th March 1824

Light breezes and clear weather. At 11. A.M. the Captain read prayers to the Crew. We have had five men sick since we left Jamaica of Fever & Ague, at 3 P.M. great quantities of sea weed, (called by sailors flowers of Neptune’s Garden) passed us. It is thought in consequence of the quantity of weed that we have seen that we are on the outer edge of the Gulf Stream. —

Monday 15th March 1824

Variable winds, at noon fresh breezes and fine weather. Set Top Gallant Sails at midnight fresh winds and squally. I felt a great difference in the temperature today.—

Tuesday 16th March 1824

This day commenced with fine weather at noon ditto carrying All Sail, at 3 PM fresh winds and squally in all studding sails and royals at midnight squally.
Wednesday 17th March 1824

Fine steady wind 5 Knots an hour, at 6 A.M. the wind suddenly shifted round to the north accompanied with heavy rain. The Capt requested me to come on deck and assist in taking sown the sails. I have got a severe cold in consequence, having come on deck without either Shoes or stockings. At noon light winds and calm with rain. At 6 P.M. reefed the Top sails, midnight cloudy weather, the Ships head lying E. N. E.

The Ship Kingston reached the Banks of Newfoundland on 28 March 1824 and from there headed across the Atlantic.
the United States, and affording shelter and protection on every side, by means of its numerous harbours, which are well adapted for ship-building, the fisheries, and the timber trade, from the peculiar advantage of being accessible at all seasons of the year.

The woods of these provinces abound with all the various kinds of timber to be found in New England. The pine forests are not only valuable for furnishing masts, spars, all kinds of lumber, oak staves excepted, and ship timber, but likewise may be made to produce occasional supplies of tar, pitch and turpentine. The various species of birch, beech, elm, maple and spruce, are found in all parts in great abundance.

These two provinces, likewise, produce considerable crops of Indian corn, wheat, barley, rye, oats, peas, and beans . . .

On every part of the coast there are fishing banks, of various extent, and in different depths of water, on which cod-fish is found in all seasons, notwithstanding the representations to the contrary. The variety of sea and river fish is great; those taken and cured for exportation are, the cod, herrings, mackarel, the shad, and salmon, which can be procured in any quantities. Fish can be cured, and carried from Newfoundland and the Bay of Fundy to the West Indies at as cheap a rate, and of a superior quality, than most of the fish sent from the United States. Herrings have hitherto been carried to the West Indies from these two provinces at a cheaper rate than from Great Britain. The Bay of Fundy abounds with seal, the oil of which is preferable to the whale, besides the useful purposes to which its skin is applied. The numerous harbours in this bay are, likewise, accessible at all seasons of the year, and its navigation much more certain and less dangerous, than many other parts of the American coast.

. . . For grazing, no part of the United States can exceed these provinces; horses, oxen, sheep, swine, poultry, and all the various articles under the denomination of live stock, are there raised in the greatest abundance, and sold at the lowest prices; in proof of which, it is only necessary to mention, that formerly the inhabitants of Halifax and St. John’s were accustomed to import these articles from Boston, and other places; but now, in addition to the large quantities required for home-consumption, his Majesty’s navy on the American station, and occasionally that on the West India station, with the King’s troops in both provinces, are amply supplied with live stock and fresh provisions; and several thousand barrels of salted beef and pork are annually exported.

Numerous saw-mills have been lately erected in various parts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and there is every reason to believe, that with the assistance of Canada for oak staves, they are fully adequate to supply the lumber required in the British West India islands; but of this fact no just estimate can be formed . . .

The country along the shores of the river St. John, extending across the province of New Brunswick more than 200 miles, and other lesser rivers in the same province, abounds with pine trees of various dimensions, suitable for masts, &c. for the navy, more in number and value than are to be found in the King's other provinces in America, that is, in the vicinity of large rivers, for from no other situation can they be conveniently brought to market. From within a few miles of these rivers, the largest masts are drawn on the snow, when from two to three feet deep, with teams of twenty or more pairs of large oxen, to the banks of the rivers, from whence, after the ice is gone, and the rivers are full, and in some places overflown, they are floated to their mouths, and exported to Great Britain.

In this point of view the province of New Brunswick is more valuable and important to the mother country, than the other provinces.

The other products of New Brunswick are similar to those of Nova-Scotia. Its staple commodities are, however, fish, lumber, and salted provisions; of fish there were exported from New Brunswick, in 1806, to Jamaica, 35,000 barrels, besides about 13,000 barrels to the United States, for contraband articles, in addition to which, there were also exported to the West Indies upwards of 2,000 barrels of beef, besides pork. It also appears in the same year, there were shipped in American vessels, from the islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, upwards of five millions feet of pine boards, which were sawn at the mills on the streams on the British side of the boundary line.

The bounty granted in 1806, on fish exported from these colonies to the British West-India islands, was likely to have revived and encouraged the fisheries; but whether from design or from American influence, the views of the British government were in some measure frustrated at Jamaica, from the people there giving the herrings exported from New Brunswick the name of shads, thereby reducing the bounty from 2s. 6d. to 1s. 6d. per barrel. This sort of fish is generally known by the name of herrings, though they are sometimes called alewives (clupea serrata) and are no doubt the fish on which government intended the duty of 2s. 6d. per barrel should be allowed, their object being evidently to encourage the exportation, from the provinces, of such pickled fish as were produced there and used in the British West-India islands.

This fish, which the inhabitants denominate herrings and sometimes alewives, is a species peculiarly adapted for the West-India market, being equally nutritious with the herrings from Europe; and possessing a greater degree of firmness, they are capable of being kept longer in warm climates. In such abundance are they to be found, that the quantity cured can only be limited by the insufficient number of hands employed in that business.
Edward arrived at Port Royal from St John, New Brunswick on 12 December 1821.
My photos, December 2009 – Port Royal – looking northwest

On the quayside – fish for sale
During the week ending 15 December 1821 two vessels arrived at Port Royal from St John, New Brunswick – the Brig Rambler on the 12th, and on the 13th the Brig Neptune.
Edward was the only passenger listed arriving in the Rambler and no passenger was listed arriving in the Neptune.

Page PS, 23

Names of Consignees of Vessels, which have been entered at the Custom-House since our last – include

I have no further information about Reid and Gregory. Bogles and Co was a leading merchant firm of Kingston – see below

Edward arrived at Port Royal shortly before the Christmas Negro Carnival.

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=eTgKAQAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – The West Indies as they are; but more particularly as it exists in the Island of Jamaica, by Rev R Bickell – published 1825 – page 214

... at Christmas, when I first arrived there [Kingston], one could hardly sleep at night, or drive through the streets in the day time, for the crowds of Slaves that were parading and thronging all parts, in a heathenish and noisy manner, making John Canoe, as they term it, according the customs in Africa...
This day was the first of the Negro Carnival or Christmas Holydays, and at the distance of two miles from Kingston the sound of the negro drums and horns, the barbarous music and yelling of the different African tribes, and the more mellow singing of the Set Girls, came off upon the breeze loud and strong.

When we got nearer, the wharfs and different streets, as soon as we successively opened them, were crowded with blackamoors, men, women, and children, dancing and singing and shouting, and all rigged out in their best. When we landed on the agent’s wharf we were immediately surrounded by a group of these merry-makers, which happened to be the butchers’ John Canoe party, and a curious exhibition it was. The prominent character was, as usual, the John Canoe or Jack Pudding. He was a light, active, clean-made young Creole negro, without shoes or stockings; he wore a pair of light jean small-clothes, all too wide, but confined at the knees, below and above, by bands of red tape, after the manner that Malvolio would have called cross-gartering. He wore a splendid blue velvet waistcoat, with old-fashioned flaps coming down over his hips, and covered with tarnished embroidery. His shirt was absent on leave, I suppose, but at the wrists of his coat he had tin or white iron frills, with loose pieces attached, which tinkled as he moved, and set off the dingy paws that were stuck through these strange manacles, like black wax tapers in silver candlesticks. His coat was an old blue artillery uniform one, with a small bell hung to the extreme points of the swallow-tailed skirts, and three tarnished epaulets; one on each shoulder, and, O ye immortal gods! O Mars omnipotent! the biggest of the three stuck at his rump, the point d’appui for a
Chapter 12. 1821 to 1823

He had an enormous cocked hat on, to which was appended in front a white false-face or mask, of a most methodistical expression, while, Janus-like, there was another face behind, of the most quizzical description, a sort of living Antithesis, both being garnished and over topped with one coarse wig, made of the hair of bullocks’ tails, on which the chapeau was strapped down with a broad band of gold lace.

He skipped up to us with a white wand in one hand and a dirty handkerchief in the other, and with sundry moppings and mowing, first wiping my shoes with his mouchoir, then my face, (murder, what a flavour of salt fish and onions it had!) he made a smart enough pirouette, and then sprang on the back of a nondescript animal, that now advanced capering and jumping about after the most grotesque fashion that can be imagined. This was the signal for the music to begin. The performers were two gigantic men, dressed in calf-skins entire, head, four legs, and tail. The skin of the head was made to fit like a hood, the two fore-feet hung dangling down in front, one over each shoulder, while the other two legs, or hind-feet, and the tail, trailed behind on the ground; deuce another article they had on in the shape of clothing except a handkerchief, of some flaming pattern, tied round the waist. There were also two flute-players in sheep-skins, looking still more outlandish from the horns on the animals’ heads being preserved; and three stout fellows, who were dressed in the common white frock and trowsers, who kept sounding on bullocks’ horns. These formed the band as it were, and might be considered John’s immediate tail or following; but he was also accompanied by about fifty of the butcher negroes, all neatly dressed - blue jackets, white shirts, and Osnaburgh trowsers, with their steels and knife-cases by their sides, as bright as Turkish yataghans, and they all wore clean blue and white striped aprons. I could see and tell what they were; but the Thing John Canoe had perched himself upon I could nothing of. At length I began to comprehend the device.

The Magnus Apollo of the party, the poet and chief musician, the nondescript already mentioned, was no less than the boatswain of the butcher gang, answering to the driver in an agricultural one. He was clothed in an entire bullock’s hide, horns, tail, and the other particulars, the whole of the skull being retained, and the effect of the voice growling through the jaws of the beast was most startling. His legs were enveloped in the skin of the hind-legs, while the arms were cased in that of the fore, the hands protruding a little above the hoofs, and, as he walked reared up on his hind-legs, he used, in order to support the load of the John Canoe who had perched on his shoulder, like a monkey on a dancing bear, a strong stick, or sprit, with a crutch top to it, which he leant his breast on every now and then.

After the creature, which I will call the Device for shortness, had capered with its extra load, as if it had been a feather, for a minute or two, it came to a stand-still, and, sticking the crutch of it under its chin, it motioned to one of the attendants, who thereupon handed, of all things in the world, a fiddle to the ox. He then shook off the John Canoe, who began to caper about as before, while the Device set up a deuced good pipe, and sung and played, barbarously enough, I will admit, to the tune of Guinea Corn, the following ditty: –

“Massa Buccra lob for see
Bullock caper like monkee –
Dance, shump, and poke him toe,
Like one humane person - just so.” –

And hereupon the tail of the beast, some fifty strong, music men, John Canoe and all, began to rampage about, as if they had been possessed by a devil whose name was Legion: –

“But Massa Buccra have white love,
Soft and silken like one dove.
To brown girl – him barely shivel –
To black girl – oh, Lord, de Devil!”

Then a tremendous galloping, in the which Taittackle was nearly capsized over the wharf. He looked quietly over the edge of it.

“Boat-keeper, hand me up that switch of a stretcher,” (Friend, if thou be’st not nautical, thou knowest what a rack-pin, some of the stoutest is.)

The boy did so, and Taittackle, after moistening well his dexter claw with tobacco juice, seized the stick with his left by the middle, and balancing it for a second or two, he began to fasten the end of it into his right fist, as if he had been screwed a bolt into a socket. Having satisfied himself that his grip was secure, he let go the hold with his left hand, and crossed his arms on his breast, with the weapon projecting over his left shoulder, like the drone of a bagpipe.

The Device continued his chant, giving the seaman a wide berth, however: –
“But when him once two tree year here,
Him tink white lady wery great boder;
De coloured peoples, never fear,
Ah, him lob him de morest nor any oder.”

Then another tumblification of the whole party.
“But top – one time bad fever catch him,
Colour’d peoples kindly watch him –
In sick-room, nurse voice like sweet music –
From him hand taste sweet de physic.”

Another trampoline.
“So always come – in two tree year,
And so wid you, massa – never fear
Brown girl for cook – for wife – for nurse:
Buccra lady – poo – no wort a curse.”

“Get away, you scandalous scroundrel,” cried I; “away with you, Sir!”

Here the morrice-dancers began to circle round old Tailltackle, keeping him on the move, spinning round like a weathercock in a whirlwind, while they shouted, “Oh, massa, one macaroni if you please.”

To get quit of their importunity, Captain Transom gave them one. “Ah, good massa, tank you, sweet massa!” And away danced John Canoe and his tail, carreering up the street.

In the same way all the other crafts and trades had their Gumbi-men, Horn-blowers, John Canoes, and Nondescript. The Gardeners came nearest of any thing I had seen before to the Mayday boys in London, with this advantage, that their Jack-in-the-Green was incomparably more beautiful, from the superior bloom of the larger flowers used in composing it.

The very workhouse people, whose province it is to guard the Negro culprits who may be committed to it, and to inflict punishment on, when required, had their John Canoe and Device; and their prime jest seemed to be every now and then to throw the fellow down who enacted the latter at the corner of a street, and to administer a sound flogging to him. The John Canoe, who was the workhouse driver, was dressed up in a lawyer’s cast-off gown and bands, black silk breeches, no stockings nor shoes, but with sandals of bullock’s hide strapped on his great splay feet, a small cocked hat on his head, to which were appended a large cauliflower wig, and the usual white false-face, bearing a laughable resemblance to Chief Justice S--- ----, with whom I happened to be personally acquainted.

The whole party which accompanied these two worthies, musicians and tail, were dressed out so to give a tolerable resemblance of the Bar broke loose, and they were all pretty considerably well drunk. As we passed along, the Device was once more laid down, and we could notice a shield of tough hide strapped over the fellow’s stern frame, so as to save the lashes of the cat, which John Canoe was administering with all his force, while the Device walloped about and yelled, as if he had been receiving the punishment on his naked flesh. Presently, as he rolled over and over in the sand, bellowing to the life, I noticed the leather shield slip upwards to the small of his back, leaving the lower story uncovered in reality; but the driver and tail were too drunk to observe this, and the former continued to lay on and laugh, while one of his people stood by in all the gravity of drunkenness, counting, as a first Lieutenant does, when a poor fellow is polishing at the gangway, – “Twenty – twenty-one – twenty-two” – and so on, while the patient roared you, and it were any thing but a nightingale. At length he broke away from the men who held him, after receiving a most sufficient flogging, to revenge which he immediately fastened on the John Canoe, wrenched his cat from him, and employed it so scientifically on him and his followers, giving them passing taps on the shins now and then with the handle, by way of spice to the dose, that the whole crew pulled foot as if Old Nick had held them in chase.

The very children, urchins of five and six years old, had their Lilliputian John Canoes and Devices. But the beautiful part of the exhibition was the Set Girls. They danced along the street in bands of from fifteen to thirty. There were brown sets, and black sets, and sets of all the intermediate gradations of colour. Each set was dressed pin for pin alike, and carried umbrellas or parasols of the same colour and size, held over their nice showy, well put on toques, or Madras handkerchiefs, all of the same pattern, tied round their heads, fresh out of the fold. – They sang, as they swam along the streets, in the most luxurious attitudes. I had never seen more beautiful creatures than there were amongst the brown sets – clear olive complexions and fine faces, elegant carriages, splendid figures, – full, plump, and magnificent.
Most of the Sets were as much of a size as Lord ----’s eighteen daughters, sailing down Regent Street, like a Charity School of a Sunday, led by a rum-looking old beadle – others again had large Roman matron-looking women in the leading files, the \textit{figurantes} in their tails becoming slighter and smaller, as they tapered away, until they ended in \textit{leetle picaniny, no bigger as my tumb}, but always preserving the uniformity of dress, and colour of the umbrella or parasol. Sometimes the breeze, on opening a corner, would strike the stern-most of a \textit{set} composed in this manner of small fry, and stagger the little things, getting beneath their tiny umbrellas, and fairly blowing them out of the line, and ruffling their ribbons and finery, as if they had been tulips bending and shaking their leaves before it. But the \textit{colours} were never blended in the same set – no blackie ever interloped with the browns, nor did the browns in any case mix with the sables – always keeping in mind – black \textit{woman} – brown \textit{lady}.\[\]
But, as if the whole city had been tom-fooling, a loud burst of military music was now heard, and the north end of the street we were ascending, which leads out of the Place d’Armes or parade, that occupies the centre of the town, was filled with a cloud of dust, that rose as high as the house-tops, through which the head of a column of Troops sparkled swords, and bayonets, and gay uniforms glancing in the sun. This was the Kingston regiment marching down to the Court-house in the lower part of the town, to mount the Christmas guard, which is always carefully attended to, in case any of the John Canoes should take a small fancy to burn or pillage the town, or to rise and cut the throats of their masters, or any little innocent recreation of the kind, out of compliment to Dr Lushington, or Messrs Macaulay and Babington.

First came a tolerably good band, a little drummy, but still not amiss – well dressed, only the performers being of all colours, from white, down to jet-black, had a curious hodge-podge, or piebald appearance. Then came a dozen mounted officers at the very least – colonels-in-chief, and colonels, and lieutenant-colonels, and majors – all very fine, and very bad horsemen. Then the grenadier company, composed of white clerks of the place, very fine-looking young men indeed – another white company followed, not quite so smart looking - then came a century of the children of Israel, not over military in appearance – the days of Joshua, the son of Nun, had passed away, the glory had long departed from their house, – a phalanx of light browns succeeded, then a company of dark browns, or mulattoes; the regular half and half in this, as well as in grog, is the best mixture after all – then quashie himself; or a company of free blacks, who, with the browns, seemed the best soldiers of the set, excepting the flank companies – and after blackie the battalion again gradually whitened away, until it ended in a very fine light company of buccras, smart young fellows as need be – all the officers were white, and all the soldiers, whatever their caste or colour, free of course. Another battalion succeeded, composed in the same way, and really I was
agreeably surprised to find the indigenous force of the colony so efficient. I had never seen any thing more soldier-like amongst our volunteers at home. Presently a halt was called, and a mounted officer, evidently desirous of showing off, galloped up to where we were standing, and began to swear at the drivers of a waggon, with a long team of sixteen bullocks, who had placed their vehicle, whether intentionally or not I could not tell, directly across the street, where being met by another waggon of the same kind, coming through the opposite lane, a regular jam had taken place, as they had contrived, being redolent of new rum, to lock their wheels, and twist their lines of bullocks together, in much admired confusion.

“Out of the way, sir, out of the way, you black rascals - don't you see the regiment coming?”

The men spanked their long whips, and shouted to the steers by name –“Back, back – Cesar – Antony – Crab, back, sir, back;” and they whistled loud and long, but Cesar and the rest only became more and more involved.

“Order arms,” roared another officer, fairly beaten by the bullocks and wagons – “Stand at ease.”

On this last signal, a whole cloud of spruce-beer sellers started fiercely from under the piazzas.

Matthew Gregory Lewis described the 1816 New Year’s Day slave holiday in the parish of St Elizabeth at Black River on the south coast of Jamaica.
At length the ship has squeezed herself into this champagne bottle of a bay! . . . to complete the charm, the sudden sounds of the drum and banjee, called our attention to a procession of the John-Canoe, which was proceeding to celebrate the opening of the new year at the town of Black River. The John-Canoe is a Merry-Andrew dressed in a striped doublet, and bearing upon his head a kind of pasteboard house-boat, filled with puppets, representing, some sailors, others soldiers, others again slaves at work on a plantation, &c. The negroes are allowed three days for holidays at Christmas, and also New-year’s day, which being the last is always reckoned by them as the festival of the greatest importance. It is for this day that they reserve their finest dresses, and lay their schemes for displaying their show and expense to the greatest advantage; and it is then that the John-Canoe is considered not merely as a person of material consequence, but one whose presence is absolutely indispensable. Nothing could look more gay than the procession which we now saw with its train of attendants, all dressed in white, and marching two by two (except when the file was broken here and there by a single horseman), and its band of negro music, and its scarlet flags fluttering about in the breeze, now disappearing behind a projecting clump of mangrove trees, and then again emerging into an open part of the road, as it wound along the shore towards the town of Black River.

—“Magno telluris amore
Egressi optâtâ Trôes potiuntur arenâ.”

I had determined not to go on shore, till I should land for good and all at Savannah la Mar. But although I could resist the “telluris amor,” there was no resisting John-Canoe; so, in defiance of a broiling afternoon’s sun, about four o’clock we left the vessel for the town.
... The few streets — (I believe there were not above two, but those were wide and regular, and the houses looked very neat) — were now crowded with people, and it seemed to be allowed, upon all hands, that New-year's day had never been celebrated there with more expense and festivity.

It seems that, many years ago, an Admiral of the Red was superseded on the Jamaica station by an Admiral of the Blue; and both of them gave balls at Kingston to the “Brown Girls;” for the fair sex elsewhere are called the “Brown Girls” in Jamaica. In consequence of these balls, all Kingston was divided into parties: from thence the division spread into other districts: and ever since, the whole island, at Christmas, is separated into the rival factions of the Blues and the Reds (the Red representing also the English, the Blue the Scotch), who contend for setting forth their processions with the greatest taste and magnificence. This year, several gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Black River had subscribed very largely towards the expenses of the show; and certainly it produced the gayest and most amusing scene that I ever witnessed, to which the mutual jealousy and pique of the two parties against each other contributed in no slight degree. The champions of the rival Roses, — the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, — none of them could exceed the scornful animosity and spirit of depreciation with which the Blues and the Reds of Black River examined the efforts at display of each other. The Blues had the advantage beyond a doubt; this a Red girl told us that she could not deny; but still, “though the Reds were beaten, she would not be a Blue girl for the whole universe!” On the other hand, Miss Edwards (the mistress of the hotel from whose window we saw the show), was rank Blue to the very tips of her fingers, and had, indeed, contributed one of her female slaves to sustain a very important character in the show; for when the Blue procession was ready to set forward, there was evidently a hitch, something was wanting; and there seemed to be no possibility of getting on without it — when suddenly we saw a tall woman dressed in mourning (being Miss Edwards herself) rush out of our hotel, dragging along by the hand a strange uncouth kind of a glittering tawdry figure, all feathers, and pitchfork, and painted pasteboard, who moved most reluctantly, and turned out to be no less a personage than Britannia herself, with a pasteboard shield covered with the arms of Great Britain, a trident in her hand, and a helmet made of pale blue silk and silver. The poor girl, it seems, was bashful at appearing in this conspicuous manner before so many spectators, and hung back when it came to the point. But her mistress had seized hold of her, and placed her by main force in her destined position. The music struck up; Miss Edwards gave the Goddess a great push forwards; the drumsticks and the elbows of the fiddlers attacked her in the rear; and on went Britannia willy-nilly!

The Blue girls called themselves “the Blue girls of Waterloo.” Their motto was the more patriotic; that of the Red was the more gallant: — “Britannia rules the day!” streamed upon the Blue flag; “Red girls for ever!” floated upon the Red. But, in point of taste and invention, the former carried it hollow. First marched Britannia; then came a band of music; then the flag; then the Blue King and Queen — the Queen splendidly dressed in white and silver (in scorn of the opposite party, her train was borne by a little girl in red); his Majesty wore a full British Admiral's uniform, with a white satin sash, and a huge cocked hat with a gilt paper crown upon the top of it. These were immediately followed by “Nelson's car,” being a kind of canoe decorated with blue and silver drapery, and with “Trafalgar” written on the front of it; and the procession was closed by a long train of Blue grandees (the women dressed in uniforms of white, with robes of blue muslin), all Princes and Princesses, Dukes and Duchesses, every mother's child of them.

The Red girls were also dressed very gaily and prettily, but they had nothing in point of invention that could vie with Nelson's Car and Britannia; and when the Red throne made its appearance, language cannot express the contempt with which our landlady eyed it. “It was neither one thing nor t’other,” Miss Edwards was of opinion. “Merely a few yards of calico stretched over some planks — and look, look, only look at it behind! you may see the bare boards! By way of a throne, indeed! Well, to be sure, Miss Edwards never saw a poorer thing in her life, that she must say!” And then she told me, that somebody had just snatched at a medal which Britannia wore round her neck, and had endeavoured to force it away. I asked her who had done so? “Oh, one of the Red party, of course!” The Red party was evidently Miss Edwards's Mrs. Grundy. John-Canoe made no part of the procession; but he and his rival, John-Crayfish (a personage of whom I heard, but could not obtain a sight), seemed to act upon quite an independent interest, and go about from house to house, tumbling and playing antics to pick up money for themselves.
A play was now proposed to us, and, of course, accepted. Three men and a girl accordingly made their appearance; the men dressed like the tumblers at Astley's, the lady very tastefully in white and silver, and all with their faces concealed by masks of thin blue silk; and they proceeded to perform the quarrel between Douglas and Glenalvon, and the fourth act of "The Fair Penitent." They were all quite perfect, and had no need of a prompter. As to Lothario, he was by far the most comical dog that I ever saw in my life, and his dying scene exceeded all description; Mr. Coates himself might have taken hints from him! As soon as Lothario was fairly dead, and Calista had made her exit in distraction, they all began dancing reels like so many mad people, till they were obliged to make way for the Waterloo procession, who came to collect money for the next year's festival; one of them singing, another dancing to the tune, while she presented her money-box to the spectators, and the rest of the Blue girls filling up the chorus. I cannot say much in praise of the black Catalani; but nothing could be more light, and playful, and graceful, than the extempore movements of the dancing girl. Indeed, through the whole day, I had been struck with the precision of their march, the ease and grace of their action, the elasticity of their step, and the lofty air with which they carried their heads – all, indeed, except poor Britannia, who hung down hers in the most ungoddess-like manner imaginable. The first song was the old Scotch air of "Logie of Buchan," of which the girl sang one single stanza forty times over. But the second was in praise of the
Hero of Heroes; so I gave the songstress a dollar to teach it to me, and drink the Duke's health. It was not easy to make out what she said, but as well as I could understand them, the words ran as follows: –

“Come, rise up, our gentry,
And hear about Waterloo;
Ladies, take your spy-glass,
And attend to what we do;
For one and one makes two,
But one alone must be.
Then singee, singee Waterloo,
None so brave as he!”

– and then there came something about green and white flowers, and a Duchess, and a lily-white Pig, and going on board of a dashing man of war; but what they all had to do with the Duke, or with each other, I could not make even a guess. I was going to ask for an explanation, but suddenly half of them gave a shout loud enough “to fright the realms of Chaos and old Night,” and away they flew, singers, dancers, and all. The cause of this was the sudden illumination of the town with quantities of large chandeliers and bushes, the branches of which were stuck all over with great blazing torches: the effect was really beautiful, and the excessive rapture of the black multitude at the spectacle was as well worth the witnessing as the sight itself.

*Jamaica National Gallery – J M Belisario – Kingston, Jamaica 1837 – Koo, Koo, or Actor-Boy*
Matthew Gregory Lewis – page 50-59 – 1 January 1816 – continued

I never saw so many people who appeared to be so unaffectedly happy. In England, at fairs and races, half the visitors at least seem to have been only brought there for the sake of traffic, and to be too busy to be amused; but here nothing was thought of but real pleasure; and that pleasure seemed to consist in singing, dancing, and laughing, in seeing and being seen, in showing their own fine clothes, or in admiring those of others. There were no people selling or buying; no servants and landladies bustling and passing about; and at eight o’clock, as we passed through the market-place, where was the greatest illumination, and which, of course, was most thronged, I did not see a single person drunk, nor had I observed a single quarrel through the course of the day; except, indeed, when some thoughtless fellow crossed the line of the procession, and received by the way a good box of the ear from the Queen or one of her attendant Duchesses. Every body made the same remark to me; “Well, sir, what do you think Mr. Wilberforce would think of the state of the negroes, if he could see this scene?” and certainly, to judge by this one specimen, of all beings that I have yet seen, these were the happiest . . .

Cynric R Williams arrived in Jamaica on 20 December 1822 and spent Christmas on a sugar estate.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=HZBUAAAAcAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – A Tour through the Island of Jamaica from the Western to the Eastern End in the year 1823, by Cynric R Williams – published 1826 – page 21-28 – extracts

I was grumbling in imagination at the incessant clamour of the cock on the morning of Christmas-day, when my ears were assailed with another sort of music, not much more melodious. This was a chorus of negroes singing “Good morning to your night-cap, and health to master and mistress.” They came into the house and began dancing. I slipped on my dressing-gown and mingled in their orgies, much to the diversion of the black damsels, as well as the inmates of the house, who came into the piazza to witness the ceremonies. We gave the fiddler a dollar, and they departed to their grounds to prepare their provisions for two or three days, and we saw no more of them till the evening, when they again assembled on the lawn before the house with their gombays, bonjaws, and an ebo drum, made of a hollow tree, with a piece of sheepskin stretched over it. Some of the women carried small calabashes with pebbles in them, stuck on short sticks, which they rattled in time to the songs, or rather howls of the musicians. They divided themselves into parties to dance, some before the gombays, in a ring, to form a bolero or a sort of love-dance, as it is called, where the gentlemen occasionally wiped the perspiration off the shining faces of their black beauties, who in turn, performed the same service to the minstrel. Others performed a sort of pyrrhic before the ebo drummer, beginning gently and gradually quickening their motions, until they seemed agitated by the furies. They were all dressed in their best; some of the men in long-tailed coats, one of the gombayers in old regimentals; the women in muslins and cambrics, with coloured handkerchiefs tastefully disposed around their heads, and ear-rings, necklaces, and bracelets of all sorts, in profusion. The entertainment was kept up till nine or ten o’clock in the evening, and during that time they were regaled with punch and santa in abundance; they came occasionally and asked for porter or wine. Indeed a perfect quality seemed to reign among all parties; many came and shook hands with their master and mistress, nor did the young ladies refuse the salutation any more than the gentlemen. The merriment became rather boisterous as the punch operated, and the slaves sang satirical philippics against their master, communicating a little free advice now and then; but they never lost sight of decorum, and at last retired, apparently quite satisfied with their saturnalia, to dance the rest of the night at their own habitations.

The next morning, a little after breakfast time, the slaves reappeared, dressed in fresh costume, that of yesterday being, perhaps, a little deranged with their rompings. A new ceremony was to be exhibited. First came eight or ten young girls marching before a man dressed up in a mask with a grey beard and long flowing hair, who carried the model of a house on his head. The house is called Jonkanoo, and the bearer of it is generally chosen for his superior activity in dancing. He first saluted his master and mistress, and then capered about with an astonishing agility and violence. The girls also danced without changing their position, moving their elbows and knees, and keeping tune with the calabashes filled with small stones. One of the damsels betraying, as it seemed, a little too much friskiness in her gestures, was
reproved by her companions for her imperance; they called her Miss Brazen, and told her she ought to be ashamed. All this time an incessant hammering was kept up on the gombay, and the cotta (a Windsor chair taken from the piazza to serve as a secondary drum) and the Jonkanoo’s attendant went about collecting money from the dancers and from the white people. Two or three strange negroes were invited to join, as a compliment and respect; they also contributed to the Jonkanoo man, who, I am told, collects sometimes from ten to fifteen pounds on the occasion. All this ceremony is certainly a commemoration of the deluge. The custom is African and religious, although the purpose is forgotten. Some writer, whose name I forget, says that the house is an emblem of Noah’s ark, and that Jonkanoo means the sacred boat or the sacred dove – caken meaning sacred, and jona a dove, in Hebrew or Samaritan: but as I have no pretension to etymology, I leave this subject to the literati.

The negroes have a custom of performing libations when they drink, a kind of first-fruit offering. When the old runaway thief of a watchman reconciled himself with his master, he received a glass of grog in token of forgiveness on the one side, and of repentance on the other; first, that he should not be flogged, and secondly, that he should not run away any more. On receiving the glass of grog, he poured a few drops on the ground, and drank off the rest to the health of his master and mistress.

On all these occasions of festivity the mulattos kept aloof, as if they disdained to mingle with the negroes; and some of the pious, the regenerated slaves, also objected to participate in the heathen practices of their ancestors. Yet they seemed to cast many a wistful look at the dancers, more especially after they had taken their allowance of grog, which was no part of their new faith to renounce.

On 30 January 1822 Edward swore the Williamsfield crop account for the year 1821.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proceeds of 330 hhds &amp; 20 Tierces Sugar</th>
<th>6063 - 4 - 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>deduct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance £249 - 10 - 2 Stores £1190 - 5 - 2</td>
<td>1976 - 13 - 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supertare Commission Postage &amp; Stamps £75 - 16 - 2</td>
<td>4068 - 11 - 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle purchased @ £461 - 1 - 9</td>
<td>3321 - 2 - 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pr Accounts of Geo Cuthbert &amp; G W Hamilton dated due to them from this Estate</td>
<td>765 - 8 - 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 12. 1821 to 1823


Edward and Eliza’s son Henry, born on 16 November 1822 (see Chapter 1), was conceived in February 1822 or a little later.

My photo, March 2007 – Williamsfield – looking northwest across the Rio Doro upstream from the sugar works and mill guttering

In March 1822 the Earl of Harewood owned 305 slaves in St Thomas in the Vale, and in St Thomas in the East Edward owned 6 slaves.
Chapter 12. 1821 to 1823

http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1823 Jamaica Almanac – Giving-In to Vestry 1st Quarter 1822

St Thomas in the Vale – Harewood, Lord – Williamsfield – 305 Slaves – 284 Stock

St Thomas in the East, Blue Mountain Division – Edward Clouston – Orkneys – 6 Slaves

At the Grand Court in Spanish Town on 3 June 1822 the cause of Edward Clouston versus George William Hamilton, only acting Executor of Edward Sword (see Chapter 6), was heard before William Anglin Scarlett, Chief Judge of the Grand Court, and his associate sitting Judges.

My photo, September 2008 – Spanish Town, the Parade – looking south towards the Court House – (destroyed by fire in 1986)

London National Archives – Counter Claims for Slave Compensation – Jamaica – T71/1178 – St Thomas in the Vale – Counter Claim, made on 1 August 1835, by Edward Clouston in respect of certain Slaves registered in Jamaica and in the possession of John McPherson, Receiver – documents include

Exemplification (true copy) of Cloustoun (sic) E. vs Hamilton Exor. – Island Secretary’s Office Records of Judgements, Lib 501, Fol 8 – extracts/summary

June Grand Court 1822 – Edward Clouston Esq by John Archer his attorney (at law) complains of George William Hamilton of St Thomas in the Vale Esq only acting Executor of Edward Sword late of St Catherine deceased – of a Plea of Trespass on the Case &c – Edward Sword in his life towit 1 October 1821 at St Thomas in the Vale was indebted unto Edward Clouston – for goods supplied by him at various times – in the sum of £500 Jamaica currency

Execution returnable October Grand Court 1822 – George 4th – to the Provost Marshall – We command thee that of the goods and chattels real and personal of Edward Sword Esq deceased in the hands of George William Hamilton of St Thomas in the Vale Esq only acting Executor (and who together with John McPherson and William Sword an absentee from this Island were nominated and appointed Executors) of the last Will of Edward Sword – thou should Levy or cause to be levied £223 12s 6d
damages, and £3 14s 2½d Costs of Suit, and Same money you have at our Supreme Court of Judicature to be holden at St Jago de la Vega the 1st Monday in October next to Satisfy Edward Clouston Esq of the said damages and Costs which Edward Clouston in our Court recovered against George William Hamilton acting Executor – whereof he stands convicted as appears upon Record – but if of the goods and chattels of Edward Sword in the hands aforesaid thou canst not Levy the Said damages and Costs that thou there make return thereof at our Supreme Court of Judicature to be holden at St Jago de la Vega the 1st Monday in October next – Witness the Honourable Anglin Scarlett Esquire chief Judge of our Said Court at St Jago de la Vega the 1st Monday in June in the 3rd Year of our Reign (1822) – F Smith Cl. C.

Levy the Damages with Interest from 3d June 1822 till paid and Costs – Finlayson Archer & Guy p …. Levied on produce – A Kennedy ….

Molynew Hyde Nepean, Clerk Supreme Court

It appears that 1 October 1821 (above) was the day Edward Sword died.


Spanish-Town, Oct 6, 1821.
Estate of Edward Sword, deceased.

All persons indebted thereto are requested to make immediate Payment, and all Demands against the Deceased are requested to be rendered prior to the 1st December next, as any presented after that date will not be noticed.

Geo W Hamilton.

Colin Graham (Francis Graham’s illegitimate son – see Chapter 11) was one of the witnesses to Edward Sword’s Will.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Wills, Old Series, Lib 100, Fol 44 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 26 Nov 1821 – Edward Sword’s Will and Codicil, dated 7 November 1820 – extracts/summary

To my house keeper Mary Evenson all my wearing apparel and household furniture for her and her heirs for ever – also – two cows to have her choice for her and her heirs for ever – To my reputed and dear beloved Children Margaret Sword, Edward John Sword and William Thomas Sword £1,500 currency each to be vested at interest – interest to be applied to the Education and support of them until they obtain the age of 20 years – then to be paid to them – if Margaret Sword marries before the age of 20 her share be paid over to her as soon after Marriage as convenient to my Executors – if any of my children die before the age of 20 – such share or shares go to the Survivor/Survivors of them – should all my Children die before they are 20 – all three shares to be divided between my brothers William John & Tom and my sister Mrs Jane Moody all of the County of Cumberland.

It is my wish that none of my children return to Jamaica particularly my Daughter – Boys will take their own way some times when at their own disposal – I wish all of mine to have as good an Education as the funds will allow – the Boys I wish to be Farmers or what they particularly wish to follow – should they not be gone off (the island) before my death it is my desire that they are sent to Liverpool where my brother or sister will send after their arrival & carry them to Cumberland – it is my wish that they are sent to school in Carlisle for at least two years and then to go to my sister Jane Moody of Langtown Cumberland where she will see them Educated and taken care of with the aid and assistance of my brother William – Should I depart this life before my children are sent home it is my request that they remain with their mother Mary Evanson until sent on Board – to Mary Evanson I leave a small parcel of land of 12 and a half acres purchased from Mr John McLeod – during her life then to go to my reputed Children – I give to Mary Evanson £50 currency

Codicil – It is my wish as all the acct of Richmond Hill has been left off years back from the urgent and Embarrassed state that purchase brought me into That Mr Anthony Davis if convenient set down and make up the acct, & in doing so I beg to call his attention to the following – I think I should be allowed so much per annum for the Establishment at R Hill which I have little of but my own & Mr McPhersons friends have often told me of it. I also dispute hire. Mr McPherson has been in the habit of charging for apprentices & even R Hill negroes learning the trade and all along a journey man Employed to do the work and paid for it. I contend too that I should be allowed a share of all the provisions sent down to Spanish Town for sale weekly. Mr McPhersons people to be charged for their annual Clothing taxes Drs Bills &c &c &c I wish Mr McPherson to have a preference of R Hill & negroes and any thing else he can be indulged in. There are two parcels of land purchased since R Hill – Witnesses, Geo Mackerlie, Anthony Davis, C Graham

Jamaica Ss – I have administered an oath unto Colin Graham – saith that he was present and did see Edward Sword – being at that time of sound mind memory and understanding Sign Seal and publish and declare the same as and for his last Will and Testament and codicil and at the same time George McKerlie and Anthony Davis also present – Given under my hand and seal this 26th day of Novr 1821 – Ths Jas Brown

See Chapter 21 – Edward’s Counter Claim – John McPherson

In a letter written by Edward on 27 July 1827 (see Chapter 16), he referred to Edward Sword’s Estate and the bankruptcy of Bogles & Co.

Orkney Library & Archives – Gray of Roeberry papers – letter dated, St Thomas Vale 27July 1827, from Edward Clouston to Peter Scollay, Kirkwall, Orkney – extract

... I fortunately did not lose anything by the firm of Messrs Bogles & Co when they failed, but upwards of £200 by the Estate of Mr Sword, who I at that time drew in favor of...

Bogles & Co, Kingston merchants, had gone bankrupt by 14 March 1822 – London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 6 Apr 1822, page Sup 9

Kingston, March 14, 1822. Notice Is Hereby Given,
That the Trust Deed, prepared pursuant to the Resolution of a general Meeting of the Creditors of Bogles & Co held on the 8th inst now lies for Signatures at the Office of the late Firm.
It will be necessary for every Creditor, who wishes to rank upon the Trust Property, to execute the same, if he is resident in the Island within six months, and if an absentee within nine months, from this date, either personally or by letter of attorney.
All Accounts against the late Firm, up to the 6th inst are requested to be rendered for adjustment without delay.

By Order of the Trustees.

Kingston, March 15, 1822.
For Sale, the well-known Wharf and Premises, at the lower end of King-Street, at present in complete repair, belonging to the Estate of Bogles & Co, with Twenty-Six able-bodied Wharf Negroes (among whom are five excellent Coopers) attached thereto, along with the Negro Yard in Duke-street.
The Premises and Negroes are at present let to Messrs Franklin & Gregory (who are bound to uphold the former repair) on a five years’ Lease, from the 1st January, 1821, at the annual rent of 1100l. for the first two years, and 1200l. for the remaining three; determinable, however, at the option of either party, at the end of three years.
Also,
The Wharf and Fire-Proof Stores fronting Port-Royal-street, recently fitted with Iron Doors and Windows, and otherwise materially improved.
For further particulars, and terms of Sale, application to be made at the Counting-House of the late Firm.

By Order of the Trustees.

The Trustees of Bogles and Co request that all Sums due to the late Firm may be settled with Mr M Scott, who is empowered to grant Receipts in their name.

Above – M Scott – Michael Scott (author of *Tom Cringle's Log*) was one of the co-partners of Bogles & Co.

The death in 1821 of Robert Bogle of Gilmore Hill, Glasgow (Michael Scott’s father in law) may perhaps have triggered the bankruptcy of Bogles & Co. He retired from Bogles & Co on 31 December 1817.


There was addebted and owing to the deceased by Messrs Bogles & Co of Kingston Jamaica the sum of - £21,682 - 16 - 6
Interest from 31 December 1817 to 14 March 1821 - 3,479 - 18 - 4
£25,172 - 14 -10

But Messrs Bogles & Co having since become bankrupt the debt can only be valued at 4/ per pound - £5,034 - 10 -10

In 1818 and for some years before then Michael Scott was a partner of the Kingston firm, Hamilton, Scott, & Co whose business was taken over by Bogles & Co on 1 January 1819.

British Library & London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat 2 Jan 1819, page Add PS 25

Kingston, Dec 31, 1818.

The Copartnership of Hamilton, Scott, & Co, terminates this day by mutual consent.
Rob Hamilton
Michael Scott.
Andrew Bogle, by his Atty Rob Hamilton
James Franklin.

Kingston, Jan 1, 1819.

The Business, hitherto carried on under the Firm of Hamilton, Scott, & Co will, from this date, be conducted by the Subscribers, who request that all Demands against the said Concern may be rendered to them, and those indebted thereto will be pleased to make Payments without delay.

Bogles & Co

Kingston, Jan 1, 1819.

The Subscriber, having retired from the Concern of Hamilton, Scott, & Co will commence Factorage and Commission Business from this date, jointly with Mr H L Garrigues, under the Firm of James Franklin & Co.

James Franklin.

Above – Robert Hamilton = a younger brother of George William Hamilton – Andrew Bogle = R and G W Hamilton’s uncle, the youngest brother of Robert Bogle of Gilmore Hill


Michael Scott married Robert Bogle’s daughter Margaret Cathcart Bogle at Glasgow on 31 May 1818 – see – https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search# – Church Registers – Marriages
He sailed from Port Royal for England in April 1817 (Jamaica Royal Gazette, Sat, 12 Apr 1817) and returned to Jamaica with his bride in 1818.

Andrew Bogle and Robert Hamilton were partners of Bogles & Co before 1819 and at the time of the bankruptcy it appears that they and Michael Scott were the three partners of the firm.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 14 Jun 1823, page Sup 13
Venditioni Exponas – Rex vs Andrew Bogle, Robert Hamilton, and Michael Scott, Merchants.

In June 1822 George William Hamilton and his brother Robert Hamilton were on a committee for ‘promoting subscriptions’ in aid of the Presbyterian Institution of Kingston.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 15 Jun 1822, page PS 18-19

Presbyterian Institute – Subscriptions…permanent salary…Clergyman…officiate in Presbyterian church in Kingston, and for such other purposes…
Committee: – Hon David Finlayson, Hon Wm Shand, James Simpson, Kenneth Macpherson, Robert Ross, Alexander McInnes, G W Hamilton, Robert Hamilton, and John Lunan, Esqrs – to communicate with such Gentlemen, in the different parishes…desirous…opening and promoting subscriptions.

In October 1822 Edward was one of the subscribers in St Thomas in the Vale in aid of the Presbyterian Institution – London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 5 Oct 1822, page PS 18
The first Minister of the Presbyterian Church in Kingston, Rev John Brown, arrived from Scotland at the beginning of January 1819 (Jamaica Royal Gazette, Sat, 9 Jan 1819, page PS 19) and the Church was opened for Divine Service on Sunday 4 April 1819.


The Committee of the Presbyterian Church have decided, that the range of Pews under the South Gallery shall be appropriated to White People, and those under the North to those of Colour

A Plan of the whole may be seen and Pews taken at the Store of Messrs Smith and Kinnear.

We now have the satisfaction to state, that this elegant Building will be opened for Divine Service on Sunday the 4th April, when all persons, inclined to favour our Institution, may have an opportunity of contributing towards defraying the heavy and unforeseen expences thereof.

Esso Road Map – Downtown Kingston – = St Andrew’s Scots Kirk (formerly the Presbyterian Church), on the west side of Duke Street


. . . The Scotch [Church] is a neat circular building, but was what they call “a whistling kirk,” that is, had the advantage of an organ. Some of my puritanical countrymen think this is a scandalous innovation, and that musical instruments of any kind are an abomination in the church service, forgetting at the same time that “it is good to give thanks unto the Lord, and to sing praises unto his name upon an instrument of ten strings, upon the psaltery, and upon the harp with a solemn sound.”

Website not noted – St Andrew’s Scots Kirk of Kingston

On Friday, February 4, 1814, the design of James Delaney [or Delancy] was accepted. It called for a gallery going all around, supported by twelve solid mahogany pillars of Ionic design, and above them another twelve pillars of Corinthian design to support the roof.
The earthquake of 1907 made the upper part of the walls so unsafe that it was decided to reduce the height of the original building. The high central pulpit above the communion table was also removed.

*My photo, November 2009 – Duke Street, west side – St Andrew’s Scots Kirk*

http://jamaicanancestralrecords.com/parishes-2/kingston/st-andrews-scots-kirk/ – St Andrew’s Scots Kirk

James Hakewill described the ‘Scotch Church in Duke Street’ as the ‘handsomest building in Kingston’ – see Chapter 11.
In November 1822 a Book-keeper on Williamsfield died.


Edward and Eliza’s son Henry Clouston was born on 16 November 1822 (see Chapter 1) – and their son Edward Clouston (see Chapter 11) died in 1822 or 1823 – see below.

On 13 January 1823 Edward swore the Williamsfield crop account for the year 1822.

My photos, November 2009 – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 58, Fol 87 – Williamsfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – crop account for year 1822 – entered Island Secretary’s Office 18 Mar 1823 – sworn on 13 January 1823 by Edward Clouston before David Finlayson – arrow points to – Sold – to Edwd Clouston 170 gallons (no cask) = 1½ puncheons Rum
Chapter 12. 1821 to 1823

Back in London in January 1823 some of the leading members of the African Institution founded the London Anti-Slavery Society – the Society for the Amelioration and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions.

The creation of the African Institution after the abolition of the Slave Trade had been hailed with satisfaction by all who desired to see the infamous traffic finally swept away, and it fulfilled the expectations raised by its establishment. The constitution of the board was a remarkable one; the Duke of Gloucester presided and scarcely ever was absent from a meeting, while the peers and members of Parliament who formed the greater portion of working members were unremitting in their attendance. But the same reason which had contributed to render it a powerful instrument in the hands of the Abolitionists at its commencement and for some years afterwards, served rather to retard than to accelerate progress in the great cause when interest in the subject of slavery became more widely disseminated throughout the country. The influence that a committee, which included among its numbers no less than five Premiers, besides numerous other members of each Ministry, was capable of exercising upon the Governments of foreign nations was absolutely invaluable, and it also constituted a repository which was easily accessible of trustworthy information upon the Slave Trade at home and abroad.

But as time went on it became plain to the discerning eyes of one at least of the members of the board that the work of the African Institution was completed, and now a society of a more popular and elastic nature was needed; a society that should be capable of inaugurating the radical improvement that was
urgently required in the condition of the slaves, and of pursuing the vigorous measures which alone could accomplish it.

‘This substitution of the power of Anti-slavery association was an improvement of which the credit was mainly due to Mr. Macaulay . . .’ – Anti-Slavery Recollections [by Sir George Stephen, published 1854]

In March 1823 William Wilberforce’s *Appeal* was published.


To all the inhabitants of the British Empire, who value the favour of God, or are alive to the interests or honour of their country – to all who have any respect for justice, or any feelings of humanity, I would solemnly address myself. I call upon them, as they shall hereafter answer, in the great day of account, for the use they shall have made of any power or influence with which Providence may have entrusted them, to employ their best endeavours, by all lawful and constitutional means, to mitigate, and, as soon as it may be safely done, to terminate the Negro Slavery of the British Colonies; a system of the grossest injustice, of the most heathenish irreligion and immorality, of the most unprecedented degradation, and unrelenting cruelty.

At any time, and under any circumstances, from such a heavy load of guilt as this oppression amounts to, it would be our interest no less than our duty to absolve ourselves. But I will not attempt to conceal, that the present embarrassments and distress of our country – a distress, indeed, in which the West Indians themselves have largely participated – powerfully enforce on me the urgency of the obligation under which we lie, to commence, without delay, the preparatory measures for putting an end to a national crime of the deepest moral malignity.

The long continuance of this system, like that of its parent the Slave Trade, can only be accounted for by the generally prevailing ignorance of its real nature, and of its great and numerous evils. Some of the abuses which it involves have, indeed, been drawn to notice. But when the public attention has been attracted to this subject, it has been unadvisedly turned to particular instances of cruelty, rather than to the system in general, and to those essential and incurable vices which will invariably exist wherever the power of man over man is unlimited. Even at this day, few of our countrymen, comparatively speaking, are at all apprised of the real condition of the bulk of the Negro Population; and, perhaps many non-resident West Indian proprietors are full as ignorant of it as other men. Often, indeed, the most humane of the number, (many of them are men whose humanity is unquestionable,) are least of all aware of it, from estimating, not unnaturally, the actual state of the case, by the benevolence of their own well meant, but unavailing directions to their managers in the western hemisphere.

In June 1823, in reply to Wilberforce’s *Appeal*, Rev George Wilson Bridges wrote, *A Voice from Jamaica*.


When a clergyman of the Church of England ventures to reply to what assumes the imposing appearance of disinterested truth, clothed in the hallowed garb of universal charity, and uttered with all the confidence of local knowledge, he may himself, perhaps be suspected of outraging the mild character of the divine precepts he should inculcate, and his own philanthropy may be called in question. Such imputations may probably be cast on me, for thus venturing into the field of controversy with you, Sir, who have so long laboured in a cause, which if abstractedly considered, is doubtless that of degraded humanity. But, Sir, I write only as the feeble advocate of a Church Establishment, whose domestic as well as foreign institutions, you appear to take every opportunity of impugning; – I reply only as the impartial
spectator, the friend of truth and justice, who, equally anxious as yourself to hasten the period when emancipation may safely be made subservient to the moral happiness of our fellow creatures here, would nevertheless not see that object pursued by unworthy means, nor gained in a field of blood.

You, Sir, have never been in the West Indies; you have never viewed the habits of negro life in its indigenous state; nor ever had communication with that people, other than what you may have obtained from some casual intercourse with a few individuals in London, who have visited you as their avowed protector, and the ready listener to their tales of woe: yet you conceive your knowledge of their character to be perfect. As perfect, Sir, as is that you would form of the English peasant, from the artful tale of a wandering street-beggar at your door.

Allow then one who has profited by all those opportunities which you want, one whose professional duties induce an intimate acquaintance with the negro character in its progressive stages of improvement; one who is equally anxious as yourself to see the negroes raised to the rank which all Christians should be first rendered competent to sustain, to tell you that you are fatally in error throughout; – that in fact, you know little of their actual state; and that if your views of the case are founded on the statements detailed in your “Appeal,” they are as inaccurate and premature, as the information you have obtained is false.

The dreadful tendency of the latter part of your “Appeal,” which I shall presently notice, necessarily forbids its circulation here; and I have been able to procure no more than its hasty perusal; but that was sufficient to impress certain flagrant errors on my mind, together with the instant conviction that nothing could be more easy than their refutation.

Zachary Macaulay, in *Negro Slavery* published in 1823, commented on *Medical and Miscellaneous* by Dr John Williamson (see Chapter 3) who lived on Williamsfield from 1798 to 1802.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=M8OFAVTth1UC&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *Negro Slavery; or, a view of some of the more prominent features of that state of society, as it exists in the United States of America and the Colonies of the West Indies, especially in Jamaica, published 1823, by anonymous author (Zachary Macaulay)* – page 55-66 – II. Evidence of John Williamson, M.D. – page 55-56

In the year 1817 Dr. Williamson published a work, in two volumes . . . “Medical and Miscellaneous Observations relative to the West India Islands, by John Williamson, M.D. . . . He dedicates this work to the [1st] Earl of Harewood on whose estate of Williamsfield, in the parish of St Thomas in the Vale, Jamaica, he had lived for about four years in a professional capacity. His residence in the island appears to have extended from August 1798 to April 1812, a period of nearly fourteen years.

The testimony of Dr Williamson will be less liable to exception, in the estimation of West Indians, as he shows himself, on all occasions, a sturdy advocate of their system; and when he finds fault with them, it is manifestly with extreme reluctance. He even hopes, by an exhibition of facts, to place in their true light the unfair representations of the enemies of the colonies, “the officious would-be friends” (as he calls them) “of humanity,” who, he assures us, have only to “leave the Negroes to their own judgement, and to improvement by the wisely framed resolutions of their own colonial assemblies,” in order to their being “a happy people,” who will “fully appreciate the value of their superior condition.” Vol. i. p. 338. – He sometimes expresses himself in terms almost approaching rapture, when speaking of the condition of the Negroes in the West Indies; nay, he even doubts whether the abolition of the slave trade was not a great evil, inasmuch as it prevented the removal of Africans from a state of barbarism and misery, in their own land, to that state of civilization and improvement, a West Indian plantation! (Vol. i. p. 371. ii. P. 332, &c. &c.)

One of the blessings attending this removal he rather amusingly discovers to be, that “indolent, good-for-nothing Negroes,” (and it seems there are many of these in Jamaica,) who, “if they were left to their own free wills, uncontrolled by wholesome laws which encourage industrious habits, would become idlers and plunders, and return to barbarism,” (vol. i. p. 345.) here find the control of such wholesome laws. In other words, their indolence finds a cure, and their industry an incentive in the wholesome discipline of the cart-whip. In short, whenever Dr. W. speaks in general terms, he seems at a loss to find words strong enough in which to eulogize the humanity and tenderness of West India proprietors and overseers . . .
In March 1823 the Earl of Harewood owned 299 slaves in St Thomas in the Vale, and Edward owned 6 slaves in St Thomas in the East.

http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1824 Jamaica Almanac – Giving-In to Vestry 1st Quarter 1823

St Thomas in the Vale – Harewood, Lord – Williamsfield – 299 Slaves – 284 Stock

St Thomas in the East, Blue Mountain Division – Edward Clouston – Orkneys – 6 Slaves

Rev W G Burton’s wife, Eliza (or Elizabeth) died on 22 May 1823.

London National Archive – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 21 May 1823, page PS 24 – Died

In Spanish-Town, St Catherine’s, on 22nd inst, Mrs Elizabeth Burton, the wife of the Rev W G Burton, Rector of the parish of St Thomas in the Vale.

Chapter 12. 1821 to 1823

Inscription

Remember what the Will of Heaven Ordains is Good for All;
and if Good for All, then Good for Thee. –

To the Memory of Elizabeth, wife of the Revd W. G. Burton,
who died suddenly, 22nd May, 1823

“We know not what we ask.”

In 1823, on 14 August, Edward was made an Ensign in the St Thomas in the Vale Militia, and on 15 August Henry Lowndes was also made an Ensign.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 16 Aug 1823 – page PS 23

Henry Lowndes (1798-1854) – one of Edward’s attorneys after he retired back to Britain – see Chapter 1.

https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search# – Church Registers – Births & Baptisms – Paisley – Births – 10 April 1798 – Henry, son of Thomas Lowndes and Isabella, nee Gillies

Henry Lowndes was a nephew of John Blackburn (see Chapter 5). After John Blackburn left Jamaica and retired back to Britain, he married Henry’s maternal aunt, Rebecca Gillies.


... Henry Lowndes ... was born in Paisley in 1798, his father being an Englishman domiciled in Scotland and married a Scotchwoman. His father went to reside in London in 1808, taking with him Henry, who was then ten years of age. Henry was educated at St Paul’s School, and after finishing his education there, went to Jamaica in 1814 to push his fortune ...


In 1818 or by the beginning of 1819, Henry Lowndes was the overseer of Hyde Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, one of the properties represented by Francis Graham.

Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts – Hyde Estate, St Thomas in the Vale

Lib 53, Fol 78 – for year 1818 – sworn on 28 January 1819 by Henry Lowndes, Overseer

Lib 54, Fol 93 – for year 1819 – sworn on 19 January 1820 by Henry Lowndes, Overseer

Lib 55, Fol 210 – for year 1820 – sworn on 6 January 1821 by Henry Lowndes
Year 1821 not noted

Wallens Estate, St Thomas in the Vale


*Lib 58, Fol 87* – for year 1822 – sworn on 1 March 1823 by Henry Lowndes, Overseer.

Henry Lowndes continued to live on Wallens as the overseer, and/or as one of John Blackburn’s attorneys.

Jamaica Militia –


There is here a tolerably well-disciplined militia, and it is pretty numerous, considering the limited white population. From eight to ten thousand effective men (including about two thousand free people of colour and blacks enrolled with the whites) might, upon an emergency, be brought into the field. Each parish has its regiment of foot, and one or two troops of horse. To each of the regiments are attached two field-pieces and a company of artillery. The officers are, as has been said, appointed by the governor, on the recommendation of the colonels; and so numerous are the candidates for commissions, that it is not unusual to see a battalion of about three hundred men have about fifty commissioned officers attached to it, besides nearly an equal number of non-commissioned officers; that is, one commissioned and one non-commissioned officer to every seven men. Among the former there are usually one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, and two or more majors. The legal qualifications for a commission are two years service in the ranks, and a certain income; but these regulations are not always attended to. In the recommendations to commissions much depends on petty local interests and connexions – on the favour and affection of the colonels, or their friends: without such interest or favour, merit and long services are rarely of any weight in such appointments. There may be exceptions; but this is the general system. The governor, who is the sole granter of commissions, has no power of discriminating as the justness of the claims of those who apply for them; he has only to confirm the nomination of the colonels. The granting of commissions in the militia is a source of considerable emolument to the governor’s secretary; the prices are as follow – commission of a general £30; of a colonel £21; of a lieutenant-colonel £15, 15s.; of a major £12, 10s.; of a captain £8, 5s.; of a lieutenant £5, 10s.; of an ensign, adjutant, and quarter-master, £3, 5s. &c.

The cavalry is tolerably well mounted, but it would be found far less effective in actual service than the infantry. Neither the men nor the horses are sufficiently well-trained to face a well-disciplined enemy...

The Jamaica militia differs in several respects from the militia of the mother-country. It is not raised by ballot, and no man can avoid the duty of serving by procuring a substitute; but every male between the age of sixteen and sixty, if not incapacitated by accident or infirmity, or exempted by official situation, or some convenient sinecure, is obliged to enrol himself in it. The regiments cannot be put on permanent duty except by the laying on of martial law: the regular routine of their duty, by the militia law, is attending drill once a month, and field-inspections once a quarter... Arms and accoutrements are furnished by government, but the men must find their own regimentals...

Three inspecting major-generals (one for each county) are appointed, from amongst the oldest militia colonels, to review and inspect, once a year, the horse and foot militia, – each regiment and troop in its respective parish.

... Such indeed is the fondness for dignified situations and high-sounding titles, that one man sometimes holds the different situations of major-general of militia, assistant-judge of the grand court, and custos rotolorum and chief judge of the court of common-pleas, *without being either a soldier or a lawyer*.
The uniforms, arms and accoutrements of the militia, are much the same as those of the regulars, only that hats are worn instead of caps by the battalion companies...

On 4 (or 5) September 1823 a book-keeper on Williamsfield died.


London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 20 Sep 1823, page PS 23 – Died

In St Thomas in the Vale... At Mount Pleasant, on the 5th inst Mr Hugh Ross, book-keeper on Williamsfield estate

My photo, September 2008 – Williamsfield – from the site of the sugar works looking across the Rio Doro
Slaves were registered for the third time in 1823 – the third Triennial Returns of Slaves. The Earl of Harewood’s St Thomas in the Vale Return records the birth of ‘Little Henry’ (Henry Clouston) and the death of Edward Clouston aged 4.


Bessy and her family on 28 June 1823 – Increase – 3 births – Decrease – 1 death

Birth – Little Henry, Quadroon, Age 0 (months old), son of Eliza Fox (and Edward Clouston)

Births – Lewis, Negro, Age 2, son of Sandy Gut Dolly baptized Dorothy Beckford

Nancy, Mulatto, Age 2, daughter of Ann Balfour

Death – Edward Clouston, Quadroon, died aged 4 (son of Eliza Fox and Edward Clouston)

Little Henry, later baptized Henry Clouston, was, I suspect, named Henry after his owner Henry, the 2nd Earl of Harewood. I also suspect that Eliza and Edward’s first son, Edward, was named, in the first place, after his owner Edward, the 1st Earl of Harewood.

St Thomas in the East – page 169 – Return of Slaves in the possession of Edward Clouston as owner – on 28 June 1820: 6 Males, 1 Female – Total 7 Slaves – on 28 June 1823: Decrease 1, Tom Clouston died aged 34 – Increase 0 – Total 6 Slaves – Sworn on 11 September 1823 by Edward Clouston before George William Hamilton

Page 341-42 – Return of Slaves in the possession of Kenneth Macpherson as attorney for the Heirs of John Stewart deceased – total 142 slaves – including – Bob Clouston, Black, age 0, Creole, mother Pamela Stewart

Note – Bob Clouston may have been Robert Clouston who was baptized on 12 October 1823 by Rev J M Trew, the Rector of St Thomas in the East.

https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:VHD8-5ZR ~ – St Thomas in the East Parish Register – baptisms – 1823, 12 October – 2 slaves belonging to Fonthill include – Robert Clouston, Black, Infant

St George – page 440 – (no scan on ancestry.co.uk) – Return of Slaves in the possession of Edward Clouston as attorney to Rev Alexander Johnston – on 28 June 1820: 2 Males, 0 Females – Total 2 Slaves – on 28 June 1823: 2 Males, 0 Females – Total 2 Slaves – Increase 0 – Decrease 0 – Sworn on 25 September 1823 by Edward Clouston before George Quinlan

Clarendon – no Return of Slaves for Peter Scollay – it therefore appears that his 2 Slaves, registered by Edward in 1820 (see Chapter 11) had been sold.

On 2 November 1823 Ann Oaksford, a Mestee (or Mustee) child, was baptized at Williamsfield.


Following a slave uprising in Demerara in August 1823, there were fears of an uprising in Jamaica.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 8 Nov 1823, page Add PS 28 – at a meeting in the parish of St Mary – 9 Resolutions were passed – extract – Resolutions 7, 8 and 9

Resolved, 7th. That it would have been more consistent with wisdom and justice had the British House of Commons first tried the effect of abolishing their press-gang, the whip in the Army and Navy, and exemption of woman from punishment, among themselves, before they attempted to recommend a system to us that would leave us destitute of all control over our Negroes; and, before they ventured to interfere in interests of such vital importance to so large a proportion of British subjects, they should have made themselves perfect masters of the subject, by the examination of the most experienced and respectable Governors and Commanders, by mean of a Committee of upright, honest, and unprejudiced men, sent out for the purpose and not have formed their opinion from garbled, exaggerated reports of visionary fanatics, who derive all their information from false and infamous libels, published by disappointed and revengeful incendiaries, whose worthless and abandoned characters have worked their own disappointment in coming to this country to improve their fortunes.

Resolved, 8th. That in the present alarming state of the country, when we have a right to expect the same calamities from the same causes that have visited Demerara and other Colonies, it is grievous to see the Barracks that have been erected at a vast expense on the northside of the island mostly left destitute of troops, where, from the number of negroes, the paucity of white people, and the vast amount of property which constitutes the greatest share to the expense of maintaining those troops, there ought at least to be a moiety, if not a larger share, quartered: It is therefore the opinion of this Meeting that his Honour the Custos be requested to make an humble representation of our situation to his Grace the Governor, and entreat his indulgence with the Commander in Chief to send over a company to Fort-Haldane, .. high from its situation must be healthy, as well as central, and may in case of necessity serve as a rallying point to an extensive rich District, possessing a very large portion of negroes, and not a single regular soldier being on the line of coast for upwards of 100 miles.

Abraham Hodgson [Custos]

The Custos having left the chair, the Hon. Henry Cox was called thereto, when it was

Resolved, 9th. That the thanks of this Meeting be given to his Honour the Custos, for his able and upright conduct in the Chair, and that he be requested to sign these Resolutions, and have them published for one month in the three County Papers of this island, and in the John Bull and Courier London Papers.

Henry Cox
In a letter, below, news of the Demerara slave uprising had ‘just’ reached Jamaica on 8 October 1823.

*https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/254898* – *Stirlings of Ardoch and Grahams of Airth Family Letters: a Personal View of the Value of Kinship, transcribed and edited by Sarah Harrison, 2016* – letter, dated Ardoch, St Ann’s, Jamaica, 8 October 1823, from David Finlay to Thomas Graham Sterling – extract

My dear Sir,

I had the pleasure of receiving your Esteemed favour of the 25th June by the July packet, in which you are good enough to say that the long promised power to sign the Conveyance would be sent by the August packet; but she is arrived without it, tho’ probably the Septr. mail may fetch it - I should suppose out [sic] friends Messrs Archd & Wm Stirling would not hesitate much, about the reasonableness of the deduction more especially as there is nothing but alarm, depreciation of property, meetings of all the Parishes here to make resolution to open the Eyes of people at home as to the State of the Slave population, and to avert the ruinous consequences of the avowed measures of the Saints, Messrs Wilberforce, Stephen & my old Overseer Macaulay, and we have just received accots. of a serious insurrection among the Slaves in Demarara owing to some of their Sanctified Agents there inflaming the minds of these poor deluded people with ideas of Speedy emancipation. The only person who appears to make rather light of it is our worthy Governor the Duke of Manchester . . .

Accounts of the ‘alarming insurrection’ in Demerara had reached Scotland by 13 October 1823.

*British Library Newspapers online – Caledonian Mercury, 13 Oct 1823* – Insurrection in Demerara

We regret to state that the most alarming insurrection has broken out among the negroes of Demerara. Letters to the date of the 24th August have been received from the settlement, announcing the lamentable event. The insurgent negroes, it appears, entered into parley with the Governor, and insisted as the price of their future labour and obedience, that they should work only three days in the week, while their masters fed, clothed, and supported them as formerly. They said they knew the King of England had made them free, but that their freedom was unjustly withheld by the Colonial Authorities . . .

In Jamaica in December 1823 a ‘conspiracy’ was discovered among slaves in St Mary’s and St George.

Alexander Innes, an army officer on half pay, arrived at Port Royal from England on 18 December 1823 (see above Alexander Innes sailing from Port Royal for England on 27 February 1824). On Christmas Day 1823 he wrote in his Journal that Kingston had ‘a very warlike appearance... Martial Law is declared’. Below – transcripts of the Jamaica section of Alexander Innes’ Journal on the Jamaican Family website are pages I transcribed and gave to the site in 2012.

Kingston – Duke Street, Thursday, 25 December 1823

This being Christmas Day we had a large party at Dinner. The subject of general conversation was the disturbed state of the Island, and the disposition to insurrection the Slaves in many parts of the Island have exhibited. It was the decided opinion of all present that something of a very serious nature is in contemplation amongst the Blacks. This Town at present has a very warlike appearance. The Militia being all called out, they parade the Streets every hour. I can not say that they have much the gait or look of Soldiers, but they may be very useful. Martial Law is declared. I am informed that I shall have to put on a Red Coat myself. From my being an officer in the British Army they can not make me serve here under the rank of Captain, but as there is no pay whatever attached to the service, if I can I will decline it.

Farm Penn Friday 26th December 1823

I left Kingston this morning at 9 o’clock. I had a most unruly Horse in the Gig so much so that neither the Black Boy nor myself could manage him until we blind folded him. The road was delightful and the country every where teeming with beautiful scenery. This Farm or Penn, as it is called here belongs to Lord Carrington, but it is at present rented by Mr McInnes and Messers Christie and Taylor. The stock of Cattle and Sheep they have got here is immense...

Raza Mount [St Thomas in the Vale] Saturday 27th Dec 1823

At 3 o’clock P.M. I reached this place. I left Lord Carrington’s Farm at Gun fire (4 a.m.) I reached Saint Jago de la Vega, commonly called Spanish Town at 7 a.m. It is built on the left bank of the Rio Cobre river in a pleasant valley 16 miles from Kingston, and tho’ inferior in point of size was once the Capital of Jamaica, it is still the seat of Government and the place where the Courts of Justice are held. Raza Mount is without any exceptions the most romantic place I have seen. The house is built in the Cottage style and has its site half way up a mountain. The sublime grandeur of the lofty Blue Mountains whose aspiring summits seems to invade the regions of ether, towers in majestic grandeur over the mountain the Cottage is built on. Luxuriant scenery every where catches the eye of the traveller. The cooling breeze from the sea have in some measure cooled the sultriness of the day before I reached the foot of the mountain; as it is impossible for any Vehicle to ascend Mr McInnes sent down a horse for me; the view from the house is of great extent you see nearly the whole Parish of St Thomas in the Vale. The air here is cool so much so that Mr McInnes informs me that he burns fires at night. I have been highly amused with the Negroes since the Christmas Days commenced, they dance the whole day, the only musick they have is a Drum which is beat by one of themselves, the various attitudes they put their bodies into when they dance is truly laughable, all of them I have as yet seen, seem harmless creatures. On my way here I stopt for an hour at Bybrook a very fine Sugar Plantation belonging to the late Mr Ross. I am informed the place is extremely unhealthy, in consequence of the great body of stagnate water that surrounds the Estate.

Raza Mount Sunday 28th Dec 1823

I took a long ride to day with my worthy host through the Parish. The more I see of Jamaica the more I like it. The European Settlers that I have met with are in general sensible intelligent men, I have not felt very well this day, but I am resolved not to give way to fear or melancholy. –
Palmer Hut Monday 29th Dec 1823

I arrived here from Raza Mount along with Mr McInnes at 9 o’clock p.m. In the evening there was a large party to Dinner, amongst the number a Doctor Ewart from Greenock a very genteel young man I am to accompany him tomorrow to Rose Hall. Mr McInnes is Attorney for all these properties, he is very genteel in his manners and appearance, far superior to any of the other Planters I have met with, he is highly respected and has accumulated a very large fortune. I often recommend him to go home to Scotland, but he says the cold there in winter would kill him. He has been 30 years in Jamaica

Palmer Hut Tuesday 30th Dec 1823

I left this at 5 o’clock a.m. with Doctor Ewart we reached Bybrook at 7 a.m. where we breakfasted then proceeded to Rose Hall distant from Bybrook nine miles where we had an early dinner or what is called in the Country, second breakfast. After resting for some time we mounted our horses and rode to the mountains, called at several Plantations and then returned here to Dinner. Mr McInnes left us in the morning for Kingston, he has brought us a full account of the revolt amongst the Slaves in the Parish of St James’s. I strongly suspect it is not all over. They have taken it into their heads that the King “over the Water as they call George the 4th” has made them free; but that Buckra as they term White Men wont grant them their liberty. – From what I have seen of them, they would be the most wretched creatures on the face of the earth if they were emancipated; they are indolent and lazy, in the extreme. It is very remarkable, that for so many years past that the Europeans have been toiling to make the Savages of different parts of the world, conform to their manner of living, that they have not as yet been able to prevail upon one of them to do so, not even with the assistance of the Christian religion. The Moschettoes continue to annoy me dreadfully. I can not rest at night.

In December at the Annual Meeting of the Jamaica District Committee for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), Rev W G Burton and Rev John McCammon Trew, Rector of St Thomas in the East, recommended grants from the Institution to be given in support of schools in their parishes.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Hon Wm Burge, Attorney-General, in the Chair.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hon Geo Cuthbert</td>
<td>Rev J M C Trew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hon W J Stevenson</td>
<td>Rev John Stainsby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hon Wm Rowe</td>
<td>Rev E F Hughes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hon Joseph Barnes</td>
<td>Rev W G Burton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir M B Clare, Knt</td>
<td>Rev J Jefferson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Barrett, Esq</td>
<td>Rev Thomas Alves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Lambie, Esq</td>
<td>Rev Robert Dallas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton Brown, Esq</td>
<td>Rev William T Leacock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Lunnan, Esq</td>
<td>Rev S H Cooke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev Lewis Bowerbank</td>
<td>Rev George Heath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev Alex Campbell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Rectors of St Thomas’ in the East and St Thomas’ in the Vale having strongly recommended that grants should be made from the Funds of the Institution, in support of Schools in those Parishes,

Resolved, That Mr Trew and Mr Burton be permitted to retain two-thirds of the Subscriptions in their respective Parishes, in aid of schools therein established.

Note – Rev W G Burton and Rev J M C Trew (John McCammon Trew) were the two rectors in Jamaica who stood out for their efforts to convert slaves to Christianity. Rev J Mc Trew was ordained Priest for the West Indies on 11 June 1815 in London at the Chapel Royal on the same
The Williamsfield crop account for the year 1823, sworn by Edward on 11 February 1824, records that he was the overseer in 1823.

Around the end of 1823 Edward moved from Williamsfield to be the overseer of Mount Olive, the estate on the south and southwest side of Williamsfield, owned by Major General William Nedham, an absentee proprietor.

Major General William Nedham (1770-1844) – owner of Mount Olive and Crescent pen in St Catherine.

He [Major General William Nedham] was the eldest son of William Dandy Nedham (1730-1811), born on Mount Olive, St Thomas in the Vale, and baptized in London, and Eleanor, nee Aikenhead (c.1730-1791), born on Stirling Castle, Jamaica.
Major General William Nedham was born on 18 March 1770 at Mount Stuart in Ireland and died at Worthing, Sussex, on 13 February 1844. He married 1st in 1792, Lucinda Strode (c.1750-1809) at Stoke Damerel, Devon (now Devonport), and married 2nd in 1810, Marianne Baker (1782-1871)

Major General William Nedham and wife Marianne

He was MP for Athery, Ireland, and Major General of the 4th Royal Veteran Battalion.

Note – some years ago I contacted Alastair Lack hoping that he might know the whereabouts of estate papers for Mount Olive, but he knew of none.

Nedhams were among the early settlers in Jamaica.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 May 1673</td>
<td>Major William Nedham for “Sixteen Mile Walk” in St Catherine, see that parish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Apr 1675</td>
<td>George Nedham – Fulke Rose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Apr 1688</td>
<td>“Colonel” George Nedham reprimanded by the Speaker for breach of privilege in appealing to the Governor and Council in the case of John Towers, Member for Clarendon, (whom he had accused of uttering the “dangerous and reasonable” words “Salus populi est suprema lex”!), and expelled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Jun 1701</td>
<td>Archer Martyn, gent – William Nedham, gent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Mar 1701-2</td>
<td>Archer Martyn, esq – William Nedham, esq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Aug 1718</td>
<td>William Nedham, esq (Speaker).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Oct 1719</td>
<td>Robert Nedham, esq – James Risby, esq also returned for St Elizabeth, but elected to serve for this parish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 March 1730</td>
<td>Henry Nedham, esq vice Byndloss deceased</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the Slave Registers, Francis Graham was the attorney to Major General William Nedham in 1817, in 1820 and 1823 James Laing and George William Hamilton were the attorneys – and in 1826 James Laing and Edward were Major General William Nedham’s attorneys – see Chapter 15.

In late 1823 or early 1824 James Laing registered a power of attorney from Major General William Nedham and Edward registered a power of attorney from James Laing.
Chapter 12. 1821 to 1823

*Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney – Index to Grantees, 1823/1824*  
(powers of attorney registered in late 1823 or early 1824)

**Lib 226, Fol 75 – to Laing, James – from Major Gen William Nedham**

**Lib 226, Fol 77 – to Clouston, Edward – from James Laing**

The power of attorney from James Laing, the first significant power of attorney given to Edward, was the start of his rise in the planting world to become a planting attorney, and perhaps this was connected with being appointed overseer of Mount Olive and James Laing’s temporary absence from Jamaica.

[www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1824 Jamaica Almanac](http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm) – James Laing

*+ = absent from the island*

**Civil Lists, Surrey – City and Parish of Kingston – Custos Rotulorum (senior Magistrate)**

*+James Laing*

**Civil Lists, Middlesex – St Mary and St Ann – Assistant Judges and Magistrates, include**

*+Hon James Laing*

**Proprietors etc and Properties**

**St Mary – Hon James Laing, Gayle, 184 slaves, 111 stock – Lucky Hill Estate, 216 slaves, 143 stock – Lucky Hill Pen, 83 slaves, 222 stock**

**St Ann – Hon James Laing, Goshen Estate, 421 slaves, 278 (?) stock – Goshen Pen, 37 slaves, 247 stock**

**My photo, March 2007 – on the borders of St Ann’s and St Mary’s – looking south towards St Thomas in the Vale**
Above – Goshen Estate, James Laing’s estate in St Ann – Goshen sugar works were on the White River – the border between St Ann’s and St Mary’s – see – http://maps.nls.uk/view/74428069 – James Robertson’s 1804 maps of the Three Counties of Jamaica – Middlesex

My photos, March 2007- on the borders of St Ann and St Mary
Chapter 13

1824

In 1824 Edward was the overseer of Mount Olive – the sugar plantation remembered in New Zealand as ‘Mount St Oliver’, a large sugar plantation where Henry Clouston’s father lived – see Chapter 1.

*My photo, November 2009 – early morning – Mount Olive – from the road to Williamsfield looking southwest down the track to the site of the old sugar works*

Jamaica National Library – Maps & Plans – St C 392 – Mount Olive, St Thomas in the Vale – no date (? 18th century) – section – top right, Sandy Gut Great House – arrow points north – red arrow points to Mount Olive Great House on the south side of the Rio Doro at the junction with the Sandy Gutt (or Gut) river – green arrow points to Mount Olive Sugar Works on the north side of the Forked River –
Mount Olive St Thomas in the Vale – no date – section – Sugar Works and Great House – **arrow** points north

*My photo, September 2008 – from the road to Williamsfield looking down to the site of the old Mount Olive sugar works – oranges in the foreground*
http://maps.nls.uk/jamaica/index.html – Robertson’s 1804 maps of Jamaica – Middlesex – St Thomas in the Vale – section – arrow points to Mount Olive sugar works with a water mill and a cattle mill

My photo, March 2007 – from the road to Williamsfield – looking northeast up the track towards the site of the old Mount Olive Great House
Below – Mount Olive overseers, 1809 and 1812 to 1823 – 1810 and 1811 not noted

Jamaica Archives, Records of Crop Accounts – Mount Olive Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – crop accounts for years 1809 to 1823

1809 – Lib 40, Fol 157 – sworn on 10 Jan 1810 by Richard Welch, overseer

1812 – Lib 45, Fol 157 – sworn on 5 Jan 1813 by Richard Welch, overseer

1813 – Lib 46, Fol 138 – sworn on 10 Jan 1814 by Richard Welch, overseer

1814 – Lib 48, Fol 124 – sworn on 31 Jan 1815 by Richard Welch, overseer

1815 – Lib 49, Fol 167 – sworn on 6 Jan 1816 by Richard Welch, overseer

1816 – Lib 51, Fol 25 – sworn on 11 Jan 1817 by Richard Welch, overseer

1817 – Lib 52, Fol 50 – sworn on 10 Feb 1818 by Richard Welch, overseer

1818 – Lib 53, Fol 84 – sworn on 5 Jan 1819 by Richard Welch, overseer

1819 – Lib 54, Fol 119 – sworn on 10 Jan 1820 by Richard Welch, overseer

1820 – Lib 55, Fol 36 – sworn on 18 Feb 1821 by James Grant, overseer

1821 – Lib 56, Fol 179 – sworn on 8 Mar 1822 by Gillian McLaine Wood, overseer

1822 – Lib 58, Fol 199 – sworn on 4 Mar 1823 by Gillian McLaine Wood of St Thomas in the Vale

1823 – Lib 60, Fol 122 – sworn on 17 Feb 1824 by Gillian McLaine Wood of St Thomas in the Vale

Gillian McLaine Wood – I have no mention of him after he swore the 1823 Mount Olive crop account

Richard Welch – in 1821 he was described as ‘an old and eminent planter’ – see Chapter 10 – Award, dated 26 February 1821 – Lord Carrington and Francis Graham

He sailed from Jamaica on 13 May 1823 from Port Royal in the packet for Falmouth, G.B. – Jamaica Royal Gazette, Sat, 17 May 1823, page PS 22 and 23.

In Tom Cringle’s Log Michael Scott described the character Mr Stornaway, the overseer of Mount Olive – who I believe was modelled on Edward.

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=AJULAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Tom Cringle’s Log, by anonymous author (Michael Scott), published 1834 – page 517

... Mr Bang and I met Mr Stornaway this morning in order to visit some other estates together, and during our ride I was particularly gratified by his company. He was a man of solid and very extensive acquirements, and far above what his situation in life at that time led one to expect. When I revisited the island some years afterwards, I was rejoiced to find that his intrinsic worth and ability had floated him up into a very extensive business, and I believe he is now a man of property. I rather think he is engaged in some statistical work connected with Jamaica, which, I am certain, will do him credit whenever it appears. Odd enough, the first time I saw him, I said I was sure he would succeed in the world; and I am glad to find I was a true prophet ...
In the Dictionary of National Biography and in all other works I have seen on Michael Scott, it is said that he left Jamaica for the last time in 1822 – after Bogles & Co had gone bankrupt – see Chapter 12.

His wife Margaret left Jamaica in 1822, but Michael Scott remained in the Island until he sailed in the Packet Francis Freeling for Falmouth, G.B. on 11 February 1823.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 8 Jun 1822, page PS 17 and 19

Sailed from Port Royal – include – 2 June – Ship Pomona, McNaught, for Glasgow

Passengers sailed – include – In the Pomona. – Mrs Scott and child . . .

Sat, 15 Feb 1823, page PS 22 and 23 – Sailed from Port Royal include

11 February – H.M.P.B. Francis Freeling, Capt. Cunningham, for Crooked Island and Falmouth, GB


Michael Scott described breakfast at Mount Olive – Tom Cringle’s Log – page 515-516

Next morning we rode out to breakfast with a very worthy man, Mr Stormaway, the overseer of Mount Olive estate, in the neighbourhood of which there were several curiosities to be seen. Although the extent of our party startled him a good deal, he received us most hospitably. He ushered us into the piazza, where breakfast was laid, when uprose ten thousand flies from the breakfast table, that was covered with marmalade, and guava jelly, and nicely roasted yams, and fair white bread; and the fragrant bread-fruit roasted in the ashes, and wrapped in plantain leaves; while the chocolate and coffee pots – the latter equal in cubic content to one of the Wave’s water butts – emulated each other in the fragrance of the odours
which they sent forth; and avocado pears, and potted cali piver, and cold pork hams, and – really, I cannot
repeat the numberless luxuries that flanked the main body of the entertainment on a side table, all strong
provocatives to fall to.

“You, Quacco – Peter – Monkey” – shouted Stornaway – “where are you, with your brushes; don’t you
see the flies covering the table?” The three sable pages forthwith appeared, each with a large green branch
in his hand, which they waved over the viands, and we sat down and had a most splendid breakfast. Lady
Semaphore and I – for I have always had a touch of the old woman in me – were exceedingly tickled with
the way in which the piccaniny mummas, that is, the mothers of the negro children, received our friend
Bang. After breakfast, a regular muster took place under the piazza of all the children on the property,
under eight years of age, accompanied by their mothers.

“Ah, Massa Bang,” shouted one, “why you no come see we oftener? you forget your poor piccaniny
hereabout,”

“You grow foolish old man now,” quoth another.

“You no wort – you go live in town, an no care about we who make Massa money here; you no see we
all tarving here,” and the nice cleanly-looking fat matron, who made the remark, laughed loudly.

He entered into the spirit of the affair with great kindliness, and verily, before he got clear, his pockets
were as empty as a half-pay lieutenant’s. His fee-pennies were flying about in all directions.

*My photos, March 2007 and November 2011 – breakfast in St Thomas in the Vale*

Boiled Plantains – Avocado Pear – Ackee, the national fruit of Jamaica, with Salt Cod and Callaloo
(similar to spinach) – below – Bread Fruit roasting on the gas ring – and before roasting
Star Apples and Oranges – and Bread Fruit

Fried Bammy (made from Bitter Cassava) – Otaheite Apples, and Bananas and Oranges

And Coconut Water
After breakfast [at Mount Olive] we went to view the natural bridge, a band of rock that connects two hills together, and beneath which a roaring stream rushes, hid entirely by the bushes and trees that grow on each side of the ravine. We descended by a circuitous footpath into the rivercourse, and walked under the natural arch, and certainly never was any thing finer; a regular Der Freyschutz dell. The arch overhead was nearly fifty feet high, and the echo was superb, as we found, when the sweet voices of the ladies, blending in softest harmony – (lord how fine you become, Tom!) – in one of Moore’s melodies were reflected back on us at the close with the most thrilling distinctiveness; while a stone pitched against any of the ivy-like creepers, with which the face of the rock was covered, was sure to dislodge a whole cloud of birds, and not unfrequently a slow-sailing white-winged owl. Shortly after the Rio Magno Gully, as it is called, passes this most interesting spot, it sinks, and runs for three miles under ground, and again reappears on the surface, and gurgles over the stones, as if nothing had happened. By the by, this is a common vagary of nature in Jamaica. For instance the Rio Cobre, I think it is, which, after a subterranean course of three miles, suddenly gushes out of the solid rock at Bybrook estate, in a solid cube of clear cold water, three feet in diameter; and I remember, in a cruise that I had at another period of my life, in the leeward part of the Island, we came to an estate, where the supply of water for the machinery rose up within the bounds of the mill-dam itself, into which there was no flow, with such force, that above the spring, if I might call it, the bubbling water was projected into a blunt cone, like the bottom of a cauldron, the apex of which was a foot higher than the level of the pond, although the latter was eighteen feet deep.

In 1824, during Edward’s first year as overseer of Mount Olive, the geologist Henry Thomas De la Beche visited the estate and made a drawing of the Natural Bridge.
Remarks on the Geology of Jamaica, by H T De la Beche – page 178

The hills on either side of Williamsfield and Sandy Gully [Gut] estates, are formed on compact white limestone resting upon trap rocks; the strata, as before remarked, appearing to have been once continuous, and the whole looking like a valley of denudation.

The mountains that surround the great basin of St Thomas in the Vale are composed of the white limestone formation; and the basin itself would seem convertible into a large lake, if the ravine through which the Rio Cobre flows, called the Walks’ Road, between the Bog Walk and Spanish Town, were stopped up. Upon Mount Olive estate in this parish there is a singular natural bridge, formed of compact white limestone. A small river, flowing in a precipitous ravine, is crossed by a natural arch, beneath which it runs (see Plate XX.). This natural bridge is lofty, and of sufficient breadth at the top to permit a cart-road over it, which has accordingly been established. If it were not for the arch, the water would be blocked up by this natural wall or barrier, the cliffs rising high and precipitous on either side, and preventing its escape laterally. The cavernous nature of this limestone is curiously shown on the same property, by the manner in which the water is procured to turn the water-wheel. A rivulet runs on the side of the hill opposite to that on which the works are placed; and to obtain water for the mill, the rivulet is dammed up at a given place, when it finds its way through the hill, rushes out of a hole near the works, and turns the wheel.

James Hakewill made a drawing of Mount Olive and a drawing of the Mount Olive Natural Bridge, but the whereabouts of these drawings is unknown.


Soon after Alexander Innes arrived in Jamaica in December 1823 (see Chapter 12), he was sent by Alexander McInnes of Raza Mount, St Thomas in the Vale, to learn the plantation management business on Colbecks estate in St Dorothy’s. In his Journal Alexander Innes described the ‘process of making sugar’ at Colbecks.


Colbecks Thursday 8th Jan 1824

I arrived here about an hour ago. The Overseer Mr Spenser seems a good sort of Fellow. I brought him a letter from Mr McInnes who is Attorney for the Property, desiring him to give me every information as to the culture of the Cane, and the process of making sugar. I am to remain here for some months to learn the Planting business from what I have already seen, I think I could conduct the Field operations already.

Colbecks Friday 9th Jan 1824

I like this place very much every thing is done to make me comfortable. There are only Three White people on the Estate, Mr Spenser Mr Mitchell and myself. The heat is overpowering and the Moschettoes and other Vermin are troublesome beyond all conception.

Colbecks Saturday 10th Jan 1824

I went to day to the Sugar works belonging to the Estate, they are situated about a mile from the house, and consist of a Mill for bruising the Canes, a Boiling House with a Curing House attached, and a Still House. Masons, Mill Wrights, and Copper smiths, are busy repairing the Works. Harvest will commence in four or five days.

Colbecks Sunday 11th Jan 1824

This Estate consists of 5,000 acres and is romantically situated in a valley. There are 300 Negros on the Property, who are quiet well disposed people. On the Breeding Farm there are about 600 cattle of different ages and sex, all of a particular good kind, tho’ inferior in point of size to the English Cattle, they are of a much more handsome shape, they are all wild and run in the woods. For the use of the White people employed on the Property, there are 98 Sheep & 56 Hogs, and Geese, Ducks, Turkeys and all kinds of Fowls in great abundance. The only drink allowed on the Estate is Rum, of that we have as much as we
like. – I ride to day a considerable distance into the interior of the Island. It is intersected with a ridge of steep hills tumbled by the frequent earthquakes in a stupendous manner upon one another. These hills tho’ containing no soil on their surface, are covered with a great variety of beautiful trees flourishing in perpetual spring. They are nourished by the rains which often fall, or the mists which continually brood on the mountains. From the rocks issue a vast number of small rivers of pure wholesome water which tumble down in Cataracts, and together with the stupendous height of the mountains, and the bright verdure of the trees through which they flow, form a most delightful landscape. On each side of the great chain of mountains are ridges of lower ones which diminish as they remove from it. On these Coffee grows in great plenty. The Vallies or plains between these are level beyond what is ordinary in most other Countries and the soil is prodigiously fertile.

... The Mountains and the greater part of the Island are covered with many kinds of Trees; such as Lignumvitae, Cedar, Mahogany &c &c always appear. In the Vallies are the sugar canes and such a variety of Fruit Trees as to make the Country look like Paradise. But to balance this there are Alligators in the Rivers, Guianaes and Galliwasps in the Fens and Marshes; and Snakes and other noxious animals in the mountains. The year is distinguished into two Seasons the wet & dry: but I am informed the rains are not so frequent as formerly, which is supposed to be owning to the cutting down of the woods. About 9 o.Clock in the morning it is intolerably hot, it would be impossible for a European to exist if the easterly breeze did not set in to cool the air. Sometimes the nights are pretty cool, and there are great dews which are considered unwholesome especially to new comers. I am certain that the third part of this Island is not Inhabited... The general produce of the Island is Sugar, Rum, Molasses, Ginger, Cotton, Indigo, Pimenta, Cocoa, Coffee, and Logwood, and several kinds of Medicinal drugs. It has some Tobacco, but not considered good, it is only used by the Negroes, who seem very fond of it.

Colbecks Tuesday 13th Jan 1824

I got up very early this morning and rode a long way into the woods. I passed two very suspicious looking Maroons they were lurking in a jungle I dont think they observed me until I passed them. I dined at Nelson Plantation, and returned here at 7 o.Clock PM. It was a lovely evening. The early part of the day had been dark and showery, but in the afternoon it cheered up, and tho’ sullen clouds still hung overhead yet there was a broad tract of golden sky in the west from which the setting sun gleamed thro’ the dripping leaves and lit up all nature into a melancholy smile. The beauty and variety of colours the clouds assume at Sun Setting, no Painter could represent: the Forest I was in today contains a great variety of trees, the Wild Cinnamon, whose bark is so useful in medicine, the Manchineel whose fruit though uncommonly delightful to the eye contains one of the worst poisons. The Mahogany is in great abundance all over this Estate, the Cabbage Tree which when dry is incorruptible and hardly yields to any kind of Tool, there are also excellent Cedars. The Palma Tree affording fine oil, and the Soap Tree whose berries answer the purpose of Soap, the Mangrove, Olive Bark, Fustic and Redwood. The Indigo Plant is very rare I have seen it; formerly it was much cultivated.

Colbecks Wednesday 14th Jan 1824

Harvest commenced this day. The Slaves are all employed cutting Canes, they remind me of a Band of Reapers in Scotland. I am not yet sufficiently acquainted with the Planting Business as to be able to give an account of the Process.

I was shocked to day beyond measure at the inhuman, cruel manner Mr Spenser directed a poor old Female Slave to be punished who is large in the Family way. The Negroes upon the Property are very quiet, but still they have a great share of the propensities of savage nature (Idleness & Profligacy.) There is no doubt that the Island is at present in a very agitated state. Superstition is marshalling its ranks, prompt for vengeance; and sounding its Call through all the dense ranks of ignorance. Such conduct as Mr Spenser’s this morning is enough to rouse the spirit of revenge in any people. Much has been said by Mr Wilberforce and others in the British Senate on Slavery. I am clearly of opinion if Emancipation were granted then that they would become the most miserable creatures on earth. Respecting slavery in the abstract there can not be two opinions, but to invest people with the full privileges of freedom, before they are qualified for the experience, and enjoyment of those privileges, is no better than turning loose a herd of wild beasts to ravage a Country, and then devour one another. A moral cause must be created, in order to be able to abolish the Physical cause of labour; and a motive must be shewn which induces the English rustic to labour, to bear upon the Negro; when the Negro peasant will work regularly like the White peasant then he ought to be free. I am of opinion that much manual labour might be saved in this Country.
if the Plough was introduced in place of the Spade, the majority of the Planters here are Scotchmen, and too much wedded to prejudice and old customs.

http://www.loc.gov/pictures/search/?q=Berryman+Jamaica&sp=1 – William Berryman, Jamaica drawings, 1808-1816

Colbecks Thursday 15th Jan 1824

The Bruising Mill having stopt in consequence of the extreme drought, I went this day into Clarendon on a shooting excursion. I breakfasted at Fullerswood, then proceeded on to Beaumont a Property belonging to Mr Elliotte situated at the foot of the Blue Mountains these mountains are prodigiously high and perfectly inaccessible. The scenery I had in view to day was delightful; in every direction the eye wandered over richly cultivated vallies; with streams of water running through them. Orchards of Shaddocks and Oranges, Negro-Huts embowered in Plantain leaves, mountains and little hills romantically mixed, and variegated with verdant coppices of shrubs and trees. Beaumont is situated on a Hill which Mr Elliot has named Arcadia. Mr E. has taken it into his head that he has a Poetical vein, and fancies his Property resembles ancient Arcadia, celebrated of old for its Poets, and famous for its mountains. Mr Elliot’s neighbours seem to entertain the same notion respecting the situation of their properties, but being chiefly Scotchmen of the lower orders, none of them that I have met seem to be overburthened with ancient historical knowledge. They are all very much alarmed at the revolt that has broken out amongst the Slaves, but I do not think from what I have observed that they have any cause, however swaggering, and impudent some of them are amongst themselves. Yet bring them into the presence of a white person, and they hang their heads down like bulrushes, and blink their eyes like owls in the sunshine, they are the greatest cowards I have ever seen, particularly the Africans. They are much more so than those born in the Country. The African Slaves are exceedingly ugly, I have seen some of the sable Creole Lasses whose features are very handsome, it is astonishing how fond they are of dress.
Colbecks Friday 16th Jan 1824

At 3.o.Clock this morning we commenced again to make Sugar, the Canes are in a wretched state greatly tainted in consequence of the great drought.

Colbecks Saturday 17th Jan 1824

Nothing particular occurred to day but the common routine of Sugar making. I saw to day a very extraordinary animal in the woods. The natives call it the wild cat. It lives in hollow trees during the day; at night it ranges about in quest of food, and often visits the Negro's Huts. It feeds chiefly on Fowls, Birds, and small Quadrupeds. The Slaves ascribe to it an uncommon sagacity asserting that in order to approach fowls unsuspected, it imitates their voice. The Island abounds with many different kinds of Birds. Parrots of various colours in the woods, they are very timid, the Negroes catch them when young, and train them to speak very plain. There are large birds here of the Eagle kind very tame, they live on Carrion, and are found to be of great benefit for the health of the Island, all sorts of filth they pick up. Any one found shooting any of these Birds, by the Laws of the Island are liable to a fine of £5. – The following is a short account of the process of Sugar making. When crop time commences, every one on the Plantation is employed man woman and child. The full grown Slaves are divided into Three Gangs, denominated the 1st or great gang, the 2nd or middle gang, and the 3rd or small gang, work of the gangs are under the command of a Driver who sees that they do their work, when the Canes are considered ripe the 1st and 2nd gangs commence cutting; this they do with Bill Hooks. The leaves of the Cane and the tops are left on the field for the Cattle, and it is astonishing in how short a time they get fat on them.

William Berryman, Jamaica Drawings, 1808-1816

Colbecks Saturday 17th Jan 1824 – continued

When the Canes are brought into the Yard which is close to the Mill a proportion of female Slaves and boys are employed in feeding the Mill which goes by water, the Canes are put in between three large cylinders which bruise them, the refuse comes out below. It is carried by Children a short distance from the Mill where it is spread out to dry, it is afterwards used for fire to the Coppers. The Liquor is conveyed in a wooden trough from the Mill to the Boiling House, where it is received into two large coppers each containing 300 gallons in the Coppers the Liquor is tempered with Lime. It is then drawn off into smaller
coppers where it is boiled, during the time of boiling it is constantly skimmed by four Slaves. From the
scumming molasses and rum is made. After the Sugar is considered sufficiently boiled it is thrown from
the grand coppers into Coolers where it is allowed to remain until it cools to 98° or blood heat, it is then
carried to the Curing House and put into hogsheads which are placed on Beams of wood so arranged that
the Molasses run into a Cistern. The most difficult part of Sugar making is to know the proportion of
Lime to give the Liquor, also when the Sugar is sufficiently boiled, a knowledge of Chymistry is
indispensably necessary. The method of Tempering Sugar varies on different Estates scarcely two
overseers follow the same plan, it is astonishing to me how many of them succeed. I have met with many
who can hardly sign their name far less have a knowledge of Chymistry. The plan followed by Mr
Spenser who is a good Chymist is by taking a quart bottle of liquor and ascertaining what weight of
temper is required then calculating what weight the coppers require which contain 300 Gallons. The way
of ascertaining when the Sugar is boiled is by attending to the second copper to see that the liquor
clarifies, and then to see that it grainalizes in the third copper.

Colbecks Sunday 18th Jan 1824

Mr Spenser the Overseer was dismissed to day by order of Mr McInnes, and a Mr Simpson has been
appointed in his place. I regret Mr Spenser having left us, he is an intelligent gentleman like man. His
cruelty to the Slaves was very reprehensible, and I believe the cause of his losing his situation. Mr
Simpson is from Orkney he is a vulgar looking fellow. A young man of the name of Fulster an Irishman
has come to be Bookkeeper.

I had a long conversation to day with several Negroes respecting their notions of religion, they seem to
have no idea at all of an hereafter, they pointed to the clouds, and told that there was a good old man there
that would be kind to them if they died not tief as they pronounce thief it is much to be regretted that
schools are not established in the Island, none of them can either read or write. The Drivers keep an
account of the Field work by cutting strange kind of figures on a piece of wood.

Colbecks Monday 19th Jan 1824

Mr Simpson our new Overseer commenced his career by flogging six old Slaves under my charge.
Poor creatures they called to me to assist and protect them. I had a serious row with Simpson and
frightened him by threatening to report him to Mr McInnes. He is ashamed of his conduct and has
promised me that he will never again interfere with my people. We commenced to distil rum today.

Colbecks Tuesday 20th Jan 1824

I have been exceedingly ill the whole of this day. The Negroes under my superintendency have all
been to see me poor creatures. They have brought me such quantities of fruit that ten men could not
consume. Lenity and kindness has a most wonderful effect upon them.

Colbecks Wednesday 21st Jan 1824

The Fever has encreased to such a degree that I am not able to leave my bed. My head is dreadfully
painful. The Surgeon is sent for.

Colbecks Sunday 1st Feb 1824

For the last eleven days I have not been able to leave my room. The fever continued with unabated
violence until the 29th. Dr Moore on that day gave me up, and left me in charge of four Slaves; so certain
was he of my dissolution that he ordered my Coffin, I have no recollection of any thing that happened
since the evening of the 21st I can not describe how uncomfortable I have been since the 30th I am so
reduced by bleeding and medicine that I can not turn myself in bed. The heat overpowered me. Killing
time with me at present is rather a different matter. I have no one to speak to, but little Sampson my black
servant. The idea that time exists only in remembrance, may serve to account for the apparent
inconsistency we use to express our sense of its passage. People often and I at present complain of the
slow passage of time. When our heads or our hearts are busy, we know nothing of time – it does not exist
for us, but as soon as we pause to reflect on that which is gone, we seem to have lived long because we
look back through a long series of events. Time is so fleeting and so uncertain, that even when we are
reflecting upon it, it has vanished.

Colbecks Monday 2nd Feb 1824

I am greatly better to day but excessively weak. I am going when able to visit Mr McInnes at Raza
Mount for a change of air.
Chapter 13. 1824

Raza Mount Thursday 5th Feb 1824

I arrived here to day from Colbecks. Mr McInnes is most attentive to me, I don’t feel the least fatigued after my journey.

Raza Mount Friday 6th Feb 1824

I went to day and visited several Sugar Plantations. I am now considered to have a tolerable good knowledge of Sugar making from the interest I have got in the Island. I expect immediately to get a charge.

Raza Mount Saturday 7th Feb 1824

I have been amazed since I came here at the multitude of Bats. They are of an enormous size. One of the slaves stands with a horse-whip every evening to drive these troublesome visitors away who enter without currency the sitting room, and flap out the lights. However they are found of use in warm climates they are a great enemy to that most disagreeable insect the Bug, and they destroy musquitoes, and ants and other destructive little beings in warm climates.

Colbecks Sunday 8th Feb 1824

I returned here to day from Raza Mount. I feel a good deal fatigued, a party of Young men dined here to day one of them a Mr Green was taken ill after Dinner and was obliged to leave us, he has newly come to the Island.

Colbecks Monday 9th Feb 1824

This climate is treacherous beyond description, a man may go perfectly well to bed and before morning may be in the land of forgetfulness. The young man Mr Green who dined with us yesterday is dead and buried. – Very few cases Dr Moore informs me, ever came under his care, that stood the Fever so long as I did, in almost every case if the Patient does no recover in 3 days death most commonly takes place on the 4th or 5th. – The Indian and Guinea Corn harvest being finished, we commence again to day to make Sugar.

http://discover.odai.yale.edu/ydc/Author/Home?author=James%20Hakewill%2C%201778-1843 – James Hakewill – watercolour – 1820-21 – Llanrumny Estate, St Mary’s, Jamaica – detail

Colbecks Tuesday 10th Feb 1824

I am now completely master of the process of making Sugar. I attended the Still House to day for the purpose of learning distillation. If I am as fortunate in it as I have been in making Sugar I shall soon get a situation. – No kind of European corn grows here, there is Maize or Indian Corn, and Guinea Corn, and
Pease of various kinds, but none of them resembling ours. There are a great variety of roots such as Yams, Plantains, Cocoa and Sweet Potatoes. Fruit is here in great abundance, viz Citrons, Seville and China oranges, common and sweet Lemons, Limes, Shadocks, Pomegranites, Mamees, Soursops, Papas, Pine Apples, &c &c.

Colbecks Wednesday 11th Feb 1824

I went to day into the Parish of Saint Marys for the purpose of seeing a few families of the aboriginal Caribs. They have scarcely any intercourse with the rest of the population and all I learned about them was, that they usually lived to a great age. They are gradually decreasing from a continued system of intermarrying within a very narrow circle. On my way home this evening, I can not describe how much I was struck with the beauty of the Fire Flies. As I gazed, the air burst into atoms of green fire, before my face, and in an instant they were gone: I turned round and saw all the woods upon the mountains illuminated with ten thousand flaming torches moving in every direction, now rising now falling, vanishing here, re-appearing there, converging to a globe, and dispersing in spangles. No man can conceive from dry description alone, the magical beauty of these creatures so far from their effects having been exaggerated by travellers. I can say that I never read an account which in the least prepared me for the reality. There are two sorts, the small fly which flies in and out in the air; and a kind of beetle, which keeps more to the woods, like our glow worm. – The road to Saint Marys lies across two very high mountains, which are feathered from the clouds to the base with evergreen foliage. The clouds within the Tropics are infallibly attracted by the woody eminences, and contribute greatly to the wildness of the scene; I have seen them so dense as to bury the mountains in darkness; at other times they float transparently like a silken veil. But beautiful as these Sierras (as the natives term the mountains) look it is woe to the man who ventures on foot to penetrate their recesses where wood-slaves and Snakes love to dwell. The natives tell direful stories about the poison of the first and the tenacity of the second. I never met with any person who has known an instance of the Wood Slave fixing itself upon a human being. The Animal is a broad and flat-headed Lizard and of a dull grey color. The Negroes have a particular aversion to them from a notion that contact with them will produce leprosy. – I may say with propriety that I have been in a complete Thaw since I came within the Tropics. To day I verily steamed from my hair, eye brows, nose and chin continuously. The big round drops coursed one another down my cheeks, and projected themselves on my trousers in graceful precipitation, my corporeal system seemed about to dissolve.

Colbecks Thursday 12th Feb 1824

It has rained incessantly the whole of this day. Many of the Negroes who were employed in the Fields are taken sick, they are by no means hardy or a healthy race they are indolent by nature, as their brethren in Africa. This natural indolence is justified in their eyes, and rendered inveterate by a climate and a soil which indispose the most industrious to labor, if you ask them why they don’t till and cultivate their Negroe grounds they will tell you, that the Yams and Plantains will grow abundantly for their eating, and new Rum is very cheap at the grog-shops. – I can not help observing that the Planters ought to pay more attention to the clothing of their Slaves, than many of them do. Independently of its being an almost necessary preliminary to an improvement to the manners of a Negro, it is sometimes really cold in the mornings, and will be more so now that the wet Season has set in, and creatures of heat as these poor people are, they become exquisitely susceptible of a change of temperature which an Englishman scarcely perceives. Dr Moore assures me that the Negroes suffer much from cold. A Planter in my humble opinion if really wished to do good, ought to have his Slaves properly clothed, the woman as women in every country under the Sun, ought to be decently clothed, which I am sorry to say is not the case in this Country. Until you have taught a man or a woman to respect themselves it is vain for you to attempt to teach them to respect anything else: and observe that the question is not with Savages of the forest who only know themselves, and to whom ignorance of shame is as the clothing of innocence before the Fall; no these Slaves know that they are naked; they live in immediate contact with their masters whose manners they remark and they daily see the more favored of their own color decked out with finical extravagance.
Many of them become shameless by the dire force of habit, but by no means all of them. I have frequently observed the Young girls in the fields turn away from the gaze of their sable lovers, and shroud their bosoms with crossed arms. Bad as this day has been I was obliged to ride to Belmont. I was entertained by my friend Mr McHattie in Capital style. The fruit we had after dinner which consisted of Pines and Oranges most ambrosial. I learned to day a method of eating Guava Jelly quite new to me. It was put into a glass, and pierced with a knife, then a glass or two of Madeira poured upon it. The Wine lubricates the Guava, and entirely takes away that mawkish sweetness that cloys the palate of every person but a West Indian. – The wind was so fresh and the air so cool to day, that I might have forgotten, but for the beauty that was around me, that I was still within the Tropics. I saw an immense number of Monkies on one of the Mountains I crossed, I am told by Mr McHattie that the Monkies are very good livers and know a ripe Pine to a day – – –

I had another run with Mr Simpson the Overseer to day. His cruelty to the Negros would shock the most unfeeling heart. No person resident in the West Indies however little conversant with the administration of justice in his native country, can fail to be struck with the system prevalent in the colonies. It is not easy to overrate the importance of an enlightened and impartial judicature in any place but the peculiar circumstances of society in the West India Islands render its existence absolutely indispensable. In all communities where slavery is established, there ought to be good laws to protect the Slaves. As long as the Slave confides in the protection of a power of his master, he will labor in tranquility; but if he finds that power prejudiced against him, it is nothing but an ordinary impulse of human nature, that he should strive to obtain by violence that which he suspects will be denied to his petition. Some people will argue, that the Blacks being our fellow-creatures, should enjoy all our privileges. Agreed, in the theory, but not in the practice. – Who could behold one of them either in the Pulpit, or on the Bench in a court of Justice every one must shudder at the recital of the atrocities committed by the Blacks against the Whites in the Island of St Domingo. I can not but confess that I most firmly believe, they acted from a spirit of revenge for former ill treatment. Mr Simpson will therefore better keep in mind Lord Cranston’s motto, Gang Warily

I was a good deal surprised to day at seeing the manner the Negro women feed their Children. They actually stuff Children and Turkies in the same way by placing the victim on its back in their lap, inserting a lump of the food in the mouth, and them pressing it down with the thumb and forefingers, the Mothers follow this plan to excess, and there is no convincing them of the evil consequences though it is notorious that this inordinate repletion is a common cause of death amongst the Young in the Island. The Mercury to day was lower than I have seen it since I came to the Island, it was 79° of Fahrenheit.

Colbecks Friday 13th Feb 1824

I rode to day into Clarendon, and visited several Sugar Plantations, also a good many Plantain and Cocoa plantations. The plantain is one of the most characteristic productions of the Tropics. The tree that bears the Bread Fruit (originally brought from the Island of Otaheite) is a curious introduction, it is about the size of the horse-chestnut; its leaves are near a foot and a half long, in shape oblong resembling in almost every respect those of the Fig Tree, its fruit is not unlike the melon either in size or shape. – I am sorry to say I witnessed to day the unchristian practice of excluding the corpses of Slaves and colored people from the ordinary burying grounds, and of shovelling them into unconsecrated earth in some out of the way place. Conceive the feelings of these poor creatures, who is forced by this detestable prejudice to deposit the bodies of their dead in a place which they know every European considers in the highest degree ignominious, and when very likely they have seen the Gibbet erected and the Pirate hanging. The Proprietors really ought to enclose the ground and take care that it be respected as the solemnity of the character demands. – – – – – In my rambles to day I conversed with several negros on the different Plantations I passed, from what I heard, I have formed no exalted opinion of the Methodists. The Planters profess to be apprehensive of insurrection; nevertheless they admit Sectaries of every denomination into their estates; the Negros are a very curious and observant race, and after they have learnt that there is a God, the next thing they learn is, that their master does not worship in the same manner as themselves. They believe their worship is true, and therefore they must think their master’s false. While they remain on the brink of civilization, this will have but inconsiderable consequences, but the seeds are laid, & a beginning is affected; he perceives the ingredients of distinction more clearly, and gradually imbibles that spirit of separation which the religious schism is sure to generate. The secrets of every family are at their command. Parents and Children are watches on each other; each is on his guard against all, and all against each. In this manner these Sectaries possess an army of dependants already lodged in every house and
fixed in the heart of every Plantation. Their dominion over these poor people is absolute, and the negroes know that this formidable power rests entirely with their Ministers. That this power has been abused I am certain and that it will be abused in the most fearful way I am sure. – That the Methodists have done good amongst the Negroes I do not deny, but it is a shame to the Colonial Clergy that there was any field for their Services.

Colbecks Saturday 14th Feb 1824

A shocking and inhuman murder was committed last night at Old Harbour, by an African man, who in a fight with one of his Country men so dreadfully wounded his Antagonist as to cause his immediate death. A Coroner’s inquiry is now holding over the body of the deceased which I hear is dreadfully mangled, both the men were the property of Mr McIntosh from Inverness.

William Berryman, Jamaica Drawings, 1808-1816 – Old Harbour Market, Ponsie’s Tavern

Colbecks Saturday 14th Feb 1824 – continued

I was informed to day that within the past Year this Island employed Shipping to the amount of 151,850 tons the greater part British beside Colonial craft of 4523 tons. – A circumstance of rather a Singular nature, came to light here last night; a Negro man named James had been missing for six days, he returned last night in the most wretched state I ever saw a human being. It seems he had fallen in love with a free black woman who lived fifteen miles from this; regardless every night he used to run unknown to any one on the Estate, regardless of all obstacle, and I believe with as much zeal and real love in his heart, as when Caled shouted to his Moslems, Fight, Fight! Paradise, Paradise and the Arabian youths as they spurred among the Roman spears, saw black eyed maidens leaning from the clouds to convey their spirits to the whitest bosoms in paradise, they scarcely experienced more ardour and enthusiasm than poor
James did in going to woo his sable dearie. The night he went last to see her, he was informed by her Father, that he had sold her to a Planter on the north side of the Island. On hearing this James ran into the woods with the intention of starving himself to death, and had actually lived for the last six days without tasting any kind of food, he is quite unconsolable. Mr Simpson ordered him to be floged but I interceded for him, and he was pardoned. – – – The rains in the West Indies are by no means so moderate as with us in Scotland the heaviest rains there are but dews, compared to the rains here; they are rather floods of water poured from the clouds with prodigious impetuosity, the rivers rise in a moment. Hence it is that the rivers which have their source within the Tropics swell and overflow their banks at certain seasons of the Year; but so mistaken was I in my ideas of the torrid Zone, that I imagined it to be dried and scorched up with a continued and fervent heat. – The rains make the only distinction of seasons in the West Indies. A great quantity of sulphureous acid predominates in the air of this country, metals of all kinds that are subject to the action of such causes, rust and canker in a very short time: and this cause perhaps as much as the heat itself, contribute to make the climate of the West Indies unfriendly to a European constitution. It lightens here almost every night and the thunder is very terrible and roars with dreadful loudness. – Mock suns and Haloes or red circles about the moon and sun are here common. They are very luminous and beautifully tinged with all the various colours of the rainbow.

I have been very much pained of late by the insects called here Giggars more properly Cirors. I could not conceive for some days past what was the matter with my feet, particularly the soles and heels. I employed this day an old Negro man to examine them, who with an instrument something like a sailors needle took out a vast number of Giggers. – These insects get into any part of the body but chiefly the legs and feet, where they breed in great numbers, and shut themselves up in a bag. Many of the Negros are rendered quite lame by these insects they get into their toes and eat their flesh to the bone.

The Slaves still continue very sickly in consequence of the wet weather. It has often astonished me their fondness for glass beads and other gewgaws however the value we set upon a diamond is more capricious, than the value they set upon glass. The love of ornament seems to be an universal principle in human nature. The pleasure which it gives among us is principally by conferring distinction and gratifying vanity, an African is more pleased and distinguished by a button or a glass bead than any individual among us by a diamond.

Colbecks Sunday 15th Feb 1824

I received a letter this day from my Mother informing me that I am appointed to the 94th Regt I must pack up and be off as fast as I can. The information contained in my Mother’s has by no means pleased me I would prefer remaining here.

Spanish Town Monday 16th Feb 1824

I left Colbecks early this morning and after a pleasant journey I reached this Town. My reason for coming here was partly curiosity and partly to see The Duke of Manchester the Governor. By the Laws of the Island no one can leave it without permission from the Governor . . .

Colbecks Tuesday 17th Feb 1824

I returned here today with Mr Simpson. A very serious accident very nearly happened to us. The Horse we drove in the Gig had never been in harness before, the rain came down in torrents I was in the act of putting up an umbrella when the animal took fright we stuck to the Gig until the Horse fell into a Ditch and broke it to pieces. The rain & wind still continued with unabated violence and compelled us to take shelter at a Plantation belonging to a Mr Fraser from Inverness who entertained us in true West India style. I ate Turtle Soup to day in perfection.

Colbecks Wednesday 18th Feb 1824

I employed myself the whole of this day in paying farewell visits to my friends. I dined at Fullerswood with a large party.

Colbecks Thursday 19th Feb 1824

Mr McInnes arrived here today he wishes me to be off as soon as possible. He has engaged a passage for me in the Kingston Brig. She sails from Kingston Harbour on the 25th Inst. I have got my things arranged for my departure.

Colbecks Friday 20th Feb 1824

I drove to day in Mr McInnes Chaise to Old Harbour we had second breakfast with Mr McIntosh, and returned here to dinner. We had a large party at Dinner of Gentlemen from the counties of Aberdeen & Banff. The Yellow Fever is raging dreadfully amongst the 91st Regt at Spanish Town they have lost since Christmas upwards of 150 men. I have got every thing finally settled for my departure. I leave tomorrow.
Carrington Penn Saturday 21st Feb

I left Colbecks at 11 o’Clock this day along with Mr McInnes, we dined at Cherry Garden with a Mr Smith from Huntly, and drove on here in the evening. I have had a bad toothache the whole day. Mr McInnes has made me a present of a fine Blood Hound, of the real Porto Rico breed. It is astonishing what an aversion these animals have to the Slaves. During the Maroon War they were used for hunting the Maroons. I remember when I was at Raza Mount for change of air after my Fever, that Mr McInnes sent one of the Negro boys into my room early one morning to waken me. The Dog flew at him and would positively torn him to pieces if I had not started up and rescued him. They are by no means common in the Island. They are ferocious and dangerous to those they are not acquainted with, but to their masters they are exceedingly attached and faithful. One night about a week ago, I returned from Belmont rather late I was never more surprised in my life than on entering my room to find a huge Negro man standing in the middle of the room with a drawn cutlass in his hand, and the Dog fixed in his leg which he had lacerated in a dreadful manner. I did not release him from the Dog’s hold, until I loaded my Carabine, I then questioned the fellow who he was, and for what purpose he came there, all that I got out of him was, that he had lost his way, and seeing a light in my room he came to ask the road. I ought to have detained him but I did not. – I am certain he came for no good intention coming armed. I found the following morning a Bow and Arrows and a few dead birds. Every one thought he must have been a wild Maroon. Mr Simpson traced by the blood from his leg into a thick jungle in the centre of the Forest. These Maroons who are nothing but run away Negroes are a great enemy to the Slaves, they come at night from their caves and dens in the Forest and mountains and rob the poor Slaves of their Poultry, Yams and Plantains. They are so expert with their Bows that they will shoot the swiftest flying Bird upon wing, they subsist entirely by stealing and what they chance to kill in hunting.

Carrington Sunday 22nd Feb 1824

I rode this forenoon to Clifton Mr Shand’s seat and afterwards to Spanish Town and returned here to Dinner. I leave this in the course of an hour for Kingston. I called when in Spanish Town on Mr Shand’s Wife she has given me jewels for her Daughters in Scotland worth upwards of £300.

Above – Mr Shand – William Shand, Lord Carrington’s attorney

30 Duke Street Kingston Monday 23rd Feb 1824

I arrived here late last night I waited on Major General Sir John Kean to day but found he was on an excursion to the Blue Mountains with the Duke of Manchester. I afterwards went and reported myself to the Adjutant General. I have been to see the vessel she is a fine Brig Commanded by Lt Binney of the Navy. Mr Binney was formerly on this station as Flag Lieut to Admiral Douglas at Port Royal. My sea stock all arrived to day. I shall sleep on Board tomorrow night. The Yellow Fever is raging here at present. We take a great quantity of specie with us: the Captain is so frightened for the Fever that he will not wait for a convoy although Capt Leith of the Ballett Sloop of War will be ready to escort us in four or five days.

30 Duke Street Kingston Tuesday 24th Feb 1824

I was employed the fore part of this day in making calls. I shall go on Board immediately.

On Board The Kingston Brig

Kingston Harbour 4 o’Clock P.M.

I came on Board about five minutes ago with Capt Binney. I brought my trunks and Sea stock with me, and poor faithful Nero the blood hound. My sea stock consists of 6 Pigs, 3 Sheep, 1 Goat, 18 Fowls, 6 Geese, 6 Turtles, 3 Capons, 4 Guinea Fowls, and two Hogsheads of Guinea corn. I paid independent of my Sea stock 40 Guineas. The only Cabin Passenger besides myself is Lieut Col Fulton of the 92d Regt. Mr Scott a Planter is expected; there is a young man of the name of Sharp in the Steerage who has been a Lieut in the Columbian Service, poor creature he is in a miserable condition, having hardly as much clothes as covers him.

Off Port Royal

On Board the Kingston Wed 25th Feb 1824

Unmoored from the Harbour of Kingston at 11 o’Clock A.M. and dropt anchor here at 3 P.M. The only circumstance that occurred coming down was losing one of our Boats in the Narrows however it is expected that the Boat will be found. The Pilot who is a brown man seems a smart Sailor. The Captain and Col Fulton only came on board about an hour ago.
Thursday 26th Feb 1824

The wind is fair the sails bent
Jamaica! sultry land adieu

Weighed anchor this morning at 6.0 o.Clock tacked several times to the Southward and Northward under all sail. I can not as yet form an opinion of the Capt or of my fellow Passenger Col Fulton. The accommodation here is very superior indeed. I can not say now that I am on my way to Europe that I leave Jamaica with regret, it has its pleasures and its pains the first is eating [sic] Guava Jelly and Turtle Soup. The second is perspiration and Musquitoes. I would be very unworthy if I was not grateful for the kind polite attention I received during my stay in the Island.

In London, in the House of Lords on 16 March 1824, Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies, gave details of measures adopted by the government for ‘ameliorating the condition of the Slave Population in his Majesty’s Colonies’. Provisions included the appointment of two Bishops – one for the Leeward Islands, and one for Jamaica.

British Library Newspapers online – Morning Chronicle, 17 Mar 1824 – House of Lords, 16 March 1824 – Abolition of Slavery – extracts

Earl Bathurst then rose to lay before their Lordships papers relative to the measures adopted by his Majesty’s Government, in consequence of the Resolutions of the House of Commons on the 15th May, 1823, submitted to his Majesty. As preparatory to the explanation which he had to submit to their Lordships, he would read that Resolution: – “That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the Slave Population in his Majesty’s Colonies. That, through a determined and preserving, but at the same time judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the Slave Population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty’s subjects. That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the well-being of the Slaves themselves, the safety of the Colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of all parties concerned therein.” –

It was his duty to explain to their Lordships the measures adopted by his Majesty in consequence of this Resolution. A circular letter had, in the first place, been sent to all the Governors of Colonies on May 28, and another circular letter on July 19. In these circulars the following points were strongly enforced on the attention of the Governors: –

1st. To cause the Sabbath to be better observed.
2d. To procure the abolition of whipping as a stimulus to labour.
3d. To abolish the practice altogether of flogging female slaves.
4th. To take care that no punishments were inflicted contrary to judicial regulations. – We understand his Lordship to explain this to mean, that there were certain modes of punishment employed by masters and overseers, and sanctioned by the law, and these modes were not to be made more severe, or other arbitrary punishments substituted in their room.
5th. To give encouragement to marriage.
6th. To prevent the sale of slaves for the debts of their owners.
7th. That the property of the slave should be secured to him, with the power of bequeathing it to whom he pleased.
9th. To afford a facility to manumission. – and
9th. To admit the evidence of slaves in a Court of Justice

It only remained then, his Lordship said, for him to speak of Jamaica. It was hardly necessary for him to state what passed there to their Lordships, as it was a matter of public notoriety. Their Lordships must be aware, that in that island the measure was received with no kind of respect. He regretted that this island, which on all former occasions had set an example of a willingness to adopt any measures recommended by the Government, should on this occasion have set an example of quite a different description. When the Legislative Assembly of that Island grew more temperate, and had taken a calmer view of the measure, he thought that they would be ready to retract the declaration contained in their
Address to the Governor, “that they could see nothing to induce them to make any alterations to the Slave Code.”

He would next proceed to point out an important provision that was made for securing the advantage of religious instruction to the slaves. He must acknowledge that when these establishments were first made in the islands, little regard was had to the whole of the slave population, the consequence of which was, that they were lamentably deficient as to instruction, and still more as to discipline. A variety of societies had since been formed who sent out Missionaries at different periods. There was the society of Church Missionaries, the society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, and the society for the conversion of the Slave Population. There were other societies who took an interest in the moral improvement of the slaves. The Moravian Society, the West Indian Society, and the Wesleyan Society.

But still it was evident that the Ecclesiastical Establishment required alteration. That could not be properly effected except by the means of a resident clergy. It was generally understood that the Bishop of London had authority over the Ecclesiastical arrangements of these islands, but this was altogether a mistake. The Right Rev Prelate had no such authority, and he was sure he would agree with him that it would be impossible for any person residing in this country to undertake, honestly and conscientiously, to superintend the conduct of the establishments so remote. The plan suggested by his Majesty’s Government was, to appoint two Bishops, one to Jamaica, and another to the Leeward Islands [including Barbados]; for the Bishop of Jamaica would be incapable of discharging the functions of his office in the Leeward Islands, as if he was to reside in this country. It was also proposed, that in Jamaica they should have one Archdeacon, and two Archdeacons in the Leeward Islands, and that the Bishops should go out immediately, accompanied by a number of Clergy, sufficient to meet the demands. The livings were to be placed at the disposal of the Bishops, subject to the approbation of the Government at home; and in consideration of the peculiar nature and character of the slave population, who were so ignorant as to require to be taught like children, teachers were to be appointed under the Clergy, who could not be expected to undertake the drudgery. He hoped that the Managers and Overseers of the estates would look with less jealousy on the religious instruction of the slaves when they were educated according to their own different persuasions. Besides, it would be a great advantage to the slaves themselves to attend public worship with their owners. Nothing was more calculated to awaken kindly feelings between the powerful and their dependents, than a community of worship, by which they joined in one general prayer to the common Father of all. But an Ecclesiastical establishment, however judiciously framed, could not be attended with the same benefits if it were permitted to interfere with the religious societies already formed. He, therefore, wished it to be distinctly understood, that there was no intention on the part of the Government to interfere with existing opinions, or disturb the consciences of men.

There was one fact to which he felt it right to allude, in consequence of the evils that had resulted from it. A general impression had unfortunately gone through the islands, that the Resolutions of last year were to be followed up by the total abolition of the slave system. From whatever cause, there existed an opinion throughout the whole of the slave population, that his Majesty had issued orders for the liberation of the slaves, but that their masters refused to comply. To put an end to such a delusion, it was considered expedient that a Proclamation should be formed, and accordingly one was prepared, which was very short, so as to be easily intelligible to the persons for whom it was intended...

Morning Chronicle, 17 Mar 1824 – House of Commons, 16 March 1824 – Negro Slavery – extracts

Mr Secretary Canning [George Canning, Foreign Secretary] appeared at the Bar with certain Papers similar to those which were laid on the table of the House of Lords: Those Papers having been brought up.

Mr. Canning then rose, and spoke...

... I only conjure Hon. Gentlemen on the one side and on the other – those whose feelings are excited by natural and necessary interests, and those who espouse the cause of the negroes from a sentiment which makes it dearer to them than any pecuniary interest could make it, to reflect that of any conflict in this House, exaggerated pictures will be drawn elsewhere (here, hear!), that false hopes will be founded upon false statements (hear, hear!), and that you are contending, not for the benefit and amelioration of a class whose interests are immediately concerned, but that you are putting in hazard and jeopardy the lives and fortunes of the whole white population (hear, hear!). I entreat Honourable Gentlemen to recollect, that
through the course of these debates, I think without exception, we have argued as of a slavery and a population, yet that we are in fact talking of the slavery and the population of the West Indies, and that we, who are not living on the spot, cannot judge of the incurable alienation which a difference of Government produces (hear, hear!). Though we purposely abstain from introducing particular topics into discussion, do not let us forget the effect that our debates are liable to produce in situations where they may be misrepresented. I beg Hon. Gentleman further to consider, that it is quite impossible to define the limits of enthusiastic eloquence, and that on such a question nothing can be more dangerous than hasty conclusions. Every man comes into this House fettered by many ties – in some way or other most of us are connected with those whose all is involved in the decision of this case, and we ought to be especially careful that we do not allow that to escape which may be exaggerated into a source of danger on a subject of this importance and complication.

But above all let us bear in mind, that by the confession even of the warmest advocates of emancipation, we are offering freedom to those who are not now in a condition to receive it (hear, hear!); that if good is to be effected, it is not to be done by fits and starts, – not by sudden and violent measures, – not by particular individuals of great name and eminent virtues, but by the slow progressive operation of a gradual course of general amendment (hear, hear!). Let us remember that in this change, if we wish to do good, the masters must be the instruments through whom and by whom you must act upon the slave population; and that if by our proceedings we place between them a barrier of inextinguishable hate, the life of one generation, perhaps not of many, can remove it (hear, hear!). At the same time I render due homage to the feelings of those who may be prepared to go that length. I am convinced that the best chance of benefitting those whose amelioration we have in view; the only chance of co-operation on the part of the white population, and therein the only chance of safety to the whole of our possession in the West Indies is to be found in the temperate discussions of moderate measures of abolition by gradual advancement (hear. Hear!) . . .

Henry Taylor (1800-1885), who joined the Colonial Office as a clerk in 1824 and swiftly rose to become head clerk, wrote in his Autobiography that in 1824 the Government ‘had taken up a position of mediator between the saints and the planters’.


In 1824 the Government of Lord Liverpool had taken up a position of mediator between the saints and the planters; finding an escape for themselves in the dilemma of the moment by one of those compromises in which an endeavour is made to reconcile oppugnant principles and implacable opponents. The slaves were not to be enfranchised but their condition was to be ‘meliorated,’ as the word went . . .

The saints accepted the measure as all they could get for the moment, profoundly convinced, however, that so long as slaves were slaves, they must continue to be the victims of cruelty and wrong; whilst the planters, on the other hand, knew well enough that, whether of not negroes would be induced to work for wages if freed (which they absolutely refused to believe), nothing short of the lash in the hand of the driver would make them work as slaves.

Returning to Jamaica – in March 1824 there were 12 slaves on Orkneys (only 6 were owned by Edward), and in St Thomas in the Vale the Earl of Harewood owned 307 slaves.

www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1825 Jamaica Almanac – Giving-In first quarter 1824

St Thomas in the East, Blue Mountain Division – Clouston, Edward, Orkneys – 12 Slaves

St Thomas in the Vale – Harewood, Earl of, Williamsfield – 307 Slaves – 253 Stock

In April 1824 ‘Orkneys’ was a property Assessed for not Giving-in to the St Thomas in the East Vestry for the first quarter 1824.

On 1 July 1824 Edward was appointed a magistrate for the Precinct of St Catherine – the parishes of St Catherine, St Thomas in the Vale, St John, and St Dorothy.

As a Magistrate/Justice of the Peace, Edward had the legal right to use the title of Esquire.
Spelman entitles “armigery natalleti.” 3. Esquires created by the King’s letters patent, and their eldest sons. 4. Esquires by virtue of their offices; as Justices of the Peace, and others who may bear any office of trust under the Crown. To these may be added the Esquires of the Knights of the Bath, each of whom constitutes three at his installation; and all foreign and even Irish Peers; for not only these, but the eldest sons of Peers of Great Britain, though frequently titular Lords, are only Esquires in law, and must be so named in all legal proceedings.

The title of Esquire, therefore, like all other titles, proceeds directly or indirectly from the King, as the fountain of all honour, and it can be conferred by no other person, nor assumed by an person from vanity or caprice.

But, if this must be the law, how strangely different is the practice of modern times! Tradesmen, merchants, and mechanics, of all descriptions, confer this title upon each other . . .

On 5 September 1824 the overseer of Williamsfield, Gordon Munro Innes, and a book-keeper died on the estate – and on 7 November 1824 a child of colour was baptized at Williamsfield.

On 5 September 1824 the overseer of Williamsfield, Gordon Munro Innes, and a book-keeper died on the estate – and on 7 November 1824 a child of colour was baptized at Williamsfield.

In October 1824 a Chapel, a Church of England chapel of ease, was ‘now building’ on Sandy Gut.

Note – although a diagram of the land conveyed for the Chapel was annexed to the 4 February 1825 Indenture, no diagram was copied into the Island Secretary’s Office book. A space was left for the diagram and written below the space –
Jamaica ss  This diagram represents two acres and one rood of land part of Sandy Gully [Gut] plantation situate in the parish of St Thos ye Vale intended for the use of the Chapel that is now building and is to be conveyed by - - - - - - - - - - - to - - - - - - - - - - -

Surveyed 22nd October 1824 by John Scarlett Surveyor

In addition to the three Trustees, George William Hamilton, Samuel Hyde and Rev W G Burton, for the Chapel on Sandy Gut – three other men, James Seton Lane of Coolshade, Edward, and Alexander McIntosh (died September/October 1824) of Mount Pleasant, all of St Thomas in the Vale, ‘caused’ the Chapel to be built out of the money subscribed – see Chapter 15.

On 26 October 1824 James McIntosh, a witness to the Will of Alexander McIntosh (above), swore before Edward that on 17 September 1824 he and the two other witnesses had seen Alexander McIntosh sign his Will – Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Wills, Old Series – Lib 105, Fol 57

The Mount Olive crop account for the year 1824, which was sworn by Edward, includes – Taking Timber out of Wood for Chapel – the Chapel being built on Sandy Gut.

My photo, March 2007 – early morning from the road to Williamsfield – Mount Olive
In the Williamsfield crop account for the year 1824 there is no mention of the Chapel.

Proceeds of 340 hhds Sugar 6876 - 13 - 10
42 Puns Rum 245 - 5 - 0
7121 - 18 - 10

deduct
Insurance £220 - 6 - 3 Stores £ 930 - 6 - 1 Supertare
Commission Postage & Stamps £59 - 11 - 6 - - - - - -
Pr Accounts of Geo Cuthbert & G W Hamilton dated
due to them from this Estate 1210 - 3 - 10
31 Decr 1824 5911 - 15 - 0
2237 - 9 - 7 3674 - 5 - 5
Tulloch crop account for 1824 includes – Williamsfield Estate for Labour of 144 Masons for a day plus Labour of a Woman Cooking 18 days.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Hours</th>
<th>Labour ~</th>
<th>x ~</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nancy</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Davison</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Applewell</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawlins</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Tart</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucy Davison</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sold to Schwellenborg Plantation
- Carrot Castle
- Colin Graham
- George William Hamilton
- Blaygoe Plantation

Total Crop, exclusive of what has been used on the Estate

Helped on the Coventry. 1 bapt + 1 back copper.
Williamsfield Estate for Labour of 144 Masons for a day a 3/-.

Labour of a Woman Cooking 18 days £1.17.6
Dove Hall Estate Labour of 196 Masons for a day a 3/- 33.6.8
Labour of a Woman Cooking 31 days a 2/- 5.7.3
Labour of 13+ Farmanos for a day a 2/- 22.6.8
Labour of a Negro Cooking 17 days a 2/- 1.15.5 61.16

George Smith for 24 Head of Old Cattle & 89 a 2/-

$303, 13. 8.

Personally appeared before me Thomas Warr of the parish of St Thomas in the Vale and made oath that the above is a just and true account of the lands produce proceeds of Tulloch Estate as above stated sworn before me the 18th day of March 1824.

Thomas Warr

O W 1824 T Skaife
James Seton Lane (see above – one of the men involved in the building of the Chapel on Sandy Gut) also wished to encourage the work of Wesleyan missionaries stationed at Grateful Hill – the Wesleyan mission in St Thomas in the Vale – see Chapter 8. On 16 July 1824 he wrote to Rev John Jenkins, newly arrived at Grateful Hill, ‘It is my most earnest desire to promote the object of your mission, as far as any means I may have in my power can do so’.

My photo, December 2009 – from Mount Industry, southeast of Williamsfield (see map below), looking east towards Gratefull Hill.

Esso road map – Coolshade, James Seton Lane’s plantation, was on the northeast side of Williamsfield – the Grateful Hill mission was east of Glengoffe close to the border with St Mary’s and St Andrew’s

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Pr8NAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – A Memoir of the Rev John Jenkins, late a Wesleyan Missionary in the Island of Jamaica ... by George Jackson, published 1832 – page 66-69 – James Seton Lane

... Mr Jenkins’s new scene of labour. It was a mountainous district, amidst a slave population, and consequently his access to the objects of his mission was liable to be greatly facilitated, or much obstructed, by the planters allowing him access to their Negroes, or their opposition to his benevolent
exertions. On this subject the following letter is instructive. It was written to Mr Jenkins by the late J S Lane, esq, a magistrate, and a gentleman of whom Mrs Jenkins observes, “He and Mrs L. were kind beyond all praise to us while at Gratefull-Hill, and I believe to all the missionaries who have lived at that station.” The letter is evidently a reply to one which Mr. Jenkins had written to him for the purpose of obtaining a more enlarged field of action; and it contains sentiments which, as they come from a friend, may furnish some idea of what a missionary has to expect from his enemies.

Cool-Shade, 16th July, 1824.

Dear Sir,

I am quite ashamed to reply to a letter you wrote a month ago, but I had been in the daily expectation of seeing you, and conversing with you personally, on the subject of your letter.

It is my most earnest desire to promote the object of your mission, as far as any means I may have in my power can do so; and perhaps I may have a very heavy responsibility to account for in not having done it, where at least I had the authority, upon my own plantation; but difficulties to be overcome, arrangements to be made, accompanied with a number of circumstances, none of which I grant were invincible, have hitherto prevented my doing what I most decidedly feel to be my solemn duty.

If my slaves were generally resident at home, I would not hesitate in erecting some place in which to assemble; but the nature of their employment is such as to occasion their being employed abroad nine months of the year. With the children at home, much, I am aware, might be done, - - - and something shall, and will, I trust, be accomplished.

I have nothing else within my control that could be attended to except Harkers-hall, and there I have done every thing in my power to induce the slaves to attend the ministry at Grateful-Hill; but with what success I know not; most probably very little. You however, I think, complain unnecessarily that you have not a sufficient field for your labours: perhaps that very impression upon your mind is a sufficient proof that you are very actively fulfilling the duties which your calling has imposed upon you; and which, if I am correctly informed, you are doing to an extent far beyond what is consistent with a due regard to your health. Allow me, my dear sir, to add, that this is a period little calculated for too much prominent and active exertion. A spirit of hostility to sectarians, of every description, has gone forth, and is most actively encouraged, by those who are averse to religious improvement in any shape, or under any denomination whatever. Where a great evil has been accomplished, those who have been the sufferers are not very likely to draw nice distinctions; nor really can I myself see of what consequence it can be, to a man who is reduced to beggary and ruin, whether it has been brought about by the designing villainy of a man like Smith, or the imbecility of another like Shrewsbury.

Missionaries, as well as every other religious person, should recollect that the age of miracles has ceased; and that, although Almighty God has promised the aid of his divine grace to those who ask it, he has nowhere promised common sense. A person deeply imbued with the spirit of religion will naturally make it his governing principle; it will naturally become so of itself; but surely not to the exclusion of all those other duties which we have to perform in a community so widely diversified in its pursuits and objects as this present world is. We are to do nothing, most undoubtedly, which we believe contrary to the will of God: we are to do nothing contrary to his glory (which is perhaps the best explanation of doing every thing to his glory); and yet how different will this duty appear to the world when combined with taste and good sense! Were I to take the liberty of addressing a young missionary, I would strenuously advise him to read those books which are most likely to improve his judgment and inform his mind; to give him the appearance, at least, of conformity to the world in things that are non-essential; to have nothing singular in his appearance or manner; to avoid moroseness; to cherish cheerfulness; - - - in short, if he be a man of sense, to do precisely what that good sense will indicate, combined with religious impression. If he be not a man of sense, by no means to give way to that accursed itch of writing which appears to be so besetting a sin with many, and which was near procuring for brother Shrewsbury the crown of martyrdom. – But enough of this gossiping.

We have been expecting you all week. When are we to have the pleasure of seeing Mrs Jenkins and Mrs Crofts? Please offer our best regards to them; and be assured I am, with best wishes for your success,

My dear Sir Your very faithful servant,

The Rev J Jenkins.

James S Lane.

Above – Smith = a London Missionary Society missionary in Demerara who, after the 1823 Demerara slave uprising, was tried and imprisoned where he died waiting for the outcome of an appeal.
Shrewsbury = a Wesleyan Missionary Society missionary in Barbados who was banished from the island after the 1816 Barbados slave uprising.

Everyman Encyclopaedia, published 1931-32 – Methodism

... John Wesley... drew up Rules of the Society... The chief characteristic of the church is the 'class meeting.' Anyone who feels a 'desire to flee from the wrath to come and be saved from his sins,' may become a member of a class-meeting, by which act he is enrolled a member of the church. No one can be a member of the Methodist Church without having his name down on a 'class-book'... The classes meet weekly for the purposes of Christian fellowship under the guidance of a 'leader'. Each church has its stewards, whose duties are partly religious and partly financial. A circuit quarterly meeting is also held, formed of representatives from different churches and chapels in the neighbourhood, which together make up a 'circuit.' A minister is invited to a church by the quarterly meeting. His invitation is for one year at a time, and is usually renewed until he has remained in the circuit for three years... Besides ordained 'travelling' ministers, there are 'local preachers.' These laymen who offer voluntary services on Sunday, and after passing certain examinations are then enrolled as preachers...

In Jamaica members of the Wesleyan church were generally non-white, including leaders and local preachers. In January 1823 Wesleyan missionaries in Jamaica published a Notice disowning 'Persons, chiefly Negroes' pretending to be 'Methodist teachers and Preachers'.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 18 Jan 1823, page PS 23

Notice of the Wesleyan Ministers – Assembled in their Annual Meeting.

Resolved, 1st, Whereas we, having learned that various Persons, chiefly NEGROES, have been found about the Plantations and Estates, calling themselves METHODIST TEACHERS and PREACHERS, collecting Slaves and others, under a pretence of teaching Religion, performing Marriage, and collecting Money, without the knowledge or consent of Proprietors, judge it to be of a serious injury to the cause of true Religion, and detrimental to the interest of the Community.

Resolved, 2d, That we feel it a duty we owe to our own character as Ministers, and to the Public at large, to make this open protestation against such irregularities, and to avow that we neither have, nor can
have, according to the Rules of our Church, such Person connected with our Body, and, whatever they may call themselves, we know nothing of them.

Resolved, 3d, That the above to be published for one month in the Royal Gazette, the St Jago Gazette, the Cornwall Gazette, and the Cornwall Chronicle, and signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Meeting.

John Shipman, Chairman
Robert Young, Secretary

On 6 September 1824 in an attempt to overcome hostility in Jamaica towards Wesleyan missionaries, some of the missionaries passed six resolutions at a meeting in Kingston. However, after the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London received a copy, the missionaries who had passed the resolutions were severely censured.


At a Meeting of the Wesleyan Missionaries, held in Kingston, on the 6th day of September, 1824.

It was unanimously Resolved,

First, That the Wesleyan Missionaries of this island have observed, with deep regret, the numerous misrepresentations and calumnies have been circulated concerning their principles and motives.

Second, That it has been insidiously stated of the members of this meeting, 1st, That they believe slavery to be incompatible with the Christian religion; 2d, That their doctrines are calculated to produce insubordination among the slaves; 3d, That they are secretly attempting to put in operation means to effect the emancipation of the slaves; 4th, That they are connected and correspond with the members of the African Institution; 5th, That they are the most decided (although disguised) enemies of the West India Colonies; 6th, And are enriching themselves by extorting money from the slaves.

Thirdly, That the members of this meeting feel it an incumbent duty to exonerate themselves from these charges, particularly to the ruling authorities; they, therefore, declare with candour and honesty .

Fourthly, That, whilst they complain of the calumnies and misrepresentations which have been unjustly heaped upon them, they readily admit that an apology is due on behalf of some of those colonies who have spoken so harshly of missionaries. It must be allowed that they have had too much cause for provocation, from the conduct of the anti-colonial party. The methods taken by that party, of blending, most absurdly, religion with politics, or interfering with other men’s properties, under the profession of Christian philanthropy, and whilst claiming to be disciples of the Prince of Peace, doing every thing to spread dissention and anarchy, are utterly destitute of honesty and justice; and not only without sanction from moral principle, but altogether repugnant to the whole Christian code. It is, however, gratifying to the members of this meeting to know, that the Wesleyan body have not participated in their proceedings; and it is only to be regretted that, in a few solitary instances, individuals have departed from the fixed principles of the society.

Fifthly, That the members of this meeting acknowledge, with sentiments of sincere gratitude, the obligations they have been laid under to many gentlemen, in different parts of this island, for acts of the most disinterested kindness; and it is but just to state, that to the magistracy of Jamaica their thanks are particularly due, for that good will which they have generally shown towards the spread of morality and religion among the slaves and other classes; and the very few instances of contrary treatment they have been disposed to attribute more to other causes, than a wish to debar the slaves from the blessings of religion. These sentiments they have always entertained of the gentlemen and magistrates of the colony, and often communicated the same to the committee of the Wesleyan mission; and they hope that, whilst Providence spares them to labour in their calling, they will merit the friendship of all good men who know them, and have always cause to record such instances of kindness.

Sixthly, That, in order to give the fullest publicity to these sentiments and resolutions to those authorities more immediately concerned for the welfare of the colony, they shall be printed in the form of a circular, and addressed most respectfully to his Grace William Duke of Manchester, Governor-in-chief, &c, &c, &c of His Majesty’s island and its dependencies; to Sir John Keane, G.C.B. Commander-in-chief,
Extract from a Meeting of the General Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, held at the Mission-house, Hatton Garden, London, January 5th, 1825.

Read a printed copy, transmitted by Mr Shipman, of certain resolutions, passed at a meeting of the Wesleyan Missionaries held in Kingston, Jamaica, on the 6th of September, 1824, and which has since appeared in the Jamaica Royal Gazette, and some of the London newspapers.

The Committee unanimously Resolved,

1. That they have no information of the number of the missionaries in Jamaica who attended the said meeting, and have reason to think that it was a partial one; and also that it was not a regularly summoned meeting of the missionaries in the Jamaica district.

2. That the publication of all papers, which touch on civil matters in the colonies, or between the mother country and the colonies, is contrary to the rules under which their missionaries are bound to act; and that the only instance of disregard to those regulations which has occurred in any of the Wesleyan missions, is the case now before us, and which is therefore strongly censured by the committee, as a violation of this salutary regulation.

3. That the committee further disavow the said resolutions, as not having been passed at a meeting held under the authority of any of their rules, and as not having been sent home for approval, according to an express regulation.

4. That other matters are introduced into these resolutions, not in the least called for, in order to establish a just defence of the Wesleyan missionaries in Jamaica, against the violent attacks frequently made upon them in the public prints of that island.

5. That the equivocal manner in which the person who passed the said resolutions ‘declare their belief that Christianity does not interfere with the civil condition of slaves as slavery is established and regulated by the laws of the British West Indies’... if it was intended as a declaration, that the system of slavery, ‘as established in the West Indies,’ or anywhere else, is not inconsistent with Christianity, the committee, and the ‘Wesleyan body,’ whose names the framers of the resolutions have thus presumed to use without authority whatever, hold no such opinion; but whilst they feel that all changes in such system ought to emanate from the Legislature, they hold it to be a duty of every Christian government to bring the practice of slavery to an end, as soon as it can be done prudently, safely, and with a just consideration of the interests of all parties concerned; and that the degradation of men merely on account of their colour, and the holding of human beings in interminable bondage, are wholly inconsistent with Christianity.

Secondly, That the committee feel bound in justice to disavow the sweeping charge made against persons in the country, comprehended under the general term of ‘Emancipationists and Abolitionists,’ in the said resolution, as written under evident ignorance of the opinions on this subject which are held in this country, by those excellent and benevolent men, who have of late most distinguished themselves by advocating the amelioration of the condition of the slaves in the West India Colonies, with a view to the ultimate extinction of slavery. The committee conducting the Wesleyan mission take no part in such discussions... they can never permit any of their missionaries to use their name, and the name of ‘the Wesleyan body,’ in casting censures upon many of the most excellent of their fellow countrymen, by representing them as holding sentiments on the subject of emancipation of slaves, and forming ‘designs’ which, if carried into effect, would produce the consequences enumerated in the very unguarded and blameable resolution referred to. The character and objects of the persons, to whom allusion is there made, are too well known by the committee for them to suffer such unjust reflections to be given to the world in their name, and not strongly censure the said missionaries for thus adopting the language of violent party men.

Thirdly, That the committee have read with great grief the very blameable language of the fourth of the said resolutions, though they consider the whole to be the production of a very few only of the missionaries in Jamaica, two of whom had been placed by the last Conference under censure, one being recalled and the other removed from that island, for the manner in which they had surrendered themselves
to the party feelings excited there in opposition to the measures of His Majesty’s Government, and the proceedings of the British Parliament...

The committee, attentive only to the spiritual concerns of the mission confided to their management, would not have thus entered upon these topics, had they not been forced upon them by the publication of the resolutions in question.

They are not unacquainted with the menaces with which their missionaries have of late been visited in some parts of Jamaica... they know the general character of their missionaries, and their societies in the West Indies, so well, that they will suffer patiently, until their case be redressed by the justice of His Majesty’s Government, to whom they have never looked for protection, in cases of persecution, in vain...

6. That copies of the above resolutions be transmitted to the right honourable Earl Bathurst, one of His Majesty’s Principal Secretaries of State; and to his grace the Duke of Manchester, Governor of Jamaica.

(Signed) George Morley,
Richard Watson, Secretaries
John Mason,


Henry Thomas De la Beche (see above – drawing of Mount Olive Natural Bridge) was one of the men who encouraged Wesleyan missionaries in Jamaica to pass the 6 September 1824 Resolutions which were so severely rebuked by the home Society – see – Report from Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery – House of Commons 1832, published 1833 – page 384 – http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=w-CUnnzPUE8C&source=gbs_navlinks_s

H T De la Beche, a geologist and the absentee proprietor of Halse Hall estate in Clarendon, spent a year in Jamaica in 1824. During his time in the island he made notes on the Condition of the Negroes.

British Library – Notes on the Present Condition of the Negroes in Jamaica, by Henry T de la Beche, published 1825 – page 1-42

The subject of negro slavery has been so fully discussed, that little perhaps remains to be said, at least so far as the merits of the general questions are concerned. Ample, however, as the discussion has been, it
has appeared to me, that, with respect to the actual state of slavery in our colonies, many minute and interesting details might still be given. To supply such information as a proprietor is most likely to have the means of obtaining, the following facts are offered as having come under my own personal observation while in the island of Jamaica: – in doing so it is not my intention to enter the field of controversy, but to state fairly and candidly what I have myself witnessed. The addition of any new fact cannot be without its value to those who are anxious to form an impartial judgment on a subject, in which such great public and private interests are involved, independent of the higher considerations of humanity and justice. In offering these observations, however, I am too well aware of the bitter feelings and the prejudices that this question has given rise to, not to know, that if as a West Indian proprietor, I have had opportunities of information I was not likely otherwise to possess, there are those who will not hesitate to use this very circumstance as a ground for impeaching the validity of my statements, and perhaps even of throwing suspicion on my motives: I give to such persons the full benefit of their liberal opinions, but I trust there are also others who will not think it an inevitable condition of the possession of colonial property, that the owner must be a lover of slavery, or an enemy to truth. By such I would hope to be judged by a fairer standard, and trust they will decide on the accuracy of the following statements by their general character, rather than by any reference to the peculiar circumstances of the writer.

I entered on this investigation with a sincere desire to ascertain facts, and with no other prepossession than the dislike of slavery natural to every English-man, and which I trust the accidental circumstance of inheriting West Indian property does not necessarily obliterate: I can truly say with Bryan Edwards, “that I am no friend to slavery in any shape or under any modification;” but the question in this case is not whether slavery in itself be the object of our love or hate, but how the existing state of things in our West India colonies can be changed with justice and safety to all the parties interested. That this state does exist, cannot, without great injustice, be made matter of exclusive reproach to the colonists. Whatever odium attaches to it must be shared in common with the whole British nation; for by the English government and legislature was the traffic in slaves fostered and encouraged: by them was it avowedly considered as a national object; and the interests of the colonists themselves were, as related to it, at all times held subordinate to those of the mother country.

I shall now proceed to state what I observed respecting the present condition of the negroes in Jamaica, during my residence there from the 20th of December, 1823, to the 28th December, 1824. I have been on and passed through estates at all time of the day, and in various parts of the country. Before, however, I make any observations on general management, it may be better, in the first place, to present an account of that pursued on my own property, and then state wherein it differs from what I have remarked on others.

There were, when I left it, two hundred and seven negroes (96 males and 111 females) upon my estate of Halse Hall, in the parish of Clarendon, of whom ten only are Africans, the remainder Creoles, and with one or two exceptions, born on the property, which was founded in the time of Charles the Second; there has been a decrease of negroes until the year ending in March, 1824, when the numbers were the same at the beginning and end; there is every reason to expect and increase for the current year.

The occupations of the day commence early in the morning, by the head driver * ringing a hand-bell in the negro village to rouse the people.

*I here and elsewhere make use of the name common to the principal black man on Jamaica properties, though, with many others, I could wish the substitution of some better term.

From the beginning of March to the end of September the negroes are summoned to their labour at five o’clock in the morning, with the exception of those women who have young children, either at the breast, or lately weaned; these persons are not expected to make their appearance for an hour or two afterwards. During the other months of the year the negroes are not at work until half past five or six, according to the hour at which daylight appears, as they are not called upon to perform any description of work but in daylight, excepting in crop time as will be hereafter explained.

About nine o’clock, the driver, by a signal with his whistle, draws them off to their breakfast, which has been prepared and brought to the field by cooks appointed for that purpose. The time allowed by law for this meal is half an hour, which may be, and frequently is, increased to three quarters, at the discretion of our head driver, who takes his breakfast at the same time. He recalls them to their work by a second signal with his whistle.

At half past twelve, a conch shell is sounded by order of the overseer in front of his house, as a signal for all the negroes on the property to take their dinner-time; but as dinner is a meal seldom taken by the negroes, who from choice defer their principal repast till the evening, the more industrious part of them generally devote the two hours, allowed them by law at this time, to the cultivation of their provision grounds, a large proportion of which is, in this estate, within five minutes walk from their houses. At this time the children of the different families are sent by their parents to pick the various plants known under the general term of hog-meat: with these they feed their pigs and breeding sows.

At two, p.m. the conch shell is again sounded by order of the overseer, to warn the negroes at their private occupations; and at half past two the people are expected to be at their respective works, where they remain until half an hour after sunset, which varies, according to the season of the year, from half past five to half past six; they then retire to their homes, and spend the evenings as they think proper.

The women, who have children at the breast carry them to the field, and chose some cool shady place in which to place them, when one half of the mothers go to work, and the other remains to attend the children, relieving each other alternately.

The drivers at Halse Hall are not permitted to carry whips, neither are they allowed to punish of their own authority; if there be any cause of complaint against a negro, the case is reported to the overseer, who examines into the matter, and by his order only can punishment be inflicted.

The principal occupations of the head driver consist in attending and directing the labours of the great gang, as it is termed, and in receiving from the overseer, every night, his orders for the work to be done next day by the different classes of field labourers and tradesmen, which orders he communicates to the people at their own houses; he attends the serving of all allowances of herrings, corn, rum, sugar, &c, to the negroes, in order to see justice done by the book-keepers to all parties. The head driver on my estate is an intelligent, humane, and steady man, in whom we place great confidence, which we have never known abused.

The great gang, as the first class of negroes is denominated, consists of the strong, able, and effective people only. The laborious part of the work on the estate is consequently performed by them, and consists in digging cane holes, guinea-corn holes, felling wood land, and, in crop time cutting canes, &c. Each
person is expected to open about an hundred holes* per day, when employed in that work; this the negroes
can do with great ease to themselves in our soil; but should they fall short in their work, the only
punishment inflicted is by stopping the defaulter’s share of the extra daily allowance of rum and sugar,
given them when thus employed: the extra allowance consists of one quart of rum for every ten persons,
and of one quart of sugar for every six, and is sent to the driver every morning for distribution during the
time of cane-hole digging; very frequently, as a further encouragement to the negroes, the same is given
them in the evening.

*A cane-hole is nothing more than a certain portion of a long furrow or trench; and as we use the
plough as much as we can, the negroes do little more than clean out the furrow made by it.

The second gang consists of weakly adults, and young people from ten to seventeen years of age; they
perform all the light work, such as weeding and moulding the canes, &c. In crop time they tie canes in the
field, drive cattle in the mill-house, and supply the boiling-house fires with light dry trash from the trash
house.

The small gang is formed of children from six to nine years of age, whose only work is to carry grass to
the stable, and pick green slips and vines for the hogs, under the charge of a careful old woman. During
crop time, which generally lasts about four months, the negroes are, in consequence of being but
comparatively few on this estate, divided into two spells, which relieve each other every twelve hours, viz.
at noon and at midnight, thus allowing half the night for work, and half for rest during five days in the
week; the whole of the remaining two nights, those of Saturdays and Sundays, being their own by law.
The drivers, most of the domestics, with the wain-men, which latter persons are frequently employed with
their wains or carts until late in the evening, do not keep spell.

Crop time, though additional labour is then required viz. that of the night, is a merry time with the
negroes, perhaps the merriest, with the exception of Christmas; if the canes then give them additional
trouble, they amply compensate themselves, for they eat as many as they please, drink as much hot and
cold cane-juice as they think proper, not clandestinely, but as a customary privilege; and in spite of all our
vigilance, carry off a considerable quantity of sugar for themselves, and of canes for their hogs. The
average loss of produce to the proprietor, in consequence of these practices, is generally estimated at one-
tenth, and this calculation certainly appears to be within the truth.

www.flickr.com/photos/caribbeanphotoarchive/8325466141/in/set-72157608733491554 – A Duperly &
Sons c.1898 – Jamaica – Sugar Cane Cutters
As to food: ninety barrels of herrings are imported every year for the use of the negroes. These herrings are served out weekly to them in the following portions, viz. the head driver receives eighteen, sixteen head people, nine each; all grown up persons, six each; children of a certain age, five each; and all young children, four each.

It required one thousand bushels of guinea corn to supply the negroes during the year, which, if purchased, could cost 666l. 13s. 4d. currency, at 13s. 4d. per bushel. The average crop of guinea corn on the estate is about sixteen hundred bushels, so that nearly two-thirds of the labour expended in this kind of cultivation was solely for their own benefit. It used to be the custom to give every negro on the property a gallon of guinea corn on the Sunday morning, when they had not been allowed the previous Saturday for themselves; but in consequence of having had every Saturday given them (out of crop) during the last year, they have not asked, and consequently have not received, any very great assistance from the corn store. About sixty persons, consisting of invalids, children, the stock keepers, and domestics, receive a gallon of corn each per week all the year round.

The best guinea corn land on the estate was, at the request of the negroes, given up to them about three years since, for the purpose of making additional provision grounds. This land, which is within five minutes walk of their homes, affords them, in tolerable seasons, an immense return of maize, sugar-beans, sweet potatoes, and cassada [sic]; independent of these grounds, they have a large run of land behind their houses of several hundred acres, where every one may, and does, as much as he thinks proper: they also have a very fine plantain walk, the returns from which are great; to this walk additional provision grounds are attached. The lowlands, in which the estate is situated, being subject to occasional drought, the negroes have been lately encouraged to cultivate provision grounds in a tract of twelve hundred acres of mountain land belonging to Halse Hall, where the seasons are regular and the soil excellent. To enable the people to cultivate this land with ease to themselves, it being situated in the Mocho mountains, about ten miles from the estate works, they have every Saturday (out of crop) allowed them, and every alternate Saturday they are lent a wain, or cart, and six oxen, to carry up their tools, plants, &c. with four breakers of water, containing forty gallons, to prevent them from losing time in searching for and carrying that necessary, water being scarce in the Mocho mountains. When their provision grounds begin to produce in any quantity, the negroes are to receive every assistance with mules, &c for the purpose of either bringing their provisions home, or conveying them to neighbouring markets* as they may think proper.

*For the prices which the negroes obtain in our neighbourhood, for the different articles they carry to market, see Appendix A. This list has been selected as a tolerably fair estimate of country prices, there being no town in our immediate neighbourhood.
Notes on the Present Condition of the Negroes in Jamaica – page 1-42 – continued

The head driver receives every week, two quarts of rum and two quarts of sugar; the sixteen other head people have, once a week during crop, and once a fortnight during the rest of the year, each one quart of rum and quart of sugar. Every woman with a child at the breast receives weekly four quarts of guinea corn, one quart of sugar, and one of oatmeal, or wheaten flour.

They raise great numbers of hogs, goats, and poultry, which they generally sell or exchange for their favourite salted food, such as salt beef, pork, cod or ling. Their meals principally consist of a thick soup, or pot, as they term it, composed of peas, beans, callaloo (a vegetable much resembling spinach), yams, cocos, and sweet potatoes, boiled up with some of the above salt provisions; the whole being highly seasoned with capsicums and pimento [allspice].* This composition they prefer to any dish prepared according to the rules of European cookery.

*I think I have seen it observed that the negroes do not use pimento in the food: it is however by no means uncommon in the cookery of my people.

On Easter Monday every negro receives a quart of rum, and a quart of sugar; and on Christmas Eve eight pounds weight of salt-fish (either cod or ling), one quart of sugar, and one of rum.*

*In addition to the above Christmas allowance, we kill an ox at that season, which is distributed among the negroes.

From their various provision grounds and allowances the people not only obtain a sufficiency for themselves, but a large overplus, which they carry to market, and convert into money.

With respect to clothing: the negroes receive the following articles once a year: –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Yards of Oznaburgh</th>
<th>Yards of Blue Baize</th>
<th>Yards of Long Ellis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The head driver</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 1st class, or head people</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 2nd class, or men</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 3rd class, or women</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 4th class, or children</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Every negro, whether old or young, receives annually a black hat, a Kilmarnock cap, a handkerchief, a knife, some tape, nine skeins of thread, and some needles.

In addition to this, the head driver receives annually a blue broad cloth jacket and two check shirts; every other head person one check shirt. The domestics, both male and female, receive allowances of check. Every woman with a young child gets an additional present of eight yards of Oznaburgh, and three yards and a half of check.

This allowance of clothing is rather more than sufficient to supply them with working dresses during the year, for Sundays and holidays they have dresses purchased by themselves of a very superior description, often exceeding in value those possessed by the generality of European peasantry. They very frequently have coral necklaces, gold rings, brooches, &c. in addition to the common bead necklaces, that scarcely a woman is without.

Every family is supplied with an iron pot for their kitchens, varying in size according to the number of persons, one in two or three years, as wanted.

As soon as a women is reported to be pregnant, she is taken into the second gang, and ordered to remain there until her seventh month, when she is allowed to remain at home, until six weeks after confinement; whilst, with the second gang, she is not compelled to do even the light work of that gang, the intention being merely to keep her in sight, and prevent her from carrying heavy loads for herself, which she would most probably do, if permitted to ramble over the neighbourhood.
The children are seldom weaned until sixteen or eighteen months old, unless the pregnancy of the mother may make it desirable to do so sooner; when a child is to be weaned, it is given in charge of a careful old woman, who collects all the young children in the morning at day-light, attends them during the day, prepares their food for them, and restores them to their parents when they return from their work. The children remain under the charge of the weaning nurse until they are six years old, when they are taken into the second gang, or grass gang.

The negroes are allowed one holiday at Easter, and three at Christmas. My people have every Saturday during eight months of the year, amounting to thirty-four days, which, with the four holidays above mentioned, and the Sundays throughout the year, amount to ninety days, or very nearly a quarter of the year, that they have exclusively to themselves.

The hospital, which is regularly attended by a white medical man, is amply supplied with medicines, and other necessaries; to be admitted, a negro has only to apply; when his case is inquired into. Very, frequently applications are made by persons who have no complaint whatever, but whose object is to avoid work; to check this practice, and prevent the risk of turning away those really sick, we keep in the people who are suspected of playing tricks during the Saturday and Sunday (their own days); this plan has had the desired effect. A negro who is sick, or labours under any bodily infirmity, receives a supply of sugar, rum, oatmeal, flour, and wine,* as often as he may require it, with animal food from the overseer’s table.

*A certain quantity of port wine is annually imported for this purpose, and should a sick negro require it, malt liquor is purchased for him in the country.

With respect to their houses, much depends on their own industry; they are generally comfortable in the interior, and are commonly formed of timber uprights driven into the ground, and wattle together, the whole being covered with plaster; the entrances are low, and the roof high and thatched. The thatch palm is commonly used by my people. The poorest habitations consist of a hall and bedroom, separated from each other, with a detached kitchen and pig-sty; the cottages of the industrious negroes and head people have more rooms, the yard is generally fenced in, and contains detached kitchens, hog-sties, fowl and pigeon-houses.

---

*My photo, March 2007 – borders of St Thomas in the Vale and the parish of St Mary

---

The furniture of their houses, of course, depends on their means; the industrious negroes and head people have, beside chairs and tables, a cupboard or sideboard, with crockery and glass, and other articles.
I have seen some of their beds composed of good mattresses, upon four post bedstead, and hung with mosquito nets: this however is not the lot of many, whose beds are generally formed of soft mats or common mattresses, raised a foot or two above the ground, upon a kind of frame work. Most of their habitations contain comforts, for which a person, judging from the exterior of their houses would not give them credit.

There are five negroes on the property marked with a brand mark; two of these were so marked about eighteen years ago, and three, I am sorry to say, in 1822 or 1823; they were, it is true, bad characters, but nothing can, in my opinion, excuse such an abominable practice.*

*It was wished to punish the overseer, who had caused the three negroes to be branded; but as the operation had been performed by heating a silver brand in burning spirit, and had been applied only for an instant to the back, it was by no means certain that we could do so.

Every Thursday fortnight, a Wesleyan missionary (Rev I Crofts) affords religious and moral instruction to my people, who assemble for that purpose in one of our large buildings (the boiling house), which is capable of conveniently containing more persons than there are on the property. In order to make the time suitable to all parties, the instruction takes place in the evening, the negroes receiving their two hours for dinner-time at half past four, instead of the middle of the day: this arrangement is made with the consent of the people; for, strange as it may appear to some persons, the consent of negroes is sometimes asked. The children are separately catechised, as are also such adults as prefer that mode of instruction; for we are particularly careful to avoid an appearance of compulsion, and in consequence there is generally a full attendance, (from 150 to 180). The people are always neat and clean on these occasions, the women mostly in white dresses. I was much pleased with the trouble the mothers took about the appearance of their children; they were most frequently dressed in white, with white handkerchiefs about their heads. Many of the negro children displayed considerable quickness in the answers to the Missionary’s questions, and three or four of the girls were very remarkable for their memories.

Punishments. – The whip, as I have before observed, is not (on my estate) allowed to be carried in the field, and punishment can only be inflicted by order of the overseer, on the report of the book-keepers or drivers; thus opportunity is afforded for considering those offences that have not occurred under his eye, with proper calmness and deliberation, and the chance in some measure avoided, of inflicting chastisement under the influence of sudden passion, which might be the case if the right of punishment were permitted to be exercised by those who superintend the negroes in the field. Our usual punishments are, stoppage of extra allowances, confinement in the stocks, and switching; the whip being used only in very bad cases, and upon the men; for, as far as respects the women, I have abolished it altogether.

Our negroes have been quite as orderly, if not more so, since the carrying of the driver’s whip has been discontinued, as before; and our work is as well done, notwithstanding I was gravely warned that such innovations would cause every species of insubordination.

The overseer keeps a punishment-book, a copy of which for the month is to be regularly forwarded to me, in which the offences and punishments are entered as follows: –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>Punishment</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>Wm Smith</td>
<td>In a drunken fit, struck at and wounded Eleanor with an iron bar.</td>
<td>Confinement in the stocks.</td>
<td>Was let out the second day, in consequence of his promises of better conduct.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I shall now proceed to state the general management of Jamaica properties.

A decrease of negroes is very common among them, arising from various circumstances; ill-treatment has been assigned by one party as the principal, if not only cause: this, although it may be admitted as founded in truth in some instances, is by no means generally a correct statement. No doubt much may, and does depend upon the management of the negroes, but very much also depends upon themselves: their African ideas lead them to prefer polygamy and promiscuous intercourse to marriage, as it exists in Christian countries; indeed, so adverse were my own people, particularly the women, to it, that I could not prevail upon a single pair to marry, during my residence among them, though constantly striving to
overcome their prejudices; nor do I expect to overcome this object will be accomplished, until they have
imbibed proper moral and religious feelings on the subject from the instructions of the Wesleyan
Missionary. Another cause of the decrease is the practice too many of the young women have, of
procuring abortions in the early stages of pregnancy, from their dread that child-bearing will interfere with
the pursuits of their favourite amusements, and the dislike of the restraint that it necessarily imposes on
them. This used to be very much the practice on my property; but it is to be hoped that the rewards we
now give, in addition to their usual privileges, to women with infants, will, in a great measure, if not
altogether, put a stop to this most unnatural practice.

That, from various causes, decrease does not always follow negligent treatment, might be shewn, were
it not invidious to do so, by comparing some estates that increase, with some that do not.

The most common mode of calling the Jamaica negroes to their labour is by the cracking of the driver’s
whip, a sound particularly disagreeable to a stranger’s ear; and although it may be justly stated that it is a
mere noise, and that some noise is required to rouse the people, yet, as it forms part of the constant and
unnecessary display of the whip, and as bells and conch shells could easily be substituted for it, the present
barbarous practice might be discontinued.

The times of going to and quitting work is much the same throughout Jamaica, with the exception of
some coffee properties, where the negroes take their two hours for dinner-time at half past four, instead of
the middle of the day; thus, in fact, quitting their labour at half past four. They have, moreover, a kind of
task-work on most coffee properties during the picking time, a given quantity of berries being expected
from each person, who may quit work as soon as he has gathered his proportion, which, I have been
informed, some hard working negroes have been able to do by one or two, p. m.

It is much to be regretted, that considerable martinetism exists on some properties, with regard to the
time when the negroes ought to assemble in the morning: then it is that the negroes suffer most from the
driver’s whip; for he unfortunately can, upon his own authority, inflict punishment on those who are not in
time; thus making him a judge of an excuse, that might appear quite valid to a manager, though I by no
means wish to state that the overseers always lean to the side of justice, believing that not above half of
them are qualified to wield the power, that under existing circumstance must necessarily be entrusted to
them.

The most usual mode of calling the negroes from their labour to breakfast, is also by the offensive
sound of the driver’s whip. The time allowed must always be, by law, half an hour, and is, I believe, very
commonly exceeded; the law also directs that two hours shall be given for dinner-time.

With very few exceptions, the drivers on Jamaica estates carry either whips or cats: on some they are
little used; but I am afraid that they are not always mere symbols of authority. During the whole time of
my residence in Jamaica, I did not see a single punishment inflicted with the whip; though, as before
stated, I have been on estates in various parts of the country, and at all hours of the day; the only inference
I mean to draw from this is, that the punishment is by no means so common as usually represented. The
use of the whip, as a stimulus to labour, is certainly most revolting; and I believe, from what I have
observed on my own estate, that it is quite unnecessary; for we perform the same work in the same time,
and quite as well without as with it. It is true that the abolition was not sudden, but gradual; the gentlemen
who manage my affairs in Jamaica,* (than whom none can be more humane to the negroes, or attentive to
their comforts) having paved the way for the total disappearance of this instrument, by not permitting the
drivers to use it, though carried by them; the same gentlemen have effected its gradual abolition upon
Albion estate, St David’s, the property of R Hibbert, Esq; and generally, under their management it is little
used.

*Messrs Simpson and Taylor, of Kingston.

On estates where the whip is permitted, as a stimulus to labour, the driver stands near the negroes,
when at work, and has the power of inflicting punishment at his own discretion upon those who may, to
him, appear idle; a power, as may easily be imagined, liable to much abuse, and one which should be
abolished; it being no more than a common justice that inquiry should be instituted previous to
punishment, setting aside the revolting idea of impelling human beings to their labour by the whip, as if
the fear of punishment, after proper inquiry, would not produce all the requisite effect.

In order to afford the reader a general idea of the manner in which negroes on sugar estates perform
their labour in presence of the driver, I have given a plate representing the people in their working dresses
cutting canes, with the driver leaning on his long stick, which he is scarcely ever without, and having the whip over his shoulder.

The occupation of the head driver, of course, depends upon the nature of the property to which he belongs; from being at the head of the black population of an estate, and from the influence that he consequently possesses, his office is much desired by the negroes.

The division of the people into gangs, according to their age or strength, is much the same in various parts of Jamaica, but the work performed by them depends upon the nature of the property; it may be generally stated, that the labour is lighter on coffee settlements and pens (large cattle farms,) than on sugar estates; but it may also be mentioned, that the allowances are generally greater on the latter than the former. On pens and coffee properties they have no night-work, neither have they cane holes to dig, which is hard labour when the land has not been previously ploughed. From having no night labour to perform, it might be concluded, that the negroes on coffee settlements and pens would consider themselves more fortunately situated than on sugar estates; but the reverse is the fact, for, strange as it may appear, it is a general observation that the negroes seem to enjoy crop time, at least they are decidedly more merry than than at any other period, always excepting Christmas, which they would scarcely be if it were a time of suffering, as has been represented.

On sugar estates, where the negroes are numerous in proportion to the land cultivated, the people are divided into three and four spells during crop time; on properties where the numbers are not so great, into two.

The supply of food from the proprietors to his people varies on different estates, but there is generally a liberal allowance of pickled fish. With the exception of the lowland districts on the south side of the island, St Dorothy’s, Liguanea, &c, little guinea corn* is cultivated, and in those districts only (I believe,) are the people supplied with this article. In the more elevated districts, or in those where the seasons are nearly regular, the people supply themselves abundantly with the produce of their own labour, and generally have a surplus, which they sell at the different markets.

*The return from a single grain of this corn is enormous, I once had the curiosity to count the number in a head of rather large size, but by no means the largest that I have seen, the amount was 4,307 grains, the produce of one seed.

The owners of slaves are by law compelled to afford their people good and ample food, to the value of three shillings and four pence currency per week each, under the penalty of fifty pounds, in cases where they have not grounds fit for cultivation of provisions, or when the negro provision-grounds have been rendered unproductive from dry weather. In the article of food, however, the negroes seldom or ever have any just cause of complaint; for in this respect I consider them better off than the generality of the European peasantry that I have seen; in fact, very little labour in sufficient to produce a large return in tropical countries; such, indeed, as an inhabitant of the temperate regions of the globe can but have a faint idea of.

My photos, March 2007 – Port Royal – Gloria’s restaurant – Fish Stew with Ochra, Onions, etc and Coleslaw – and Festival, sweet fried cornflour dumplings

![Image of food](image-url)
Fish Stew with Ochra, Onions, etc, and Bammy

Notes on the Present Condition of the Negroes in Jamaica – page 1-42 – continued

The allowance of rum and sugar varies in different properties, and are, as might be expected, more liberal on sugar estates than on pens or coffee settlements.

The negroes throughout the island breed numbers of hogs and poultry, the abundance of either, of course, depending on their own industry, or the ease with which they may find markets for them. Goats, from their mischievous propensities, are not permitted to be kept on some properties; I have not, however, observed that they were particularly destructive with us.

The negroes are supplied with different quantities of clothing, according to the means and inclination of their owners; and I believe the cases are rare, in which the allowance required by law is alone given. I have not been on many properties at the time of “cloth-serving,” but in all the distributions of clothing that I have witnessed, the allowance was nearly the same as my own; there are, however, properties where it is more abundant, as there are also others where it is not so great.

The treatment of pregnant women is in general mild, and considerable indulgences are granted them; indeed, such is so clearly the proprietor’s interest, that it seems surprising there should be any difference in the respect. The management of children is much the same on different properties.

The negroes are by law allowed (out of crop) one day a fortnight, exclusive of Sundays, to cultivate their provision-grounds; these days, so allowed, must not be less in number than twenty-six,* making, with the usual holidays and Sundays, eighty-two days in the year that they have to themselves, beside extra time that may be given them by their owners. It is a rare practice to give the people every Saturday out of crop; and yet if it be wished to “render the Sabbath; as much as possible, a day of rest, and for religious worship,”† as by an act of the last session of the House of Assembly, appears to be the disposition of that body, it would seem necessary to give that or some other day for the purpose of cultivating their grounds, and holding markets. The Jamaica markets are at present held on Sundays; there is, however, a Saturday market at Kingston, gradually growing into importance, to the decrease of that held on Sunday. The progress that Christianity has made in the town and neighbourhood, owing principally to the exertions of the Wesleyan and Baptist missionaries, has greatly contributed to this improvement.

*Consolidated Slave Act, clause 4.

†See the act, Appendix D, passed the last session of the House of Assembly, for the purpose of preventing any negroes being levied on for debts of their owners on Saturday, Sunday having previously been the only day during which they were prevented.

Every estate has an hospital, or hot-house, as the negroes are pleased to call it, which of course varies in dimensions and comforts in different places; they are in general perfectly well adapted to the purposes intended, and are regularly attended by white medical men. Many of these buildings, that I have seen, were large, and properly divided into wards. The usual method of remunerating a medical man, if he be not attached to the property with a salary, is by paying him a dollar annually for every negro, whether sick
or well, upon the estate which he attends; thus, if there are 300 negroes, he is paid 300 dollars, or 100\$ currency per annum, for affording medical advice, the medicines being found by the proprietor. If the medical men form partnerships, and attend several properties, which is generally the case, their income becomes considerable.

The negro houses are much the same in different parts of the country, varying, as before stated, with the industry or means of the people; their exterior appearance might induce an Englishman to consider them as devoid of comfort. African ideas, however, differ very considerably in this respect from European, the negroes prefer their own high roofed, low walled, and low doored huts, almost concealed by vegetation, to what we would consider our best English cottages, with separate neatly railed gardens attached; as those persons have had occasion to find, who, in their anxiety to accommodate their people, according to their own ideas of comfort, have had neat dwellings erected on their properties at considerable expense, and then have had great difficulty to persuade the people to live in them; negroes highly resenting any attempt to interfere with their domestic arrangements.

This disgraceful practice of branding is nearly discontinued; I have mentioned instances as having occurred on my own property: it is however but justice to say, that they are generally rare, indeed all persons with whom I have conversed on the subject seemed to have but one feeling respecting it, which makes it the more remarkable that some law has not been passed to declare it illegal, for brutal characters will exist in every community, and who, when possessed of power, are but too likely to abuse it. The feeling entertained in Jamaica on this subject will be best seen by reference, to three cases of trials for cruelly branding, given in the Appendix B.

The religious and moral instruction of the negroes has been very little attended to until lately; it is true that curates were appointed for this purpose, with a salary of 500\$ currency per annum, but, with few exceptions, they have done little else than ease the rectors in their duty. Instances indeed are not wanting, of individuals who are anxious to impart the knowledge of Christianity to those for whose instruction they have been more especially appointed. It is in vain, however, to deny that very little in the way of religious improvement among the negroes has been effected by the established clergy in Jamaica, except in two or three districts. Hundreds of negroes have no doubt been baptized, but the ceremony seems to have been considered all-sufficient, no religious instruction having been offered either before or after. The usual practice has been to assemble numbers of the negroes together, either at the churches, or on the estates, sometimes from fifty to a hundred or more; they are merely asked what their names are to be, and then baptized \textit{en masse}, the rector receiving half a crown currency for each person. I by no means wish to state that this is the universal, but it is most certainly the more common practice.

In making these statements, it is only justice to add, that instances have occurred, in which the offers of some clergy, to instruct the negroes, have been very ungraciously received, and even refused by the managers of the estates; a very different spirit begins now to prevail, and it is hoped that ere long all the negroes will be taught the duties of Christianity, much being expected on that head from the bishop, who will no doubt make every necessary arrangement.

As it might perhaps have an invidious appearance, I would willingly avoid selecting for mention those of the clergy who consider the Christian instruction of the slaves an important part of their duty: but after observation I have made, it is only justice to mention Rev W Utten, he being the curate of the parish in which my property is situated, whose letter to me, soon after his appointment to the curacy, is inserted in the Appendix C.

The progress that Christianity is now making among the negroes is mainly to be attributed to the labours of the Wesleyan and Baptist missionaries, but more particularly to the former, who are more numerous, and have, I believe, been longer established in the country, than the latter. There are few Moravians in Jamaica, their establishments are however, as they always have been elsewhere, highly useful.

The Wesleyan Missionaries are very deservedly esteemed, though, during discussion respecting the Demerara Missionary Smith [London Missionary Society], they, as well as all the others, were for a time regarded as dangerous persons, they soon however recovered from this impression, more particularly when it was known, that out of 1216 members of their society in Demerara, not one was found concerned in the late rebellion.

From what I have personally observed of the Wesleyan Missionaries in Jamaica, I believe them to be a highly useful body of men, well calculated to instruct the slaves, and who, to a zeal in performing their duties of their mission, have joined good sense and moderation, eminently calculated to promote their object, to disarm the prejudices against them, and to acquire the confidence of the resident proprietors and
managers, without whose co-operation and good will, little hope can be entertained of a beneficial result of their labours.

Christianity is the more easily introduced among the negroes, as its progress is not obstructed, as it is in India and many other places, by the influence of any existing system of religion among them. Obeahism can scarcely be called a religion, being little more than a dread of the power of certain men, who are supposed capable of injuring others by certain preparations.* This belief in the power of Obeah men has very considerably declined of late; but some spells or preparations are still by many considered effective.*

*I once received information that a strange negro was in the habit of frequenting my negro houses for the purpose of practicing Obeah, after several weeks spent in vain trying to secure him, I was one day fortunate enough to do so; upon searching him we found a handkerchief in his hat, containing small pieces of chalk, broken bits of various woods of a certain length, roots of grass, pieces of eel skin, two wings of a bat, two or three pieces of old leather, &c: he endeavoured to throw this bundle away among the brush wood and trees where I came up with him. At the bottom of his breeches pocket, the search of which he violently resisted, we discovered an Oznaburgh bag, containing a round piece of leather, painted different colours, to the rim of which were attached small bags of various sizes, an English sixpence, a gilt button, the gilt handle of a small drawer, with a small string of beads, the little bags contained several singular mixtures, some of which were most probably poisons (for where the Obeah man cannot produce an effect on the mind, he generally has recourse to poison,) in one bag was a human tooth, enveloped in a mixture, that seemed principally composed of brown soap. Such is the dread the negroes entertain of these people, that I could prevail on none of them to appear and charge him with practicing Obeah, though it was notorious he had done so. He was (when I left Jamaica) to be tried for having “materials in his possession notoriously used in the practice of Obeah,” which is punishable under the 53rd clause of the Consolidated Slave Act, by transportation from the island, “or such punishment, not extending to life, as the court shall think proper to direct.

*The negroes still continue to place watchmen (as they call them), in their provision grounds, though the practice is by no means so general as formerly, these are commonly composed of pieces of the wood-ant’s nest, the root of a particular grass, grave dirt, bunches of feathers, &c, either singly or together. Some people even make small boxes, resembling the coffins of infants, line them with black and white cloth, and then fill them up with earth, and very often grave-dirt. These various “watchmen” have ceased to be much attended to by the habitual plunderers of provision grounds: two of my people were overheard one day addressing one of the coffin boxes, and telling it, that it might, if it could, inform its owner of the depredations they had committed in his provision grounds; they laughed heartily, and seemed to enjoy the joke.

*Many negroes suppose that grave-dirt trod upon by a thief, if placed in his way for that purpose, will seriously injure or kill him; for example: I once heard a Halse Hall woman, passing my house early in the morning on her way to work, exclaim in a great passion, “Dem somebody tief my corn, I go lay grave-dirt in a pass (the road or path,) and kill dem; me no care, Henry (meaning me,) hab no nager (negroes).”

Some negroes entertain ideas of the transmigration of the soul; an old woman on my estate, whom the Wesleyan Missionary (the Rev I Crofts,) was instructing previous to baptism, stated her belief that people when they died turned into dust like brick-dust; that those who had behaved ill during their lives became mules, horses, flies, &c; but that those who had led a good life were born again, and occupied similar situations to those they had previously filled; that blacks would be black again, and whites white.

A belief in ghosts is rather common among the people: a fatal instance of the power of this impression occurred upon my estate while I was there. A negro woman, named Julina Brown, who was slightly affected with a liver complaint, surprised us much by refusing almost all food for about six weeks; we at first thought she laboured under the influence of Obeah; it however turned out that she fancied her mother’s ghost had appeared to her, and warned her of her death, and that whenever she attempted to take any nourishment, the spirit washed its hands in the broth, gruel, or whatever else it might be; - her expression was, that her mother had “put her hand upon her.” To prevent the ghost from doing her any bodily mischief, she had tied her caul round her neck in a piece of blue stuff; this the negroes fancy has
that effect. She died of exhaustion: her death would not, I am inclined to think, have taken place, had we
sooner known the cause of her refusal to eat; for it was only after repeated questions from the Missionary,
that she informed us of it; she appeared at last to be convinced of her error, though not in sufficient time to
prevent the effects of her abstinence.

The progress that the Missionaries have made in introducing Christianity among the Jamaica negroes
will be best understood by a reference to the last annual Wesleyan and Baptist Missionary reports.

The usual method of punishing negroes by whip, cat-o’-nine-tails, and switch, or by confinement in the
stocks; the latter punishment, if it be continued any time, the people dislike more than any thing other;
indeed I have known persons, after having been confined two or three nights, (to which the women have
particular objection,) beg to receive a whipping, and be let out. This mode of punishment may therefore
be considered most useful, and should be generally adopted, as far as respects women, instead of the
present disgraceful custom of flogging them; for although I am well aware, that they are more troublesome
particular objection,) beg to receive a whipping, and be let out. This mode of punishment may therefore
be considered most useful, and should be generally adopted, as far as respects women, instead of the
present disgraceful custom of flogging them; for although I am well aware, that they are more troublesome
to manage than men, and that the flogging of women is not now very common in Jamaica, yet no time
should be lost in wiping out this stain on the management of negroes, for which there can be no excuse.

It is most surprising that solitary confinement has not been more resorted to, when it is considered how
much the negroes dislike being debarred from the revel and pleasures of the night: it has been objected to
this method, that it might give occasion to cruelty in the duration of the confinement; but this would be
easily obviated, by causing overseers or managers to keep, what they ought to keep, a book in which all
punishments should be entered, under a heavy fine for omissions; this should be sworn to with other
estate’s papers at the usual periods, when any act of cruelty would be known to, and be punished by, the
magistrates; it has also been objected that confinement might injure the health of negroes, and prevent the
work of the estate going on, (should there be several under punishment at the same time,) both these
objections might however be obviated, by making the offenders work during the estate’s hours, and by
confining them only during their own; for, after all, their principal dislike is to the night confinement.

It is generally agreed that punishment is by no means so common as it used to be; in fact, the testimony
of the blacks as well as the whites concurs on this subject; the general improvement in the treatment of the
people appears from all accounts to be very considerable; and although much remains to be done, some
credit should be given for what has already been effected.

Jobbing gang negroes, those belonging to the free brown and black people, and domestics, may be
considered separately from those regularly employed on estates.

Jobbing gangs are (I believe) by no means so numerous as they formerly were, the abolition of the
slave trade having in a great measure prevented overseers and others who had acquired some little money
from investing it in this kind of property, as they cannot now recruit their numbers as formerly by
purchase from the slave-ships. Jobbing is now principally performed by persons who own more negroes
than they can find employment for on their own properties. The lot of these people is by no means so
good as that of the stationary plantation negroes, they have frequently hard labour to perform, and are
frequently employed far from their own homes, in which latter case they are obliged to content themselves
with small temporary huts, which have little appearance of comfort.

The negroes belonging to the free brown and black people are by no means those best treated; one
would suppose that this class of owners would feel most sympathy for their slaves; the reverse is,
however, generally the fact. I by no means wish to state that there are not some of these persons who treat
their slaves with considerable kindness and indulgence; but it generally so happens, that those who have
themselves been in bondage treat their slaves the worst, and this is the case in Jamaica. The negroes
belonging to this class of people are often hired out as tradesmen, domestics, &c, to those who may
require them.

The domestic negroes are certainly, taken as a whole, well treated by their masters, and are very
frequently more indulged than servants are in England; they have in general very little work to perform,
many more being required to execute the same work than would be thought necessary in this country.
Those employed in respectable families are, as may easily be imagined, well clothed and fed, and by no
means the most unhappily situated of the human race; for instance, it would be long before an English
lady would assemble her domestics, butler, coachman, footman, lady’s maid, &c, and play several hours
on the piano-forte, while they danced; yet I saw this done by a lady in Jamaica, the Christmas before last.

As the happiness and comfort of the negroes depend so much upon the persons in whose charge they
are placed, I shall make an observation or two respecting them.

When a proprietor is resident in the country, (which is seldom the case in Jamaica,) he has an overseer
under him to manage the minor affairs of the property, and book-keepers in proportion to the number of
negroes, sometimes also white carpenters, &c, to superintend the negro tradesmen. The proprietor being resident, it is hardly probable that any cruelties can be practiced by those under him, it being clearly his interest to treat his people well, independent of considerations of humanity. The negroes are also more contented when they have the proprietor, or owner, as they call him among them; and will then do many things cheerfully, that under other circumstances they would murmur at. All their little complaints they bring to him, and however frivolous they may be, he must listen to them or give offence. These complaints are often very lengthy and tedious, the only satisfaction the complainants sometimes propose to themselves being to tell their story, and I have known them forget at the end what they commenced with: on these occasions one has only to make them laugh, and they will retire perfectly contented. An old woman once occupied me a good hour with a complaint against a person, who after all turned out to be dead; the offence, moreover, was given five years previously.

When the proprietor is an absentee, he gives a power of attorney to some gentleman in whom he has confidence, who is from this circumstance named an attorney. The attorney then occupies the situation of the proprietor, and directs the management of his property, appointing overseers, &c, receiving for his trouble a certain sum per annum, fixed by the parties concerned, or else a per centage on the produce, which last is most frequently the case. Some gentlemen are attorneys for many properties, and thence derive a considerable income.

*William Berryman’s Jamaica drawings, 1808-1816*

Notes on the Present Condition of the Negroes in Jamaica – page 1-42 – continued

These arrangements would not affect the comforts of the negroes, if the attorney took the same interest in them that the proprietor must necessarily do; but here matters become altered, for the interest of the attorney is to make as much as possible from the estate, and the negroes become only a secondary consideration. When a gentleman has many attorneyships, he becomes what is called a great attorney; the management of many estates by this person is no inconvenience to the proprietor, if his property can be regularly visited, and the grievances of his people redressed, should there be any; but when attorneys have
the management of estates at considerable distances from each other, they must necessarily reside too far
from some; these are in consequence often entirely left to the overseers, with perhaps the exception of a
yearly or half-yearly visit, if even a longer time is not permitted to intervene. Another evil arises from this
system; the overseers being numerous, and under the control of one individual, look up to this person for
patronage, and seldom or ever trouble their heads about the proprietors of the estate on which they are
placed, but consider themselves in the employ, as it is termed, of this or that attorney; they consequently
study his interest before that of the proprietor, and think more of making large crops to benefit their
employer, than they do of improving the condition of the people, which is of so much importance to the
owner. Overseers so circumstanced feel little interest in estates, from which they may be, and are
removed at the shortest notice, at the mere will of the attorney, whose pretexts for so doing are often most
frivolous. The comforts of the negroes depend, therefore, greatly on the overseers, for these people
constantly reside among them, and have it in their power to exercise a petty tyranny over them; it is true
they can, and do complain to the attorney, for which purpose they undertake long journeys; yet I am afraid
there is sometimes a leaning to the side of the overseer, from an idea of “supporting the white people on
the estate.” For any serious act of injustice, the negroes complain to the magistrates, who, it is but fair to
state, most frequently see them righted; the comforts of the people may still, however, be seriously
affected by the conduct of the overseer, should he not be a humane man, a circumstance not always
sufficiently attended to in his appointment. By all accounts this class of persons has very much improved
within the last fifteen years, a great advantage to both proprietors and negroes; yet where men have so
much power as overseers have at present, there can not be too many checks upon their abuse of it.

To obtain respectable men their salaries should be good, and they should not be so completely
dependent on the caprice of the attorney; whereas it has unfortunately so happened, that the reductions
effected in the expenses of an estate have been made in the salaries of the overseers and book-keepers,
while the advantages of the attorney have remained the same, thus diminishing the chances of procuring
respectable men to fill those offices.

The overseer is sometimes appointed a joint attorney with some gentleman, who manages the expenses
of the estate, the shipping of produce, &c; this of course can only be done where the overseer is highly
respectable and trust-worthy; but when practicable, has been found most advantageous, as he then feels an
interest in the estate, and in the good will of the negroes, knowing that he may long reside among them.

Book-keepers are subordinate to the overseers, and are generally young men learning the planting
business, and doing any thing but what their name would seem to imply, for books they never keep.
Under a strict and capricious overseer their situation is most unpleasant, for he sometimes treats them with
wondrous hauteur, quite forgetting that he had been himself in the same situation. Upon many properties
the book-keepers are permitted to order punishment, a practice that should not be allowed.

It might be supposed by those who are unacquainted with the negro character, or had not visited the
West Indies, or had heard exaggerated statements of the sufferings of the people, that slavery would so
depress them as to prevent their enjoying themselves, should any person who may have thus thought, have
the opportunity of being present at their night dances and plays, he would soon change his opinions.
Negroes in giving dances or plays sometimes go to great expense. I was present at a dance given by my
black doctor, as the head negro who attends the hospital is called, which must have cost him more than
two doubloons (thirty-two dollars). There was Madeira wine, with liquors of various kinds, and an
abundance of meat, poultry, fruits, &c. The only money expended on this occasion by the guests was a
small trifle each to the fiddlers. Most frequently the host expects remuneration for his trouble and viands,
and is paid a certain sum each by his guests.

The following is a literal copy of a negro ball ticket, which came into my possession, the ladies and
gentlemen mentioned in it are the slaves upon an estate adjoining my own, and the person giving the
dance a free man: –

Vere, Hayeses, 1824.

WM. GOTTSHALK beg leave to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen at Dunkleys, that he intends
giving a May Pole dance on the 3rd Saturday in May, wherein every attention shall be paid, and
good accommodation, &c &c.

TICKET ----- 5 Shillings Each
When a negro wishes to give a dance, he applies for leave to the overseer, who as a matter of course grants it; the day fixed upon is almost always Saturday, in order that they may keep it up during the night and the next day; the dance, or play, as it is sometimes called, commences about eight o’clock in the evening, and although contrary to the law, continues to day-break with scarcely any intermission, those of the old school preferring the goombay and African dances, and those of the new, fiddles, reels, &c. The dance is discontinued at day-break in the morning, and the guests are then feasted; there is generally also a dinner and supper. The dance recommences the second evening, but does not continue through the night.

At Christmas the negroes are altogether without restraint, and go over the country feasting, dancing, and drinking. Many of the girls form themselves into what they call sets, in which the dresses are nearly alike; these sets travel, preceded by flags, drums, and other music, from estate to estate, dancing at the houses of the white people, and in the negro villages, where they are given money, and very often entertained. Their dresses on these occasions are often very expensive, hats that cost a doubloon (sixteen dollars), and blue or white kid shoes at fifteen shillings per pair are by no means uncommon; those that wish to be particularly smart carry parasols.

The negroes have the amusements of the May-pole and Jack in the Green. A spike of the yellow flowers of the American aloe is employed for the former purpose, and when, as sometimes happens, it rises from twenty to twenty-five feet high, and is handsomely ornamented with other flowers and gilding, it forms a very beautiful object.

Some of the negroes go about at Christmas and Easter attended by drums, &c, and perform much in the same manner as our Mummers. I was much amused on Easter Monday by a party which came to my house from a neighbouring property, consisting of musicians, and a couple of personages fantastically dressed to represent kings or warriors; one them wore a white mask on his face, and part of the representation evidently had some reference to the play of Richard the Third; for the man in the white mask exclaimed, “A horse, a horse, my Kingdom for a horse!” The piece however terminated by Richard killing his antagonist, and then figuring in a sword dance with him.

The various African amusements, in which the negroes formerly took so much delight, are not now kept up with spirit, and Joncanoe himself is getting out of fashion.

My photo, November 2009 – St Thomas in the East (now part of St Thomas) – Rev Jean Fairweather-Wilson at the house of two of her parishioners
Notes on the Present Condition of the Negroes in Jamaica – page 43-52 – extracts

In the foregoing statements I have been careful to confine myself for the most part to such facts as have come under my own eyes. If to any one it should seem that a longer residence in the island were necessary for the purpose of observation, I can only say, that I lost no opportunity of obtaining information while there: my object has been to represent things as they really are, to “extenuate nothing, nor set down aught in malice.” I am not conscious of having allowed any prejudices to bias my feelings, nor any theoretical views on the subject to influence me.

It has unfortunately happened, that two extreme parties are opposed to each other, upon the question of negro slavery: one of these would seem to think that the present system is the best possible under existing circumstances, the other represents it as an object of horror and unmingled reprobation: the first is too apt to regard as enemies those who recommend a change in this system, while the other attacks it with unmeasured invective, and in the zeal it professes for the cause of humanity, not unfrequently forgets the obligations of justice and truth. From the collision of parties thus violently opposed, much mischief would have resulted had they been left to themselves; the government however, by occupying a middle station between the two, has in a great measure prevented those consequences that were but too probable, and has, as generally happens on such occasions, obtained the good-will of neither.

Custom has given the enjoyment of property to the Jamaica negroes, though no law has been passed to confirm it; some of them are in very tolerable circumstances, and even rich: indeed the comforts that many possess would not easily be credited by those, who fancy the negro a mere abject creature, the invariable victim of tyranny and oppression. I presume such persons would scarcely believe me, when I inform them that I paid one of my carpenters for the hire of his mule cart, to transport my baggage from my estate to Kingston, previous to sailing on my return to England.

Custom also gives the negro the power to disposing of his property as he may think fit; the nearest of kin generally bury the deceased,* and take possession of his grounds, house, &c. Those who wish their property to be left or divided in any particular manner, make a will for that purpose, one of these wills will be seen by reference to the Appendix E. Although the attempt at legal form may cause a smile, the instrument answered every purpose for which it was intended; for in consequence of claims being made by the relations of the deceased, I read the will to them, after which they were contented, and the widow took possession of all that was left her.

*The negroes go to considerable expense at their burials, it being the custom for the next of kin, or who ever succeeds to the property of the deceased, to feast the persons attending, who are, as might be expected from this circumstance, always numerous. The Christians bury their dead with more decency than other negroes, for the latter not only get drunk, but dance all night on these occasions. When a Christian negro dies, one of the white men on the estate reads the funeral service over the grave. Some negroes erect tombs over their deceased relatives, who are always buried in their own gardens. A negro once informed me that he did not like being made a Christian, as the Christians did not dance and make so merry at funeral as the others.

As before stated, there are some persons in Jamaica favourable to the principle of negro evidence being admitted; the prejudices against this measure are however still strong, yet if a negro can fully understand and appreciate the nature and value of an oath, there seems to be no reason why his evidence should not be received, more particularly under the proposed limitations.

The power to be granted to the negro of purchasing his own freedom, or that of his wife or children seems so just, that it is painful to suggest any thing in the shape of an objection; but to those who possess local knowledge, or have made themselves acquainted with the negro character, difficulties will present themselves, which, if not guarded against by some regulations, might involve the planter in great embarrassment, for his best and most industrious people are alone likely to avail themselves of this right, and he would therefore be saddled with the worthless and unprofitable, with whom he would be unable to cultivate his property. It may be said that the persons so liberated would still work for wages, many of them would probably do so as tradesmen, but the difficulty would be to hold out a sufficient inducement to them to perform agricultural labour, an exemption from which at present constitutes their idea of freedom.
In considering every part of this question, it must, I think, be apparent to every impartial mind, that it is on all sides beset with difficulties, to steer through which, with safety, must require equal sagacity and caution.

To those who, professing to advocate the cause of humanity and justice, would by a too precipitate zeal put to risk the great interests for which they contend, the eloquent language of a distinguished statesman cannot be too frequently repeated. “The question is not – it cannot be made – a question of right, of humanity, of morality merely. It is a question which contemplates a change, great and difficult beyond example; one almost beyond the power of man to accomplish; – a change in the condition and circumstances of an entire class of our fellow creatures; – the recasting, as it were, of a whole generation of mankind. If this be not a question requiring deliberation – cautious and fearful deliberation – I know not what can be so. We must proceed in it with the extremest circumspection; we must watch the signs of the times, taking advantage of every favourable occurrence; but reserving a discretion and freedom of action, which it would be madness wantonly to throw away.”

*Mr Canning’s speech on the 16th March, 1824.

**Notes on the Present Condition of the Negroes in Jamaica – page 53-64 – extracts**

**APPENDIX A**

The following are the usual prices at which the Halse Hall negroes sell various articles at the markets in their neighbourhood:

- A good fat barrow - from a doubloon to a doubloon and a half, (sixteen to twenty-four dollars).
- A middling sized barrow - from eight to ten dollars.
- A small pig - from a dollar and a half to two dollars.
- A sucking pig - one dollar.
- A good milch goat - from nine to ten dollars.
- A fat goat, fit for killing - six to eight dollars.
- A kid - two dollars.
- A couple of pigeons - four bits, (two shillings and sixpence, currency).
- A couple of fat capons - ten shillings currency.
- A couple of fat pullets - five shillings currency.
- A common breeding hen - four bits, (two shillings and sixpence, currency).
- A common cock - half a dollar.
- A large bunch of bananas - a macaroni, (a quarter dollar).
- A middling sized bunch of bananas - two bits, (fifteen pence, currency).
- A large bunch of plantains - half a dollar.
- A middling sized bunch of ditto - four bits.
- Six large sweet potatoes - five pence currency.
- A large root of sweet cassada - ditto.
- Three pints of great corn (maize) - ditto.
- One quart of sugar beans - from one bit to tenpence, curr.
- One quart of peas - tenpence, currency.
- Pine apples - each, sugar-loaf, tenpence; common, fivepence currency.
- Two cocoa-nuts - fivepence, currency.
- A large water-melon - tenpence, currency.
A large pumpkin - - - - - - - - - - - - - tenpence to two bits.
Twelve large oranges - - - - - - - - - - - - fivepence, currency.
Twelve mangoes - - - - - - - - - - - - ditto
Six star apples - - - - - - - - - - - - ditto
A dozen and a half of neesberries - - ditto
A large shaddock - - - - - - - - - - ditto
Six sweet sops - - - - - - - - - - ditto
A quart of cashew nuts - - - - - - ditto
Four large avagato pears - - ditto
Five good cocos - - - - - - - - ditto
A quart of ochros - - - - - - - - ditto
Two cassada cakes, (made from the bitter cassada) - - - - ditto
A large yam - - - - - - - - - - - - two bits.
Three small yams - - - - - - - - tenpence, currency.
Twisted tobacco - - - - - - - - fivepence.

Numerous fruits, &c, which are sold in the town markets, are not considered of sufficient consequence to be brought to those in the country.
In addition to the above articles, the negroes very often sell the various allowances they receive from the estate, such as clothes, iron pots, herrings, corn, sugar, rum, &c, not requiring them.

My photos, March 2007 – parish of St Mary – coconuts and sugar cane
APPENDIX E

The following is a literal copy of the will of Richard Sadler, a slave mulatto man, belonging to Halse Hall:

This is the last will and testament of me, Richard Sadler, of Halse Hall. I give and bequeath unto my dutiful wife, Frances Bell, (for her good conduct and attention towards me during my illness) my house, and my household goods, and my wearing apparel, and my mare,* and furniture, and as to all the rest, residue, and remainder, of my property and effects, of which I may die possessed or entitled to. I devise and bequeath, that, after burial, that neither male nor female is to trouble the said Frances Bell about my property and effects. And I hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint James Butler to settle all my affairs, for the said Frances Bell, of this my last will and testament. Taken this 2nd day of July, 1824, signed in behalf of Richard Sadler.

(Signed) JAMES BUTLER.†

Signed and declared by his will and desire the said testator, Richard Sadler, as and for his last will and testament, in the presence of us, who in his presence, and at his request, and in the presence of each other, have subscribed our names as witness thereto.

(Signed) JAMES BUTLER.

I do hereby certify that it is the wish of Richard Sadler, as declared by me this day, that after his death, everything of which he may die possessed shall belong solely to Frances Bell.
6th July, 1824. (Signed) VALENTINE B COCK.‡

*Though contrary to law, there are few old established estates where some of the negroes do not possess horses, with the knowledge of the managers.

†Mr Butler is the book-keeper upon Halse Hall.

‡Mr Cock, now deceased, was overseer and joint attorney on the estate.

H T De la Beche makes no mention of Ackee, and in books written about Jamaica in the time of Edward and Eliza I have seen no mention of this fruit – the national fruit of Jamaica. It is however said that Ackee was brought from West Africa ‘probably on a slave ship’.


“Carry me ackee go a Linstead Market, not a quattie wut sell” is a line in the popular Jamaican folk song ‘Linstead Market’. Ackee (Blighia sapida) is the national fruit of Jamaica as well as a component of the dish – ackee and codfish.

Although the ackee is not indigenous to Jamaica, it has remarkable historic associations. Originally, it was imported to the island from West Africa, probably on a slave ship. Now it grows here luxuriantly, producing large quantities of edible fruit each year.

The ackee tree grows up to 15.24m (50ft) under favourable conditions. It bears large red and yellow fruit 7.5 – 10 cm (3-4 in.) long. When ripe these fruits burst into sections revealing shiny black round seeds on top of a yellow aril which is partially edible – [the only edible part of the fruit].

My photos, November 2009 – St Thomas in the East – Ackee – below, Ackee cannery at Danvers Pen
CHAPTER 14

1825

In February 1825 Christopher Lipscomb, the first Bishop of Jamaica, arrived at Port Royal. He and Rev W H Coleridge, the first Bishop of Barbados (bishop for the Leeward Islands – see Chapter 13), were consecrated in London at Lambeth Palace on 25 July 1824.

By Letters Patent in 1824 George IV established the Bishopric of Jamaica and included in it the Bahamas and British Honduras, as well as the island of Jamaica. The first Bishop, Christopher Lipscomb, vicar of Sutton Benger in Wiltshire, was consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel on the 25th July, 1824 together with Bishop W. H. Coleridge of Barbados.

At St Thomas’s, in his 62d year, the Right Rev Christopher Lipscomb, D.D., Bishop of Jamaica and the Bahamas. He was the eldest son of the Rev William Lipscomb, Rector of Welbury, near Northallerton...

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Ntw7AQAAMAAJ&source=gbsnavlinks_s – The Annual Register...


On Tuesday last was married, at Kensington church, the Lord Bishop of Jamaica to Miss Pope, daughter of the late E. Pope, Esq.

Bishop Lipscomb sailed for the West Indies at the end of November 1824.

On Friday His Majesty’s yacht, the Herald, Captain Henry J. Leeke, sailed for the West Indies, with the following passengers: – The Lord Bishop of Jamaica (the Rev Christopher Lipscomb, D.D.), Mrs Christopher Lipscomb, the Hon Mrs Coventry (her mother), the Rev Archdeacon Pope, Rev W Patterson, Rev C M Bolton, Rev S Goddard, and Henry Lipscomb, Esq, secretary to the Lord Bishop, for Jamaica; The Rev Archdeacon Parry, for Antigua; Rev J G Adams Lewis for Barbadoes. The Herald will call at Plymouth, to embark the Lord Bishop of Barbadoes (the Rev Wm Hart Coleridge, D.D.) and his secretary – Hampshire Telegraph

The yacht Herald sailed first for Barbados and arrived at Port Royal harbour on 11 February 1825.

The Bishop of Jamaica sailed [from Barbados] immediately for Jamaica, where he arrived, on the afternoon of February 11...

At seven o’clock on Tuesday morning our anxiously expected Prelate quitted the Herald yacht, in Port Royal harbour, under a salute from Fort-Charles, and all the vessels of war in port, and accompanied by Capt. Leeke, proceeded in Vice Admiral Sir L Halsted’s barge to the landing place at Port Henderson, where a guard of honour from the 91st Regiment received his Lordship, and Fort Augusta repeated the salute. Capt. McDonald, his Grace’s Military Secretary, received his Lordship, and with Commissioner
Ross, entered the carriage of his Grace the Governor, which awaited to convey the Bishop to Spanish-Town, where another guard of honour from the 50<sup>th</sup> Regiment received him at the entrance of the King’s House, in front of which the Royal Standard was hoisted. Vice Admiral Sir Lawrence Halsted had previously arrived there.

About 10 o’clock, the 50<sup>th</sup> Regiment, with the Militia of St Catherine, lined the streets; and shortly before 11, such of the Members of the Honourable Council and Assembly as upon such short notice were in town—namely the Hon the Attorney General, the Hon William Rowe, the Speaker, the Chief Justice and the Judges, the Advocate General, the Judge of the Admiralty, the Custos of St Catherine, Colonel Moffatt, Commander of the Forces, with other Civil and Military Officers, attended his Lordship at King’s House; and soon after the procession moved towards the Church, his Grace the Governor and the Lord Bishop, attended by Capt. McDonald and Mr Lipscombe [sic] in the foremost carriage, followed by that of the Admiral, and those of the official personages above enumerated.

The troops lining the streets saluted the Bishop as he passed; and on his arrival at the Western door of the Church, his Lordship was again received by a guard of honour, and a numerous body of the Island Clergy in their robes, together with John Lunan and J G Vidal, Esqrs, the Churchwardens. Hence the procession moved beneath the Organ Loft along the Nave of the Church to the Altar, where his Lordship occupied the chair prepared for him. His Lordship’s Secretary, Mr Henry Lipscombe, commenced the ceremony by reading his Majesty’s Letters Patent constituting this Island, the Bahamas, Honduras, and the other dependencies, a See, and his Lordship the Bishop of the See. The certificate of his Lordship’s consecration at Lambeth in July last, was next read, and the Rector of St Catherine having conducted his Lordship to the throne lately erected, commenced the morning service: Upon the conclusion of which the Bishop returned to the Altar, and in a most expressive and affecting manner read the Communion Service—pronouncing the concluding solemn benediction with a tone and expression which conveyed to the hearts of his numerous auditory his deep interest in obtaining its acceptance at the throne of mercy.

The Church was crowded beyond all precedent, and the whole ceremony was conducted with the greatest decorum and respect: All ranks seeming to be fully impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, and the benefits likely to accrue from such an establishment under a Prelate. His Lordship’s voice is melodious and powerful, and his delivery most correct and impressive; and we congratulate the Island upon the selection of his eminent person to be our Bishop.

*Esso Road Map – Spanish Town – section – *arrow* points to King’s House – *arrow* points to the Cathedral (formerly Spanish Town Church)*
by Rev J B Ellis, published 1913 – Spanish Town Cathedral – built in 1714 – tower added in 1817 – in 1848 the Chancel was rebuilt larger and higher

My photos, September 2008 – Spanish Town Cathedral, looking towards the west end
Spanish Town Cathedral

King’s House (destroyed by fire in 1925)
https://openlibrary.org/search?title=Jamaica&author=Hakewill – A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica from drawings made in the years 1820 and 1821, by James Hakewill, published 1825 – King’s Square, St Jago de la Vega (Spanish Town) – View from the Court House – left, King’s House – middle, Rodney Memorial – right, House of Assembly

Lady Nugent’s Journal... new and revised edition by Philip Wright, published 1966 – by Philip Wickstead (died c1790) – King’s House, Spanish Town – the Great Saloon
Upon the conclusion of the service, his Lordship accompanied his Grace the Governor to the King’s House, followed by the Admiral and the other persons who had formed the procession, where a Levee was held, and they were severally introduced to his Lordship, together with the Mayor and Recorder of Kingston; John Lunan, Esq and the Hon William Rennalls, the Members of St Catherine; Sir Michael B Clare, and George W Hamilton, Esq. Members for St Thomas in the Vale; L Lynch, Esq. the Member for Manchester; William Heath, Esq the Member for St James; the Masters in Chancery and the Clergy: With the latter, the Bishop then withdrew and held a long conference.

The cordial and respectful reception of his Lordship has evinced, we trust, the high importance which all ranks must attach to his person and sacred office.

In the evening his Grace the Governor gave a splendid entertainment at the King’s House, when all the public functionaries, and a large party of the principal inhabitants were invited to meet the Bishop.

The Attorney-General, accompanied by the Rev A Campbell and the Rev Lewis Bowerbank, waited on his Lordship as a deputation appointed by the Jamaica District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to offer their congratulations on his Lordship’s safe arrival, and to request him to accept the office of President. The Bishop was pleased to return his thanks to the Members of the Society for such a mark of their attention, and to accept the appointment.

Writing to the Bishop of London on the 18th February, he [Bishop Lipscomb] described his arrival in Barbados first and then Jamaica. “I had very great satisfaction in stressing the cordial manner in which the Bishop of Barbados was received by all classes of people but I cannot allow those attentions to have exceeded the manner in which the inhabitants of the island welcomed their Bishop.

... The Governor’s carriages were sent to convey him and his party to Spanish Town ... “The whole road was lined with the black population evincing their delight by the most graceful and heart-felt gesticulations.” ... On his return to King’s House [from the Church] he noted “the decorous behaviour of all classes, particularly the Black population who had been so long anxiously expecting my arrival and saying Cannot think what come to Massa Bishop!”

He arrived at an extremely critical time, with many slave uprisings occurring and frequent opposition to his authority from the established clergy and planters, who thought of him as a spy sent out from England on behalf of the Abolitionists.

He noted, however, that ‘the Island was never in a more tranquil state forming a most agreeable contrast to last year.’ He had one great opponent among the clergy, the Rev. G. W. Bridges, Rector of St Ann, who obviously had some special grievance with the new Bishop. Bridges acknowledged that “Dr. Christopher Lipscomb (was) a man whose character as a clergyman, and a scholar, gave fair promise of a strict and impartial exercise of his sacred functions,” but goes on to refer to “an unfortunate curate who was obliged, within twelve months after the first Bishop had been vested with the extraordinary power he so industriously sought, to appeal for justice to the common law of the country; and the verdict of the jury was suspended only by the startling discovery that the new dignitary was no longer subject to it”.

The clergy, wrote the Bishop, to the Bishop of London, were “in general very respectable” (a favourite word of his), but he found one or two exceptions, notably a Mr. Young, known to be a swindler and vagabond, “who had a chapel where, dressed in a commoner’s gown, he received money at the door.” The Bishop refused to consecrate Young’s chapel (a house “he cajoled a poor dying widow to purchase for him”) or to licence him, complaining that no more accomplished scoundrel and profligate had ever disgraced his profession.

Lipscomb was presented with many addresses of welcome (amounting during the year to 27). He found Kingston in a very wretched state with a population of 31,000: 6,000 white, 10,000 free coloured and 15,000 slaves. He noted that 907 slaves had been baptised in Kingston in 1824 and 124 married. Isaac Mann, the Rector, was “not of any assistance whatever – himself quite incompetent and much addicted to tippling.” Keeping in mind his special mission of improving the spiritual condition of the slaves, the new Bishop set to work to organise the Diocese. The Rev. Edward Pope was appointed Archdeacon of Jamaica in 1825 and three years later three Rural Deaneries were set up up ... Although
the Archdeacon’s Letter Patent was sent to the Bishop, he found that as the Parish Church of St. Catherine at Spanish Town was not a Cathedral and the seats were at the sole disposal of the Vestry, he could not install the Archdeacon. “At the request of the Duke of Manchester they fitted up a seat for me, but they will not obey my mandate for the Induction of the Archdeacon.”

St Thomas in the Vale was one of the parishes which presented the Bishop with an address.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 12 March 1825, page PS 24

Of The Parish of St Thomas in The Vale.
To the Right Rev Father in God Christopher, by Divine permission Bishop of Jamaica.

May it please your Lordship,

The Magistrates, Vestrymen, and other Inhabitants of the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale embrace the earliest opportunity to congratulate your Lordship and family upon your safe arrival in this island.

We hail your Lordship’s appointment to the See of Jamaica as the beginning of a new and auspicious period in our history and we feel grateful to his Majesty for this eminent proof of his paternal care and anxious solicitude to promote the best interests of his loyal and faithful subjects in this valuable Colony.

The selection, my Lord, which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to make of a Gentleman, so well qualified in every respect to discharge the sacred duties of his high station, affords us the liveliest hopes that, while a more extended diffusion of the principles of our Holy Religion shall be effected, the character of the people of this island will be justly appreciated, and candidly made known.

We confidently anticipate, my Lord, the greatest and most lasting benefits from the exercise of your Lordship’s sacred functions, and we beg leave to assure you that we will, to the utmost of our power, support and promote the great object of your Lordship’s presence among us. And we fervently pray to the Almighty Disposer of all human events to bless your Mission with success, and your Lordship and family with health and happiness.

His Lordship’s Reply.

Gentlemen,

I beg to offer my best thanks to the Magistrates, Vestrymen, and other Inhabitants of the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale, for this gratifying proof of their respect for that sacred office to which I have been called: And, under a deep sense of its numerous difficulties and serious responsibility, I cannot fail highly to appreciate the assurances, conveyed in your Address, of your support and assistance in my arduous and important duties.

On 12 March 1825, a month after arriving in the island, the Bishop of Jamaica sent a despatch to Earl Bathurst at the Colonial Office.

London National Archives – CO 137/267 – Correspondence, 1824-1826, from the Bishop of Jamaica, Christopher Lipscomb, to Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies – letter dated Perkin’s Pen, Jamaica, 12 March 1825, from the Bishop of Jamaica to Earl Bathurst – extracts

The accompanying addresses, being five out of seventeen which have been presented to me, will be the best proof of the state of public opinion as to new Ecclesiastical Establishment.

... wherever I go I find the greatest aversion to sectarianism of every kind and denomination, but every degree of confidence in any teachers of religion whom I may be pleased to appoint.

I have as yet seen very little of the Slave population, except during a short excursion in the Port Royal Mountains; the great want is places of worship in situations where the Negroes of many surrounding estates might be easily assembled, and houses for the clergy. Many proprietors have indeed tendered houses which might be adapted for this purpose, and from all I hear from the clergy much has been done this way, particularly since the Society for the Education of Negroes has directed its attention to this point. From the great uncertainty and capriciousness of the Negro character it is difficult to make sure of their attendance even where great pains have been taken, but whenever a preacher is popular they dress out their children and themselves, a sure sign they are in good humour, and throng the places of worship. Psalmody and organs have great attractions for them, they seem particularly fond of form and ceremony,
and greater critics than many persons will give them credit for, remarking every particularity of manner and gestures, and have a great predilection for a powerful and sonorous voice.

As soon as my Archdeacon and myself have visited the several parishes, which we purpose doing immediately, I shall not fail to communicate to your Lordship whatever I may deem useful and practical. In the mean time I am happy in being able to assure your Lordship that a very general wish to ameliorate the condition of the Slaves, and to instruct them in the principles of the Established Church seems to pervade the great mass of proprietors, and every facility is afforded me of visiting the several plantations.

In London on 23 June 1825, the House of Commons debated Thomas Fowell Buxton’s motion on the Expulsion of Wesleyan missionary Rev William J Shrewsbury from Barbados. During the debate references were made to the Bishop of Jamaica’s 12 March 1825 letter to Earl Bathurst.

Mr Brougham said . . . With respect to the missionaries, he must declare, that they had done great good – unmixed good – in the West-Indian colonies. The church [Church of England], must of course, be protected; but he would deal with an equal hand, and afford protection to the sects likewise. The church was not adapted to the spiritual exigencies of the colonies. It was quite impossible that the task of instructing the slaves could be left to the established church alone. The very accomplishments of its clergymen; the education which they received at Oxford and at Cambridge, unfitted them for the task of converting and educating the unfortunate beings, who ought to be the peculiar objects of proselytism and instruction . . . The question, indeed, now was, whether the negroes should be taught at all: for, if they were to be taught, Methodists alone could teach them.

He was exceedingly sorry, however, to find, that such was not the opinion of a right reverend person who had lately been sent over to the West Indies as bishop of Jamaica. Bishop Lipscomb . . . [in his 12 March 1825 Despatch to Earl Bathurst] asserted that the negroes were very favourable to the established church, and, on the contrary, regarded the Sectaries with a most unfavourable eye. It was worth observing . . . he could not have arrived in the colony long before the beginning of March . . . not withstanding which, the moment he gets there, he sees what is the religious disposition of the slaves. Let the House remark, how very much the right reverend prelate differed from his more humble ecclesiastical predecessors. He said – “A very strong predilection exists for the doctrines of the Church of England, if opportunities for attending divine service were afforded them.” Now, how could the right reverend prelate by possibility discover, during his residence of two or three weeks in the colonies, that this predilection for the doctrines of the established church existed among the poor negroes? How much did they know of the thirty-nine articles, or of the difference between “consubstantiation” and “transubstantiation”? But, no matter! the bishop expresses his conviction, that they entertain “a very strong predilection” for the doctrines of the established church: and he adds – “Wherever I go, I find the greatest aversion to sectarianism, of every kind and denomination; but every degree of confidence in any teachers of religion, whom I may be pleased to appoint.” Why, really, the island of Jamaica must be a perfect bishop’s Paradise, thus delighted as the population were with the church of England, and abhorring, with a true orthodox abhorrence, all sectarianism!

It appeared, also, by the bishop’s despatch, that “psalmody and organs had great attraction for them; that they seemed particularly fond of form and ceremony; and were greater critics than many persons would give them credit for.” (Mr Canning here said, across the table, that the persons alluded to could not surely be the negroes.) Yes, the poor negroes. The learned bishop no sooner arrives in the colony, than, with the eye of a lynx, he thus dives into all the depths of the negro character. – “From the great uncertainty and capriciousness,” continued he, “of the negro character, it is difficult to make sure of their attendance, even where great pains have been taken; but, whenever a preacher is popular, they dress out their children and themselves – a sure sign they are in good humour.” So, it seemed, that the better the humour the negroes were in, the better they dressed! “Psalmody and organs have great attractions for them: they seem particularly fond of form and ceremony.” No great proof, by the by, of “the great uncertainty and capriciousness” of their character; at least in the eyes of a regular episcopalian, whom we
might expect to find prone to rank such predilections among the indications of a solid and wise frame of mind — “and are greater critics than many persons will give them credit for; remarking every particular of manner and gesture, and have a great predilection for a powerful sonorous voice” (a laugh).

The right Reverend prelate then proceeded to say — “as soon as my archdeacon and myself have visited the several parishes, which we purpose doing immediately.” — It appeared, then, that the bishop made this report before he had seen the people. Elsewhere, investigation generally precedes decision; in Jamaica, it seemed, it was to follow after ...

Now, whatever the bishop of Jamaica and his archdeacon might hold of the opinions of the negroes, he (Mr Brougham) really could not help thinking, that the bishop and the archdeacon knew very little about the best way of teaching or educating the negroes. The fact was — and it was known to all who knew anything of the West-India Islands — that the missionaries were the only real and efficient teachers of the black population; and hence the peculiar atrocity of that gross and scandalous outrage to the law, to the interests of religion, to sound policy, and the best interests of the planters themselves, which had been perpetrated, in so daring a manner, in the island of Barbadoes; and which was the subject of the present discussion. It had been said, that Mr. Shrewsbury should not have written the letter which had been alluded to. He could not, however, for a moment believe, that the letter was the cause of the ill-treatment which that excellent man had received. Confident he was, that the outrage was not directed against Mr. Shrewsbury as a libeller, but as a missionary.

Above — Mr Shrewsbury’s letter = a letter he wrote in March 1820 to the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London.

It was resolved, nemine contradicente,

“That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to represent to his Majesty, that this House, having taken into their most serious consideration the papers laid before them, relating to the demolition of the Methodist chapel in Barbadoes, deem it their duty to declare, that they view with the utmost indignation that scandalous and daring violation of the law; and having seen with great satisfaction the instructions which have been sent out by his majesty's Secretary of State to the governor of Barbadoes, to prevent a recurrence of similar outrages, they humbly assure his Majesty of their readiness to concur in every measure which his Majesty may deem necessary for securing ample protection and religious toleration to all his Majesty's subjects in that part of his Majesty's dominions.”

Zachary Macaulay thought that ‘it would have been well to have suppressed’ Bishop Lipscomb’s 12 March 1825 letter.

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=bhFKAAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – The Slave Colonies of Great Britain; or a Picture of Negro Slavery drawn by the Colonists themselves, (by Zachary Macaulay), published 1825 – page 83-84 – Bishop of Jamaica’s 12 March 1825 letter – extract

The only remaining document in the Jamaica papers, is a letter from the Bishop of Jamaica, which, we think, it would have been well to have suppressed. It is dated on the 12th March 1825, when he had only been about three weeks in the island, and when it was impossible he could have formed any just judgment of the actual state of things, except from information, the soundness of which it would have been prudent to have questioned.

“Wherever I go”, says the Bishop, “I find the greatest aversion to Sectarianism of every kind and denomination, but every degree of confidence in any teachers of religion whom I may be pleased to appoint”*.

*The Bishop, of course, speaks here of the Clergy and the White colonists: he cannot mean to refer either to the free People of Colour, or to the slaves. It was not necessary to have Episcopal authority for this fact: it was perfectly notorious. Did any doubt whatever exist of the perfect hatred which the planters of Jamaica generally bear to Methodist and Baptist missionaries?

Some letters written in 1825 by ‘a gentleman attached to the Bishop of Jamaica’ were published in 1826 in the Christian Remembrancer, a Church of England magazine.
The following are extracts from some letters of a gentleman attached to the Bishop of Jamaica, and afford information on the interesting subject of the proposed instruction of the Negroes in the West Indies.

“Kingston, June 22, 1825 —suggests the propriety of instituting infant schools in the several estates. Of this I strongly approve, and had mentioned the subject to the Bishop, who appeared satisfied of the good which must result from such institutions; but I fear we shall find some difficulty in accomplishing the measure. They have universally, and for some years, consented to a mode of instruction here, most tedious (oral), especially with adults. Indeed, it is impossible to express the Negroes’ stupidity. This must be owing to the neglected state in which they are left as children. The mind, for want of early instruction, loses its natural energies, and becomes completely barren. I have observed in the children a degree of shrewdness and observation quite astonishing; the more so, from the apparent stupidity of their parents, who (if I may speak from my own observation) are so dull as to make even the most zealous person despair of success. We are endeavouring to establish a national school: indeed, till this is effected, I shall not sit down easy. I do not altogether despair. There are some few here most anxious to forward our views...”

“Kingston, August 6th, 1825 – The Bishop was much gratified with the kind and hospitable manner in which he was everywhere received; his every wish ecclesiastical was met, if not anticipated, by all who had the power to assist us: and I can with truth say, that the planters have been grossly slandered. The condition of the Negroes, so far from being what it is represented to be in England, is really far better than that of the labouring classes with you. What it was some few years ago I will not pretend to deny; but since the abolition of the Slave Trade, the Proprietor, from interested motives (if we should be unwilling to allow him better), is inclined to treat his dependents with kindness. Their work (believe me, I speak from conviction) is lighter than that of the labourer with you; and should any prove sick, they have medicine and medical assistance immediately for asking. Every estate has its hospital, or what is here termed, hot house. Is it so with you? With you should any fall sick, to whom is he to apply? Here, on the contrary, they are forced by law to provide for all, young and old. The Negro, on his sick bed, needs have no anxiety as to how his children fare: he knows they are well taken care of. Punishments are unfrequent, none being allowed except with the consent of the proprietor or manager; and then, according to a law lately passed, these must be entered in the plantation book, as well as the cause for which they have been inflicted. Of their little comforts we had many opportunities of judging: one only will I give you. We were overtaken with heavy rain, and were obliged to stop at a Negro house on the road side for shelter: they received us with much kindness. Their house consisted of three rooms, two bed-rooms, and a good sitting-room. In the centre of the last was a fire, by which they were dressing their dinner, consisting of vegetables, fish and fowl, or goat’s flesh. Of this they wished us to partake; on our declining, they offered wine or porter (both of which here bear a very high price). They had one child, whom they said they were anxious to have baptized, and asked if it was true that the Bishop intended to visit the property to which they belonged. ‘He should much like to have pickaninny baptized by Massa Bishop, but he could not quite yet afford it, having laid out great money on house;’ we desired to know what this meant: ‘he wished to give eat and drink to his friends, and this cost much wine, beer and porter.’ (I have been present when this was observed.) We parted excellent friends, and the child was baptized, with many others, on the following day, by the Bishop. We are building a chapel here: our subscription amounts already to 4756l. 13s. 4d. Many Negroes, both free and bond, have subscribed, so anxious are they to obtain church-room, and certainly show a predilection to the established Church of England. We have at present but one place of worship besides the Parish Church, and this will admit of 700. Chapels are now building in many parts of the island, so anxious are all to see our Church regularly established. It is truly gratifying to see all classes and colours striving with each other to promote this most desirable object.”

“September 9th, 1825 – The progress we are making in our labours is but slow, but it is to be trusted it will prove in the end highly beneficial, if not to the present, to the next generation. We are very generally assisted by the laity; indeed, without their co-operation, we might turn our faces again to Europe. My friends, as fast as I make them, appear to leave me. We have already lost three of our party; the poor young Clergyman, whom I mentioned in my former letters, as lying sick at my house, died after a few days’ illness. I thank God, I have enjoyed good health.”
Writing in October 1825 to Earl Bathurst, Bishop Lipscomb referred to James Laing providing a house with an annual salary of £100 for an assistant curate on Goshen in St Ann’s.

*My photo, March 2007 – borders of St Mary’s and St Ann’s*

---

*London National Archives – CO 137/267 – Correspondence, 1824-1826, from the Bishop of Jamaica, Christopher Lipscomb, to Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies*

Letter, dated 17 October 1825, from Bishop Lipscomb to Earl Bathurst – extracts

... There are two other Instances – one at Goshen in the Parish of St Ann – another at ... Santa Cruz Mountains in the Parish of St Elizabeth – where the Proprietors (the Honble James Laing & Mr Millar) furnish Houses with a Salary of £100 currency per Annum for the assistant Curates who are thus entitled to extend their instruction to the neighbouring Estates ... 

Under all these circumstances of an auspicious commencement of a reformation I cannot help expressing my anxious hope that no time will be lost in taking advantage of this favourable state of public opinion, & giving an encouraging impulse to exertions which are retarded by inability rather than inclination. I feel convinced that the erection of additional places of worship must preclude every other measure for the instruction of the Slave Population. Schools will naturally follow in the train of Churches – & the Prejudices against Education must be gradually removed by the salutary effects of regular attendance in the House of God ...

Bishop Lipscomb’s October 1827 Despatch to Earl Bathurst included

*Statement of the Parishes, Clergy, &c, of Jamaica; October 1825 – Counties of Middlesex, Surrey and Cornwall*

Below – *My photos – County of Middlesex – Statement of Parishes, Clergy &c – October 1825*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. St Ann</td>
<td>County of Middlesex continued. The Parish ought to be subdivided into two or more districts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Moravians have been very active in the Parish, and effected much good among the Drave Population.
October 1825 Statement – County of Middlesex – Parish 5 – St Thomas in the Vale

Above – Chapels of Ease – One at Williamsfield – just finished – the Chapel that was being built on Sandy Gut in 1824 (see Chapter 13)

Chapel will contain 60 Persons – the Chapel contained about 400 persons – see Chapter 15.
The October 1825 Statement of the Parishes, Clergy etc in the Counties of Middlesex, Surrey and Cornwall, sent by Bishop Lipscomb to Earl Bathurst, was printed by the Colonial Office for Parliament.

See – http://parlipapers.chadwyck.com/marketing/index.jsp – Parliamentary Papers – House of Commons – Papers presented to Parliament… in explanation of the measures adopted by His Majesty’s government, for the melioration of the condition of the slave population… 1826 – page 268-269 – Statement (printed for Parliament) of the Parishes, Clergy, &c, of Jamaica; October 1825

The October 1825 Statement printed by the Colonial Office for Parliament was not however a true copy of the October 1825 Statement sent by Bishop Lipscomb. On the Statement printed for Parliament some negative remarks and all mentions of black and brown preachers were omitted. Also, some of the remarks on Bishop Lipscomb’s Statement were rearranged by the Colonial Office on the Statement for Parliament.

Below – Remarks on the October 1825 Statement sent by Bishop Lipscomb that were omitted or re-arranged on the Statement printed for Parliament.

County of Middlesex – Parish 2 – Clarendon – Remarks

Clarendon
Remarks printed for Parliament

Parish 5 – St Thomas in the Vale – Remarks

St Thomas in the Vale
Remarks printed for Parliament
Parish 6 – St Catherine – Remarks

The state of the free coloured People in the Parish Town is very deplorable without the means of support, without the inclination to work. The children are brought up in idleness and vice. Schools of Industry are much wanted.

St Catherine
Remarks printed for Parliament

Parish 7 – Vere – Remarks

This Parish is divided by a range of Mountains into the Valleys Guanabo and Luisas. It is proposed to rebuild Parish Church and Rectory in a more central situation in Guanabo; and to build a Chapel for Island Curate in the Vale of Luisas. Slaves in Guanabo in a very neglected state.

Vere
Remarks printed for Parliament

Parish 8 – St John – Remarks

This parish is divided by a range of Mountains into the Valleys Guanabo and Luisas. It is proposed to rebuild Parish Church and Rectory in a more central situation in Guanabo, and to build a Chapel for Island Curate in the Vale of Luisas. Slaves in Guanabo in a very neglected state.

St John
Remarks printed for Parliament

A Chapel is much wanted at Old Harbour in this Parish, where the population is dense, and cannot attend the Parish Church.
Parish 9 – St Dorothy – Remarks

A chapel is much wanted at Old Harbour in this Parish, where the population is dense, we cannot afford the parish church.

The Rev. Mr. Stainsby has offered to give land at Somerset in the Mountain District for a Chapel.

County of Surrey – Parish 6 – Port Royal – Remarks

House frequented by Black preachers at Upper Lucky Valley — put down byetsy — midnight meetings were held here, and many enormities, under the cloak of Religion practiced. Numbers at present 170.

Parish 9 – St Dorothy

Remarks printed for Parliament

Port Royal

No Remarks printed for Parliament

County of Cornwall – no Remarks were omitted on the statement printed for Parliament.

Remarks for the County of Middlesex and Surrey that were omitted on the Statement printed for Parliament were perhaps connected with the Colonial Office’s desire to promote the Abolition cause. Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies (1812-1827), was said to be ‘in sympathy with the Clapham Sect’ – William Wilberforce et al.

In 1813 Earl Bathurst appointed James Stephen (1789-1859), knighted in later life, as Counsel to the Colonial Department. He shared views about slavery with his father James Stephen (1758-1832), a leading abolitionist who had first hand experience of slavery in the West Indies in the late 19th century.


Stephens, James (1758-1832), master in chancery, born on 30 June 1758 at Poole in Dorset... a brother of his father, who was settled in St. Christopher’s [or St Kitts], had taken his elder brother, William, into partnership. The uncle died in 1781, leaving all his property to William. William hereupon sent funds which enabled James to be called to the bar (26 Jan. 1782), and next year to sail for St. Christopher’s. Miss Stent had finally relented, in spite of the other woman, and married him before his departure.
Stephen touched at Barbados on his way out, and was shocked at the brutality shown to some negroes on their trial for murder. He made and kept a vow that he would have nothing to do with slavery. Later incidents strengthened the impression. At St. Christopher’s he practiced at the bar. There was a good deal of legal business arising from the regulation of the trade between the West Indies and the United States. He earned enough to be able to visit England in the winter 1788-9. He put himself in touch with Wilberforce, who was starting the agitation against the slave trade, and, after returning to the West Indies, sent private information to support the cause. In 1794 he returned to England and obtained practice at the prize appeal court of the privy council, where for some years he had a large share of the leading business.

Stephen had upon his return openly identified himself with the agitation against the slave trade. His wife died in 1796; and Wilberforce’s kindness upon the occasion brought the two into closer familiarity, which was increased by Stephen’s marriage in 1800 to Wilberforce’s sister, widow of the Rev. Dr. Clarke of Hull. Stephen had also accepted the religious views of his allies, and was henceforth one of the most active of Wilberforce’s supporters...

In the Preface of his book, volume I published in 1824, James Stephen defended the appointment of his son James Stephen as counsel to the Colonial Office.

I am far from meaning to leave unnoticed one public appointment, a theme of loud complaint with my enemies, and which they ascribe to my undue influence with the government, the situation which one of my sons holds as counsel to the Colonial Office.

This, I admit, was a favour conferred on me, for which I am sincerely grateful to the noble earl, then and still secretary of state for the colonies; the more so because it was his lordship’s spontaneous gift.

Let me be more explicit; for it is due in justice, not only to my son, but to his noble patron, and his then colleagues in the administration. The duties of the office were to peruse and report upon all colonial acts transmitted from any of the colonies for the royal allowance; duties which a lawyer only could perform, and without an intelligent performance of which, acts were likely to receive the royal assent, of a
character, and in form, highly derogatory to the honour of the crown, and mischievous to the colonies that were to be bound by them. If my reader doubts of this, let him turn to pages...

Independently of the slave laws, the bad spirit of which it was so incumbent on the government to guard against and control [sic], the general character of colonial legislation is such, both in form and substance, as loudly to demand a careful review by the responsible advisers of the crown. How indeed can the case be otherwise, when in many or most of the colonies, acts are drawn up and passed, without any professional aid, by planters or other members of assembly, ignorant of the rules and principles on which they ought to be framed, and even of the antecedent laws which they are intended to alter?

The colonial partisans seem to suppose that the acts relating to slavery, are those only to which my son’s duties relate; but in fact they constituted a very small part of the acts, even of those colonies where slavery exists...

They have secrets, it seems, in the colonial office with which he is intrusted; and those secrets he is supposed to reveal to me, to their prejudice! Yes, they impute to me, the unutterable baseness, of seducing into official perfidy the mind of my own son!!!

Of what kind these alleged secrets are, which they are so much afraid of being made known to the friends of the poor slaves, I am at a loss to conjecture...

In thus defending my son’s honour and my own from gross and malicious calumnies, let me not be understood as admitting the principle which the colonial party seems to assume. It is, if I rightly understand the meaning of the clamours, that they have a right to exclude from the confidence of government, all those who are advocates for, or friendly to, the reformations in question, and to treat them as public enemies and spies; while they themselves enjoy that confidence without suspicion or reserve. What else can they mean, when they or their hired partisans affect to treat it as a great impropriety that a son of mine should hold a professional situation in the colonial department, merely in respect of his relationship to me? For independently of their base insinuations against his honour, such is the position they assume. They arrogantly demand his dismissal, on that score, from an office, the duties of which he has, for more than ten years past, most industriously, most ably, and most honourably fulfilled; and to which he has made sacrifices of professional interests, and of health, such as can never I fear be repaid.

Leslie Stephen (first editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*) was the younger son of James Stephen, Counsel to the Colonial Office.


Stephen, Sir James (1789-1859), colonial under-secretary, born at Lambeth on 3 Jan. 1789, was third son of James Stephen (1758-1832) [q.v.]... He took the LL.B. degree in 1812, having been called to the bar at Lincoln’s Inn on 11 Nov. 1811... The third Lord Bathurst, who was in sympathy with ‘the Clapham Sect,’ allowed him to inspect official records for the digest, and in 1813 appointed him counsel to the colonial department. His duty was to report on the acts of the colonial legislature...

On 22 Dec. 1814 he married Jane Catherine, daughter of John Venn, rector of Clapham, one of the founders of the Church Missionary Society. In 1822 Stephen had a severe illness caused by overwork. As he was now a father, he decided in 1825 to accept the offer of the post of permanent counsel to the colonial office and to the board of trade, abandoning his private practice. In 1834 he was appointed assistant under-secretary of state for the colonies, and in 1836 under-secretary, giving up his position in the board of trade... His energy gave him great influence with his superiors, and his colleague, Sir Henry Taylor, says that for many years he ‘literally ruled the colonial empire.’ The impression of his influence gained him the nicknames of ‘King Stephen’ and ‘Mr Over-secretary Stephen;’ and he was frequently made scapegoat for real and supposed errors of the colonial office. He had accepted his position partly with a hope of influencing the slavery question. His success in this endeavour raised, according to Taylor, the ‘first outcry’ against him...
Leslie Stephen in *The Life* of his elder brother Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, in the section on their father James Stephen referred to his appointment to the Colonial Office.


...His family and friends were all, as I have shown, deeply engaged in the anti-slavery agitation. As an official he could of course take no part in such action, and his father had to give solemn assurance that the son had given him no information. But the power of influencing the Government in the right direction was of equal importance to the cause...

In 1829, James Stephen wrote – ‘The last 10 years of my life have been very busy ones, devoted not exclusively but mainly to promoting, as far as was compatible with the duties of my office, the extinction of slavery’.

[https://archive.org/details/letterswithbiogr00stepuoft –... Sir James Stephen... Letters with Biographical Notes, by his daughter Caroline Emelia Stephen, printed for private circulation 1906 – page 5 and 16-17](https://archive.org/details/letterswithbiogr00stepuoft)

12th June, 1816 – to his wife – ‘...We were all thrown into confusion yesterday. The enemy, *i.e.*, the West Indians, had sent word that a battle was to be fought in the House of Commons with Wilberforce & Co. Therefore my father and I, and Zachary Macaulay and R. H. Inglis, and many other good and worthy men attended as bottle-holders...’

He writes in 1829 to his cousin Alfred Stephen: ‘...The last 10 years of my life have been very busy ones, devoted not exclusively but mainly to promoting, as far as was compatible with the duties of my office, the extinction of slavery. This task devolved upon me from inheritance, and although I believe that nothing further remains for me to do, and that therefore my conscience is acquitted from all further solicitude on the subject, I should carry away from England a very heavy heart if I left that question under any degree of doubt. Supposing the government [of Van Diemen’s Land] offered to me, the conditions upon which I should accept would therefore virtually be the being solidly convinced, either that the slaves wanted no more aid, or there was no longer any opportunity for me to be useful to them.”

Sir James Stephen was a close friend of Sir Henry Taylor who like James Stephen was knighted in later life. Henry Taylor began working at the Colonial Office as a junior clerk in 1824, and soon rose to become head clerk.


1823-1824 – The business of the Colonial Office was growing every year more important – in reference to the question of negro emancipation I may say more momentous; and it was in utter confusion. Several old clerks who took but little interest in it were therefore to be provided for elsewhere, and several new ones to be brought in, who were chosen with a view to obtain more effective service . . .

In the West Indian Colonies, with few exceptions, all legislative authority, and, along with the power of granting or withholding supplies, almost all executive authority, was in the hands of the planters. If the Assemblies refused to enact the ‘meliorating’ code, there was no power in the Crown to coerce them. We tried everything. Many a conciliatory despatch was written; not a single Assembly conciliated. Many were the minatory despatches that followed; and threats were found equally unavailing. The controversy went on year after year; the Assemblies raged abroad; the saints wailed and howled at home; the Crown maintained an outward aspect of moderation: ‘Not so, my sons, not so!’ But in the Colonial Office we knew what we were about. We had established protectors of slaves in the few colonies in which we had legislative power; they made their half-yearly reports in which every outrage and enormity perpetrated on the slaves was duly detailed, with the usual result of trials and acquittals by colonial juries, and perhaps a banquet given by the principal colonists in honour of the offender; we wrote despatches in answer, careful and cautious in their tone, but distinctly marking each atrocity, and bringing its salient points into the light; we laid the reports and despatches before Parliament as fast as they were received and written; Zachary Macaulay forthwith transferred them to the pages of his ‘Monthly Anti-Slavery Reporter,’ by which they were circulated far and wide through the country; the howlings and wailings of the saints were seen to be supported by unquestionable facts officially authenticated; the cry of the country for the abolition of slavery waxed louder every year . . .

The first number of the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter, founded and edited by Zachary Macaulay, was published on 30 June 1825.

George Stephen (knighted in 1837), fourth son of James Stephen (1758-1832), wrote that his father and Zachary Macaulay were the only two leading abolitionist who ‘had been domiciled in the colonies”.


... In all its [African Institution] numerous committee there were only two who had any personal knowledge of the colonial system; Mr Macaulay, and my late father, Mr Stephen. There were several among their colleagues who were well-informed, even in the most minute details. Lord Grenville, Lord Brougham (not then in Parliament), Mr Wilberforce, Mr Clarkson, and Mr Granville Sharp, each possessed whatever knowledge could be acquired by reading and inquiry, but none of them had been domiciled in the colonies except Mr Macaulay and Mr Stephen; and consequently, these gentlemen naturally became the working men of the committee . . .

... Mr Macaulay . . . His memory was so retentive, that, without the trouble of reference, he could collate the papers of one session with those of three or four preceding years; he analysed with such rapidity that he could reduce to ten or twenty pages all that was worth extracting from five hundred; his acuteness was so great that no fallacy of argument escaped him, and no sophistry could bewilder him; and than all, he was accuracy and truth itself. This gave him a double advantage; it secured such confidence in his statements that they were received for gospel, while it enabled him instantly to detect, and detecting to
refute, all the misrepresentations of which his controversial opponents availed themselves as their strongest arm.

But this habit of extreme accuracy was not without its inconvenience; it obtained for Mr Macaulay with many, the reputation of being cold and insincere; he never yielded to excitement verging upon passion; on the contrary, he seemed always calm and circumspect; hence he was sometimes suspected as a man playing a political part in the guise of benevolence, and this suspicion was industriously cherished and promulgated by his enemies, of whom none had more: for every friend to slavery well knew Macaulay to be his most dangerous foe.

... It is said that all men have their mission. Mr Macaulay’s mission most undoubtedly was to be the indomitable friend of the negro race ... when Wilberforce resigned [in 1823] his leadership, worn out and exhausted – when Brougham was torn away by his accumulation of professional and official duties – when my father half yielded to despondency, and fancied emancipation to be a dream – when Buxton, harassed, thwarted and perplexed, staggered under the burthen which he had so generously assumed – when Lushington, resolute and spirited and persevering, felt discouraged, though never dismayed – it was Macaulay who rallied the disheartened forces; it was Macaulay that kept a steady look out from the masthead, and shouted “land!” buried as it was in the mist and storm and darkness; shaking off the unimpassioned tranquillity of earlier days, he assumed with age the ardour of youth, and with an impetuousity of impatience that startled even the young, proclaimed in his “Antislavery Reporter” that the day was won, ere yet the battle was fought or the troops prepared for action.

... Mr Macaulay ... No man knew better than himself the vast topic on which the public were required to act, and it was therefore an essential, if not principal, part of his plan to publish colonial intelligence in a periodical work. He undertook to be its editor and compiler. Hence originated the “Antislavery Reporter,” the first number of which appeared on the 30th of June, 1825; and thus was formed the nucleus of a system to which, under the blessing of God, after some revolutions in its management, all the subsequent success must be ascribed ...
In early 1825, after Wesleyan missionaries in Jamaica were severely censured by the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London (see Chapter 13), Wesleyan missionary Rev John Barry arrived in Jamaica. Following his arrival he was stationed at the Grateful Hill mission in St Thomas in the Vale where he remained for about a year. Seven years later, during his examination by the 1832 House of Commons committee on the Extinction of Slavery, Rev J Barry was asked about his time at Grateful Hill.

http://www.davidrumsey.com/view/luna – Edward Stanford, 1901 Jamaica Map – section – arrow points to Harewood Chapel (chapel on Sandy Gut completed in 1825 – see above) – arrow points to Grateful Hill in St Thomas in the Vale

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=w-CUnnzPUE8C&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Report from Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery throughout the British Dominions: with the minutes of evidence appendix and index – House of Commons 1832 – published 1833 – examinations of Rev John Barry, Wesleyan missionary from Jamaica – extracts

721. Did you reside in Jamaica during the whole of the interval, from 1825 to 1832? – With the exception of a year, or something longer.

723. . . . ? – I resided for about twelve months, or nearly so, in the parish of St Thomas-in-the-Vale; I resided the greater part of the time in Kingston and Spanish Town, but at the same time had very considerable intercourse with the interior during those periods.

724. What distance is St Thomas in the Vale from Kingston? – Where I resided was about twenty miles.

727. When you were in the parish of St Thomas-in-the-Vale, had you a congregation under your charge? – I had.

728. Of what number did that congregation consist? – The chapel contained about (as nearly as I can judge) 350 or 400 people, and it was generally filled on Sundays.

729. Of what description did the congregation consist, of white persons, free persons of colour, free blacks or slaves? – A very few white persons attended, occasionally a great number of free blacks and persons of colour, but the great proportion of the congregation consisted of slaves.
731. Had you any schools attached to your occupation there? – We had a school, but it was of very little importance at that time.
732. Where was the school? – It was held in our chapel in St Thomas-in-the-Vale . . .
733. Had you the means of forming a competent opinion of the state and condition of the slaves in the parish of St Thomas-in-the-Vale? – I think I had.
734. Did the nature of your duties call upon you to have frequent and intimate intercourse with them? – I was frequently obliged to have intercourse with them.
736. Did you find the slaves desirous of attending to religious instruction? – Exceedingly so.
737. Did you find that, considering the state of their education, they could comprehend, with ordinary facility, the instruction you afforded them? – I did; I found generally speaking, that they were capable of being instructed religiously as the great bulk of the lower order of people; there were some exceptions of course, but generally they were perfectly capable of receiving religious instruction.
738. Were any number of the slaves in St Thomas-in-the-Vale able to read or write? – Very few, if any; I could not particularize more than one or two who could read, not write.
739. Was there any other school in St Thomas-in-the-Vale? – Not to my knowledge; I am sure there was not; I do not believe there is any other school in the parish to this day.

Note – in 1829 there were Church of England Catechetical schools for slaves on 29 properties in St Thomas in the Vale – see Chapter 17.

741. Was the school established after your residence in St Thomas-in-the-Vale, or before? – It has been established before my arrival.
742. In consequence of that school, were not some of them capable of reading? – Not when I was there; our establishment in that place was rather in its infancy; it had not existed very long before my arrival.
744. Had children and adult slaves been attending the school three or four years? – I cannot tell how long they had been attending, the school was in a very inefficient state when I was there.
745. Was there any clergyman resident in the parish of St Thomas-in-the-Vale? – There was; he had but recently arrived when I went, and he died very shortly after my arrival.

Note – Rev W G Burton was resident in St Thomas in the Vale from his appointment as Rector in 1816 until his death in 1847. The Island Curate for St Thomas in the Vale, Rev William Hornby, died in June 1825 (see below).

746. Were the slaves that belonged to your persuasion constant in their attendance upon religious worship? – As frequently as they could attend they did so.
747. By what causes were they prevented? – Their duties, and the necessity of working rendered it frequently impossible that they could attend at all.
748. Do you believe that the greater bulk of the slaves in St Thomas-in-the-Vale, attached to your persuasion, were really anxious to be constant in their attendance? – I feel convinced they were; I know it.
749. Were the children in the habit of attending the schools weekly or daily, or how often? – On the Sundays only.
750. Was that the only instruction given to them in reading? – That was the only instruction.
751. Were you the schoolmaster? – No, but I superintended the school occasionally.
752. Did you find that the children were deficient in ordinary acuteness to comprehend the instruction in reading that you tried to give them? – Certainly not, because in other efficient schools we had a vast number of negro children, and also many adults who can now read the Scriptures, but that school was in a very inefficient state; it was merely nominal in fact.
753. How do you account for the school having continued for several years, and yet only one person of the slaves being able to read? – I did not know more than one adult slave that could read in that parish, that is so far as we were connected, but the school there was not sufficiently effective to have brought on the children to the knowledge of reading while I was there; the fact is, that we
found it very difficult to procure teachers in that place, and that was the principal reason why it had been partially abandoned.

754. What did they teach in the school, if they did not teach reading? – They taught the children the elements of reading, spelling, and so on; but the school was not sufficiently efficient to bring them forward to a knowledge of reading during my residence.

755. So that, notwithstanding the school was in existence, they never attained to teach more than one person to read? – Not to my knowledge.

756. Was the school instituted in 1825? – I do not know, but I suppose there had been a school existing for two or three years previous.

757. You stated that the school was under your own religious persuasion? – Our schools are always superintended by one of our ministers; in such a place as the chapel alluded to they are entrusted to one of the teachers who superintends the others.

758. What was the nature of the inefficiency? – We had no schoolmaster; they were voluntary teachers, and in consequence of the want of information even among the free people in that part of the island, we found it exceedingly difficult to keep the school open for want of a sufficient number of teachers.

759. During the time you were resident in St Thomas-in-the-Vale, did you attend the school? – I did occasionally, but I was absent from the chapel every second Sunday attending other parts of the parish.

760. When you attended the school, did you act as schoolmaster? – No.

769. Do you know of your own knowledge, how the negroes in the neighbourhood of St Thomas-in-the-Vale were subsisted? – I do; they are principally coffee plantations in that parish, excepting in one district called the Walks, where there are sugar estates, and the slaves on those coffee properties were subsisted by the allotment of provision grounds; they derive their subsistence from the cultivation of their own provision grounds as far as I know.

773. Were any of the negroes upon those estates clothed better than in the clothing which their masters gave them? – There were many of them clad in better clothes.

774. Do you know how they procured that clothing? – They procured that clothing from the sale of the provisions they cultivated, and the disposal of their little stock.

775. By their labour upon the provision grounds during the days allowed them, and their spare time? – Yes, and on Sundays.

776. Do they labour on Sunday? – Invariably they did, unless they travelled to market with their provisions.

777. They laboured upon the Sunday for their own benefit? – They did.

778. Are you aware whether it was necessary for their maintenance that they should labour upon the Sunday generally? – I am sure it was decidedly necessary.

779. What distance have you known a slave go to market? – The property that was nearest to my residence was called Mount Concord; that was at least twenty miles from Kingston. There was another called Glenn-Goff, about a mile further from town, and another called Sue River, a coffee property, which I suppose was about twenty-five miles from Kingston; I have frequently known the negroes to go that distance with their provisions for the purpose of disposing of them in Kingston market.

781. Is Kingston the nearest market place to those properties? – Spanish Town may be a little nearer, but it is a worse road; and there would not be the same probability of their disposing of their provisions to advantage; but the difference of distance is very trivial indeed.

782. Do you think the negroes had the understanding to be able to discover which was the best market? – Undoubtedly they had; any person that had money dealings with them would soon know that.

784. Do you recollect how many days they were allowed to themselves in St Thomas-in-the-Vale? – Every second Saturday.

785. Supposing they had been allowed every Saturday, do you think they would have been less industrious? – I am sure they would not.
799. In St Thomas-in-the-Vale, were the negroes generally in a state of considerable demoralization or not? – Generally they were.

986. What part of St Thomas-in-the-Vale did you reside in? – At a place called Above Rocks.

Note – Above Rocks is the mountainous district on the south eastern side of St Thomas in the Vale and western side of St Andrew’s extending south into St Catherine – see map below.

http://ufdc.ufl.edu/mapc/results/?t=jamaica – Jamaica Map compiled for Aston W Garner, 1884 – section – arrow points to Harewood Chapel, the chapel on Sandy Gut

987. What number of negroes are there in the parish of St Thomas-in-the-Vale? – I do not exactly know, though I had an almanack, but there is a dense slave population.

988. In the parish of St Thomas-in-the-Vale, like other parishes in the island, are not the properties very much scattered? – No, the properties are very close in St Thomas-in-the-Vale.

989. What properties are you speaking of; the coffee properties in Above Rocks, or the sugar estates in the lower part? – I do not know much of the sugar estates, though I have occasionally rode through them, but coffee is the principal produce of St Thomas-in-the-Vale, and, so far as I have seen, those properties are contiguous to each other; for instance, there are Mount Concord and Goff, and Sue River, and several others all near to each other.

990. In the situation in which you were living, they were principally coffee plantations? – They were.

991. And you had but few opportunities of seeing the slave population of the sugar estates in the parish of St Thomas-in-the-Vale? – very few comparatively.

992. Can you state what might be the extent of St Thomas-in-the-Vale? – I should suppose that the parish of St Thomas-in-the-Vale cannot be less than twelve or fourteen miles in length; it is not one of the most extensive parishes.

993. Residing as you did at Above Rocks, what opportunities would your residence there afford you of becoming acquainted with the character of the negroes generally throughout that parish? – I believe that a resident in any one of the parishes of Jamaica, from his observations upon the state of morals, &c in that parish, could form a correct estimate of the state of the whole island.

1012. What number of chapels are there in St-Thomas-in-the-Vale, exclusive of those that belong to your own sect? – There is a church, and there is a Baptist chapel near Mount Charles.

Note – in 1832 when Rev John Barry was being examined by the House of Common’s committee there were two chapels in St Thomas in the Vale. The Wesleyan chapel at Grateful Hill and Harewood Chapel, the Chapel on Sandy Gut completed in 1825 (see above – October 1825 –
Statement – Thomas in the Vale). The Baptist chapel near Mount Charles was in St Andrew’s, a little to the east of Grateful Hill – see map above.

1041. You spoke of having resided where your chapel and school were in the district of Above Rocks, what extent do you include in that district of Above Rocks? – to the best of my knowledge, what is called Above Rocks is that part of St Thomas-in-the-Vale almost immediately bounding the property of Mr Lane, at the back of Spanish Town, in the mountainous part of the parish.

1042. What might be the extent of that district? – I do not know how far it extends.

1155. Were not those that passed it [resolution passed by Wesleyan Missionaries in Kingston on 6 September 1824 – see Chapter 13] resident in the island, and knew the condition of the slaves? – Of course they did to a certain extent; but their acquaintance with the magistrates of Jamaica was very limited; for instance, there were two gentlemen in St Thomas-in-the-Vale, one a Mr Lane and the other Mr Bicknell, who had always manifested a strong desire to promote the religious instruction of the people; there were also in St Thomas-in-the-East one or two gentlemen exceedingly favourable to the same views; and the acquaintance of those missionaries did not, I believe, extend any further than those gentlemen, except in one or two instances; and the opinion which they formed of the general disposition of the planters in favour of the instruction of the negroes, was founded upon their acquaintance with those gentlemen.

Note – Mr Lane = James Seton Lane of Coolshade – see Chapter 13.

1178. At what time did you arrive in Jamaica? – I believe it was the first of March or April, 1825.

The Wesleyan school at Grateful Hill was referred to by Rev W G Burton in his 1824 report for the Jamaica District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.


From St. Thomas in the Vale, Mr. Burton states: “There are three schools in the parish, the first the parochial school, for the education of ten poor children of free condition, and at which there were till within a few weeks back, when sickness diminished their number, ten private scholars. This school is kept at a house in the immediate neighbourhood of the church, and under my own eye, the scholars are occasionally examined, and they are catechised every other Sunday in church; of their improvement in religious and other useful knowledge I can speak most favourably.

The next to be mentioned is a private school in the neighbourhood of Guy’s Hill consisting of ten scholars, whose education is similar to the preceding, and whose readiness, in replying to the questions both in Mann’s and Mant’s Catechism, as well as their pertinent answers to several questions from myself, did credit alike to their teacher and themselves. The last (but from what has been reported to me,) by far the largest school is in an opposite part of the parish called “Above Rocks.” As this is the most populous district in the parish, and the population within a small compass, (I have reason to believe) the number of scholars to be very considerable: it is supported by dissenters and conducted on their principles, and I have not felt myself called upon to visit it. I have, however, supplied it with the Society’s books, through the medium of a member of your Society. The parish school uses none other than the Society’s books, and the children are brought up in the principles of the Established Church. The other school is also supplied by me with the books.”

Returning to Edward – he continued to be the overseer of Mount Olive in 1825 and by March that year he had transferred one of his six slaves in St Thomas in the East to St Thomas in the Vale.
St Thomas in the East, Blue Mountain Division – Clouston, Edward, Orkneys, 12 Slaves (only 5 were owned by Edward)

St Thomas in the Vale – Clouston, Edward, 1 Slave, 6 Stock
- Harewood, Earl of, Williamsfield, 324 Slaves, 298 Stock
- Needham (Nedham), William, Mount Olive, 231 Slaves, 130 Stock

St George – Clouston, Edward, attorney, 2 Slaves (Rev Alexander Johnston’s slaves)

On 27 April 1825 Orkney (Orkneys) was one of the properties Assessed for not Giving in to Vestry. Only 5 of the 12 slaves on Orkneys, below, were owned by Edward and he only owned 10 acres (see Chapter 8), not 20 acres.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat 30 April 1825, page PS 24 – Vestry-Office, St Thomas’ in the East, April 27, 1825 – arrow points to Orkney

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIST of PERSONS and PROPERTIES</th>
<th>LAND.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assessment for not Giving in to Vestry for the Quarter ending the 28th March last</td>
<td>Slaves, Stock, Acres, Feet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s Hall</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, Penelope</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bignall, John</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content (D. R.)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, Dugald</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapman, Jane</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilmore-Hill</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting, William</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henderson, Elizabeth</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardy, Mary, estate</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly, Sarah George</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M‘Lachlan, Mary A.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M‘Courtie, Thomas</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orkney</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River View</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snodgrass, Hew, estate of</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, Ebenezer</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verity, Maria</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Werge, Mary</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, E. M. A.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watson, Sarah</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyndowe, Samuel</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By order of Vestry,
FRED. F. HILL, Ck. Vest.

The ROLLS will be closed on Saturday the 7th day of May next.
In 1825 Edward registered three powers of attorney.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney, 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees – powers of attorney registered in 1825

1. – Lib 230, Fol 10 – To Clouston, Edward – from John Gordon

2. – Lib 230, Fol 13 – To Clouston, Edward, & al – from James McIntosh

3. – Lib 230, Fol 54 – To Clouston, Edward – from Meredith Moore

1. – John Gordon (1780-1843) – Sir John Gordon, 5th Baronet of Earlsfield, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland

Sir John was the eldest son of John Gordon of Jamaica and inherited the estate of Earlsfield from his uncle in 1795. In 1816 he inherited Carleton estate in the parish of St James, Jamaica.


London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 2 Jul 1825, page PS 23 – Married

At Edinburgh, in Scotland on the 21st April last, Sir John Gordon of Earlston, and of Carlton estate in the parish of St James, to Mary, the only daughter of William Irving, Esq.
In 1823 Sir John Gordon was resident in Jamaica.

St James – Assistant Judges and Magistrates – include – Sir John Gordon, Baronet

Gordon, Sir John, Baronet, Carlton, 178 Slaves, 156 Stock

Edward’s power of attorney from Sir John Gordon was for the management of Golden River, a plantation in St Thomas in the Vale that had been owned by Sir John’s brother Francis Gordon who died in Jamaica on 27 July 1823.

Died – In St Catherine – on the 27th ult Francis Gordon, Esq, surveyor, brother of Sir John Gordon, Bart much and ….. regretted. He was a Gentleman of the most ….. conciliating manners, and of the strictest honesty and integrity. His loss will be long felt by a numerous circle of friends.

2. – James McIntosh – he was overseer of Wallens estate, St Thomas in the Vale, from 1809 to 1817 – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts

Jamaica Royal Gazette – 13 March 1817, Militia Promotions, St Thomas in the Vale, James McIntosh to be an Ensign

St Thomas in the Vale Slave Register – 1820 – Return made by Donald McIntosh and James McIntosh as joint owners – 1823 – Return made by Alexander Mackintosh attorney to Donald Mackintosh, joint owner with James Mackintosh.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Wills, Old Series – Lib 105, Fol 57 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 13 Nov 1824 – Alexander Mackintosh of St Thomas in the Vale, Will dated 17 September 1824 – Executors – his wife, John W Davis, Alexander Gilzean and Donald Mackintosh, Esqs – Witnesses – David Easton, James Young, and James Mackintosh. On 26 October 1824, before Edward Clouston, James Mackintosh swore that he and the two other Witnesses were present when Alexander Mackintosh made his Will.

www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1825 Jamaica Almanacs – 1st Quarter 1824

Givings-In – St Thomas in the Vale – McIntosh, Donald and James, Muse, 53 slaves, and 9 stock

3. – Meredith Moore – during the time that Edward was the overseer of Georgia estate, Meredith Moore was the overseer of Blue Mountain, an estate in the Blue Mountain Valley a few miles to the southeast of Georgia – see Chapter 6.

Jamaica Archives, Records of Crop Accounts – Meredith Moore – (as far as I noted) – overseer of Blue Mountain estate, St Thomas in the East, 1807, 1808, 1809 and 1810 – overseer of Æolus Valley estate, St David,1815 – attorney for Berkshire Hall estate, St Thomas in the Vale, 1824.

On 14 March 1825 Rev W G Burton, Rector of St Thomas in the Vale, married his second wife Elizabeth Rodon Lord.

At River Head Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, by Rev Lewis Bowerbank, Rev W G Burton to Elizabeth Rodon, eldest daughter of Wm Lord, Esq.
Chapter 14. 1825

Above – William Lord – at the end of 1823 or early 1824, he took over from James Seton Lane as the Clerk of St Thomas in the Vale Vestry.

https://familysearch.org/ (accessed June 2011) – St Thomas in the Vale Parish Register, 1816-1826

Marriages – 1825 – 4 March – Burton and Lord

Burials – 1825 – the Island Curate of St Thomas in the Vale, Rev William Hornby, died at Coolshade (James Seton Lane’s plantation) on 12 June 1825.

Above – P Burton = Rev Percival Burton, the Stipendiary Curate of St Thomas in the Vale.

Jamaica Archives – Bishop’s Book, Vol I – page 17 and 18

10 April 1825 – Ordination of Percival Burton as Deacon

April 1825 – Percival Burton appointed as Stipendiary Curate of St Thomas in the Vale on nomination of Rev W G P Burton
In the week ending Saturday 16 July 1825 George William Hamilton sailed in the Packet for England.

*London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 16 Jul 1825, page PS 22 – Sailed since our last from Port Royal – includes*

HMPS Rinaldo, Lieutenant Moore, for Crooked Island and Falmouth, GB – Passengers Sailed – include – In the Rinaldo: – Geo Wm Hamilton . . .

While he was in England the Earl of Harewood signed the Indenture conveying the land for the chapel on Sandy Gut (see above) to George William Hamilton and to the two other trustees – see Chapter 15.

On 1 September 1825 William Coleman conveyed a slave to Philip Jaquet and Edward Clouston (acting as intermediaries and it appears as attorneys to John Oliver) for the purpose of vesting a slave and her future offspring in the proprietors of Longville estate in the parish of Clarendon.

*Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 755, Fol 253 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 24 Apr 1829 – Deed Poll – dated 1 September 1825 – Conveyance of a slave for the purpose therein mentioned – William Collman of Clarendon, Esq (1) – to Philip Jaquet of St George and Edward Clouston of St Thomas in the Vale, Esqs (2) – summary*

William Collman is seized in a Female Negro Slave called Harriott alias Janet Collman which he has contracted to sell to the proprietors of Longville Estate, Clarendon, for £140 Jamaica currency being the value of slave called Pinky Mitchell alias Jane Mitchell late upon Longville and Sold to William Collman in exchange for Harriott/Janet Collman – conveyance made to vest Harriott/Janet Collman and her increase in the proprietors of Longville – and for no other purpose

*London National Archives – 1826 Clarendon Slave Register – Return made by James Shenton, as part owner and as attorney to John Oliver, Esquire – Females include – Janet Collman, Registered by William Collman & received in exchange for Pinky Mitchell in 1825 – Pinky Mitchell, Manumised*

Edward registered a power of attorney from John Oliver in 1826 – *Jamaica Record Office, Records of Powers of Attorney 1818/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees – 1826 – Lib 232, Fol 87 – Clouston, Edward & al – from John Oliver*

John Oliver of Hoole Hall, Cheshire, and Harley Street, London, was one of the joint owners of Longville estate. His wife Jane Catherine Sarah, nee Long, was a daughter of Robert Long (1729-1757), one of the Longs of Longville, Jamaica.


Philip Jaquet of St George –

On 21 September 1825, in response to Bishop Lipscomb’s request for a chapel of ease to be provided at Annotto Bay for 800 persons, a resolution was passed at a special vestry meeting in St George’s which was attended by the rector, two magistrates, one of whom was Philip Jaquet, and seven vestrymen. The resolution sought authorization from the Bishop to advertise for plans with estimates for three chapels – one at Annotto Bay for 800 persons, as recommended by the Bishop, and two others, one in the Hope Bay district and one in the Buff Bay district, each of them for 400 persons – *London National Archives – CO 137/267 – Correspondence, 1824-1826, from the Bishop of Jamaica, Christopher Lipscomb, to Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies*

In October and December 1825 two children (free persons of colour) were baptized at Williamsfield.
On 17 December 1825 Edward was made a Lieutenant in the St Thomas in the Vale Militia.

Road Appropriations agreed by the House of Assembly in December 1825 include two mentions of Edward.

20 December 1825 – Ordered, That the Road Appropriations, as agreed by the House this session, be published in the Royal Gazette, St Jago Gazette, Cornwall Chronicle, and Cornwall Courier, for one month. By the House, John G Vidal, Clerk to the Assembly:
Middlesex – includes the two mentions of Edward

To pay to Sir M. B. Clare, George William Hamilton, William R. Rennals, John Lunn, John Hanson, Abraham Hodgson, Henry Cox, Isaac Higgins, Hamilton Brown, William Shand, Geo. Marshall, James Seton Lane, Edward Clouston, and Adam Steel, or any three of them, the sum of five hundred pounds, for repairing and keeping in good order the road from Tuckey’s Bridge, near Spanish-Town, to the river beyond the Bog-Walk, in St. Thomas’ in the Vale.

To pay Sir M. B. Clare, George William Hamilton, James Seton Lane, Edward Clouston, and Henry Lowndes, or any three of them, the sum of one hundred pounds, for repairing the road from Berkshire-Hall to Guy’s Hill.

Above – Henry Loundes (Lowndes) – see Chapter 12.

In the mid 19th century Robert Elwes described the Bog Walk (the road through the Rio Cobre Gorge), as ‘one of the most lovely drives I have ever seen’.


... The road [from Spanish Town] for the first four miles was uninteresting, but after that we entered a pretty valley, and drove through the famous Bog Walk. The valley is narrow, and in most places there is only room for the road and the beautiful Rio Cobre, – a clear rushing stream, like a large Welsh brook. The hills were covered with forest, and the stream was overhung with all sorts of tropical trees. Palms, bamboos, and different forest trees, covered with creepers and orchids; and all sorts of ferns grew among the rocks. For four miles this was one of the most lovely drives I have ever seen, and every turn of the valley disclosed some new beauty. We then came out in the large wide expanse of St Thomas in the Vale...
All the sugar made in St Thomas in the Vale was once transported by wagon trains through the Bog Walk to the ports on the south coast of Jamaica. Now no sugar is made in St Thomas in the Vale, but driving through the gorge in crop time you pass numbers of truck loaded with sugar cane.

*My photo, March 2007 – Rio Cobre Gorge – driving north – tuck loaded with sugar cane driving south from St Thomas in the Vale*

[Image]

*https://openlibrary.org/search?title=Jamaica&author=Hakewill – A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica from drawings made in the years 1820 and 1821, by James Hakewill, published 1825 – Bog Walk*
The Parish of St Thomas in the Vale is generally known as the Walks, which are again subdivided and distinguished as Bog Walk, the Six Mile Walk, the Sixteen Mile Walk, &c. Bog Walk is the high road from Spanish Town, to the parish of St Thomas in the Vale, St Ann, St Mary, and generally to the north side of the Island. The road for the first five or six miles from the former town runs through a fine open country, and then enters the mountains, clothed with the most luxuriant foliage of every variety of form and grandeur, and of every variety of tint; the road passes along at the base, and divides the narrow space, with the Rio Cobre retained in its channel, where necessary, by a stone parapet, as seen in the accompanying view.

The Rio Pedro, the Rio d’Oro, Rio Magno, and the Black River, fall into the Rio Cobre, near Bog Walk. From the Tavern (at the opening of the pass into St Thomas in the Vale) the latter river, after passing Spanish Town, enters the sea at Hunt’s Bay, near Fort Augusta.

The road from Berkshire Hall north up to Guy’s Hill (see above Road Appropriations) is known as the Devil’s Race Course – a steep and twisting road up to the border of St Thomas in the Vale and St Ann’s. Guy’s Hill is marked ‘Tavern’ at the top left on the map below.

http://maps.nls.uk/jamaica/index.html – Robertson’s 1804 maps of Jamaica – Middlesex – St Thomas in the Vale – section – arrows – top points to the road from Berkshire Hall to Guys Hill – bottom points to Berkshire Hall
My photos, March 2007 – St Thomas in the Vale – road north to Guy’s Hill

Berkshire Hall district – track off the road to Guys Hill
Guy’s Hill – looking south across St Thomas in the Vale

Driving down the Devil’s Race Course
Driving down the Devil’s Race Course

In December 1825 a Clergy Act was passed in Jamaica.
Abstract of the Act to consolidate and amend the several laws relating to the Clergy of this Island, and to invest the Bishop of Jamaica with Ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

1. The first clause repeals the several Acts relating to the Clergy, and recites the letters patent of the Bishop of Jamaica, and enacts that all such laws, ordinances, and canons ecclesiastical, as are now used in England, as far as relates to the due ordering and ecclesiastical regimen of, and jurisdiction over, the Clergy, shall be in force within this island; but providing it shall not extend to any judicial authority, spiritual or temporal, over the lay inhabitants, or to abridge the jurisdiction of the Governor, as ordinary in probates of wills, letters testamentary, of administration, or induction to the ...... Churches, or other authority, juridical or otherwise, usually exercised by the Governor.

2. The second clause appoints a Registrar with a salary of 300 l and an apparitor, with a salary of 90 l.

3. The Judges of the Supreme Court authorized to aid in enforcing and carrying on the provision of this Act.

4, 5, 6. Rectors’ salaries fixed at .00 l per annum, subject to a deduction of … per annum, the interest of which to be applied to the maintenance of Rectors’ widows and children, and trustees appointed to manage it, under the Act passed the 1st Geo IV.

7. Rectors empowered to lease glebe lands for 21 years.

8. But not to grant any lease until existing leases expire.

9. Oaths to be taken on granting leases, but not to lease the parsonage.

10. Not to receive fees out of their own parishes.

11. Rectors declared freeholders, and to vote at elections.

12. Not to marry unless banns published three times, or by license from the Governor, under penalty of 100 l.

13. Fixing the fees of Rectors as follow: (For which see the Postscript of our last publication).

   Note – fees – see below

14. Rectors to appropriate a portion of time every Sunday to instruct free persons and slaves.

15. They shall reside in their parishes, and officiate every Sunday, and catechize one hour, at least once in every week, on a day by them to be fixed. Receiver-General not to pay stipend, without a certificate of such residence and service from the Bishop; except during leave of absence from the Governor, granted upon a certificate from the Bishop, or, in his absence, the Archdeacon, or in absence of both, the Commissaries, or Rectors of St Catherine’s, Kingston, and St Ann’s; but no leave of absence to be granted, unless they provide Curates approved of by the Bishop, but such leave of absence not to exceed eighteen months Domestic Chaplain to the Governor excepted, as also the Chaplains to the Council and Assembly.

16. Rectors or Curates absent for three months together, without leave, or for that period, though at different times, in one year, without the Bishop’s consent, and appointing a substitute, to forfeit 200 l, which Receiver-General is empowered to deduct from his stipend, on a certificate of the absence from the Bishop. If absent more than eighteen months, the Bishop may declare the living vacant.

17. No lapse of stipend to injure the widows’ fund.

18, 19. Rectors and Curates to visit estates, workhouses, hospitals, and gaols, as directed by the Bishop, and enter in a book, at each place, the times of his attendance and duties performed.
No fees to be taken from slaves.

Justices and Vestry of parishes empowered to lay a tax, to purchase land for burial grounds, and to build Chapels and parsonages.

Declares it is a neglect of duty in Justices and Vestry not to keep Churches, Chapels, Churchyards, and parsonages, in sufficient order and repair.

Justices and Vestry to cause lands, granted for use of Rectors, by private persons, to be run out, and boundaries ascertained, and in cases of trespass to proceed for recovery.

Taxes under this Act to be recovered in like manner as other taxes.

Rectors prohibited from permitting burials in Churches, under penalty of 500l and compensation to be granted in parishes, as follows: - St Catherine’s, 70l; Kingston, 110l; Port-Royal, 30l; St Andrew’s and St Thomas’ in the East, 50l each; Portland, 20l; St Ann’s, St James, Hanover and St Elizabeth’s, 0l each; Clarendon, 30l; St Dorothy’s, 20l; Vere and St Thomas’ in the Vale, 90l each, and every other parish, 80l.

No Minister of the Established Church to officiate in this island, other than Rectors or Curates, without a licence from the Bishop, and paying one shillings and eight pence to the Registrar, which shall remain in full force, in cases of death or resignation, until revoked by his successor.

Rectors unable to discharge duty from age, infirmity, or other cause, Bishop may cause them to nominate a fit person to perform the duties with a stipend to be approved by the Bishop; and in case of refusal to nominate, after six weeks’ notice, the Bishop may appoint, and fix the stipend, not exceeding 500l for a Rector, and 300l for a Curate, to be deducted from the stipend of the person unable to do his duties; notice to be given of the name of the person appointed to the Vestry.

Rector empowered to appoint Clerks, but not to be removed without consent of the Bishop.

Curates allowed 500l annually, to be paid quarterly, on certificate of Bishop, as to residence and discharge of duties, except in cases of leave of absence, similar to Rector, and their duties regulated in same manner – See clause 15.

Priests or Deacons may solemnize marriage.

Curates may marry slaves on estates or in Chapels, but banns to be published with consent of Owners, Attornies, &c.

Curates not otherwise to interfere in duties of Rectors, nor receive fees for any duty, except by authority of Rector, or forfeit to him 20l for each offence, to be recovered before any Justice; in case of repeated offences, the Bishop may punish even to suspension.

Parishes may assist each other in building Chapels, not exceeding 600l.

Registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials, to be kept by Rectors, in books provided by parishes, in fourteen days after ceremony.

When such ceremonies performed by other persons, instead of Rector, a certificate to be transmitted to him to be entered.

Registry to belong to parish, but kept by the Rector; a book must also be kept registering christenings, marriages, and burials of slaves.

Copies of all registers, heretofore in use, to be sent to the Registrar, to be deposited in his office at St Jago de la Vega, to be called “The Bishop’s Office of Registry.”

Curates to make a return every three months to Rectors to be registered. Rectors, on the 30th of June, every year, to send copies to Registrar, attested on oath, as also a copy, by the 30th of June next, of all registers hitherto kept.

Report of such returns to be made to the Bishop before the 31st of July next, who is to report
such as have been neglected. The Registrar to cause alphabetical lists to be made, to be open to public search.

44, 45 Registrar to cause books to be secured and arranged within three months, under penalty of 100l and be paid for recording at the same rate as the Secretary of the Island.

46 Copies from register, certified by Registrar, or if from parish books, by oath of person comparing with register, to be admitted in all Courts.

47, 48 Persons making false entries in registers, or altering or destroying it, or copies transmitted to it, guilty of felony. – Errors may, however, be corrected: Rectors still entitled to fees for copies of registration.

49 All proceedings exempted from stamp duty.

50 Penalties to be recovered in Grand and assize Courts.

51 In case of demise or absence of the Bishop, Archdeacon empowered to act, and, in his absence the Commissaries, and Rectors of St Catherine’s, Kingston, and St Andrew’s.

52 Registrar’s office to be open on all lawful days from seven in the morning until three in the afternoon, under penalty of 50l for each neglect.

53 This Act declared in force to the 31st December, 1830.

The following is the clause of the new Clergy Act, which fixes the fees to the Rectors of each parish:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burials</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meeting the corpse at the parochial ground and reading only the grave service</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting and interring at any other place with grave service</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the full service of the Church, and afterwards attending the corpse to the parochial burial-ground</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If from the Church to any other place of interment than the parochial burial-ground, then in addition</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For each tablet or cenotaph erected in the Church</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For any grave with brick work, and building a tomb over it</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For a vault, not exceeding in dimensions 10 feet square, constructed with stone or brick, or enclosed with railings</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For every tomb erected over a single grave</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marriages</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In Church on Sunday by Banns</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Licence</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In any other place, or on any other day</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Christenings</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baptism in Church on Sunday</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In any other place, or on any other day</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For travelling to perform any service, in addition to what is given above, for every mile beyond the first mile from the Church, or his place of residence</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extracts from the Register, comparing and attesting each</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
My photo, March 2007 – Williamsfield
The Earl of Harewood’s Jamaica accounts for year 1825 include – Deed of Gift of Land to erect a Church upon - £7- 0 - 6 – land for the Chapel on Sandy Gut.

Abstract of the Produce of the Estates and other Property in the West Indies belonging to the Earl of Harewood – Nelson & Adam, London, 30 April 1826 – Crop 1825 – Jamaica

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proceeds of 274 hhds Sugar</th>
<th>5429 - 19 - 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50 Puns Rum</td>
<td>684 - 8 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6114 - 7 - 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deduction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>164 - 17 Stores</td>
<td>1263 - 2 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supertare Commission</td>
<td>Postage &amp; Stamps</td>
<td>4851 - 5 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts of Geo Cuthbert &amp; G W Hamilton dated</td>
<td>30 April 1826</td>
<td>1678 - 2 - 11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 14. 1825


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Wt (lb)</th>
<th>Ph (lbs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shipped from 1st Henderson for London</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Bightengal Grove Estate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Page Esquire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev W Hamilton Esquire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Bayly Esquire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam Hyde Esquire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George O'Malley Esquire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used for Estate use and sugar hired</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villaged by filling up at 1st Henderson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 1700 lbs of Sugar equal to one hhd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>207</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sold Samuel Hyde Esquire Twenty seven old Hogs Ed for One Hundred and Ninety pounds £190

20 D Cañafax One thousand Six hundred and Eighty one pounds Old Coppers at 12d 84 1

Total £274 1

I Donald W Paterson do swear that the above is a just and true account sworn before me the 18th day of March Eighty Two before Donald W Paterson

[Signature]

Adam Steele
My photo, March 2007 – Rio Doro – looking downstream to Williamsfield Bridge
Mount Olive crop account for 1825, sworn by Edward, includes two mentions of ‘Sandy Gut Chapel’.

Chapter 14.  1825

Above – The Revd S H Cook (sic) – To Waggonage of Furniture &c from Mount Olive to Spanish Town & Port Henderson – in 1823 Rev S H Cooke was the curate of the parish of St Mary

On the October 1825 Statement of Parishes, etc, sent by Bishop Lipscomb to Earl Bathurst, S H Cooke was the Rector of the parish of St David.

S H Cooke appears to be Stephen Hope Cooke.


My photos, March 2007 – Mount Olive
Mount Olive
In England on 4 February 1826 the Earl of Harewood conveyed the land for the Chapel on Sandy Gut to three Trustees.
Chapter 15. 1826

Henry Earl of Harewood is seized and possessed of the piece or parcel of land hereinafter particularly described. And whereas having the wish intention and desire – that a Church and if expedient a School house or other public building shall be erected on the parcel of land for the use and benefit of the subscribers and parishioners of St Thomas in the Vale he is desirous to vest the same in George William Hamilton Samuel Hyde and William Godfrey Pollard Burton or the rector for the time being of St Thomas in the Vale in fee simple in order to enable them to carry such intention into effect in such manner and by such ways and means as they shall be advised to be necessary and expedient. And whereas George William Hamilton is a trustee in a two fold capacity in his own right as a parishioner and subscriber towards the erection of the Chapel and School house and as the Attorney of the Williamsfield Estate belonging to the Earl of Harewood and he is also desirous that in the event of G W Hamilton being removed from that office the succeeding attorney of the Williamsfield Estate and if none then the proprietor thereof himself should be added to the number of Trustees and that a power should be hereinafter provided for carrying the said desire in effect.

Now this Indenture Witnesses for the purposes aforesaid and for divers other good causes and considerations – and in consideration of the sum of ten shillings sterling money of Great Britain by the said George William Hamilton Samuel Hyde and William Godfrey Pollard Burton to him the said Henry Earl of Harewood in hand well and truly paid – Henry Earl of Harewood hath granted bargained sold – conveyed – unto G W Hamilton S Hyde and W G P Burton – All that piece or parcel of land situate lying and being in the parish of St Thomas in the Vale containing by actual survey thereof two acres and one rood – being part and parcel of Sandy Gut estate – butted and bounded as by diagram thereof hereunto annexed is more particularly delineated and described – with the appurtenances together with the full and free liberty of ingress – to and from the said parcel of land hereby conveyed by the road or path way leading thereto through Sandy Gut and all houses outhouses edifices erections and buildings on the parcel of land erected and built standing or being or to be erected and built with the appurtenances and all ways and paths passages waters water courses trees timber trees ditches fences etc – whatsoever to the parcel of land and premises belonging.

To have and To hold the said parcel of land and premises hereby granted and conveyed – to the said George William Hamilton Samuel Hyde and the Rector for the time of the said parish of St Thomas in the Vale.

Nevertheless by such ways and means as they should be advised to be necessary and expedient to carry into effect the intentions of the said Henry Earl of Harewood by appropriating the same to the erection of a Church and if it shall seem expedient a School house or other public building for the use of the subscribers and parishioners of the said parish of St Thomas in the Vale.

Provided always – if default shall be made in duly appointing a Rector or Minister to the Church intended to be erected on the parcel of land – or if by reason of the refusal or neglect of the said Rector Minister or from any other cause whatsoever Divine Service shall not be performed therein for the space of twelve Calendar Months and the said Church and the premises thereto appertaining shall not be locked up preserved and taken care of by the Church Wardens or other persons or person whose duty it may be to look after and take charge of the same therein every such Case and as often as it may happen it shall be lawful for Henry Earl of Harewood or other proprietor for the time being of Williamsfield Estate or his Attorney to enter and take possession of the said parcel of land and also of the said Church and all other buildings to be erected thereon and to hold the same in trust for the said subscribers and parishioners until it shall be notified to the said Earl or such other proprietor their Attorney by some writing signed by the Trustees appointed or to be hereafter appointed by virtue of these presents that a clergyman of the Established Church is provided to officiate therein upon receipts whereof the said Earl of Harewood or other such proprietor or their Attorney shall and will immediately deliver up the same to the said trustees for the intents and purposes hereinbefore mentioned.

Provided also – that in case of the removal of George William Hamilton from the office of Attorney to Henry Earl of Harewood or other proprietor for the time being of the Williamsfield Estate it shall and may be lawful for the trustees their acting in the said trusts and they are here required forthwith to nominate and appoint the succeeding Attorney of the Williamsfield Estate if any and if not then the proprietor.
thereof himself – in the nature of an additional trustee and that on such appointment being made the said trust Estate shall be conveyed – in such manner that the same may rest in such additional trustee from jointly with the former trustees or trustee – etc, etc, etc


In the Island Secretary’s book a space was left for the Diagram annexed to the Indenture but the Diagram was not copied into the book – my photo – space left for the Diagram and below the space

Jamaica SS This diagram represents two acres and one rood of land part of Sandy Gully [sic] plantation situate in the parish of St Thos ye Vale intended for the use of the Chapel that is now building and is to be conveyed by – to – Surveyed 22nd October 1824 by – John Scarlett Surveyor

Jamaica Ss – at Kingston, on 11 July 1826 – land conveyed – bone fide of the value of £1,000 current money of Jamaica – sworn by George William Hamilton

On 4 February 1826, when the Earl of Harewood signed the Indenture, G W Hamilton was in Britain (see Chapter 14 – G W Hamilton sailed from Port Royal for Falmouth, England). He arrived back in Jamaica at the end of April 1826.

British Library – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat 29 Apr 1826, page PS 23 – Arrived at Port Royal in the week ending Saturday, 29 April – include

HMPS Lord Melville, Capt Furze, from Falmouth 40 days, Barbadoes 9 days


Above – Andrew Bogle = G W Hamilton’s uncle and one of the co-partners in the bankrupt firm Bogles & Co – see Chapter 12.

In St Thomas in the Vale in March 1826 the Earl of Harewood owned 314 slaves and Major General William Nedham owned 229 slaves. Edward owned 3 slaves in St Thomas in the Vale (3 of the 6 slaves he registered in St Thomas in the East in 1823), and 3 slaves in St Thomas in the East.
St Thomas in the Vale

Harewood, Earl of, Williamsfield – 314 Slaves – 267 Stock

Nedham, William, Mount Olive – 229 Slaves – 151 Stock

Clouston, Edward – 3 Slaves – 5 Stock

By 1826 James Reid was hiring Edward’s 3 slaves in St Thomas in the East and Orkneys -

St Thomas in the East – Blue Mountain Division

Reid, James, Inverness and Orkneys – 52 Slaves – 23 Stock

Inverness was the name given by James Reid to the 20 acres conveyed to him by Lewis Grant in September 1812 – see Chapter 7.

While George William Hamilton was in England he ordered a piece of plate on behalf of the parishioners of St Thomas in the Vale, for the Rector, Rev W G Burton. A month and a half after G W Hamilton arrived back in Jamaica, the piece of plate had arrived and on 15 June 1826 he presented it to Rev W G Burton.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 1 Jul 1826, page PS 25 and 26

We have much pleasure in publishing the following letters, because we know that the Reverend Rector of the parish of St Thomas in the Vale has well merited this flattering testimony of the high respect and esteem in which he is held by his Parishioners. – The zealous and unremitted attention he has paid to improve the morals of the slaves, and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian Religion, has not only distinguished Mr Burton’s conduct, but he has been endeared to his Parishioners by the disinterested manner in which he has shown his attachment to them, in preferring his present living to a more lucrative one, which he had the option of being removed to:

Tulloch, June 15, 1826.

My Dear Sir,

The piece of plate, which the Inhabitants of our Parish empowered me to order, when in England last year, having at length arrived, I am directed to forward the same to you, and to request you will accept it as a proof of their esteem, and of the high sense they entertain of your conduct, in the discharge of your professional duties, more particularly as they relate to the religious instruction of the Slave Population.

I need scarce assure you that their nomination of me to this pleasing task affords me real satisfaction, and I do most cordially join in their friendly sentiments towards you.

I am my dear Sir, your’s most faithfully,

Geo W Hamilton.

Rev Mr W G Burton,
St Thomas’ in the Vale.

Lodge, St Thomas’ in the Vale, June 15, 1826.

My Dear Sir,

It is difficult to express the feelings I experienced on the receipt of the elegant gift of my Parishioners, which accompanied your letter this morning. In the faithful discharge of my duties as a Clergyman, I have studied, by friendly deportment, to conciliate their regard; and I am truly happy to find that my conduct has obtained their approbation.
I am too conscious how much their friendship has suffered them to overrate my services, and I should feel distressed, that they had deemed it necessary to give so splendid a proof of their esteem, were it not as honorary to themselves as it is gratifying to me. – For it is an undeniable argument of their interest in the welfare and happiness of the Slaves, and of their anxiety for their religious instruction. It is to me a pledge of their sanction and support of my future endeavours to promote the moral improvement of those under my care, and the greatest encouragement to persevere in them.

Accept, my dear Sir, yourself, and tender to the rest of my Parishioners, my grateful acknowledgement of the honour they have this day done me.

Believe me, your’s very respectfully,

W G Burton.

G W Hamilton, Esq.

We understand that the Piece of Plate is a massy and richly embossed cup, with the Rector’s Crest on the one side, and on the other the following inscription:

Presented
To the Rev Mr W G Burton,
Rector of the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale,
by his Parishioners,
In token of their personal esteem and of his
zealous exertions for the religious
and moral improvement of the
Negroes under his charge.

The Rector of St Thomas in the East, Rev John McCammon Trew (see Chapter 12), in his *Appeal* dated 6 June 1826 wrote – ‘The religious instruction of the Negroes, is a subject too important to be mixed up with the jarring controversy of the day’.


Prompted by the voice of duty, and the calls of benevolence, an obscure individual presumes to solicit most earnestly the attention of the British Public, to a subject which has long and unhappily distracted the Colonies, and excited on both sides of the Atlantic, a feeling, in no wise calculated to further the views of those who are the real friends to the moral well-being and happiness of the human race. From one end of the empire to the other, Petitions for ameliorating the condition of the Slaves have been presented to Parliament; some demanding an immediate extinction of slavery; and all, urging the necessity of affording to that class of our fellow men, privileges beyond what they at present possess.

Amidst this mass of Petitions, however, we look in vain for one, attempting to arouse the attention of Parliament to the slender provisions yet made, for the supplying their spiritual wants; neither do we find amongst the advocates of freedom, one individual attempting to lay hold of the popular feeling, in order to the furtherance of the Gospel amongst them...

In submitting this appeal to the people of England, in behalf of Negro Slaves, I beg leave to observe, that I have nothing to do with the political state of the question. The advocate of no party, I shall neither be found declaiming against the Colonists, nor setting myself up as the champion of the existing state of things on this side of the water, with which, whether it be right or wrong, it belongs not to my present purpose to contend. The religious instruction of the Negroes, is a subject too important to be mixed up with the jarring controversy of the day; and could the really benevolent on both sides be induced to unite on this momentous question, and make it, as it were, the neutral ground for effecting a happy reconciliation; this would do more to advance the objects which we each have in view, than years of controversial warfare, protracted in mutual recriminations, can possibly be expected to accomplish.

I appeal not to the British public to induce them to perpetuate a system of slavery, neither that they should, regardless of consequences, turn loose in one common mass, the savage and the civilized, the
Slave, whom Christianity has elevated in the scale of being, to rank, for fidelity and moral worth, with the peasant of any country under heaven; with those whom ignorance had debased to the lowest condition of man; but I appeal to the most enlightened, Liberal, and most professedly Christian people on earth, that through their means, the Slave, who now sits in “the region of the shadow of death,” may be brought to see the light of Divine Truth rising “with healing on its wings,” to disperse from his benighted mind the mist of error, and thence taught to live under the influence of practical Christianity; and that the rising generation may be brought up in the “nurture and admonition of the Lord,” and early impressed with those lessons of religion and virtue, that may prove the means in after life, of qualifying them for the discharge of their various relative duties.

The Island of Jamaica contains a slave population of 315,000 souls, for whose religious instruction there are at this date the following ministers of all denominations: –

- of the establishment, exclusive of the Lord Bishop and Arch Deacon 41
- Church of Scotland ----------------------------------------------- 2
- Moravians -------------------------------------------------------- 4
- Weslyan Methodists ---------------------------------------------- 11
- Baptists --------------------------------------------------------- 5

In all, 63

Thereby leaving to the spiritual care and superintendence of each individual, no fewer than 5000, exclusively of the white and free-coloured inhabitants; which estimated at only 30,000, and added to the above, will assign to each minister the fearful responsibility of 5,500 souls!

Let it be fairly stated to what extent the Island of Jamaica has actually contributed towards the religious instruction of the Negroes.

There have been provided at her expense: –

- 21 Rectors at £600 per annum each --------------- £12,600
- 21 Island Curates, * at £500 per annum each ------ 10,500

Per annum – £23,500

*The House of Assembly have provided means for the support of this number of Curates, although owing to the want of chapels for their accommodation, twelve only have yet been appointed.

This amount is rendered in the currency of the Island, as well as any other statement of a similar kind which occurs in the work.

No one who has witnessed the mental imbecility so often apparent in the aged African, or the tardy development of his faculties, to the reception of Divine Truth, would be bold enough to recommend as practicable, his instruction by means of letters. Exceptions, it is true, will sometimes be found to this rule, but they are rarely to be met with. On the other hand, few persons will be found bold enough to assert, that a quickness of apprehension, a readiness, and oftentimes an anxious desire, for learning, are a most striking characteristic of the Creole mind. Those who have been conversant with the instruction of Creole Negroes, will readily unite in the truth of this position . . .

On 8 and 24 June 1826 the Registrar of the Diocese, Henry Lipscomb (brother of Bishop Lipscomb) wrote to Rev W G Burton in connection with the consecration of Harewood Chapel – the Chapel on Sandy Gut.

Jamaica Archives – Bishop’s Book, 1824-27 – Letters 117 and 126 – to Rev W G Burton, Rectory, St Thomas in the Vale

Liguanea 8th June 1826

Dear Sir

Mr Bullock has sent to the Bishop your letter of the 13th June [?] May, to Mr Custos Smith, together with one from Mr Smith to Mr Bullock, relative to the consecration of the new Chapel of St Thomas in the Vale, which the Bishop is glad to find is now completed.
Before the Bishop can fix any day for the Consecration, it will be necessary for his Lordship to inspect the Deed of Gift of the Ground; and also to enable me to prepare the necessary Papers, and to review the situation size and Boundaries of the Grounds proposed to be consecrated; and his Lordship has determined that all petitions for consecration shd be drawn in uniform manner and form which I shall be happy to give you on my return to Spanish Town, which I propose to do on Wednesday the 14th instant. If you, as one of the Committee, are desirous to have a copy of the whole form of the ceremony of Consecration, which the Bishop will adopt, I shall be happy to furnish you with one.

I am Dear Sir Yours very faith\^\ y Henry Lipscombe [sic]

Spa Town 24th June

Dear Sir

I have received back the Petition for the Consecration of the new Chapel and Burial Grd signed by yourself and several of your Parishioners and I therefore, now transmit to you the usual notice of the time when that Ceremony will take place; which you will be pleased to cause to be put up on one of the Doors of the Chapel.

I am Dear Sir Your very obed Serv\(^\d\) Henry Lipscombe

Harewood Chapel, the chapel on Sandy Gut, was consecrated by Bishop Lipscomb on 4 July 1826.

Early in the morning on 4 July 1826, George William Hamilton escorted Bishop Lipscomb with his two Chaplains and Henry Lipscomb, and James Laing, from Tulloch to Williamsfield.
My photos, March 2007 – Tulloch looking towards Williamsfield

Early morning on the road to Williamsfield
Early morning on the road to Williamsfield
Mount Olive looking towards Williamsfield

*December 2009* – from St Saviour’s Church (built on the site of Harewood Chapel) looking towards Williamsfield
On Tuesday last, agreeably to public notice, the consecration of Harewood Chapel, in St Thomas’ in the Vale, took place.

At an early hour the Right Rev the Lord Bishop left Tulloch estate, and, accompanied by G W Hamilton, Esq, His Honour the Custos of Kingston [James Laing], the Registrar of the Diocese [Henry Lipscomb], the Rev W Patterson, and the Rev Mr Bolton, his Lordships Chaplains, proceeded to Williamsfield estate, where his Lordship was met by the senior Magistrate of the parish, and a numerous and respectable body of the parishioners.

His Lordship remained on this estate until the hour appointed for this solemn and imposing ceremony, when the procession moved towards the Chapel, which is situated on a commanding eminence, within a short distance of the estate; the road by which it passed was lined on both sides by the Slaves of the
neighbouring estates, who were allowed a holiday on the occasion, and who were all decked out in their best attire.

At the door of the Chapel his Lordship was met by the Rector, the Churchwardens, the officiating Minister, the Registrar of the Diocese, his Honour the Custos of the precinct, and a considerable proportion of the Magistrates, Vestrymen, and other inhabitants of the parish. The doors were then opened, and his Lordship, having retired to the Vestry-Room, and put on his Episcopal robes, proceeded to consecrate the Chapel according to the established form. The service of the day was read by the Rev David McCaw, and the sermon preached by the Rector. This being ended, his Lordship left the Chapel, and walked to a tent pitched in front of the building, and consecrated the burial-ground.

Although the Chapel was much crowded, no accident happened, no confusion took place, nothing occurred to disturb the procession, or the solemn rites that were performed.

The Slaves appeared to view the whole with much interest and respect, and, notwithstanding the general anxiety, evident among them, to see as much as they could, such was their decorum and good behaviour that not the slightest inconvenience or interruption took place, although the number that attended was very great. Neither civil nor military authority was thought necessary to preserve order, and the confidence of the Gentlemen who managed on the occasion, that neither were wanting to ensure their good behaviour, was well repaid by the gratifying spectacle of so many thousands of well dressed Slaves, conducting themselves with as much propriety and decency as ever were witnessed in the Mother-Country. The Lord Bishop, we understand, was much struck by the interesting scene, and repeatedly expressed his high satisfaction at their appearance and demeanour, as far beyond anything he could have expected – [continued below]

My photo – September 2008 – looking north – St Saviour’s – the site of Harewood Chapel – ‘on a commanding eminence’

Rev David McCaw, above, who read the service of the day, was the Stipendiary Curate for the parish of St Mary, Stipend paid by James Laing, and was appointed the Island Curate for St Thomas in the Vale on 10 July 1826.
**Jamaica Archives – Bishop’s Book, Vol I, 1824-27 – page 28-29 – 10 March 1826 – David McCaw appointed Stipendiary Curate for the parish of St Mary – £100 stipend to be paid by James Laing.**

**London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 29 Jul 1826, page PS 23 – Civil Appointments – 10 July 1826 – Rev David McCaw to be Island Curate for the parish of St Thomas in the Vale.**

Harewood Chapel was built from money subscribed. Edward was one of the subscribers, and out of the subscription money he was one of six men who ‘caused’ the Chapel to be built.

**Jamaica Archives – Bishop’s Book, Vol I, 1824-7 – page 60-70 – Consecration of Harewood Chapel**

---

**Transcript – I have put Edward in ‘bold’**

An Act of Consecration and Dedication of the New Chapel called Harewood Chapel and Burial Ground adjoining thereunto in the parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale, in the County of Middlesex and Island of Jamaica. By the Right Reverend Father in God Christopher by divine permission Lord Bishop of Jamaica

On Tuesday the 4th day of July in the year of Our Lord One Thousand eight Hundred and Twenty Six about 11 O Clock in the forenoon, The Right Revd Father in God Christopher by divine permission Lord Bishop of Jamaica attended by The Reverend Miles Cooper Bolton Master of Arts, and the Reverend William Paterson two of his Lordship’s Chaplains arrived at the said Chapel called Harewood Chapel situate on a part of Williamsfield Estate in the said Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale. Where He was received at the principal door of the said Chapel, by me the subscribed Henry Lipscomb principal Registrar of the Diocese of the said Lord Bishop, The Rector, Churchwardens, and divers other Inhabitants of the said Parish, and being conducted by them to a small retiring apartment near the Organ of the said Chapel he there put on his Episcopal Robes, and from thence proceeded to the Altar, attended by the aforesaid Persons; When the Rector of the said Parish presented unto his Lordship a Petition in Writing Signed by Himself The Church Wardens and Other Parishioners and Inhabitants of the said Parish, Praying his Lordship to Consecrate the said Chapel and adjoining Burial Ground, Which Petition his Lordship received, and gave to me to read and which was read by me in the following words

“Jamaica Ss”

To the Right Reverend Father in God Christopher
by divine permission Lord Bishop of Jamaica &c. &c.

The humble Petition of the Rector Churchwardens and under signed Parishioners and Inhabitants of the Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale in the County of Middlesex and Island of Jamaica (within your Lordships Diocese) on behalf of themselves and the rest of the Parishioners and Inhabitants of the said Parish Sheweth
That the distance of many Estates from the Parish Church renders it both inconvenient and difficult for the Inhabitants and Slaves resident there on to attend divine Service.

That your Petitioners did therefore sometime ago (together with several other Parishioners and Proprietors of Plantations or Estates in the said Parish) voluntarily subscribe a large sum of Money for and towards the Erection of a Parochial Chapel in the said Parish.

That The Right Honourable Henry Earl of Harewood, the owner of a large Plantation or Estate, called Sandy Gut Estate in the same Parish, being desirous that such Chapel should be erected on a part of his Estate, by a certain Indenture of Bargain and Sale bearing date the fourth day of February last and made between the said Henry Earl of Harewood of the one part and your Petitioners the undersigned George William Hamilton Samuel Hyde and William Godfrey Pollard Burton of the other part, for the Consideration therein mentioned Did Grant and convey a certain piece or parcel of Land situate lying and being in the said Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale containing by actual Survey thereof two Acres and one Rood be the same more or less (being part and parcel of Sandy Gut Estate in the said Parish and butted and bounded as by the Platt or Diagram thereof annexed to the said Indenture is more particularly described) unto and to the Use of Your Petitioners the said George William Hamilton, Samuel Hyde, and the Rector for the time being of the said Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale, Upon trust to carry into effect the intentions of the said Henry Earl of Harewood by appropriating the same Land to the Erection of a Church and if it should seem expedient a School House, or other public Building for the use of the Subscribers and Parishioners of the said Parish.

That in pursuance of the Trust so reposed in Your Petitioners the said George William Hamilton, Samuel Hyde and William Godfrey Pollard Burton by the said Henry Earl of Harewood, they (together with James Seaton Lane, Edward Clouston and Alexander Mcintosh Esquires) have out of the Monies arising from the said voluntary subscription caused a commodious and substantial Chapel to be erected and built on a part of the said piece of Ground so conveyed to them upon trust as aforesaid, and have appropriated and set apart a certain other part or portion of the said Ground, lying contiguous to and round the said Chapel as and for a Burial Ground.

That the said Chapel hath been completely fitted up and Pews and Seats placed therein for the reception of the Parishioners and the same hath been decently, and is properly ornamented and furnished with all things necessary for the performance of divine Worship therein according to the rites and Ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland, And that the same is now in all respects fit and ready for Consecration, And also that the said piece of Ground lying contiguous to the said Chapel, and appropriated for a Burial Ground as aforesaid, hath been properly levelled and inclosed on all sides thereof, and is of the dimensions following (that is to say) On the North and South side thereof respectively, One Hundred and two feet, be the same more or less And on the East and West sides thereof respectively One Hundred and Twelve feet, be the same more or less, And is bounded on each side by the remaining part of the Land so conveyed to the said George William Hamilton, Samuel Hyde and William Godfrey Pollard Burton in Trust as aforesaid, And that the same Burial Ground is now in all respects fit and ready for Consecration.

Your Petitioners therefore on behalf of themselves and the rest of the Parishioners of the said Parish humbly pray your Lordship to consecrate the said Chapel and Dedicate the same to the Service of Almighty God, and the Celebration of divine Worship, according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland as by Law established, And that your Lordship will also be pleased to Consecrate and Dedicate the said piece or parcel of Ground appropriated for a Burial Ground, and lying contiguous to the said Chapel as and for a Burial Ground, for the Interment of persons dying Inhabitants of or within the said parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale.

And Your Petitioners shall ever pray &c. –


And the Petition having been read his Lordship declared himself ready to Consecrate the said Chapel and Burial Ground pursuant to the prayer of the same Petition, And then proceeded to the Consecration.
and dedication of the said Chapel and walked in procession (accompanied by the aforesaid persons) from the Altar down the middle aisle, and back again to the Communion Table. The Bishop and the Congregation alternately repeating the 24th Psalm, which being ended and his Lordship seated on the North Side of the Communion Table the said Registrar presented unto him the Deed of Conveyance of the Site of the Chapel and Burial Ground which deed his Lordship layed on the Communion Table and then saidy the first of 3 prayers contained in the 52nd 53rd 54th Pages of this Register Book and in the manner therein before mentioned. Then the Bishop being seated in his Chair the said Henry Lipscomb read the sentence of Consecration in the Words following (to wit) “In the name of God Amen. Whereas it hath been presented unto us Christopher by divine permission Lord Bishop of Jamaica by a Petition under the Hands of the Rector Churchwardens and certain other Parishioners and Inhabitants of the Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale in the County of Middlesex and Island of Jamaica within our Diocese and Jurisdiction, on behalf of Themselves and the rest of the Parishioners and Inhabitants of the said Parish, that the distance of many Estates from the Parish Church rendered it both inconvenient and difficult for the Inhabitants and Slaves resident thereon to attend divine Service That the said Petitioners had, therefore some time ago together with several other Parishioners and Proprietors of Plantations or Estates in the said Parish, voluntarily subscribed a large sum of money for the Erection of a Chapel in the said Parish. That the Right Reverend Honourable Henry Earl of Harewood the Owner of a large Plantation or Estate in the same Parish called Sandy Gut Estate being desirous that such Chapel should be erected on a part of his Estate by a certain Indenture of Bargain and sale bearing date on or about the fourth day of February last, and made between the said Henry Earl of Harewood of the One part and George William Hamilton and Samuel Hyde Esq” and William Godfrey Pollard Burton Clerk, Rector of the said Parish of the other part. Hath Granted and Conveyed a certain piece or parcel of Land situated lying and being in the said Parish, Containing by Actual survey thereof two Acres and one Rood be the same more or less (being part and parcel of Sandy Gut Estate before mentioned and butted and bounded as by the Platt or Diagram annexed to the said Indenture is more particularly described) Unto and to the Use of the said George William Hamilton, Samuel Hyde, and the Rector – for the time being of the said Parish. Upon Trust to appropriate a part of the same land for the Erection thereon of a Church, and if it should seem expedient, a School House or other public Building for the Use of the Subscribers and Parishioners of the said Parish that in pursuance of the Trust so reposed in them the said George William Hamilton Samuel Hyde and William Godfrey Pollard Burton by the said Henry Earl of Harewood – They, together with James Seaton Lane, Edward Clouston and Alexander M’Kintosh Esq” have by and out of the Monies arising from the said Voluntary Subscription, caused a Commodious & Substantial Chapel to be Erected, on a part of the said piece of Ground so conveyed to Them upon Trust as aforesaid and have appropriated and set apart a certain other part or portion of the said Ground lying contiguous to and round the said Chapel as and for a Burial Ground. That the said Chapel hath been completely fitted up and Pews and Seats placed therein for the reception of the Parishioners, And that the same hath been decently and is properly Ornamented, and furnished with all Things necessary for the performance of Divine Worship therein, According to the Rites and Ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland, and that the same is now in all respects fit and ready for Consecration. And Whereas the Rector Churchwardens Parishioners and Inhabitants as aforesaid have humbly besought Us, by Virtue of Our Authority Ordinary and Episcopal to Consecrate the said Chapel and to dedicate the same to the service of Almighty God, and the Celebration of Divine Worship therein, according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the United Church of England & Ireland, as by Law established. Therefore We Christopher by divine permission Bishop of Jamaica aforesaid Do by virtue of Our Authority Ordinary and Episcopal, as far as in Us lies, and by Law we can for Us & Our Successors, Separate the said Chapel, (to be called for ever hereafter Harewood Chapel) from all common and profane Uses and dedicate the same to Almighty God, and divine Worship and Consecrate it for the Celebration thereof. And do openly and publickly pronounce Decree and declare that the same Chapel ought so remain Separated dedicated and Consecrated and be deemed and taken to be a parochial Chapel in the said Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale for ever by this our definitive Sentence or final Decree which we Give and Promulge [sic] by these Presents. –

Christopher Jamaica

Which Sentence was afterwards signed by his Lordship who commanded the same together with the Petition and other Instruments to be recorded and filed among the Muniments of the Diocese. Then Morning Service was begun with the Psalms and lessons proper for the occasion to wit the 84th 122nd and 132nd Psalms, the first lesson the 8th Chapter of the first Book of Kings from verse 22nd to verse 62nd (both
inclusive), the second lesson taken from the 10th Chapter of Saint Paul’s Epistle to the Hebrews from verse the 19th to verse the 26th (both inclusive) were read; after the Collect of the day The Bishop said the following prayer – “xxxxx ---- ---- N° 4 hereinbefore contained on the 56 page of this Register Book

O Lord, the supplications of thy Servants, and grant that whosoever shall be dedicated unto Thee in this House by Baptism may be sanctified by thy Holy Spirit, delivered from thy Wrath, received into the Ark of Christ’s Church, and ever remain among the Number of thy faithful and elect Children. Amen

Grant O Lord, that they who, at this place, shall in their own persons, undertake to renew their promises and Vows made by their sureties for them at their Baptism may be enabled faithfully to fulfil the same, and grow in grace to their lives end, Amen.

Grant O Lord, that whosoever shall receive in this place the blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, thy Son, may come to that holy ordinance with Faith, Charity and true Repentance, and being filled with thy grace and Heavenly Benediction, may to their great and endless comfort, obtain remission of their Sins, and all other Benefits of his Passion Amen.

Grant O Lord that whosoever shall be joined together in this place in the holy estate of Matrimony, may faithfully perform and Keep the Vow and Covenant betwixt them made, and may remain in perfect love together unto their lives end. Amen

Grant O Lord that by thy holy word, which shall be read and preached, within this place, the hearers thereof may both perceive and Know what things they ought to do, and may have grace and power to fulfil the same Amen

Grant, We beseech thee, Blessed Lord, that whosoever shall draw near unto thee, in this Place to give thee thanks for the great benefit they have received at thy Hands, to set forth thy most worthy praise, to confess their Sins Unto Thee humbly to beg thy pardon for what they have done amiss, or to ask such other things as are requisite and necessary, as well for the body as the Soul, may do it with that Steadfastness of faith, that seriousness of attention, and devout affection of the mind, that then mayest accept their bounden duty and Service, and vouchsafe to them whatsoever else in thy infinite Wisdom, Thou shalt see to be most expedient for them, And this we beg for Jesus Christ his Sake Our Blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen.”

Then the Reverend David MacCaw went on with the Service to the prayer of St Chrysostome and the Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, after which the 6th, 7th and 8th Verses of the 26th Psalm was sung with the Gloria Patri. – Then the Communion service was begun by his Lordship who after the Collect for the King sayed the Prayer N° 5 hereinbefore Written and Contained in Page 56 The Epistle taken from the 6th Chapter of Saint Paul’s second Epistle to the Corinthians beginning with the 14th and ending with the 17th Verse was read by the said Miles Cooper Bolton and the Gospel beginning 13th and ending with the 18th Verse of the 2nd Chapter of Saint John’s Gospel was read by the said William Paterson. Then the Bishop read the Nicene Creed, after which the 100th Psalm was sung, And then a Sermon suitable to the occasion was preached by The Reverend said William Godfrey Pollard Burton the Rector, which being ended his Lordship read the prayer for the Church Militant and then sayed the Prayer N° 6 hereinbefore Written and Contained in page 57. And he then concluded by giving the usual Blessing.

His Lordship then attended as aforesaid proceeded out of the Chapel to a Tent provided for that purpose on the adjoining Burial Ground. When the said William Godfrey Pollard Burton When his Lordship kneeling down sayed as follows “The Glorious Majesty of the Lord our God be upon Us. Prosper thou the works of Our hands upon us. O prosper Thou our handy Work” After which his Lordship being seated in his Chair the said Registrar presented to him The sentence of Consecration of the same Ground, which his Lordship directed the Registrar to read and which He Accordingly read in the following Words. “In the name of God Amen Whereas it hath been represented Unto Us Christopher by divine permission Lord Bishop of Jamaica by a Petition under the Hands of the Rector Churchwardens & certain other Parishioners and Inhabitants of the Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale in the County of Middlesex and Island of Jamaica within Our Diocese and Jurisdiction, (on behalf of Themselves and the rest of the Inhabitants and Parishioners of the said Parish), That the distance of many Estates from the Parish Church rendered it both inconvenient and difficult for the Inhabitants and Slaves resident thereon, to attend divine Service: That the said Petitioners had therefore, sometime ago (together with several other Parishioners and Proprietors of Plantations or Estates in the said Parish) voluntarily subscribed a large sum of Money for the Erection of a Chapel in the said Parish, That The Right Honorable Henry Earl of
Harewood the owner of a large Plantation or Estate called Sandy Gut Estate in the same Parish, being desirous that such Chapel should be erected on a part of his Estate by a certain Indenture of Bargain and Sale bearing date on or about the 4th day of February last, and made between the said Henry Earl of Harewood of the One part and George William Hamilton and Samuel Hyde Esquires and William Godfrey Pollard Burton Clerk Rector of the said Parish of the other part, Hath Granted and Conveyed a certain piece or parcel of Land situate lying and being in the said Parish containing by Actual Survey thereof two Acres and one Rood be the same more or less (being part and parcel of Sandy Gut Estate before mentioned and butted and bounded as by the Platt or Diagram annexed to the said Indenture is more particularly described) unto and to the use of the said George William Hamilton Samuel Hyde and the Rector for the time being of the said Parish. Upon Trust to appropriate a part of the same Land for the Erection thereon of a Church, and if it should seem expedient a School House or other public Building for the Use of the Subscribers and Parishioners of the said Parish; that in pursuance of the Trust so reposed in them the said George William Hamilton Samuel Hyde and William Godfrey Pollard Burton by the said Henry Earl of Harewood they together with James Seaton Lane Edward Clouston and Alexander M'Intosh Esqrs Have by and out of the monies arising from the said Voluntary Subscription caused a commodious and Substantial Chapel to be erected on a part of the said piece of Ground so conveyed to them Upon Trust as aforesaid, And have appropriated and set apart a certain other part or portion of the said Ground lying contiguous to and round the said Chapel as and for a Burial Ground that the said last mentioned piece of Ground hath been properly levelled and inclosed on all sides thereof and is of the dimensions following (that is to say) On the North and South sides thereof respectively One Hundred and two feet be the same more or less, and on the East and West sides One Hundred and Twelve feet be the same more or less, And is bounded on each side by the remaining part of the Land so conveyed to the said George William Hamilton, Samuel Hyde and Godfrey William [sic] Pollard Burton In Trust as aforesaid And that the said piece of Ground so appropriated for a Burial Ground is now in all respects fit and ready for Consecration. And the said Petitioners have therefore humbly besought us to Consecrate and dedicate the same Ground, as and for a Burial Ground for the Interment of persons dying Inhabitants of or within the said Parish, Therefore We Christopher by divine permission Bishop of Jamaica aforesaid Do by virtue of our Authority Ordinary and Episcopal as far as In us lies and by Law we can, for Us and Our Successors Separate All that the said piece or parcel of Ground lying Contiguous to and round the said Chapel, and containing in length On the North and South sides thereof respectively One Hundred and two feet more or less, And on the East and West sides thereof respectively One Hundred & twelve feet more or less (as before mentioned & described) from all former and other common and profane Uses and Purposes whatsoever And We do as far as in us lies and by Law we may or can Assign the same Ground as and for an additional Cemetery Or Burial Ground for the Interment of Persons dying Inhabitants of or within the said Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale, And do by Our Authority Ordinary & Episcopal dedicate and Consecrate the same for that purpose, And do openly and publickly pronounce decree and declare the same to be so Separated Dedicated and Consecrated for ever, And that it ought so to remain by this Our definitive Sentence or final Decree, Which We give and promulge by these Presents.

Christopher Jamaica”

Which Sentence being read his Lordship signed the same and Commanded the several Instruments to be filed and Registered amongst the Muniments of this Diocese and then Kneeling down his Lordship sayed the Prayer No 8 hereinbefore Written and Contained in the Page 49 of this Volume. And his Lordship then concluded the Ceremony by giving the following Blessing “The Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with Us all now and for evermore Amen”

Which I attest

Henry Lipscomb, Registrar

Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 15 Jul 1826, page 5 – from the St Jago de la Vega Gazette, Sat, 8 Jul 1826 – Consecration of Harewood Chapel – continued

An elegant second breakfast was provided by the Vestry at Williamsfield, to which his Lordship and a very large party sat down. No toasts were given, but all present seemed highly gratified, and his Lordship returned in the afternoon to Tulloch estate.
The Chapel is a solid substantial building, and very neatly fitted up, and will contain about four hundred persons. We congratulate the inhabitants of St Thomas’ in the Vale upon the final success of their undertaking, and we have no doubt that his Lordship, on his next visitation, will have reason to be satisfied with the improvement of the Slaves who shall be instructed within its wall [sic].


... On the 4th July, 1826 he [Bishop Lipscomb] consecrated Harewood Chapel, Williamsfield, on Lord Harewood’s property in St. Thomas in the Vale (now part of St. Catherine). “Every part of the Solemnity” he wrote, “was conducted in a manner which received my unqualify’d approbation... I was particularly pleased with an innate feeling of Order and Decorum which seemed to animate the immense concourse of slaves assembled on this auspicious occasion... they were dressed in their best attire, and brought their children in great numbers.”

My photo, September 2008 – St Saviour’s

London National Archives – CO 137/267 – Correspondence, 1824-1826, from the Bishop of Jamaica, Christopher Lipscomb, to Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies

Spanish Town – Jamaica. October 14th 1826

My Lord

I have much satisfaction in announcing to your Lordship that three new chapels, built by voluntary contributions of money, labour, and materials, have been already consecrated. One called Harewood Chapel, in the parish of St Thomas in the Vale, on the property of the Earl of Harewood, who has most liberally promoted the work, and two, St David’s and St George’s Chapels, in the districts of Carpenter’s Mountains and Mile End Gulley in the parish of Manchester; another called Providence Chapel, in the Carpenter’s Mountains District, is nearly finished and ready for consecration. All these buildings are neat and substantial, well situated for the accommodation of the Slave population, and capable of containing
from 400 hundred to 500 hundred persons. The proportions of Harewood Chapel are 60 feet by 30 – of
the others, about 50 five feet by 26 – 13 feet high.

I enclose the Report of the Committee appointed by the Corporate Body of Kingston, with reference to
the additional place of worship in that city, and to which I alluded in my last communication – & I have
the honor to remain

Your Lordship’s faithful & Obi Servt

Christopher Jamaica

Below – an 1826 specification for a Church of England chapel of ease in Kingston – ‘65 Feet by 45
Feet, out and out’ – ‘capable of holding one thousand persons’.

http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk/marketing/index.jsp – Parliamentary Papers – House of Commons –
Session 1826-27 – Papers respecting religious instruction of Slaves in W. Indies

Resolutions entered into by the Court of Common Council,
held in the City and Parish of Kingston, on Tuesday the 1st day of August 1826

... That by the estimate now submitted to this board a chapel capable of holding one thousand persons
can be built for £5,500, and that the ground can be enclosed, and the chapel fitted for Divine worship, for
about £1,500 more, making an aggregate expense of £7,000 ...

A Specification of Carpenters, Masons, and Painters' Work required in building a Chapel,
65 Feet by 45 Feet, out and out

Excavating and building the foundation three feet below the surface of the ground, and two feet above,
three feet thick; the first story to be built of bricks thirteen feet high, two and a half feet thick; the second
fifteen feet high, two feet thick, with brick cornices all round and parapet wall in front three feet high; the
whole of the door and window frames to be built with level jams, and built up with stock bricks with rub
and gauge arches, plastering and white-wash, three coats. Building foundation for columns; filling up and
paving the building with hard bricks; building foundation for three porticos to entrance, sixteen by twelve
feet, with steps to the same, and paving with tiles.

Carpenter’s Work

Framing roof over all the beams, king-posts, principals, purloins and braces, plate and beams of hard
wood; the remaining part of roof of pitch pine, close boarded with white pine, and shingled with the best
cypress shingles, laying lead gutter to front of parapet.

Making three doors with fanlight doors of cedar, twelve feet by six feet out to out; making twenty-three
sash frames complete, nine feet high by four feet six inches, with circular tops; frames of pitch-pine and
sashes of cedar; putting up thirteen turned columns of mahogany to support gallery; sils of gallery to be of
hard wood; joisting and flooring of pitch pine.

The whole of the pews to be of cedar, with turned balustrades under hand-rails of gallery; the upper
ceiling to be flat, and ceiled with cedar; joisting of pitch-pine; ceiling under gallery and porticos of cedar;
erecting two stair-cases of pitch-pine; hand-rails and balustrades of mahogany.

Erecting three porticos to entrances, with four turned hard-wood columns to each, to be flat and
covered with lead, with facia boards and cornice; joisting and ceiling the same; and furnishing a sufficient
number of pitch-pine benches for the ground floor.

The above building could be completed in nine months for the sum of £5,400, including painting the
same with three coats of oil colour.

The Diocese of Jamaica, Festival of Palms, the 160th Anniversary of The St Saviours Anglican Church,
Harewood, St Catherine, 1826-1986 – booklet sent to me in August 2005 by Rev Claudette Johnson,
priest in charge of St Saviour’s – extracts

The first church to be built [finished] and consecrated after the Bishop’s arrival was that of Harewood,
which he dedicated on July 4, 1826. Is there any reason for reflecting on the service of consecration
which was lovingly called “THE LITTLE CATHEDRAL IN THE CORNER?” There is reason to think
so.

... The edifice was built in the shape of a cathedral and was commonly called the “little Cathedral in
the corner”.
In 1907 disaster struck. Earthquake fully destroyed the Chapel. As a result of this a temporary wooden structure was specifically built to accommodate the worshippers. (It can be recalled by persons now living in 1986 A.D. that just after the earthquake scores of men and women were seen hustling towards the Anglican priest in Harewood community in order to get married. This was as a result of the fear of the wrath of God being bestowed on persons living in concubinage.) . . .

It was during the Rev. J. R. Marley-Cass’ incumbency that the present St Saviours Anglican Church was actually built. This edifice was finally completed and was consecrated on January 14, 1913, by the Most Rev. Enos Nuttal, the first Archbishop of the West Indies.

Harewood Chapel was built on the site of Sandy Gut Great House.

*Jamaica National Library – Maps & Plans – St C 392 – Mount Olive, St Thomas in the Vale – no date (?) 18th century) – section – arrow points to Sandy Gut River and the site of the old Sugar Works – on the hill above Sandy Gutt (or Gut) Great House*

*Google Earth – north at the top – left, in the valley, Harewood All Age School on the site of Sandy Gut Sugar Works – middle, on the hill above, St Saviour’s Church and Burial Ground*
White lines = roads and tracks – **arrows** – top points to St Saviours – middle points to the site of Williamsfield Sugar Works – bottom points to Williamsfield Bridge.
Samuel Hyde, one of the Earl of Harewood’s three trustees for Harewood Chapel (see above), was of Retirement, a plantation in St Thomas in the Vale north of Sandy Gut. He died between 5 June 1828 and 5 January 1829.

_Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Wills, Lib 109, Fol 145 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 5 Jan 1829 – Will, dated 5 June 1828, of Samuel Hyde of St Thomas in the Vale, Planter – extracts/summary_

To my daughter in law Mary Winifred Commons £50 and my …. (illegible) – to the 3 Sons of Robert Page £10 Currency each if living at my decease – to my Nephew Charles Medley my gold Watch made by Pennington with all my …. (illegible) – I request Mr Robt Page senior to accept a Gold Ring given to me by Miss Goodwin & a Walking Stick given me by Edward Medley with a pair of Silver Spectacles

It is my wish and request that whatever Negroes I may die in possession of may be sold to my friend Charles Nicholas Pallmer, Esq if he is inclined to purchase them but in the other case I direct that they may be allowed to chuse their own purchasers

Residuary devisees – one part to my Sister Maria Medley Widow – one other part to my Sister Hester Wilkes Widow – & the remaining third part to my Sister Georgiana Hyde Spinster – all of Great Britain

 Executors – Charles Nicholas Pallmer Esq of Great Britain jointly with my Nephew Charles Medley & Robt Page Esq (of Ginger Hall plantation, St Thomas in the Vale)

_Jamaica Archives – Records of Probate Inventories – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 17 Oct 1829 – Samuel Hyde’s Probate Inventory_

My photo, December 2009 – looking across Sandy Gut to Williamsfield – in the middle, pale shape on the ridge = St Saviour’s
Chapter 15. 1826

23 February 1829 – Edward administered oath to the appraisers Edward McCaw and James Heighington.

Inventory total - £4,595 16s 8d – includes – on Retirement and Clifton – 62 slaves and 87 horned stock, the joint property of Samuel Hyde and Charles Nicholas Pallmer.

Charles Nicholas Pallmer (1772-1848) – see Chapter 8 – meeting of West-India Planters and Merchants – London – 13 June 1815 – Charles Nicholas Pallmer in the Chair

See – www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/pallmer-charles-1772-1848


Alexander McIntosh, one of the three additional men who ‘caused’ Harewood Chapel to be built out of the monies subscribed (see above), was of Mount Pleasant, a plantation on the west side of Sandy Gut. He died between 17 September and 13 November 1824.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Wills, Old Series, Lib 105, Fol 57 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 13 Nov 1824 – Will, dated 17 September 1824, of Alexander Mackintosh (or McIntosh) of St Thomas in the Vale – extracts/summary

Being now very sick in Body but of sound mind & judgement – I bequeath – To my beloved son Donald Mackintosh all my property real and personal & in the event of his death the same to my beloved wife – at her demise – all appertaining to me to be equally divided between my brothers and sisters – To my mother Margaret Mackintosh Banffshire Scotland the sum of One Hundred pounds

Executors and Guardians of my child Donald Mackintosh – John W Davis, Alexander Gilzean & Donald Mackintosh Esqs with my beloved wife Elizabeth Dormer Mackintosh – Witnesses – David Easton, James Young, James Mackintosh

23 September 1824 personally appeared before me James Mackintosh – Witness to the Will – made oath – did see Alexander Mackintosh sign & seal and deliver the same – H D Mackay

9 October 1824 – to John Campbell and Edward Clouston Esqs – ye or either of ye to administer an oath unto James Mackintosh or any other that are Witnesses and can make oath of the signing sealing publishing and declaring of the last Will of Alexander McIntosh Esq deceased – And thereof you or either of you are to make a due return – Manchester – (Duke of Manchester, Governor of Jamaica)

26 October 1824 – In obedience to the Dedimus Potestatem hereto annexed (above, 9 October 1824) I have administered an oath unto J Mackintosh – saith he was present and did see Alexander Mackintosh being of sound mind sign seal and declare his Will and at the same time David Easton and James Young were also present – E Clouston
Alexander McIntosh and wife Elizabeth Dormer’s son Donald was baptized on 30 November 1823 – [https://familysearch.org/](https://familysearch.org/) (accessed June 2011) – St Thomas in the Vale Parish Register, 1816-1826 – Baptisms – 1823 – include

www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1825 Jamaica Almanac – 1st quarter 1824

Giving-In – St Thomas in the Vale – McIntosh, Alexander, Mount Pleasant – 55 Slaves – 64 Stock

Below – Mount Pleasant on the west side of Sandy Gut and Coolshade on the east side of Williamsfield.

*Jamaica National Library – St C 537 – Plan of Williamsfield and Sandy Gut – prepared from previous surveys by Thomas Harrison, August 1875 – section – *arrows* – left points to Mount Pleasant – middle points to Harewood Church (Harewood Chapel) – right points to Cool Shade (James Seton Lane’s plantation) – *arrow* points to Williamsfield Bridge*
Although we saw no road sign for Sandy Gut, the district that was once Sandy Gut estate continues to be known as Sandy Gut or Gutt. Below – my photo, September 2008 – on the wall of the Joiner’s workshop at Williamsfield Bridge – Advertisement – Angela’s Bar, Sandy Gutt
In July 1826 Edward was one of the subscribers to *The Annals of Jamaica*, by Rev George Wilson Bridges – see Chapter 12 – *A Voice from Jamaica.*

*London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 1 Jul 1826, page PS 23 –*

![Subscription List for The Annals of Jamaica](image)

*London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston Jamaica, Sat, 16 Sep 1826, page 1 – from the St Jago de la Vega Gazette – The Annals of Jamaica, by the Rev Mr Bridges*

The list of Subscribers, which already boasts the names of greatest weight and respectability in the Colony, must be sent to the publisher before the end of the year, that so credible testimony of Jamaica patriotism may be recorded with the first volume; but we trust that the interest taken in this national work will be still further exemplified ere the list be closed.

*The Annals of Jamaica* was published in London – Volume I in 1827 and Volume II in 1828. After the second volume was published, the publisher John Murray was found guilty of libel.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Wilson_Bridges – Rev George Wilson Bridges (1788-1863) left for Jamaica in 1816. He was first the Rector of the parish of St Dorothy, then Rector of the parish of Manchester, and from 1823 to 1837 he was the Rector of the parish of St Ann.


In 1826 slaves in Jamaica were registered for the fourth time – the 4th Triennial Returns of Slaves


St Thomas in the Vale


Bessy and her family on 28 June 1826 – no death – one birth – Adam, Negro, Age 2, son of Sandy Gut Dolly baptised Dorothy Beckford


St Thomas in the East

In 1826 in St Thomas in the Vale, Edward made eleven Returns as an Attorney and one Return as Receiver.

St Thomas in the Vale – 1 to 8 sworn on 22 September 1826 by Edward before Samuel Hyde – 9 and 10 sworn on 25 September 1826 by James Grant before Hugh Edwards


6 – page 315-316 – James Seton Lane (Coolshade Plantation) – Return of Slaves in the possession of Edward Clouston as one of the Attorneys to James Seton Lane – on 28 June 1823: 129 Slaves – on 28 June 1826: 134 Slaves – Increase 16 Births – Decrease 10 Deaths – Births include – Eliza Clouston, Negro, Age 10 months, Susan Lawrence her mother


9 – page 351-352 – James Mackintosh, or McIntosh (Muse Plantation) – Return of Slaves in the possession of Edward Clouston and James Grant as Attorneys to James Mackintosh – on 28 June 1823 – Slaves Returned as joint property of Donald and James Mackintosh, but since partitioned – on 28 June 1826: 17 Slaves

10 – page 353-354 – Donald Mackintosh, or McIntosh (Muse Plantation) – Return of Slaves in the possession of Edward Clouston and James Grant as Attorneys to Donald Mackintosh – on 28 June 1823 – Slaves Returned as joint property of Donald and James Mackintosh, but since partitioned – on 28 June 1826: 33 Slaves
St Catherine


Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 61, Fol 128 – Berkshire Hall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – crop account for year 1824 – sworn on 14 March 1825 by Meredith Moore, Attorney (see Chapter 14 – Meredith Moore)

St Thomas in the Vale Slave Registers

1823 – George Mills as Attorney to John Hayman

1820 – George Mills and Richard Welch as Attorneys to John Hayman

1817 – Francis Graham as Attorney to John Hayman

In 1814 John James Vidal and his wife conveyed Berkshire Hall to John Hayman for a term of 500 years as security for an annuity.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 639, Fol 105 – Conveyance subject to a term of 500 years to secure an Annuity – Indenture, dated 20 April 1814 – Between John James Vidal of St Catherine and Wife Elizabeth Wade (1) – John Hayman of Limehouse, Middlesex (London), England, Anchor Smith (2) – and Francis Graham of St Catherine, a Trustee for the purposes hereafter mentioned (3)


... my Wife Elizabeth Wade Vidal and myself are entitled to an annuity of three hundred pounds Sterling money of Great Britain payable half yearly and the survivor by John Hayman of the City of London and secured on Berkshire Hall Estate in the Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale in the Island of Jamaica ...


Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney, 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees

1826-27 – Lib 233, Fol 87 – Clouston, Edward & al – from James B – per Attorney – Bourdieu

1825-26 – Lib 231, Fol 141 – Lane, James S – from James B Bourdieu
1823-24 – *Lib 226, Fol 103* – Lane, James Seton – from John Bourdieu

*St Thomas in the Vale Slave Registers*

1823 – George William Hamilton as Attorney to John Bourdieu

1820 – George William Hamilton as Attorney to John Bourdieu

1817 – Francis Graham as Attorney to John Bourdieu

John Bourdieu (or John Berney Bourdieu) and James Berney Bourdieu were sons of James Bourdieu (1715-1804) and Phillipa, nee Berney.


James Bourdieu of Combe, parish of Croydon – had been in partnership with Samuel Chollet – property included estates in the West Indies – Executors and residuary devisees – sons James Berney Bourdieu, John Berney Bourdieu, and William Bourdieu


Bourdies were Huguenot merchants of Lime Street, London.

Chapter 15. 1826


Property included an interest in estates in Jamaica, and an estate in Tobago – to his residuary devisee, his son John Henry Bourdieu, he left all his share and interest in estates in Jamaica and Tobago – Executors – his brothers James Berney Bourdieu and William Bourdieu, and Edward Longford


Sir John Gordon (formerly resident in Jamaica) of Earlsfield, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland, was the brother of Francis Gordon (died 1823), surveyor of Jamaica, who owned Golden River Plantation – below – Golden River Plantation in 1818

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 11 Jul 1818, page Extra PS 29

July 9, 1818.

For Sale. Golden River Plantation, in the parish of St Thomas in the Vale, containing about 417 Acres, great part of which is in Coffee, plant Ginger, and an abundance of Provisions, of all kinds; about one hundred Acres in Wood, the rest in Ruinate and Pasture Land, with Barbicues and a Mill that goes by Water, with which the Property is well supplied. On the Property are Fifty-Six fine Negroes. For further particulars apply to James Bicknell, Esq St Thomas in the Vale, or to the Subscribers.

Wm Parke & Co.

Note – Barbicues = platforms for drying coffee beans

Above – 4 – and – 12 – Francis James Flutter Steevens – Harkers Hall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, and Lime Tree Grove Pen, St Catherine – Edward registered a power of attorney from Francis James Flutter Steevens in 1826-27

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney, 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees

1826-27 – Lib 233, Fol 90 – Clouston, Edward, & al – from Francis J F – per Atty – Stevens

1825-26 – Lib 231, Fol 162 – Lane, James, & al – from Francis J F Stevens

1823 – Lib 225, Fol 142 – Lane, James Seton – from Frans Jas Flutter Stevens

St Thomas in the Vale Slave Registers

1823 – James Seton Lane as Attorney to Francis James Flutter Stevens

1820 – not noted

1817 – Robert William Harris as Attorney to Francis James Flutter Stevens

Francis James Flutter Steevens (born Francis French) was the nephew of James Flutter Steevens.


Property in Jamaica – Lime Tree Garden pen, 60 acres in St Catherine, and Harkers Hall sugar plantation in St Thomas in the Vale – residuary devisee Francis French, son of Sarah French, nee Steevens, deceased, of Reading, England, on condition that he takes the names James Flutter Steevens – Executors – Francis French, Margaret Burns, widow, James Dalhouse, and Francis Smith
Whitehall, January 14, 1807.

The King has been pleased to grant unto Francis French, of Islington, in the County of Middlesex, Gentleman, only Son of John French, late of Reading, in the County of Berks, by Sarah his Wife, Sister of James Flutter Steevens, late of the City and Parish of Kingston, in the Island of Jamaica, Merchant, deceased, His Royal Licence and Authority, that he and his Issue may take and use the Surnames of Flutter and Steevens, instead of the Surname of French, in compliance with an Injunction contained in the last Will and Testament of his said late maternal Uncle James Flutter Steevens, bearing Date the 10th Day of April 1805:

And also to order, that this His Majesty’s Concession and Declaration be registered in His College of Arms.


Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney, 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees

1826-27 – Lib 233, Fol 169 – Clouston, Edward – from William – per Atty – Hervey

1823-24 – Lib 226, Fol 152 – Lane, James Seton – from William Hervey

St Thomas in the Vale Slave Register

1823 – Donald McLean as Attorney to William Hervey

1820 – Donald McLean as Attorney to William Hervey

1817 – Donald McLean as Attorney to Mrs Elizabeth Hervey

In 1801 William Hervey was of Bodvel (or Bodwell) Hall, Caernarvonshire, North Wales.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Uk3rT6TE19QC&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Edinburgh Magazine, 1801 – page 238 – 1 September 1801

At the Earl of Roseberry’s house, London, William Hervey, Esq. of Bodvel-Hall, in the County of Carnarvon, to the Right Hon. Lady Dorothea Primrose, his Lordship’s youngest daughter.

http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/ca77a8b5-242c-4701-b46a-898712f1f9d6 – held by Oxford History Centre – notes

Copy/Marriage Settlement, dated 28 August 1801 – Parties: 1. William Hervey of Bodwell Hall, County of Carnarvon, Esq (only surviving son and heir at law of Thomas Hervey by Elizabeth his wife) – 2. said Elizabeth Hervey – 3. Rt Hon Neil, Earl of Rosebery, Viscount of Inner Keithing and Primrose, Lord Dalmeny and Primrose – 4. Rt Hon Lady Dorothea Arabella Primrose, youngest dau. of 3 – etc, etc – Subject of Transaction – Place(s): include Jamaica

In 1804 William Hervey purchased Bradwell Grove Estate in Oxfordshire.

See – http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/f01ed098-1e85-4379-a30d-f2290d83ae06 – Papers of Bradwell Grove Estate

William Hervey rebuilt Bradwell Grove and it is now the centre of the Cotswold Wildlife Park.
Above – 6 – James Seton Lane – Coolshade Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – Edward registered a power of attorney from James Seton Lane in 1826-27

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney, 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees

1826-27 – Lib 233, Fol 88 – Clouston, Edward & al – from James S Lane

1826-27 – Lib, 233, Fol 88 – Vidal, John G [Gale], & al – from James S Lane

St Thomas in the Vale Slave Registers

1823 – James Seton Lane as Owner

1820 – James Seton Lane as Owner

1817 – James Seton Lane as Owner

James Seton Lane gave notice of his intention of leaving Jamaica on 3 April 1826 – British Library – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 8 Apr 1826, page PS 23.

From the Coolshade crop account, 12 July to 31 December 1826, he appears to have left Jamaica on 11 or 12 July 1826 – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 64, Fol 31

Coolshade was conveyed by Francis Graham (acting as a middleman) to James Seton Lane on 2 April 1807

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 566, Fol 55 – Indenture dated 2 April 1807 – Re-Conveyance – between Francis Graham of St Catherine (1) – and James Seton Lane of St Thomas in the Vale (2) – extracts/summary

Recitals – Indenture 1 Apr 1807 between Malcolm Macleod, Norman McDonald, James Seton Lane, and John Dingwall, as Executors – of John Muir late of St Thomas in the Vale Planter deceased (1) – and
Francis Graham (2) – for £2,300 paid by Francis Graham to the four Executors – they conveyed unto Francis Graham parcel of land called Coolshade – containing 47½ acres – in St Thomas in the Vale – being part of Williamsfield plantation being the property of Edwin Lascelles Lord Harewood (died 1795) – bounding – north on William Thompson – east on Andrew Johnson – and south and westerly on part of the same run of land – and all that moiety or equal half part undivided of parcel of land – containing by estimation 53½ acres – in St Thomas in the Vale – formerly called Fort William now called Dunvegan – bounding – north on William Thompson – west on Angus McKay – north easterly on land patented by William Nedham – and south on part of the same run of land – also Negro and other slaves named – (22 slaves) – subject to 10 acres of land therein mentioned – part of land called Coolshade to the life Estate of Susanna Muir and Alexander Muir therein named and the survivor of them.

The £2,300 aforesaid to be paid by Francis Graham was the money of James Seton Lane in trust – for whom and for whose benefit the same Francis Graham was made use of in the said recited Indenture.

James Seton Lane hath requested Francis Graham to re-convey to him said lands, slaves, and premises hereinbefore mentioned.

Signed, sealed and delivered by Francis Graham – Witness Richard Welch.

Jamaica ss – James Seton Lane – saith that the premises conveyed to – Francis Graham – was made to Francis Graham as a Trustee for James Seton Lane merely in order that he might Execute such conveyance.

James Seton Lane’s first wife Christiane died on 28 September 1808.

https://archive.org/details/monumentalinscri00lawr – Monumental Inscription of the British West Indies. . . by J H Lawrence Archer, published 1875 – page 54 – Spanish Town Cathedral Churchyard

Sacred – to the Memory of – Mrs. Christiane Lane – wife of James Seton Lane – of the parish of St Thomas in the Vale – she departed this life on the 28th day of September – in the year of our Lord 1808 – aged 23 years. The exquisite tenderness of her attachment to him – who has erected this memorial – was the greatest source of happiness he ever – yet enjoyed – her fervent piety towards almighty god leaves him – the only consolation, that by endeavouring – to imitate her life, he may in death be – united to her. C. Y.

J S Lane married his second wife Millicent Guy on 3 July 1810.


My dear daughter Millicent Guy was married to James Seton Lane Esq. at Hayfield 30th September 1809 Millicent Lane their daughter born at Cool Shade 3rd July 1810 their son James Lane born at Cool Shade 21st October Obt. [died] 3 in the morning 1811. My dear daughter Sarah Guy was married to George Barriffe 21st December 1811 at Hayfield. John Hudson Guy Esq. age 63 died 11th (day) of August between 1-2 o’clock 1816.

Millicent Lane died the 15th of July 1840. Her daughter Millicent Williamson died the 19th of October 1839.

From 1804 to late 1823/early 1824, J S Lane was the Clerk of the St Thomas in the Vale Vestry.

Jamaica National Library – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 25 Feb 1804, page Sup 10

Mr James S Lane is appointed Clerk of the Vestry for St Thomas in the Vale, in the room of William Smith, Esq deceased.

Sat, 27 Apr 1805, page Sup 11 – St Thomas in the Vale Regiment, April 13, 1805
Extract from the Regimental Order of this day:

The Officers of the St Thomas in the Vale Regiment of Militia request Lieutenant Lane’s acceptance of a Sword, value Fifty Pounds, as a small testimony of the sense they entertain of his abilities and attention to the discipline of the Regiment.

To the Officers of the St Thomas in the Vale Regiment.

Gentlemen,

I have received your note, in which you are pleased to request my acceptance of a Sword, of the value of Fifty Pounds.

My knowledge of military tactics is very limited indeed; but, if my services as Adjutant to this Regiment have in any manner been conductive to its discipline, it is more owing to the cordial manner in which the Officers and Privates have co-operated with me, and to the kind construction they have been pleased to put upon my conduct which, however deficient in execution, had been every influenced by the most devoted attachment to the welfare of the Regiment.

The Sword which you present me with I shall receive with the most grateful sensibility, and shall ever consider it as one of the most honourable testimonies of my public and private conduct.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect and esteem, Gentlemen, your most faithful and very obedient servant,

James S Lane

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 19 Jan 1822, page PS 17 – Militia Promotions – St Thomas in the Vale Regiment – 14 Jan 1822 – James Seton Lane to be a Major


Above – 7 and 11 – Major General William Nedham – Mount Olive Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, and Crescent Pen St Catherine (see Chapter 12). Edward and James Laing both registered a power of attorney from Major General William Nedham in 1827-28.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney, 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees

1827-28 – Lib 235, Fol 208 – Clouston, Edward, & al – from Major General William Nedham

1827-28 – Lib 235, Fol 208 – Laing, James, & al – from Major General William Nedham

1823-24 – Lib 226, Fol 75 – Laing, James – from Major Gen William Nedham

1820-21 – Lib 215, Fol 49 – Laing, James, & al – from William Nedham

In 1820-21 – '& al’ – appears to be Henry Davidson (died 1827) of Davidson, Barkly & Co, London West India merchants – and in 1827-28 – ‘& al’ – appears to be Aeneas Barkly, Henry Davidson’s partner – see Chapter 19.

St Thomas in the Vale Slave Registers

1823 – James Laing and George William Hamilton as Attorneys to Major General William Nedham

1820 – James Laing and George William Hamilton as Attorneys to William Nedham

1817 – Francis Graham as Attorney to William Nedham

Above – 8 – Mount Concord Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – Edward was appointed Receiver in 1826.
Chapter 15. 1826

**Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts – Mount Concord Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale**

*Lib 63, Fol 38* – crop account from 20 Jul to 31 Dec 1825 – sworn on 18 Mar 1826 by Francis Jordan, Overseer – James Seton Lane, Receiver to the Assignees of John Hind (or Hinde) & Co


**St Thomas in the Vale Slave Registers**

- 1823 – John Pennock as Receiver of John Hinde & Co, mortgagees for Mount Concord
- 1820 – William Burt Wright as Receiver of John Hinde & Co, mortgagees for Mount Concord
- 1817 – William Burt Wright as Receiver of John Hinde & Co, mortgagees for Mount Concord

John Hinde & Co had gone bankrupt by 25 March 1815.


Kingston, March 25, 1815.

To the Debtors of John Hinde and George Temple late of this City, deceased, lately carrying on Business under the Firm of John Hinde & Co.

The Subscriber having been appointed Receiver of the Estate and Effects of the above Copartnership, with directions to use every diligence in collecting Debts due thereto, he requests all Persons, the Debtors of the late Copartnership, to make him immediate Payment thereof, to prevent his resorting to unpleasant measures in compliance with the Directions received by him.

Wm Burt Wright, Receiver.

**Sat, 17 May 1817, page PS 19**

Kingston, May 15, 1817.

The Subscriber having received a Power of Attorney to himself, from Mr Thomas Hinde, of Liverpool, and the Gentleman appointed Assignees of his Estate, and Effects, which revokes and supercedes all former Powers granted by them to Mr William Burt Wright, hereby give notice to the Debtors of that Estate, and to all Persons in any way concerned with it, that all further transactions relating to it must be with the Subscriber alone.

John Pennock, Attorney to Thomas Hinde, and his Assignees.

**Sat, 31 May 1817, page Sup 13**

Kingston, May 15, 1817.

Notice.

All persons having Demands against the Bankrupt Estate of Thomas Hinde, of Liverpool or in any manner connected therewith, are desired to render their Claims to, and make other Communications with Mr John Pennock, Attorney to the Assignees of that Commission.

Wm Burt Wright.

Above – 9 – and – 10 – James Mackintosh (or McIntosh) and Donald Mackintosh (or McIntosh) – Muse Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – Edward registered a power of attorney from James McIntosh in 1825 (see Chapter 14) and registered a power of attorney from Donald McIntosh in 1826.

**Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney, 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees – 1826 – Lib 232, Fol 57 – To Clouston, Edward, & al – from Donald McIntosh**

[www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm](http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm) – Jamaica Almanacs - 1825, 1826 and 1827 – Giving-In 1st quarter 1824, 1825, and 1826
St Thomas in the Vale – McIntosh, Donald and James – slaves attached to Muse

*St Thomas in the Vale Slave Registers*

1823 – Alexander McIntosh (of Mount Pleasant, died 1824 – see above) as Attorney to Donald McIntosh joint Owner with James McIntosh

– Alexander McIntosh as Attorney to Donald McIntosh

1820 – Donald McIntosh as Owner

– Donald McIntosh and James McIntosh as joint owners

*Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts* – Wallens Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – crop accounts for years 1811 to 1816 sworn by James Mackintosh

Rio Magno Pen, St Thomas in the Vale – crop account for year 1811 – sworn on 16 Feb 1812 by Donald McIntosh, Overseer

*London National Archives, Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 20 Apr 1822, page PS 19* – Persons Intending to Leave the Island – 18 April 1822 – Donald McIntosh, and slave Jannet Robertson, St Thomas in the Vale

St Thomas in the Vale Parochial Officers – Vestrymen Elected, 1820, 1821 and 1822 include – Donald McIntosh

*Sat, 24 Apr 1819, page PS 24* – Militia Promotions – 17 April 1819 – Middlesex Regiment of Horse – Donald McIntosh to be a Lieutenant

*Sat, 22 Mar 1817, PS page 19* – Militia Promotions – St Thomas in the Vale Regiment – 13 Mar 1817

– James McIntosh to be an Ensign

In 1826 numbers of Triennial Returns of Slaves made in St Thomas in the Vale and St Catherine were sworn before Edward.


Page 11 – Samuel Hyde as joint Owner with Charles Nicholas Pallmer – 60 slaves

Page 12 – Samuel Hyde as Owner – 12 slaves

Page 13 – Samuel Hyde as Lessee from William Clark of Great Britain – 21 slaves

Page 14 – Samuel Hyde as Attorney to Charles Nicholas Pallmer – 3 slaves

Page 15 – Samuel Hyde as Guardian to my son Charles Hyde – 2 slaves

Page 127 – William Godfrey Pollard Burton as Owner – 41 slaves

Page 163 – William Godfrey Pollard Burton as Rector – 1 slave

Below – Robertson’s 1804 St Thomas in the Vale map marking properties represented by Edward in 1826.
http://maps.nls.uk/jamaica/index.html – James Robertson’s 1804 Map of County of Middlesex – St Thomas in the Vale, western half – red lines = Berkshire Hall and Enfield Old Works/Enfield New Works
Robertson’s 1804 map of St Thomas in the Vale – eastern half – **red lines** = Mount Olive, Hog Hole and Harkers Hall – **blue lines** = McArthur’s (Coolshade) and Waugh’s (Golden River) – **arrow** points roughly towards Mount Concord – Muse not identified
My photos, March 2007 – main road from Spanish Town to the north coast passing through St Thomas in the Vale – looking north – and below – looking south
John Gray, overseer of New Works Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, died between 30 August and 11 September 1826. In his Will, dated 30 August 1826, he named Edward and Henry Lowndes as his Executors.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Wills, Old Series, Lib 107, Fol 70 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 21 Sep 1826 – John Gray of St Thomas in the Vale, Planter – Will dated 30 August 1826 – extracts/summary

I wish my Child Eliza now a slave on New Works Estate and Daughter of Jane Allardyce to be purchased and made free – I next desire a female slave with three, four, or five Children may be bought in the name of and for the use of the said Eliza and her two Brothers Henry Gray and John Gray jointly – For the above purposes I desire the whole of my property I am possessed of at my death, real, personal and mixed to be sold and the proceeds after the above purposes are fulfilled I bequeath to the lawful Children of my Brother Thomas Gray late of Clapham and of my Sister Mrs Wootton of … Green, County of Middlesex who may be alive at the time of my death – in equal a portions amongst them except Emmer Wootton my God Daughter who have double the amount of either of the others – I appoint Edward Clouston and Henry Lowndes both of St Thomas in the Vale, planters my Executors and Guardians of my three Children – Witnesses, John Maghee, James Adams, William Henry Lee

11 September 1826 – I have administered an oath unto John Maghee – he saith he was present and did see John Gray, being at that time of sound mind, memory and understanding sign, seal and deliver his Will – and at the same time James Adams & Wm Henry Lee were also present – given under my hand and seal – Adam Steele

At the time of his death John Gray’s abode was New Works estate.


John Gray swore the New Works, St Thomas in the Vale crop accounts for the years 1818 to 1825 – Jamaica Archives, Records of Crop Accounts


For £50 Edward Clouston and Henry Lowndes convey to John Ewart one undivided moiety of 48 acres in St Thomas in the Vale – butting and bounding north on land belonging to Alexander Scholar, east on Morris Hall plantation, south on Dove Hall estate, and west on New Hall estate – signed, sealed and delivered by E Clouston and Henry Lowndes, Executors – Witness Henry Tudor Rees

Lib 735, Fol 195 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 5 Jan 1827 – Indenture dated 26 October 1826 – between John Ewart of St Thomas in the Vale, Practitioner of Physic and Surgery (1) – and Henry Lowndes of St Thomas in the Vale, Planter (2) – summary

For £50 John Ewart conveys to Henry Lowndes one undivided moiety of 48 acres, the other moiety possessed by Robert Dundas Cluniee of St Thomas in the Vale, Planter – butting and bounding north on land belonging to Alexander Scholar, east on Morris Hall plantation, south on Dove Hall estate, and west on New Hall estate – signed, sealed and delivered by John Ewart – Witness Henry Tudor Rees

For £431 – Edward Clouston and Henry Lowndes sell to Robert Dundas Clunie – a moiety of 8 slaves – signed and sealed by E Clouston and Henry Lowndes, Executors – Witness Henry Tudor Rees

Robert Dundas Clunie (b. 1798 – d. after 1849)


Jamaica Archives Records of Crop Accounts – Wallens Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – 1820 and 1821 – Robert Dundas Clunie, overseer

Tulloch Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – 1826 to 1832/33 – Robert Dundas Clunie, overseer

In St Thomas in the Vale on 18 September 1826 there were ‘three very smart shocks of an earthquake’.

British Library – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 23 Sep 1826, page PS 19

Two severe shocks of an Earthquake were experienced in this City [Kingston] about twenty-two minutes before five o’clock on Monday morning. The first shock lasted two seconds, the second shock three seconds, and the lapse between the two was about two seconds.

On Monday morning, about 35 minutes past four o’clock, a very violent shock of an Earthquake was felt in this town, and throughout this parish generally. – Its duration was from 10 seconds to 12 seconds. By letters from Montego-Bay we learn that it was also felt there very sensibly. – Falmouth, Sept 20.

Extracts from a letter from St Thomas’ in the Vale, dated Sept 18. – “Just at the dawn of day and hour of five this morning, we were visited by three very smart shocks of an earthquake. I think they were as equally severe as those that were felt in Kingston either in 1811 or 1812. So quick were their succession, that I must have considered the three but one shock, had it not been for the effect produced on a servant’s call-bell that I have suspended on a rafter on the outside of my house, which rung loudly three several times, as if I had touched the wires or pulls in the hall. I think the shaking must have lasted from 20 to 30 seconds. The Thermometer at 12 o’clock to day, in the cool, was at 83º, in the sunshine 111º.”

And in mid November 1826 there was a severe storm of wind and rain.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 25 Nov 1826, page PS 19

The Late Weather, and its Effects.

Extract of a letter, dated Cottage, St Thomas in the Vale, Nov 15.

“I regret to inform you, that for four days we had a very severe storm of wind and rain, which, in all appearance, has been general throughout the island; it commenced about midday on Thursday the 9th, and never abated until that time on the following Monday; ever since then it has been raining every day. The plaintain-walks in this quarter have suffered much; the greater part of my own blown down, and we may look for a scarcity of that kind of provision for some time to come. From my house, which commands a most extensive view, I could perceive the ravages making by the winds and overflowing of rivers; the Rio-Pedro was impassable for days; and opposite the Bog-Walk tavern, where a junction takes place of all the streams in the Walks, as well as from some parts of St Andrew’s, the water appeared like a large lake than rivers; at this place the Black-river is the great stream that forms the Rio-Cobre, and joins the Rio-Pedro, into which many other streams of water had entered. So great was the flood, that a plantain-walk, belonging to Shenton, the first estate that you enter as you come into the Walks, was completely under water, and no more than a few of the top leaves of the suckers could be seen; the wind blew in severe gusts, rooting up large timber trees, and snapping them off just above the roots. We had some vivid flashes of lightning but very little thunder; the appearance of the weather at this moment is very unsettled; the body of water that passed Spanish Town in the Rio-Cobre must have been vast – I have not heard of any lives being lost. Of course the roads in this quarter are materially injured; they are literally cut up. The Coffee Planters have lost a good picking, for the berries were not only blown off the trees, but the
heavy rains have washed away the greater part, and the trees themselves have been left bare of bush. I have not heard what effect it has produced among the sugar-estates in the Walks, but as I saw many cane pieces swamped in water I expect that a great deal of canes has been carried away. It has just commenced raining again very heavily.”


After hurricane Gustav hit Jamaica – Williamsfield Bridge – looking upstream – Mr Tenn told me that the Rio Doro rose higher than he had ever seen before and water swept across the road.

Rio Doro – looking downstream towards Williamsfield Bridge
In the House of Assembly on 21 November 1826, Edward was one of the men named in connection with a grant for repairing the road from Spanish Town to St Thomas in the Vale.


House in Committee on State of the Island; and being resumed, two resolutions were reported . . . and to insert a clause in the Poll –

Tax bill, for paying to the order of Sir M. B. Clare, Knight, John Lunan, Larchin Lynch, George Wm. Hamilton, George Marshall, Fitzherbert Batty, Hamilton Brown, Abraham Hodgson, Henry Cox, John Blair, Henry Lowdes, Edward Clouston, and Alexander McInnes, Esqrs. or any five of them, the sum of 500l. for the purposes of repairing the great road, and the bridge across the river, leading from the Angles pen, in St. Catherine’s, to the fording at Bog Walk, in St. Thomas’ in the Vale.

Page PS 21

After several divisions on the subject of the grant to the Walks Road, £500 was voted. Mr Barrett submitted the propriety of getting an able Engineer to track out a new road from Spanish-Town to St Thomas’ in the Vale, a proposal which, we understand, is generally approved of. He did not make any motion on the subject.
Back in Scotland in 1826 the United Kingdom Steam-Ship made her maiden voyage. She left Greenock (the port of Glasgow) at the end of July 1826 and on her way around the north of Scotland arrived at Stromness on Tuesday, 1 August.

When this beautiful vessel was first launched upon the briny wave, we promised our readers to embrace an early convenient opportunity for describing her interior arrangements and decorations . . .

Greenock presented a scene of great bustle and activity. In addition to the stir occasioned by the arrival of several large West-India ships, the number of persons who flocked from various parts of the Country to see the United Kingdom, and the arrival of the numerous steam-boats of the Clyde with passengers and parties of pleasure, all contributed to make the first trip of this magnificent vessel an event of great general interest. Having secured a good berth in the principal sleeping cabin, I commenced an examination of the other apartments, and do not remember ever to have been more astonished or gratified. The extent and quality of the accommodation afforded to passengers, and the general style of splendid elegance, combining comfort and utility, which every part of the ship exhibits, must, I think, render the United Kingdom an object of great curiosity to every one interested in the progress of steam navigation. The length of the vessel is 175 feet; her breadth 45 feet. — She has two engines of 100 horse power each, and the number of beds which can easily be made up for passengers is about 150.

The hour appointed for sailing was five o’clock, and the vessel was nearly ready for sea at that hour. The scene on the quay of Greenock and around the vessel had now become most interesting. Thousands of people lined the shores, and six or seven steamers, crowded with Ladies and Gentlemen, sailed round their more majestic mother — the United Kingdom appearing as the hen, and the cock-boat steamers like her chickens. At length a gun fired, and the anchor being a-trip, another, the signal for “setting on,” a steam phrase for sailing. The last gun was answered by several from the shore, and the pleasure-yachts around, us and amid general cheering from the shore, answered from the vessel, at seven o’clock, P M the United Kingdom commenced her adventurous career . . .

. . . At five o’clock, on Tuesday morning, we found ourselves passing that most appropriately-named promontory Cape Wrath, the sea running tremendously high, with a light breeze in our favour from the South-West. A ceremony, similar to that observed in crossing the line, is often undergone here; but in
consequence of the earliness of the hour, it was omitted. We stood across the western entrance of the Pentland Firth, and the best test of the United Kingdom being a good sea-boat is, that even in that deep water and heavy swell from the west, she rolled in a very trifling degree, and kept, without any pressure of steam, her rate steadily at more than ten knots an hour. We passed under the stupendous cliffs of the island of Hoy, and, on entering Stromness Bay, discovered the beach lined with spectators, whom the novelty of a steam vessel had attracted to the shore. As at Tobermory and Stornoway, the United Kingdom was in a few minutes crowded with visitors, and besides the common people of the town, several parties of ladies and gentlemen came on board, and expressed themselves very highly delighted with the splendour of the ship and the extent of accommodation it afforded. The passengers went on shore, and the whole stock of gloves, of a manufacture peculiar to the place, was soon purchased. A most extensive manufactory of straw bonnets is established here, and the specimens I saw were much more beautiful than any Leghorn. They are in great demand, and sell as high as 4l. in the spot. Rye, when sown very thick, and on rather poor soils, produces the straw most valued for this manufacture. I must not forget to mention the poor fisherman of Stromness, who, you will recollect, was along with his wife and a boy, driven out to sea in a small skiff, and almost miraculously preserved. We brought them with us from Greenock, and their story made a deep impression on us all. Nearly 6l. was collected and given them, for which they appeared most grateful. It will enable them to buy a new boat, and clothes for their children. The poor woman had been in very bad health before the accident, but is now quite well; – the fright, she says, has cured her. We left Stromness at five o’clock on Tuesday afternoon, and saw the Pentland Firth in great perfection. A small sloop, under all its canvas with a slight breeze from the West, was carried round and round, and even the United Kingdom did not steer with that precision which she did in higher seas . . .

On 25 November 1826, Edward’s mother Isabella, nee Traill died at the Manse of Brinnigarth, and was buried in what is now the old Stromness Kirk-yard.

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
ISABELLA TRAILL
SPOUSE OF THE
REV WILLIAM CLOUSTON
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
ON THE 25TH DAY OF NOVEMBER 1826
IN THE 61ST YEAR
OF HER AGE
SHE WAS AN EXEMPLARY WIFE & AN AFFECTIONATE PARENT
Below, in the announcement in the *Inverness Journal*, the day Isabella died is mistakenly recorded as ‘26’ November, and her maiden name is mistakenly spelt ‘Trail’.

*[Image: At the Manse of Stromness, Orkney, on the 26th ult. Mrs Isabella Trail, wife of the Rev. William Clouston, much and justly regretted]*

In 1827 a passenger on the United Kingdom calling at Stromness attended the morning and evening services in Stromness parish church, and wrote – ‘Mr Clouston, the minister of the parish’ was ‘unable to officiate from age and indisposition’ – and at the evening service – ‘the sermon was preached by Mr Clouston, junior’ – by Rev Charles Clouston, Edward’s youngest brother

*[Image: London Times online – 29 Sep 1827 – To the Editor of the Times – Journal of a Voyage to the Western Isles, Hebrides, Orkneys, and round the North of Scotland, in the United Kingdom Steam-Ship – extracts]*

Sir, – Agreeably to promise, I now sit down to attempt to give you a brief outline of our voyage to the Western Islands and the north of Scotland . . .

From the Walls and Hoy, we quickly moved along into the bay of Stromness, where we cast anchor, and remained for the day opposite the town, which is beautifully situated amid the surrounding hills. Some of our party were anxious to get to church, others to cross over to Kirkwall, while some of a more unwieldy description preferred remaining on board. The boats having been got ready, not a few of us went on shore, where we soon reached the house of prayer, which is beautifully situated on a rising ground above the bay. To our agreeable surprise we found it crowded to excess. The sacrament of the Lord’s Supper was that day dispensed among the people, which afforded us an opportunity of hearing several of the clergymen belonging to the neighbouring islands, who had come to assist on that occasion. Mr Clouston, the minister of the parish, being unable to officiate from age and indisposition, his duty was performed by the venerable and worthy Mr Hamilton, minister of Hoy, whose great aim seems to be the glory of God and the welfare of immortal souls. I know not whether it was the novelty of the situation in which we were placed, in the midst of nearly 2,000 people of all ranks and ages, clean and neat in their appearance, and, above all, evidently deeply impressed with the solemn nature of the service in which they were engaged, I cannot say: but sure I am, some of us never felt more sacred awe on our minds, nor were the truths of the blessed gospel ever more faithfully preached nor more devoutly attended to than on that day. The venerable pastor’s concluding address to all present, but especially to the young, was particularly touching, and will, I doubt not, be long remembered by many then present.

After divine service we returned on board, where we remained until about six o’clock, when the mellow sound of the church-going bell reminded us it was time to prepare for evening service, to which not a few of us went on shore, and were most politely accommodated with seats in that pew which is appropriated to the magistrates and council of Stromness. We found the church as crowded as it was on the former part of the day, and the appearance equally interesting to a stranger. The sermon was preached by Mr Clouston, junior, from 1 John il. 6.

The sacred music was sweet and plaintive, and seemed peculiar to the island. In short, the whole scene presented an imposing effect. In this town there are other places of worship equally well attended, besides Sabbath schools, which have proved a very great blessing to the rising population.

Before going on board, we had a good deal of conversation with the people, who seemed remarkably well informed, mild, gentle, and polite in the manners. It was remarked by all, that more aged and healthy people were found here than we had seen any where else. This may be accounted for from the manner of their living, and the plainness of their food, as well as their fine climate; for in the summer months it is surely much milder than ours. I do not recollect of witnessing in the whole course of my life, a more calm, serene, and delightful evening, than that which we experienced last Sabbath in Stromness. About nine o’clock the guns were fired, when the boats were observed proceeding from the different juttings and
harbours conveying the passengers on board. We had waited with some anxiety the return of our friends who had ridden across to Kirkwall, a distance of about 18 miles, who soon returned, and gave us a most gratifying account of the ancient Cathedral, Bishop's Palace, Castle, and other antiquities of that interesting place.

Stromness resembles very much a Dutch or Flemish town, and is beautifully situated in the midst of surrounding hills. Its harbour renders it a place of great and safe resort in those stormy seas, for the vessels of all nations trading in the north of Europe, and with America... It is no uncommon thing in the spring months to see in these harbours 50 large vessels on their way to the whale fishery at Davis's Straits and Greenland, exclusive to other casual visitors, – so that property worth half a million, at least, is frequently afloat in the harbour and bay of Stromness. It must be a delightful sight to witness these fine fleets weighing anchor and setting sail with a fair wind, amid jolly shouts of hope and enterprise, passing swiftly along in succession under the frowning cliffs of Hoy-head, and in a little while disappearing on the verge of the broad horizon amidst the white curls of the ocean. In the Orkneys, as well as in the different islands, we observed, as we passed along, that there was the most flattering appearance of a sufficient and superabundant crop.

About eleven o'clock we got a very agreeable addition to the number of our passengers, and at 12, all matters being arranged, we weighed anchor, and set sail, and proceeded through the different sounds into the German Ocean. Early in the morning on Monday we found ourselves opposite Pentland Frith, and soon discovered Duncansby Head and the celebrated point of John o’Groat’s...

In Jamaica on 22 December 1826 the House of Assembly passed a new consolidated Slave Law.


In December 1826, the House of Assembly passed what was called a Consolidated Slave Act, in which were inserted several clauses designed to restrict the labours of missionaries and others among the slave population. Under the pretext, that “the assembling of slaves and other persons after dark, at places of meeting belonging to Dissenters from the Established religion, had been found extremely dangerous, and great facilities were thereby given to the formation of plots and conspiracies, and the health of the slaves and other persons had been injured in travelling to and from such places of meeting at late hours of the night,” it was enacted, “that any sectarian dissenting minister, or other person professing to be a teacher of religion, who should keep open any such places of meeting between sunset and sunrise, or permit any such nightly assembly of slaves therein, or be present thereat, should pay a sum not less than £20 nor exceeding £50 for each offence; and in default of payment thereof, the justices were required to commit such offender to the common jail, for any space of time not exceeding one month.” To shew more precisely that it was the missionaries who were aimed at, exceptions were made in favour not only of the ministers of the Church of Scotland, but of persons of the Roman Catholic and Jewish persuasions. It was further provided that “slaves found guilty of preaching and teaching without permission from their owner and the quarter-sessions for the parish, should be punished by whipping or imprisonment in the workhouse or hard labour;” and “that religious teachers taking money from slaves should pay a penalty of £20 for each offence, and in default of payment, be committed to the common jail for a month.” *

* Meth. Mag. 1828, p. 134; (Baptist) Miss. Herald, 1827, p. 36.

Below – crop accounts for properties in St Thomas in the Vale represented solely or in part by Edward in 1826.

Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts

Lib 64, Fol 154 – Coolshade Plantation – from 12 Jul to 31 Dec 1826 – sworn on 16 Mar 1827 by James Heighington, Overseer, before R Perry Ogilvie
Lib 64, Fol 37 – Mount Concord Plantation – in possession of Edward Clouston, Receiver – for year 1826 – sworn on (no date) by Henry Mignot, Overseer, before John Blake

Lib 64, Fol 40 – Golden River Plantation – sworn on 16 Mar 1827 by Oliver O’Reilly before John Blake

Lib 64, Fol 41 – Hog Hole Estate – sworn on 7 Feb 1827 by Charles Ellis, Overseer, before R P Martin

Lib 64, Fol 42 – Mount Olive Estate – see below

Lib 64, Fol 43 – Harkers Hall Estate – sworn on 6 Mar 1827 by Robert Laidlaw Montcrieff, Overseer, before Robert William Harris

Lib 64, Fol 44 – Enfield Estate – sworn on 15 Mar 1827 by William Higgins Steel, Overseer, before Adam Steele

Lib 64, Fol 55 – Berkshire Hall Estate – sworn on 17 Mar 1827 by Thomas Hooper, Overseer, before John Kelly

Muse plantation not noted.

My photo, March 2007 – Mount Olive – early morning
Mount Olive crop account for 1826 includes – E Clouston Esqr – 60 Gallons Rum

My photos – Jamaica Archives, Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 64, Fol 42 – Mount Olive Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, and Crescent Pen, St Catherine – entered Island Secretary’s Office 28 Mar 1827 – crop account for year 1826 – sworn on 6 March 1826 (1827) by Edward Clouston of St Thomas in the Vale before William Hewitt
Chapter 15. 1826

My photo, March 2007 – early morning – Mount Olive looking towards Williamsfield

Williamsfield crop account for the year 1826 was sworn by Donald W Paterson.

![Image of crop account]


![Image of abstract of produce]

![Image of Williamsfield Estate]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proceeds of 282 Hhds &amp; 15 Tierces of Sugar</td>
<td>4915 - 9 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deduct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance £197 - 6 - 9 Stores £954 - 16 - 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supertare Commission Postage &amp; Stamps £57 - 9 - 0</td>
<td>1209 - 12 - 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pr Accounts of Geo Cuthbert &amp; G W Hamilton dated 30 April 1826</td>
<td>3705 - 16 - 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of this years expenses</td>
<td>2191 - 5 - 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1514 - 11 - 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tulloch crop account for 1826 includes – Williamsfield Estate for Mason Labour

My photo – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 64, Fol 157 – Tulloch Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – crop account for year 1826 – entered Island Secretary’s Office 22 Mar 1827 – sworn on 15 March 1827 by Robert Dundas Clunie before Adam Steele

![Image of crop account for Tulloch Estate](Image)
My photo, March 2007 – leaving St Saviour’s (formerly Harewood Chapel) after a meeting
CHAPTER 16

1827 to 1828

Edward and Eliza’s daughter Isabella, born on 25 December 1827 (see Chapter 1), was conceived at the end of March 1827 or soon after.

In St Thomas in the Vale in March 1827 the Earl of Harewood owned 294 slaves and Major General William Nedham owned 215 slaves. Edward owned 3 slaves in St Thomas in the Vale and 3 slaves in St Thomas in the East.

www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1828 Jamaica Almanac – 1st quarter 1827

Giving-In

St Thomas in the East

No mention of Edward or Orkneys – his 3 slaves and Orkneys were leased to James Reid – see Chapter 17 – death of James Reid 1829

Blue Mountain Division – Reid, James – Inverness – 44 slaves – 20 stock

St Thomas in the Vale

Clouston, Edward – 3 slaves – 5 stock

Harewood, Earl of – Williamsfield – 294 slaves – 39 stock

St Thomas in the Vale – properties represented solely or in part by Edward

Bourdieu, James – Hog Hole – 174 – 7 slaves

Clouston, Edward – Receiver, Mount Concord – 126 slaves

Gordon, Sir John, Baronet – Golden River – 118 slaves

Hayman, John – Berkshire Hall – 165 slaves – 7 stock

Hervey, Thomas (sic) – Enfield – 103 slaves – 18 stock

Lane, James Seton – Cool Shade – 182 slaves – 25 stock

McIntosh, Donald and James – Muse – 47 slaves

Needham (sic), William – Mount Olive – 215 slaves – 45 stock

Stevens (sic) James F, estate of (estate of James Flutter Steevens – see Chapter 15) – Harkers Hall – 296 slaves

St Catherine – properties represented solely or in part by Edward

Needham (sic), William – Crescent Park (sic) – 19 slaves

Stevens (sic), F J F – Lime Tree Garden – 27 slaves

On 15 April 1827 James Seton Lane and his wife arrived back in Jamaica from London.
Arrived at Port Royal – include – 15 April - …. – Mellicent, Ansell, from London

Passengers Arrived – include – In the Mellicent: – James Seton Lane, Esq, Mrs Lane . . .

While James Seton Lane and his wife were in London, their daughter Mellicent was married on 17 January 1827.

Sat, 10 Mar 1827, page not noted – Married

At Saint George’s Church, Bloomsbury, London, on the 17th January last, William Williamson of that City, merchant, to Mellicent, the only daughter of James Seton Lane, Esq of the parish of St Thomas in the Vale, in this island.

In the early months of 1827 there was ‘dreadful’ sickness on Mount Olive, and Edward went to America for his ‘health’ – see below Edward’s 30 July 1827 letter. He may have returned by 25 June 1827 but had, it appears, returned by 16 July 1827.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series


For £335 Edward Clouston and Henry Lowndes convey to Robert Dundas Clunie – one equal undivided moiety of 6 Negro men, 1 Negro woman and 1 Sambo woman – signed, sealed and delivered by E. Clouston and Henry Lowndes – Witness John Maghee

John Gray died in 1826 (see Chapter 15).

Lib 747, Fol 83 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 18 Aug 1827 – Bill of Parcells dated 16 July 1827

Edward Clouston, Esq Bought at public Sale a negro man slave named Joseph levied on for taxes owed to the parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale by Simon Peacan and sold to the said Edward Clouston being the highest and best bidder for £70 – at the same time received payment in full of the above sum of seventy pounds Robt. Page, C.C. [Collecting Constable].

Memorandum the 16th day of July 1827 personally came before me Robert Page & acknowledged the above bill of parcels & receipt and the Signature of Robt. Page C.C. to be all of his handwriting. – Rt. W. Harris.

Lib 744, Fol 190 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 19 Sep 1827 – Deed Poll of Release dated 30 July 1827 – Archibald Kennedy of St David’s, Esq Administrator of Goods and Chattels etc for Francis Hunter late of St Mary’s, deceased, remaining un-administered by John Gray late of St Thomas in the Vale, deceased – to Henry Lowndes and Edward Clouston of St Thomas in the Vale, Esqs, Executors of John Gray – summary

Archibald Kennedy as Administrator for Francis Hunter releases Henry Lowndes and Edward Clouston from any claim made against the Estate of John Gray – signed, sealed and delivered by Archd. Kennedy – Witness John V. Clarke

On 30 July 1827 Edward wrote to Peter Scollay, weaver of Kirkwall (see Chapter 11) replying to his letter dated 12 December 1826.
St Thomas Vale, Jamaica 30 July 1827

Dear Sir,

The mournful tidings of my late dear and departed Mother's demise was first known to me by the paper you sent your answer to my letter on the 12th last. I may well say that I felt it deeply, for it was a stroke that I did not look for, but the more harm will result to the family. I have been trying to make out your account, but part of my papers were so much injured during the time I was in America for my health is to be nearly illegible, and this can scarcely be wondered at, considering theees' mops that took place during that time, for in little more than five months from the time my five young men died on the estate, yet only one white served on it, and during the same time...
space of time Captain Murray died, but there were upwards of 300 of them on the Estate. — The sickly was remarkably saeadful. — This having been the case, I have to beg you will send me a statement of the facts that I already forwarded to you, that I may compare them. I have also to request that Capt. Malcolm Gray will do the same, of which I hope you will inform him. I beg from me that he will, as I will send your both Bills for the balance with Interest. Unfortunately did not care anything by the form of these Bills, when they failed, but afterwards by Duty by the Estate of Mr. Swann, who at that time drew in favour of, having with this being a transaction of my own, neither you nor Mr. Gray have any business, as I must now send all I did receive. — I have never been able to get a shilling from Mr. Russell, who is
Dear Sir,

The mournful tidings of my late dear & departed Mother’s demise was first brought to me by the favor you was good enough to address to me on the 12th Decr. last. – I may well say that I felt it deeply, for it was a stroke that I did not look for, but we must bear with submission to the divine will. – I have been trying to make out your Accts., but part of my papers were so much injured during the time I was in America for my health as to be nearly illegible, and this can scarcely be wondered at, considering the
sickness that took place during that time, for in little more than five months four whites, and very fine young men, died on the Estate, yet only six whites resided on it, and during the same space of time fifteen Negroes died, but there were upwards of 300 of them on the Estate. – The sickness was however dreadful. – This having been the case, I have to beg you will send me a statement of the Accts. That I already forwarded to you that I may compare them & I have also to request that Captn. Malcolm Gray will do the same, of which I hope you will inform him & beg from me that he will, & I will send you both Bills from the balance with interest.

I fortunately did not lose any thing by the firm of Messrs. Bogles & Co. when they failed, but upwards of 200 £ by the Estate of Mr Sword, who I at that time drew in favour of, however with this being a transaction of my own, neither you or Mr. Gray have any business, & I must make good all I did receive. – I have never been able to get a shilling from Mr. Burrell who is Mr. Rodans exor. & was his partner, for the time he was due to your Brothers estate. – I am constantly applying to him & he always promises fairly, which he did the other day when I saw him. –

I will try to get it, but it is not worth while commencing any Law suit about. –

Please remember me in the kindest manner to Mr. Gray & his family – This will be sent by a Ship to London & to save postage is the only thing that prevents me from writing Mr. Gray. I remain

Dear Sir

Your most Obdt. Servt.

E. Clouston

Mr Peter Scollay

On the outside – Mr Peter Scollay, Manufacturer, Kirkwall, N.B. [North Britain], per Pomona

Above – Edward’s letter – Bogles & Co and Mr Sword – see Chapter 9 – Captain Malcolm Gray = Peter Scollay’s uncle – see Chapter 9.


In March 1827 Major General Nedham owned only 215 slaves on Mount Olive (see above – 1st Quarter 1827 Giving-In). It therefore appears that a considerable number of jobbing (hired) slaves were working on Mount Olive.

On 15 September 1827 (a little under three months before the birth of Isabella) the Earl of Harewood freed Eliza and her child Henry Clouston (Edward’s son) together with Eliza’s future offspring.
Chapter 16. 1827 to 1828


Record Book

Entry 6

For Eliza

Manumission

To Eliza

Deed of Manumission

To Eliza

Secretary's Office

2 Apr 1828

Deed Poll

Dated 15 September 1827

Deed of Manumission

Earl of Harewood to Eliza Fox & al (her child Henry Clouston)

The above

Entered in the Records of Manumissions

By the Clerk

in the Jamaica Archives

records

Page

838

Manumission

To Eliza

Deed of Manumission

Earl of Harewood to Eliza Fox & al (her child Henry Clouston)

Entry 6

Record Book

Secretary’s Office

2 Apr 1828

Deed Poll

Dated 15 September 1827

Deed of Manumission

Earl of Harewood to Eliza Fox & al (her child Henry Clouston)

Page

838

Manumission

To Eliza

Deed of Manumission

Earl of Harewood to Eliza Fox & al (her child Henry Clouston)

Entry 6

Record Book

Secretary’s Office

2 Apr 1828

Deed Poll

Dated 15 September 1827

Deed of Manumission

Earl of Harewood to Eliza Fox & al (her child Henry Clouston)
Transcript

Jamaica SS To all to whom these presents shall come The Right Honourable Henry Lascelles Earl of Harewood of the united Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland by George William Hamilton of the parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale in the County of Middlesex in the said Island Esquire his lawful Attorney in His behalf duly constituted and appointed – Greetings Know ye that the said Henry Lascelles Earl of Harewood by his attorney aforesaid for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds Current Money of Jamaica to him through his said attorney in hand well and truly paid at or upon the
Chapter 16. 1827 to 1828

The execution of these presents by or on behalf of the two Several Slaves hereafter named the receipt of which said Sum the said Henry Lascelles Earl of Harewood doth hereby acknowledge and of and from the same and every part thereof doth acquit Release and discharge the said Slaves for ever by these presents Hath manumised enfranchised and forever Set free and by these presents Doth manumise enfranchise and for ever make and Set free from all and all manner of Servitude and Slavery a Certain Mulatto woman named Eliza Fox and her quadroon Child named Henry Clouston together with her future issue and offspring To have Hold and enjoy the said manumission enfranchisement and freedom hereby granted unto the said Eliza Fox and Henry Clouston and the future issue and offspring of the said Eliza Fox from henceforth for ever In Witness whereof the said Henry Lascelles Earl of Harewood by his Attorney aforesaid hath hereunto set his hand and seal this fifteenth day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand Eight hundred and twenty seven

Harewood (Seal) by George W Hamilton
His Atty

Signed sealed and delivered by the within named George William Hamilton as the attorney in the name and as the act and deed of the above named Henry Lascelles Earl of Harewood in the presence of

P Blackburn

Received on the day of the date of the above Written deed poll the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds being the full Consideration Money as then mentioned to be paid

Harewood by Geo W Hamilton his Atty

Witness P Blackburn

Be it remembered the fifth day of December 1827 personally appeared before me Peter Blackburn subscribing witness to the execution of the within written deed poll and he being duly sworn made oath that he was present and saw the within named George William Hamilton as the attorney and with name and as and for the act and deed of the within named Henry Lascelles Earl of Harewood Sign Seal and deliver the said deed poll for the purposes therein mentioned

H Mitchel 5 Dec 1827

Jamaica SS St Thomas in the Vale This is to Certify that the within named Eliza Fox and Henry Clouston were produced at a Vestry held in the parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale on Saturday the twentieth day of October 1827 [1828] and it was shown to the satisfaction of the Churchwardens and Vestry Men of the said parish agreeably to an act of the Legislature of this Island that the within Manumission is not granted for the purpose of relieving the owner from the obligation of Maintaining aged or infirm Slaves

Wm Lord Ck Vest

As the Deed of Manumission was entered in the Island Secretary’s Office on 2 April 1828 (see above), Eliza and Henry were produced on 20 October 1827 (not 1828) at the St Thomas in the Vale Vestry.

My husband Christopher’s photo, March 2007 – Jamaica Archives – I am looking at Eliza and Henry’s Record of Manumission
The £120 for Eliza and Henry’s manumission was paid by Edward.

In London in 1827 the Colonial Office advised the King in Council that the Consolidated Slave Law passed in Jamaica in December 1826 (see Chapter 15) ‘ought to be disallowed’.


In December 1826, the Assembly of Jamaica passed a consolidated slave law, containing many new and important provisions in favour of the slaves. No person in that island ever imagined that such a law (enacted too in the first instance for only three years, and therefore soon to be reconsidered) would not receive Royal sanction; so much was it approved of by the Duke of Manchester, then governor, that his Grace declared his opinion, that ‘the mildness and moderation which it evinced, and the beneficial alteration produced in the condition of the slave in many particulars, would be highly satisfactory to his Majesty’s government.’ But it has since appeared that, whatever the merits of this law, or however beneficial it might have proved to the slaves, it has failed to give satisfaction to those persons in England whose counsels have, of late years, been chiefly, if not exclusively, listened to in the government of our West India colonies.

The new act, then in force, was annexed to the second edition of this work; but, being disallowed by the King in council, it is now deemed unnecessary to swell the volume with so bulky an appendix. Mr Huskisson’s letter, however, stating the objections which led to its disallowance, and the Report of the Assembly in reply to those objections, are given, as important documents to which frequent reference will undoubtedly be made, as long as the subject continues to engage the attention of the public.

It would be difficult to describe the sensation which the Right Honourable Secretary’s letter, announcing the rejection of the law, occasioned in the colony: it was a measure so unexpected, and which appeared so inconsistent with all the recent communications from the Colonial Office. I cannot but apprehend that it has left an impression, if not a conviction, in the minds of the people of that island, of the utter hopelessness of all further attempts on their part to meet the demands of government; since, as the report states, ‘when they expected to be honoured with the unreserved commendation of his Majesty’, they find ‘their labours contemned, and their sacrifices undervalued and rejected.’

Above – Mr Huskisson = William Huskisson – he succeeded Earl Bathurst in 1827 as the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. In 1827 the Duke of Manchester, Governor of Jamaica, retired and was replaced by Lieutenant General Sir John Keane, Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica.

News of the disallowance of the 1826 Consolidated Slave Law arrived in Jamaica in November 1827.
Sir,

The act passed by the Governor, Council, and Assembly of Jamaica, in the month of December, 1826, intituled “An Act to alter and amend the Slave Laws of this Island,” having been referred by his Majesty in Council to the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for the affairs of trade and foreign plantations, that committee have reported to his Majesty in Council their opinion that this act ought to be disallowed.

The order of his Majesty in Council, approving that report and disallowing the act, will be transmitted to you by the earliest opportunity.

In obedience to the commands of his Majesty in Council, I proceed to communicate to you the grounds for his Majesty’s decision upon this subject.

The Privy Council did not submit to his Majesty their advice that this act should be disallowed without great reluctance. The great importance of the subject has been fully estimated; and his Majesty has perceived with much satisfaction the advances which the Colonial Legislature have made, in many respects, to meet the recommendations conveyed to them in Lord Bathurst’s dispatch of the 11th May, 1826; but, however much his Majesty may have been desirous to sanction these valuable improvements in the slave code of Jamaica, it has been found impossible to overcome the objections to which other enactments of this law are open . . .

Among the various subjects which this act presents for consideration, none is more important in itself, nor more interesting to every class of society in the kingdom, than the regulations on the subject of religious instruction. The eighty-third and the two following clauses must be considered as an invasion of that tolerance, to which all his Majesty’s subjects, whatever may be their civil condition, are alike entitled. The prohibition of persons in a state of slavery assuming office of religious teachers might seem a very mild restraint, or rather a fit precaution against indecorous proceedings; but, amongst some of the religious bodies who employ missionaries in Jamaica, the practice of mutual instruction is stated to be an established part of their discipline. So long as the practice is carried on in an inoffensive and peaceable manner, the distress produced by the prevention of it will be compensated by no public advantage.

The prohibition of meetings for religious worship between sunset and sunrise will, in many cases, operate as a total prohibition, and will be felt with peculiar severity by domestic slaves, inhabiting large towns, whose ordinary engagements on Sunday will not afford leisure for attendance on public worship before the evening. It is impossible to pass over without remark the invidious distinction, which is made not only between Protestant dissenters and Roman Catholics, but even between Protestant dissenters and Jews. I have indeed no reason to suppose that the Jewish teachers have made any converts to their religion among the slaves, and probably therefore, the distinction in their favour is merely nominal; still it is a preference, which, in principle, ought not to be given by the Legislature of a Christian country.

The penalties, denounced upon persons collecting contributions from slaves for purposes either of charity or religion, cannot but be felt, both by the teachers and by their followers, as humiliating and unjust. Such a law would affix an unmerited stigma on the religious instructor; and it prevents the slave from obeying a positive precept of the Christian religion, which he believes to be obligatory on him, and which is not inconsistent with the duties he owes to his master. The prohibition is, therefore, a gratuitous aggravation of the evils of his condition.

It may be doubtful whether the restriction upon private meetings among the slaves, without the knowledge of the owner, was intentionally pointed at the meetings for religious worship. No objection, of course, could exist to requiring that notice should be given to the owner or manager whenever the slaves attended any such meetings; but, on the other hand, due security should be taken that the owner’s authority is not improperly exerted to prevent the attendance of the slaves;

I cannot too distinctly impress upon you that it is the settled purpose of his Majesty’s government to sanction no colonial law, which needlessly infringes on the religious liberty of any class of his Majesty’s subjects, and you will understand that you are not to assent to any bill imposing any restraint of that nature, unless a clause be inserted for suspending its operation until his Majesty’s pleasure shall be known.

Having thus adverted to this most important branch of the general subject, I proceed to inquire . . .
The preceding remarks will shew that this act has not been disallowed upon any slight ground. The many wise and beneficent provisions which it contains have been fully appreciated, although they have not been thought sufficient to compensate for the irreparable injury which the best interests of the colony might sustain from some of the enactments to which I have particularly referred. Even were the law unobjectionable on every other ground, it would be impossible to surmount the difficulty presented by the clauses for restraining religious liberty.

I have the honour to be...

Consolidated Slave Law – Clauses 83, 84 and 85 – the clauses ‘for restraining religious liberty’.

83 – And whereas it has been found that the practice of ignorant, superstitious, or designing slaves, of attempting to instruct others, has been attended with the most pernicious consequences, and even with the loss of life: Be it enacted, That any slave or slaves found guilty of preaching and teaching as Anabaptists, or otherwise, without a permission from their owner and the quarter-session for the parish, in which such preaching or teaching takes place, shall be punished in such manner as any three magistrates may deem proper, by whipping or imprisonment in the workhouse to hard labour.

84 – And whereas the assembling of slaves and other persons, after dark, at places of meeting belonging to dissenters from the established religion, and other persons professing to be teachers of religion, has been found extremely dangerous, and great facilities are thereby given to the formation of plots and conspiracies, and the health of the slaves and other persons has been injured in travelling to and from such places of meeting at late hours in the night: Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the commencement of this act, all such meetings between sunset and sunrise shall be held and deemed unlawful, and any sectarian, dissenting minister, or other person professing to be a teacher of religion, who shall, contrary to this act, keep open any such places of meeting between sunset and sunrise for the purpose aforesaid, or permit or suffer any such nightly assembly of slaves therein, or be present thereat, shall forfeit and pay a sum not less than twenty pounds, or exceeding fifty pounds, for each offence, to be recovered in a summary manner before any three justices, by warrant of distress and sale, one moiety thereof to be paid to the informer, who is hereby declared a competent witness, and the other moiety to the poor of the parish in which such offence shall be committed, and, in default of payment thereof, the said justices are hereby empowered and required to commit such offender or offenders to the common gaol for any space of time, not exceeding one calendar month: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be deemed or taken to prevent any minister of the Presbyterian kirk, or licensed minister from performing divine worship at any time before the hour of eight o’clock in the evening at any licensed place of worship, or to interfere with the celebration of divine worship according to the rites and ceremonies of the Jewish and Roman Catholic religions.

85 – And whereas, under pretence of offerings and contributions, large sums of money and other chattels have been extorted by designing men, professing to be teachers of religion, practicing on the ignorance and superstitions of the negroes in this island, to their great loss and impoverishment: And whereas an ample provision is already made by the public and by private persons for the religious instruction of the slaves: Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the commencement of this act it shall not be lawful for any dissenting minister, religious teacher, or other persons whatsoever, to demand or receive any money or other chattel whatsoever from any slave or slaves within this island, for affording such slave or slaves religious instruction, by way of offering contributions, or under any other pretence whatsoever; and if any person or persons shall, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, offend herein, such person or persons shall, upon conviction before three justices, forfeit and pay the sum of twenty pounds for each offence, to be recovered in a summary manner, by warrant of distress and sale, under the hands and seals of the said justices, one moiety thereof to be paid to the informer, who is hereby declared a competent witness, and the other moiety to the poor of the parish in which such offence shall be committed, and, in default of payment, the said justices are hereby empowered and required to commit such offender or offenders to the common gaol for any space of time, not exceeding one calendar month.
In January 1828 the Jamaica Royal Gazette published a report from the Jamaica Cornwall Chronicle accusing ‘Mr Stephen and the Anti-Slavery Society’ for the disallowance of the December 1826 Slave Law.

From a pressure of other matter we have been compelled to defer the insertion of the Resolutions and Reply of the House of Assembly on the subject of Mr Huskisson’s Letter to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, intimating the rejection of the Slave Law, passed in the Session of 1826. It will be recollected how much labour was bestowed on that law – how great the satisfaction of the public on its promulgation; but, above all, how much it was praised by the late Governor of Jamaica, as possessing a “mildness and moderation so beneficial to the Slave,” that he declared it would be “highly satisfactory to his Majesty’s Government.” What, therefore, could exceed public disappointment, when all this elaborate code was made dead letter – every benefit to the slave at “one fell swoop” annihilated – and nothing left but the “faint praise of his Majesty, transmitted through the equivocal and erroneous reasoning of Mr Huskisson. Who, we shall ask, would have been a more competent judge of the measure of liberty and restraint necessary for the good government of the slaves of this country than the Duke of Manchester? Especially as it is known that his Grace has hitherto been dissatisfied with the House for doing too little in their behalf? But what avails it? The dicta of Mr Stephen and the Anti-Slavery Society are paramount to those of any man, whose experience convinces him of their fallacious reasonings and misrepresentations; and we can discover in this Letter the same language, the same topics, and the same allegations and absurd deductions, that are contained in the Anti-Slavery Reports for the first six month of 1826. In fact the Duke, like all who have lived in a Colony where slavery exists, must submit to the doubts, the suspicions, and tooted prejudices of every man who cannot inquire for himself. He must submit to a moral quarantine, and his statements be dreaded as contagion. We have no hesitation in saying that great ability is displayed in the Reply of the House. How his Majesty’s Ministers will receive it, we cannot pretend to anticipate. That it contains a palpable refutation of many of the clauses of the letter is most certain, and the sarcasms and poignancy, mingled with it, will prove highly offensive, as impugning the sagacity of James Stephen and Co. The best writers have advised moderation in all kinds of reform. History displays in every page the evils of breaking through political restraint at once; liberty is power, and the use of the moral force that it is to be entrusted with it. The system adopted by the Anti-Slavery writers so assimilates with that liberty which is enjoyed by the free people of England, that, to compel at one, the Colonist to grant it to the slave would at once annihilate his industry, his obedience, and the morale he possesses, and create one universal thraldom. Then would everything sacred be trampled under foot – a selfish tyranny would supersede even that religion, which may be productive of much good, under a wise political guidance, and it is not difficult to conceive an accumulation of evils, that have never yet been “dreamt of in our philosophy.” – Cornwall Chronicle

Note – despite a number of attempts by the Jamaica House of Assembly to re-enact the 1826 Consolidated Slave Law, it was not until 1831 that it was allowed, but, without the sectarian clauses – clauses 83, 84 and 85.


On 15 December 1827 James Laing died at the Villa – the pen in St Catherine where Francis Graham died in 1820 (see Chapter 11).


... Mr Laing died at the Villa this day week ...
My photos, September 2008 – Spanish Town Cathedral – south transept

I searched but found no record of James Laing’s Will or Probate Inventory. From his brother Samuel Laing's Autobiography – ‘he left his affairs in great disorder’.


... James died in 1827 leaving his affairs in great disorder. The family took £20,000 among them and gave up the whole, I am told, to the West India House, Davidson & Barclay [Barkly] ...

Below – Simpson et al versus Grant, April 1830, includes – ‘When Mr [James] Laing became insolvent’.

This cause, which was tried at a former Assizes, came on for trial this day. It was to recover from Sir Alexander Grant a considerable sum for advances made by Simpson, Taylor, and Co for the use of Dalvey estate, at the instance of Mr Laing, who, as contended on behalf of the plaintiffs, was Sir Alexander’s accredited general agent in this island, and therefore he was bound by this transaction between Mr Laing and Messrs Simpson, Taylor, and Co. On the contrary, it was insisted for Mr Grant that there was a power of attorney on record constituting Mr Bell his representative with respect to Dalvey estate. The Chief-Justice here observed, that the person whom he recognized was the person to whom the power of attorney was sent. Credit was given to another, there being no power of attorney constituting him as an agent, the person who trusted him did at his peril. It was the option of the absentee to adopt his a..te or not. If any acts had been done by Mr Laing without such power, there must be proof of an assent on the part of Mr Grant. His subsequent assent would certainly bind him; but it was not proposed to show this, but only to give general evidence to show Mr Laing’s agency. That evidence would not do, when there was an accredited agent by power of attorney.

Mr Bell examined. – No doubt Mr Laing was agent for those estates for which he had power, but he had no power for this estate. Mr Laing paid for stock purchased for the estate. He drew an order upon him for the payment of the taxes. Mr Laing acted more for him than for Sir A Grant. Mr Laing was in possession of Rio Magno estate. The proceeds of that estate were applied to meeting the contingencies; if they were not sufficient he drew upon Mr Laing; Mr Laing had no authority to pay any thing without an order from him; if Mr Laing had not been in funds he would have drawn upon Sir Alex Grant. As to the vouchers for payments, a duplicate was kept by him, and the other transmitted to Sir Alex Grant; he had a discretion from Sir Alex Grant to apply to Mr Laing for money.

A number of orders were produced, drawn by Mr Bell on Mr Laing, and made payable at Simpson, Taylor, and Co’s.

Mr Colin Mackenzie was also examined, and stated in his evidence that Mr Laing was the representative of Mr Grant for several properties, but, with respect to Dalvey estate, Mr Bell had a power of attorney to act for Sir Alex Grant.

The case was argued by the Counsel for the parties with much learning and ability, after which His Honour the Chief-Justice addressed the Jury to the following effect. After stating the facts of the case, he proceeded as follows: – A reference has been made to a former verdict in this cause; we have also been referred to the proceedings of the Court of Error, but the Jury were an independent tribunal, and would not allow themselves to be influenced by these decisions. With respect to what took place in the Court of Errors, we are not here compelled to give any weight, unless we see the force of it. – This is an action, not against Mr Laing, but against Sir Alexander Grant. In the agreement between the plaintiffs and Mr Laing, we will not at present consider whether Mr Laing acted as agent or not. The defendants say they will pay the contingencies on receiving proper vouchers. This stipulation has not been complied with by the plaintiffs, but they answer, here are the orders of Mr Bell and Mr Laing; you have no right to dispute them, because you authorized them, and Mr Laing would certainly be included. But this is an action not against Mr Laing, but against Sir A Grant, and, as between these parties, the original vouchers ought to be produced. As to the merit of the case, it appears that Sir Alexander Grant is proprietor of several estates in this island, and of Dalvey, and it is alleged that Mr Laing was his general agent for these various properties. This might be so with respect to some of his estates, but with respect to Dalvey estate the person was Mr Bell. Here is a power of attorney to Mr Bell, containing ample authority, and giving the same right as Mr Grant himself would have possessed. This power is recorded. What is the purpose of recording but to give notice of the person appointed to act for the absentee? It is incumbent upon every one dealing with a person as an attorney to ascertain whether he is regularly constituted. There is not only the power of attorney in evidence, but Mr Bell tells you that he was in the management of that estate, that he received instructions from Sir Alexander Grant as to the mode in which the contingencies should be paid, namely, out of the proceeds of Rio-Magno estate, in the hands of Mr Laing, and any deficiency to be supplied by bills drawn by Mr Bell on Sir A Grant; and Mr Bell always informed Mr Laing of the amount of contingencies, in order that Mr Laing might be informed whether the proceeds would be sufficient; but it always appeared as if he had funds, for as he had several estates in his hands, he had the means of honouring the orders. Mr Bell had reason to believe the funds were sufficient. Mr Laing returned the orders to Bell as paid, and Bell forwarded them to England, so that the impression on Bell’s mind was, that they were paid by funds in Laing’s hands. There is no evidence of Sir A Grant’s having authorized him to draw in this manner; Sir A Grant thought that he paid out of the funds in his hands. That was the only way in which Sir A Grant thought he acted. When Mr Laing became insolvent, then it was, and not...
before, that this claim was set up. An absentee would be exposed to the greatest hardship, if, after having appointed a special attorney of an estate – after having sent out special instructions – an attempt was made to fix him with a demand perfectly foreign from those instructions. This would be inflicting heavy responsibilities upon absentees. Mr Laing was not the attorney – Mr Bell was the attorney. Mr Laing was not authorized to borrow, for he was the person to pay. The justice of the case was entirely for the defendant. He should not have addressed the Jury at so much length, were it not for the former proceedings in this cause, but he trusted that the Jury were too independent to be influenced by these proceedings.

The Jury, without leaving the box, returned a verdict for the defendant.

Above – Colin Mackenzie – he was James Laing’s confidential clerk in 1827.


Mr Pennant, the appellant, by deed-poll, or power of attorney, dated 4th of July 1827, and registered 21st of the following August, appointed J Laing, G W Hamilton, and W Rose, his attorneys . . . Laing a short time after the date of the power of attorney, entered into negotiations through Mr Colin McKenzie, his confidential clerk . . .

By 1829 Colin MacKenzie was joint attorney with Edward to Major General William Nedham – see Chapter 17.

On 20 December 1827 Edward’s name appeared twice in Road Appropriations agreed by the House of Assembly.

British Library – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 5 Jan 1828, page Sup 10-13

House of Assembly, Thursday, Dec 20, 1827.

Ordered, That the Road Appropriations, as agreed to by the House during the present Session, be published in the Royal Gazette, and Cornwall Chronicle, for one month.

County of Middlesex includes
In late 1827/early 1828 Edward registered a power of attorney from Major General William Nedham.
Edward and Eliza’s daughter Isabella (my great, great grandmother Isabella Thin, nee Clouston) was born on Christmas Day 1827 – just over three months after Eliza and Henry were manumitted.

In 1827 George William Hamilton resigned his seat in the House of Assembly, and on 29 December 1827 Robert William Harris was elected.

Rev W G Burton, in his 1827 report for St Thomas in the Vale again referred to ‘black and brown Preachers’ – see Chapter 14 – Bishop Lipscomb’s October 1825 Statement.

Rev. David McCaw, Island Curate.
Mr. Jeremiah Heber, Master of the Parish School.

The Population of this Parish is 12,800 persons; namely, 200 Whites, 600 Free Coloured Persons, and 12,000 Slaves.

The Parish Church, in which there is a Gallery, will accommodate from 2 to 300 persons; and the Chapel on Lord Harewood’s Estate at Williamsfield which has been built by Subscription, and was consecrated by the Bishop in 1827 [1826] is of the same dimensions; but in the latter a gallery is now erecting which will extend its accommodation to 400 [? 500].
The Established Service is performed once at each Place of Worship, every Sunday, with a Sermon and Catechetical Instruction afterwards. The Services are well attended, there being sometimes many more in attendance than the Church will hold.

There are two Schools in the Parish. One a Parish School for poor children which is supported by a Grant from the Vestry, in which there are 16 Scholars, Free Persons of Colour: but the families do not reside sufficiently near to the School to send their children as Day-scholars, and they are unable to pay the expense of boarding them. Hence a few only can avail themselves of the Parochial Assistance. The other, a Private School, in which there are 8 to 10 Scholars, also Free Children of Colour, is kept by Mr. Hector John Campbell.

There are other Schools, not indeed within the District, but on the boarders of the Parish, at which many children belonging to it are educated. The children of more opulent parents are sent to Kingston and Spanish Town for education. There being no village or hamlet in the lower part of the Parish, there is difficulty in forming a day school there; but the Districts of Guy’s Hill and Above Rocks are more populous; and accordingly these places have their day-schools, but not as before observed within the Parish.

There are two Schools without the lines of the Parish, which are chiefly attended by children belonging to it. In the one there are 20 Boarders and Day-scholars, all Free and of Colour. In the other, which was lately under the charge of Mr. Pinnock, a Catechist appointed by the Lord Bishop, there are about 40: thirty Free of Colour, and ten Slaves. This is now under the particular care of Mr. McCaw, the Island Curate, who has a Master to assist him; and it is open to all who are willing that their sons, daughters, or slaves should receive the instruction it affords.

The Rector attends at the Church every Wednesday to instruct such persons as may be present. The same duty is also performed after Services on Sundays; and the number catechized varies from 10 to 50, the major part being Slaves. Most of the children on the neighbouring Estates can now repeat the Church Catechism; and on one property, the Proprietor of which, Mr. Robert W. Harris, resides in the country, upwards of 100 have a perfect knowledge of it.

Steps have been taken by Mr. McCaw towards erecting a Chapel on Guy’s Hill, which has met with liberal encouragement from the Bishop and others; and a meeting of the Subscribers was to be held on the 12th of November 1827, for the purpose of appointing a Committee to carry the object into execution.

It is stated upon unquestionable authority that Secret Meetings take place in parts of this Parish, at which are black and brown Preachers, both Free Persons and Slaves, of the greatest ignorance and the lowest description. Money is exacted; penance, (such as passing the night in lonely and unfrequented places,) and fasts, enjoined. It is difficult to ascertain the real persuasion of those who attend them: they denominate themselves Baptists; although the Ministers in town disclaim all connexion whatever with them, or even any knowledge of them. The usual practice of these people is to assemble at night, once or twice a week; but as they disperse immediately on the approach of any White Person, it is not easy to speak with accuracy of their proceedings. It is stated however that they baptize, marry, and administer the Sacrament: but there is reason to believe that many of their doctrines are grossly repugnant to the spirit of Christianity. In the altered countenance and emaciated appearance of the deluded creatures who attend these nocturnal meetings, there is ample proof of the injury sustained by their health; as also by their habits of fasting, exposure to the night air, and loss of rest. The evil arising from total abstinence from any food during the day, or a longer period, is further increased by their afterwards eating such a quantity of victual as has in some cases caused almost immediate death; and always brings on an unhealthy habit of body. There are farther evils, which have a most pernicious effect upon health and morals, prevalent among the females; who, through the fear of disgrace consequent upon public expulsion from the Religious Society which they have joined, are induced to take measures to prevent frailties being discovered.

The Rector states, that, on the part of the Proprietors and Attorneys, he has always experienced a readiness and anxiety to afford their Slaves reasonable time and opportunity for Religious Instruction by the Established Clergy. On one Estate, where he has officiated for nearly two years, a portion of the Saturday afternoon during crop time is allowed them to visit their provision-grounds, that there may be no excuse for absence from Service on the following day; and most probably a similar indulgence under like circumstances would be granted on other properties.

A decided change has taken place in the Negro Character since he came to the Island, (18 years ago,) which may be observed in the absence of the greater crimes, and in the abandonment of many
superstitious opinions and practices. Their habits are more social and religious, their manners are more decent, and their behaviour among themselves more peaceable.

Rev W G Burton was appointed domestic Chaplain to Lieutenant Governor Sir John Keene on 11 July 1827 – British Library – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 14 Jul 1827, page not noted.

My photos, November 2009 – Williamsfield – driving back from Mount Industry, we stopped to take photos, and this kind man who came walking along the road offered me his sugar cane, and after stripping the cane cut it into short lengths gave them to us to chew and enjoy the juice
Below – the Williamsfield 1827 crop account recording 2 slaves (Eliza and Henry) manumized by Edward for - £120.

Chapter 16.  1827 to 1828

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/adv_search/ – Lascelles West Indies – movinghere.org.uk –
Abstract of the Produce of the Estates and other Property in the West Indies belonging to the Earl of

[Image]

Below – 1827 crop accounts for properties represented solely or in part by Edward in St Thomas in the
Vale.

Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts – St Thomas in the Vale for year 1827

Lib 65, Fol 97 – Harkers Hall Estate – sworn on 1 March 1828 by Robert Laidlaw Montcrieff before John
Blake

Lib 65, Fol 98 – Hog Hole Estate – sworn on 11 March 1828 by Thomas Reilly, Overseer, before R Perry
Ogilvie

Lib 65, Fol 221 – Berkshire Hall Estate – sworn on 26 February 1828 by Thomas Hooper, Overseer,
before J Walters

Lib 65, Fol 232 – Mount Olive Estate – see below

Golden River Plantation, Muse Plantation and Enfield Estate not noted – Mount Concord Plantation not
found.

Edward swore the Mount Olive crop account for 1827 on 25 March 1828.

Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, and Crescent Pen, St Catherine – Entered Island Secretary’s Office
25 Mar 1828 – crop account for year 1827 – sworn on 25 March 1828 by Edward Clouston of St
Thomas in the Vale before William Hewitt
In March 1828 Edward owned 4 slaves in St Thomas in the Vale – the three he registered in 1826 plus the one he purchased in 1827 – see above.

Clouston, Edward – 4 slaves – 6 stock
Edward purchased two plantations in St Thomas in the Vale – the first, Retirement in the far southeast of the parish in the Above Rocks district, was conveyed to him on 29 May 1828 together with 14 slaves.

James Hakewill in his Jamaica book wrote – ‘no man would venture to buy a slave who had not previously agreed to live with him’.


... the Negroes. As slaves these are, undoubtedly, subject to be sold; but large purchases of Negroes, unless with the estate on which they are settled, and which would be useless without them, are not often made. Except what are called jobbing gangs, which sometimes, though rarely, may amount to from twenty to twenty-five in number ... no man would venture to buy a slave that had not previously agreed to live with him. If he did, the slave would inevitably run away; for while the purchaser requires a good character with the negro, the latter is equally alive to obtaining a knowledge of the habits and future dispositions of his future master ...

The slaves Edward owned in 1833 were, except for the domestics, a jobbing gang (see Chapter 20 – Edward’s crop account for the year 1833). In St Thomas in the Vale there were two plantations called Retirement – Samuel Hyde’s plantation north of Sandy Gut (see Chapter 15) – and Edward’s plantation Retirement later known as Roman Hall.

Jamaica National Library – Maps & Plans – No. 1 Parish of St Catherine, compiled in 1882 by Thomas Harrison, Govt. Surveyor, revised in 1956 – section – arrow points to Roman Hall (Retirement)

For £780 Jamaica currency to Jane Rennalls and for £10s Jamaica currency to Thomas Rennalls and Susanna Rennalls — they convey to Edward Clouston — Mountain plantation in St Thomas in the Vale formerly called Roman Hill — now called Retirement — 96 acres butting and bounding north and north easterly on a Ridge — south easterly on Mr Daquine — southerly and westerly on Sandy River — and 14 Slaves — Gift alias George Edlyne, Frances Rennalls, Sally alias Priscilla Edlyne, Phillis alias Mary Marshall and her children Eleanor Rose Thomas, Suckey alias Susanna, and John, Sarah and her children Robert, Mary, and William, and Henry alias Henry Patterson, with the future issue offspring and increase of the females.

Roman Hill (Retirement) was conveyed to Jane Rennalls on 16 February 1821, by the Attorneys of David Mustard.

Jamaica Island Record Office — Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 707, Fol 231 — Entered Island Secretary’s Office 20 Nov 1822 — Indenture dated 16 February 1821 — diagram annexed — between David Mustard late of St Thomas in the Vale, Gent, but at present in Scotland, by his Attorneys John Macpherson (or McPherson) of St Thomas in the Vale and Edward Sword of St Catherine, Esqs (1) — and Jane Rennalls of St Thomas in the Vale, Free Woman of Colour — summary.

For £522 — the Attorneys convey to Jane Rennalls — 116 acres, part of Mountain Land, St Thomas in the Vale, called Roman Hill — butting and bounding north on Mr Henry Cliff and a small spring, east on Mr Polby and Monsieur Duquesne, south on Sandy River, and west on part of the same land belonging to Tulloch Estate — Diagram annexed — arrow points to Retirement House.
On 22 September 1807 Roman Hill (then described as 118 acres) was conveyed to David Mustard.

For £708 – the Attorneys convey to David Mustard – 118 acres part of the late plantation called Rentcomb Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – Diagram annexed

David Mustard appears to have been a carpenter.

It is requested that David Mustard, a white man by trade a Carpenter, of St Thomas in the Vale, shall not be taken off this island until Public Justice is done him.

John Pallister

In 1828-29 Edward registered a power of attorney from David Mustard.
Edward and Eliza’s daughter Isabella was baptized on 13 July 1828 by Rev David McCaw, Island Curate for St Thomas in the Vale, the priest in charge of Harewood Chapel. As 13 July 1828 was a Sunday it seems likely that Isabella was baptized in Harewood Chapel.


July 13 – Colour: Quadroon – Child’s Christian Name: Isabella Clouston – Parents Name, Christian-Surname: (blank) – Married or Not: (blank) – Abode: (blank) – By whom Ceremony performed: David MacCaw (McCaw)
My photos, September 2008 – St Saviour’s Anglican Church (built on the site of Harewood Chapel)

Saturday preparations for the Sunday service
James Seton Lane died at the beginning of August 1828, and was buried by his second wife Millicent in Spanish Town Cathedral churchyard in the tomb of his first wife Christiane.

Mrs Christiane Lane, wife of James Seton Lane of the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale, d. 28 Sept. 1808 aged 23. On 8 Aug. 1828 was committed to this tomb by his second wife the above named – James Seton Lane, in his 60th year.

Below – James Seton Lane’s Will


Executors/Trustees – to sell all my landed property together with all my slaves attached to Coolshade plantation and all my personal property – after payment of debts – share the residue between my wife and children, share and share alike – to continue jobbing my slaves attached to Coolshade and to employ them and manage my Estate real and personal to the best advantage and to pay and apply the rents, profits and proceeds and yearly interest of so much of the real Estate as remains unsold and of the personal Estate as is remaining not collected unto and equally between my wife and children – And whereas on 1 November 1822 I became jointly with my friend John Alves joint tenant Salt Pond Hut Pen, St Catherine, for a term of 21 years and whereas we have since that period purchased a considerable number of Slaves for the purpose of carrying on the business of the Pen – Executors/Trustees – to manage and conduct my interest in the Pen, Slaves etc to the best advantage – and pay profits etc unto and equally between my wife and children – such amount as may belong to my children shall be vested in the Island Certificates of the Government funds of Great Britain for the benefit of my children until they come of age – or to my daughter or daughters if married to her/them – upon the expiration of the lease or at the first period of any breaks of the lease – if my Executors/Trustees deem it advisable to surrender the lease in conjunction with my partner John Alves – my moiety of the slaves, etc to be sold – if my son coming of age should deem it advisable to renew the lease – he shall have the preference in the purchase of my moiety

Executors, Trustees and Guardians of my children – my beloved wife Millicent Lane, friends Francis Smith, John Alves, John Gale Vidal (all of Jamaica) and William Williamson of the City of London, merchant

Codicil – whereas I hold under lease made to myself and the late John Alves deceased an unexpired term in Salt Pond Hut Pen and am possessed as tenants in common with the said John Alves – 173 negro or other slaves now upon the Pen – now I direct my Executors hereafter named to sell all my share and interest in the Pen with the cattle, slaves, etc belonging – etc, etc

Executors – same as Will (except John Alves deceased) together with James Forsyth of Kingston, merchant

See – www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/wills.htm – Will of James Seton Lane of St Thomas in the Vale, Jamaica – proved Prerogative Court of Canterbury 14 May 1829

Below – Edward Clouston and Richard M White were appointed to appraise all James Seton Lane’s Goods and Chattels, Rights and Credits as shown to them by Executors James Forsyth and John Gale Vidal – Total amounting to - £21,577 16s 7 ¼ d


Jamaica ss Inventory and Appraisement of all and Singular the Goods and Chattels Rights and Credits which were of James Seton Lane late of the parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale in the County of Middlesex and Island aforesaid Esquire deceased
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William하게 185</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John 핼리 186 40</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard 허당 80 187</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Scare 188</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Hamilton 189</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward 180 190</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph 191 192</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George 193 194</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas 195 196</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- All amounts are in pounds sterling.
- The table lists individuals and their corresponding amounts.
Chapter 16. 1827 to 1828

867
On 26 August 1828 Edward authorised the sale of a grey Ass in the St Thomas in the Vale pound that had been sent in from Mount Concord.

Jamaica National Library – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 13 Sep 1828, page Sup 14

St Thomas in the Vale Pound.
Aug. 26, 1828

Mile-money for an entire grey Ass sent in from Mount-Concord £0 7s 6d Poundage and advertising to date.

Jamaica ss Whereas it appears that the above Stray has been impounded one month according to law, and application having been made to me, to authorize the Sale thereof, I do hereby direct that the said Stray be put up to Public Sale, and sold to the highest and best bidder, at Rodney Hall, on Saturday the 13th day of September next between the hours of 10 and 12 o’clock in the forenoon.

Given under my hand, this 26th day of August, 1828.

E. Clouston

My photos, March 2007 – St Thomas in the Vale
In the October 1828 number of the *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*, Zachary Macaulay analysed the Report of the Society for the Conversion, Instruction, and Education of Negro Slaves for the year 1827 – see above – Rev W G Burton’s 1827 St Thomas in the Vale report. Macaulay was critical of all the Jamaica reports, particularly Rev W G Burton’s, accusing him of making ‘an evidently false and fabricated statement’.


5. In *St Thomas in the Vale*, containing 12,000 slaves, very few slave children appear to be even catechised. It is mentioned as a peculiar indulgence on one estate, that during crop, “a portion” it is not said what portion, “of the Saturday afternoon is allowed the slaves to visit their provision grounds, that there may be no excuse for absence from service on the following day.” – There would otherwise then be an excuse for not attending chapel on Sunday. Truth is mighty, and we see how this incidental expression demolishes whole hosts of hardy and groundless assertions, as to the repose enjoyed on Sunday by the slaves of Jamaica. – And with all this meagreness of instruction, the rector tells us that “a decided moral and religious change” has taken place among the negroes since he has been there! This is miraculous!

The most extraordinary circumstance in this Report is, that the Society should have chosen to give publicity to an evidently false and fabricated statement, proceeding from the rector of this parish, which, both for his sake and that of the Society, ought to have been suppressed. It appears to be pointed at the Baptists or Methodists, and reminds us of the tales circulated in the first ages respecting early Christians.

“It is stated,” says the rector, “on unquestionable authority, that secret meetings take place in parts of this parish, at which are black and brown preachers, both free and slave, of the greatest ignorance, and of the lowest description. Money is exacted; penance and fasts enjoined.” “The usual practice is to assemble at night once or twice a week.” “In the altered countenances and emaciated appearance of the deluded creatures who attend these nocturnal meetings, there is ample proof of the injury sustained by their health, as also by their habits of fasting, exposure to the night air, and loss of rest. The evil arising from the total abstinence from any food, during the day, or a longer period, is further increased by their afterwards eating such a quantity of victuals, as has in some cases, caused almost immediate death, and always brings on an unhealthy state of body. There are farther evils which have a most pernicious effect upon health and morals prevalent among the females,* who through fear or disgrace consequent upon a public expulsion from the religious host which they have joined, are induced to take measures to prevent their frailties being discovered.” – Disgrace! Frailties! – The hoax is somewhat too broad and palpable even for Great Britain. – And yet, with all this pretence to minute accuracy, to “unquestionable authority,” to “ample proof,” we are further told – “It is difficult to ascertain the real persuasion of those who attend. They denominate themselves Baptists, although the ministers in town disclaim any connexion whatever with them, or even any knowledge of them.” “As they disperse immediately on the approach of a white person, it is not easy to speak with accuracy of their proceedings. It is stated, however, that they baptize, marry, and administer the Sacrament; but, there is reason to believe, that many of their doctrines are grossly repugnant to the spirit of Christianity” – Certainly repugnant to it as practised generally in Jamaica, if marriage be a part of their religion. – Now, we ask, is it possible that a rector can have written such a statement as this; that a Bishop can have gravely transmitted it across the Atlantic; and that a Society, governed by such high and respectable names, can have deemed it right to publish it to the world, in a detail of their efforts to convert, instruct, and educate the 333,000 slaves of Jamaica? – Alas! alas!

*We marvel greatly what peculiar and secret evils can prevail among those female devotees, to distinguish their case from the open dissoluteness of manners prevailing around them.*

The Baptist missionaries had no station in St Thomas in the Vale before 1830. The black and brown preachers referred to by Rev Burton appear to have been what were known as ‘Native Baptists’. In 1832 Baptist missionary Rev William Knibb agreed that there was a Baptist Society in Jamaica that was ‘distinct from the missionaries’.
3255. Is there not a Baptist Society in the island of Jamaica distinct from the missionaries? – Quite so.

3792. Can you give the Committee any information as to what was the cause or the principal leading reason of the Baptists sending missionaries to Jamaica? – The first missionary was sent out at the request of a proprietor residing in Bristol, I believe Arthur Folkes, esquire: but the principal cause of our Society sending missionaries out was from information received that there were a number of Baptists in the island who had their own teachers, black men, who were leading them very far astray from the simplicity of the Gospel.

William Knibb first arrived in Jamaica in February 1825. His elder brother Thomas Knibb who died in Jamaica in 1824, wrote from Jamaica – ‘There are many persons who profess to be teachers who are as ignorant of the gospel as a Hindu or Hottentot’.

Mr Thomas Knibb, who was sent out to Jamaica by the Baptist Missionary Society in 1822, thus writes of the negro preachers soon after his arrival: “There are many persons who profess to be teachers who are as ignorant of the gospel as a Hindu or Hottentot. They preach to and live upon the people, and tell them tales that are as ridiculous as they are irreverent. One woman in the neighbourhood of Annotto Bay is looked up to with the greatest reverence. She calls herself Mammy Faith! She pretends to forgive sins to all she pleases, and many of the negroes are so weak as to fall down before her to obtain pardon. Some of the Black people go about the island preaching and baptizing. They generally have a book to preach out of, but sometimes mistake a spelling-book, or a dictionary, or any other book, for a Testament, and sometimes preach with it upside down.” – Miss. Her. 1823, p. 74.
Rev Hope Masterton Waddell (sent by the Scottish Missionary Society to Jamaica in 1829) wrote a short account of the early Baptists in Jamaica.


The English Baptist Mission commenced in 1814 in Kingston, where, two-years afterwards, the first church was formed. In 1820 a second was formed in Spanish Town; another, a few years afterwards, in Montego Bay; and still later, that in Falmouth. These all swelled rapidly and prodigiously, and the churches and membership of that mission continued to increase beyond all others.

The way was prepared for the Baptist missionaries by people of the same name from America. Towards the close of last century, George Leile, a black man from Savannah, Georgia, formed a large congregation in Kingston, and founded that peculiar body since known as the Native Baptists. His successors, Gibb, Clarke, Moses Baker, and others, in various parts of the country, extended his system, and a queer system it was. It was hoped that the Brethren from England, while adopting the work of predecessors, would correct the errors and disorders that had appeared, and, indeed, were prevalent among them.

Moses Baker settled in St. James's parish, where I got acquainted with many of his followers. He had come from New Providence, it was said, and resided near Montego Bay, at a place called Crooked Spring or Vaughan's Field, on the property of a gentleman of the same persuasion. A number of slaves came about the same time from the same place, and were sold into different parts of St. James's, going under the name of “New Providence people.” Baker appointed leaders over classes among the negro houses of many estates. He seems to have been a good man, and zealous, but ill informed, and most superstitious. He could do little in giving sound instruction to all the classes he had formed, being able to visit them only at night, and having no regular Sabbath or church services; but he initiated them into strange system of mingled truth and error, which his leaders carried to the length of a monstrous superstition. As his years and infirmities increased, they conducted things their own way; and disorders so greatly multiplied, which he could no longer rectify, that he applied for an English Baptist missionary to succeed him in his congregation. When the Rev. Mr. Burchell settled in Montego Bay, in 1824, Moses Baker desired his people to join him, which they did, leaders, classes, and all; so that the new congregation soon reckoned fifteen hundred members, and a still greater number of inquirers.

The grand doctrine of these people was the Spirit's teaching. It gave life. The written word was a dead letter. If they could not read the Bible they could do without it, which was as good. The Spirit was sought in dreams and visions of the night, which thus became the source of their spiritual life. Without them inquirers could not be born again either by water or the Spirit. The leaders expounded these dreams to their kneeling followers in weekly class meetings; which, when judged to be of a right kind, were called “the work,” that is, of the Spirit, and supplied the place of knowledge, faith, and repentance. As Christ was led of the Spirit into the wilderness, his disciples must follow him into the wilderness to seek the Spirit. To the bush, the pastures, or the cane fields, those people resorted at night, when preparing for baptism, and were ordered to lie down, each apart, without speaking, but keeping eye and ear open to observe what way the Spirit would come to them. Doubtless they would see and hear strange things in their excited imaginations, and the leaders could make what they liked of them. The result of such a system among such a people may be imagined. The exposition of it and its effects in detail would require many pages, and be more surprising than edifying to our readers. The connection of these people with the English missionaries, though for a time it promised to be beneficial, proved, it is to be feared, a permanent injury. They have since, indeed, to some extent, separated themselves; but not without rending some congregations in pieces; but the leaven of their doctrine and practices cannot be all soon purged away.

Baptist missionary Rev James Mursell Phillippo described the teachings of black men who arrived in Jamaica at the end of the American War of Independence (1775-1783).

Absurd, monstrous, and discordant as were the elements which composed their [African] religious system, there is yet to be united with it another ingredient which, if less revolting in its aspect and character, was not only equally unproductive of rational piety and consistent morality, but far more injurious in its consequences. Many of them, from motives of ambition and pecuniary advantage, soon acquired a knowledge of the formularies of the English Church; and at the conclusion of the war with America, some who had been imported from that continent, mysteriously blending puérilities, assumed the office of teachers and preachers, disseminating far and wide their pernicious follies.

The more effectually to impose upon the credulity of their ignorant and unsuspecting brethren, they endeavoured to persuade them that they were sent of God, and were endowed by him with peculiar gifts and graces. They pretended to read—to foretell the future events; to possess the gift of tongues; and to prophesy. They seldom delivered their instructions without a book, representing it as the Bible; although it as frequently happened to be some other book of a certain size and shape. In one instance a teacher of this description was found haranguing a large assembly from ‘Burn’s Justice,’ holding it upside down. Among the other characteristics errors of this sect, its teachers interpreted what little they knew of the Scriptures literally.

At Christmas it was customary for them and their disciples to go in groups into the woods, or, if there were any in the neighbourhood, among the sheep, over which they pretended to watch, in imitation of the shepherds, to whom the angels announced the birth of the Redeemer, and under the delusive expectation of being favoured with a similar visitation, or, as they expressed it, “they went into the ‘bush’ to see the angels,” who it was believed made an annual appearance. Their usual attitude in prayer partook of all the austerities of penance. They either stood with their arms extended, and their whole bodies as though transfixed against the wall, or prostrated themselves upon the earth; and in this attitude they remained many hours at a time, and sometimes through the entire night, manifesting the most violent muscular contortions, and uttering the most discordant sounds expressive of internal anguish and agonising supplication.

At certain seasons each individual, taking a solitary course, wandered into the woods and most secluded parts of the country, in search of the Saviour, professedly after the manner of John the Baptist in the wilderness.

When any of the fraternity were confined to their beds by sickness, the minister, or father, as he was usually called, anointed them with oil, in imitation of the anointing of the Saviour by Mary Magdalene before his crucifixion. The usual method of its application was by pouring it into the palm of the hand, and rubbing it on the head of the patient; the tata, or father, singing some ditty during the operation, being joined in loud chorus by all who assembled to witness the ceremony.

The influence and temporal interests of these deluded and deluding men increased in proportion to the number of their converts; and, most of them being free men, the duties of their assumed vocation were most assiduously performed. They usually led a wandering life, travelling by night to avoid apprehension. Wherever they took up their residence for a season, they communicated their instructions from house to house, and, with a gravity and importance which they knew well how to assume, confirmed their disciples in the faith. On the visit of one of these imposters to a new neighbourhood, his inquiry at each house was whether any praying persons resided there; and on meeting with a negative he immediately began his commission. If listened to with attentions and treated with respect and hospitality, he lifted up his hands and eyes, and exclaimed, “Peace be to this house.” If, on the contrary, he was treated with indifference and insult, he shook off the dust from his feet as a testimony against them.

These infatuated men professed a firm belief in purgatory, and, like the Romish priests, pretended an acquaintance with the destinies of the deceased. Thus, on inquires being made of their teachers by surviving relatives or friends, the uniform reply was that “they would go and dream about it, and give the required information on the morrow.” It can scarcely need be added that this question involved in it several considerations, and that the reply was more or less in accordance with the wishes of the applicant.

Dreams and visions constituted fundamental articles of their creed. Some supernatural revelations were regarded as indispensible to qualify for admission to the full privileges of their community. Candidates were required, indeed, to dream a certain number of dreams before they were received to membership, the subjects of which were given them by their teachers.

The meetings of this fraternity were frequently prolonged through nearly half the night. The priests enjoined on their followers the duty of fasting one or two days in the week, and encouraged a weekly meeting at each others’ houses, alternately, to drink “hot water” out of white tea-cups (the whole of the tea-table paraphernalia corresponding), which they designated by the absurd and inappropriate epithet of
“breaking peace.” To such a deplorable extent did they carry these superstitious practices, and such was the degree of ignorance on the part of both priest and people, that, in the absence of better information as to what was to be sung in their religious assemblies, they were in the habit of singing the childish story of “the House that Jack Built.” Things if possible more absurd were sung by them on occasions, while “hallelujah” was repeated at the end of each verse in loud chorus. These are facts which the writer has repeatedly gathered from lips of some of the parties.

Rev George Blyth (Scottish Missionary Society), who arrived in Jamaica in 1824, wrote that the Baptist missionaries adopted the Native Baptist system of giving tickets to their followers.

... When the European Baptist missionaries settled in the island, their name recommended them to the adherents of the other party [Native Baptists], which had succeeded to some extent in spreading their opinions, and which included a number of teachers, who were known by the title of leaders. One of the practices of these leaders was to give tickets to their followers, as their adherents were called, who, on receiving these tickets, gave subscriptions of a larger or smaller amount to their leaders. This part of the Native Baptist system was adopted by the European missionaries, who got tickets printed for the several classes of inquirers, candidates and members, and received a specific amount, if not for each, at least when it was given. The party being popular from their very name, and especially after Mr Knibb and others took a prominent part in the emancipation question, there was at one time a great demand for tickets; large sums were paid into their treasury, and many leaders were appointed throughout the island, who were generally zealous in promoting their own cause.

Rev William Brown, Secretary of the Scottish Missionary Society, wrote that these tickets were viewed by Baptist members and inquirers as – ‘a passport to heaven; and hence they were often buried with the dead in their coffins’.

Though we are not prepared to pronounce judgment in regard to the charges brought against the Baptist missionaries, we think it right to give the following brief statement of the chief of them, with a few remarks as to some of them.

Below – chief of the charges brought against the Baptist missionaries – I have omitted 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7 of 8 charges – charges 5 and 8 – extracts

5. That the system of giving tickets to their members and inquirers was attended with many and great evils; that these were given to persons not only without discrimination, but often without knowledge of the individuals; that multitudes got them who were never in a Baptist place of worship, nor ever saw a Baptist minister; that a sum of money was paid for them, and that they appear to be sold to all or any who will pay for them, like any other purchasable commodity; that inquirers’ tickets were given to persons known to be living in fornication; that they were a source of great delusion, were with many a substitute for true religion, and were viewed by them as a passport to heaven; and hence they were often buried with the dead in their coffins. – Remonstrance of Presbyterian; p. 42; Barrett’s Reply; p. 11; Exposition of the System of the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica, p. 10, 16, 19, 22; Statement and Correspondence, p. 6, 12; Evan. Mag. 1842, p. 400; Milne, Falmouth Post, Sept. 22, 1841, p. 6; Reid, Morning Journal, Nov, 18, 1841.

8. That most disgraceful and superstitious practices prevailed in the meeting of the leaders and members of the Baptist churches; that some of these practices were connected with the Obeah and Myal superstitions, which prevailed greatly among them in some places, or they were mixed up with other
foolish and fanatical notions, forming a gross mixture of heathenism and Christianity. – Remonstrance of Presbytery, p. 38, 49, 56.

The testimony of the Baptist missionaries who took part in the charges, deserves special consideration. Mr Whitehorne, a native of Jamaica, who was bred to the law, but who had now been a missionary for a number of years, thus wrote to the Society of the leader and ticket system: “A detail of the evils which are produced by these two contrivances would fill a volume.” “It is enough for me to declare, that in my opinion they degrade and demoralize the people to an incredible extent – that so mischievous do they seem to me, as to lead to the belief of their being an artifice of the devil for deluding thousands of wretched souls in this land . . .

“These devices, however, form the substratum of the great prosperity of the Baptist Mission in Jamaica . . .”

In another letter addressed to the Rev Mr Renshaw, a minister from America, Mr Whitehorne says, “The nature of the leader system is this: a man of some influence upon the estate (usually in the time of slavery, the driver of the gang, or some other principal person) commences a meeting; this may be either before or after he has been attending a chapel. He collects a lot of persons, from 10 to 200 in number, and after some absurd and superstitious forms and ceremonies, they become his spiritual ‘children,’ and they own him as ‘daddy.’ The sway for good or evil which is now established and exercised over them is unbounded; their obedience, their labour, their property, and their entire persons are under his sovereign control. He goes to a minister and carries his troop of ‘children’ along with him; by means of a few hackneyed religious phrases, he (the missionary) is easily persuaded to receive them into his congregation, and the ‘daddy’ is duly installed as leader.” “I have known some very good men among the leaders (some of whom, by the way, have loudly condemned the system); they, however, are the exception. For the most part, the leaders are proud, overbearing, avaricious, and lascivious men; the flock have to pander to their views and they have a galling yoke to bear.” “My firm conviction is, that the leaders as a class are among the worst people in the island. What, then, is the religion which they retail to the people? and what the churches they are principally instrumental in constructing?” – Falmouth Post, Oct 13, 1841.

Returning to Edward – Mount Concord crop account for 1828 includes – This sum due by Edward Clouston Esq for the Hire of Richard Read a waiting Boy - £18

As can be seen from the above Mount Concord crop account for 1828 – Total 30,000 lbs Coffee – Mount Concord was a coffee plantation.
An Essay on the Culture of Coffee

It is not the intention of this Essay to give a history of the Coffee Plant, or to fix decisively its natal spot; neither is it of any consequence to know, that the inhabitants of Constantinople were acquainted with its nectar so early as 1554, and the Venetians were the first that brought it from the Levant towards the end of the seventeenth century – that two individuals carried it from the garden of the king of France to Martinico in 1726, the produce of which the same year was sent to St Domingo, and from thence brought to this island in 1732; I mean only in this Essay to treat of the Soil proper for it, the Mode of Culture, its Manufacture, and the Misfortunes to which it is liable, &c &c.

Qualities of the Soil proper for the Coffee Tree.

The Coffee Tree agrees best with hilly and mountainous ground, where its root is dry and its top often moistened with light showers, or at least refreshed with a salutary dew. It prefers a western exposition. A virgin ground well aired, not too dry, and deep (on account of its root growing perpendicularly as the oaks) is necessary for it. – Without these precautions the Plants will not live long, and the unfortunate Trees, scarcely arrived at the age of seven years, become yellow, wither and perish, as it is impossible that a gravely and barren ground can yield it sufficient nourishment. When you have found a proper soil, fell the trees which cover it, burn them, and clean well the ground; but never suffer in such circumstance the roots of trees, which creep along the ground to be tore up, they preserve the soil, and while they remain, the rains can never hurt its quality. While these shrubs grow and extend their roots, which continue to perform the same functions, and the place being well cleaned, you may begin to plant.

Manner of Cultivating the Coffee Tree.

It is difficult enough to establish precise rules for the distance which ought to be betwixt the Plants, as it must occasionally vary according to the nature of the soil, and the exposition of the ground: In general the Coffee Trees are planted about 8 feet distant from one another – the depth of the holes ought not to exceed eight inches, the height of the Plant eighteen; those which are familiar often keep back a twelve month, and those which are higher do not succeed well. – The best mode of taking the Plants from the nursery, is by breaking the earth with a hoe; by this means the fibres remain in their original state, whereas in pulling them with the hand, these delicate Plants get twisted and shaken, and the more valuable and most necessary parts remain in the earth. With regard to nurseries, they are formed by throwing, in holes of about six or seven inches deep, two or three fresh grains of seed surrounded with their pulps, and covering them lightly with earth: Eight or ten days after, a delicate stalk arises, crowned by the two lobes of the bean, which is divided soon after into two opposite leaves. If you would wish to cultivate this plant without transplanting it (which is not the best mode), after having made your holes of the necessary depth, throw in your seed, taking great care that it is always fresh: In eight or ten days the stalks appear, which continuing to grow produce successively two other leaves. – You must never suffer more than one stalk in a hole; the others you can easily pull with your hand in weeding. Do not allow on any account other herbs to grow at the roots of the young Plants; you may however place, in the time of their growth, in the interval which separates them, but by no means at their roots, Indian corn, rice, greens, &c but remove
The rainy season is the most propitious for planting the Coffee Tree, for its success is then more certain than in dry weather. It is true, that Coffee planted in the spring grows quicker than in the other seasons, as then the vegetative principles have more activity than in any other season; whilst in winter they are barren and inanimate, owing to the cold which the chilly rains then communicate to the earth. But although the trees which are planted in the rainy season are longer in vegetating, yet their success is more certain than that of those which are planted in Summer.

Abandoned to itself, the Coffee Tree would rise to the height of twenty feet; its trunk would then be from four to five inches in diameter: In the best soils it ought not to be permitted to pass five feet, four in moderate ones, and three in others. So soon as it arrives at a proper height, the tops of those branches which tend to elevate it too much must be cut, together with those gormandizing branches, which rising perpendicularly, produce large leaves and little fruit. After the second year our cherished plant commences to recompense the cares of the planter, yet it is not in full bearing until the fifth year. 'Tis then that it is adorned with a number of flowers, which fall in twenty-four hours to give place to a richness less brilliant, but of more solidity.

When a deep red has coloured the exterior of the berries, proceed to your crop; leave upon the branches what is not ripe, you can take it in its time. Your negroes must be provided with small baskets to put the berries in as they gather them, from whence emptying them into others sufficient for one person’s burthen to be carried to the mill. Take care that they pick only the fruit, and that the stalk is left adhering to the branch, that they may not hurt the Tree by tearing its bark. Your Coffee being at the mill, in the evening take six of your negroes whom you relieve by a like number and employ them to pass at the mill in the night what has been picked in the day: Do not delay this process until next day, your crop will suffer by it; and in waiting until the next evening, you run the risk of seeing your Coffee heated, and its quality impaired. It requires two negroes to turn the mill, one at each roller, a third to feed it, a fourth to gather the berries which fall, whilst two others are employed in clearing away the Coffee, and filling the baskets of those who carry. This mill is composed of two cylinders of wood, fortified with two plates of iron eighteen inches long by twelve inches diameter, supported by pivots. By the movement which is communicated to them, they approach a third, which is fixed and termed the chops. Above the rollers is a hopper, in which the berry is put, and which falling betwixt the rollers and the chops is cleared of the first skin, and divided into two parts of which it is composed. Coming out of this machine it falls into a brass sieve, proportioned to the size of the fruit, which lets the skins drop between the wires, while the berries slide over into vessels full of water, where they ought not to remain longer than a night. They are then thoroughly washed early in the morning, and exposed on a platform or barbacue, where three or four days exposure to the Sun will dry them perfectly. Great care must be taken that the fruit does not get wet either by the rain, or dew, to avoid which it is every night put in the stores. This trouble might be avoided, by an expense, which properly speaking would be really a saving, that is to procure kinds of umbrellas made in figure of cone, about five feet diameter about the base, and as high. A thick sail-cloth, supported by wooden props and tarred in a similar manner to a tarpaulin is all that is necessary. A space of three or four inches might be reserved in this barbacue, surrounded with a border three or four inches high, built with stone, where the Coffee, by the covering above, might be kept free from rain or damp. As after this operation the Coffee is not well freed from its skin, which is very adherent, it is shut up in a very close and hot place, when two or three days after it is exposed to the sun, and after it is well dried it is deposited in the stores. When the crop is finished the Coffee is again exposed to the sun for two succeeding days, and when it is sufficiently heated it is carried to the peeling mill. This machine consists of a tree perpendicularly placed, which turns upon itself by the action of water or of some animal. This tree turns one or two wooden grinders of four or five feet diameter, placed vertically in an orbit, of which it occupies the centre; these grinders moving upon their axle describe the circumference of this orbit, which is a kind of trough built of stone, where they throw the Coffee deprived of its skin by the first operation.

In passing over the dry grain, the wooden grinders take off the parchment (a slight skin which detaches itself from the berry, in proportion as it loses its humidity). Relieved of its parchment, it is taken to another mill, which is called the winnowing mill. This last machine consist of four pieces of tin placed upon an axle, and agitated with a good deal of force by a negro, and the wind which is made by the motion of these plates, cleans the Coffee of all the pellicles that are mixed with it. Some planters have the three mills so constructed, as all to operate by one sole power, that is either by water or cattle.
When this precious fruit is entirely cleared of the skin, it is put upon a tale, where the broken berries as well as any filth that may happen to remain are separated by the negroes, it is afterwards exposed to the burning sun, and then turned quite hot into casks, which are carefully covered; this precaution strengthens the grain, shuts up the pores, renders it less susceptible to the impression of the air, and re-establishes it in its original colour, which the sun, together with the parchment, had in some degree tarnished; it is left five or six days in this state, afterwards exposed another day to the sun, and then delivered for sale. The intelligent planters avoid peeling their Coffee in wet weather, and those who sell it in the Colonies do not peel it until they are about to send it to market.

It is almost unnecessary to say that platforms of bare earth, however well built, hurt much the quality of the Coffee, which is of an extreme sensibility, impregnating itself easily with the odours of any bodies by which it may be surrounded, and of course when shipped in keeping it separate from sugar, rum, pimento, and every commodity which exhalés strong odours, this article would gain infinitely. From thence it may be concluded that the drier the stores are where the Coffee is deposited the better it will be. The stores ought to be so constructed that the air may have free circulation, and contain a number of windows so as to dry this article well after the wet weather.

I mentioned in the former part of this essay, that the Coffee Tree commenced after the second year to recompense the cares of the planter, but with the same infirmities as other trees; it is likewise in danger of being destroyed either by a worm which attacks its root, or by the darting rays of the sun. To remedy the evil occasioned by this insect, which attacks the heart of the Coffee Plant, the tree must be cut about two inches below where it begins to wither. There is no other resource against these insects. When the plants are attacked by the white flies, pine apples ought to be planted betwixt the trees, as the latter insects prefer the sweet acid of this fruit, which either kills them or prevents their multiplying. As to strokes of the sun, they are in general as fatal to this plant as to the human species, and there is no way of preserving them from such accidents. What species of culture is there which has not its inconveniences? When this plant has got the better of these misfortunes, it will live and bear for twenty years. The existence of the Coffee Tree might be prolonged, by cutting the trunk level with the ground. The repeated hurricanes in the Windward Islands have compelled them to admit of this regeneration; but the shoots do not yield in general more than two good crops, they then begin to perish, and in the fourth year die entirely even in the best grounds.

Coffee is no longer grown in St Thomas in the Vale.

*My photos, November 2011 – Blue Mountains – Lime Tree Farm – a coffee farm in the parish of St Andrew – coffee*
Lime Tree Farm – coffee bushes and processing the coffee beans
Below – properties in St Thomas in the Vale represented solely or in part by Edward in 1828

*Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts – year 1828*

**Lib 67, Fol 15** – Mount Concord – see above

**Lib 67, Fol 16** – Enfield Estate – sworn on 7 March 1829 by William Higgins Steel, Overseer, before John Kelly

**Lib 67, Fol 16** – Harkers Hall Estate – sworn on 17 March 1829 by Robert Laidlaw Montcrieff, Overseer before John Black

**Lib 67, Fol 16** – Golden River Plantation – sworn on 18 March 1829 by Thomas Hetherington, Overseer, before John Black

**Lib 67, Fol 17** – Berkshire Hall Estate – sworn on 7 March 1829 by Thomas Hooper, Overseer, before John Kelly – includes – Sold Edward Clouston – 1 Puncheon Rum

**Lib 67, Fol 165** – Coolshade Plantation – from 7 August to 31 December 1828 – sworn on 14 March 1829 by James Heighington, Overseer, before H D Mackay

*Google Earth* – top, Rio Doro – bottom, Forked River – *arrow* points to the road from Riversdale to Williamsfield at the junction of the track up to the site of the old Mount Olive Great House and down to the site of the old Mount Olive Sugar Works

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paid to Edward Clouston

Sold Halfboc Estate 92 lbs black sugar 111 £11.11.0d

Waggonage of Army Waggonage £3

Jamaica
Williamsfield crop account for the year 1828 was sworn by Percy Cook.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pounds</th>
<th>Shillings</th>
<th>Farthings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flores</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jublo-Carita</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hales</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elege</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goldersburg</td>
<td>P. O. Meally</td>
<td>Heathfield &amp;c.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pounds</th>
<th>Shillings</th>
<th>Farthings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. A. Holyoake</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillside plantation</td>
<td></td>
<td>20 22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Page</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Paul plantation</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

January,

I, Pomeroy, do certify that the above account and have caused the above account to be registered at the request of my knowledge and belief, this 1st day of January, 1829.

[Signature]

Pomeroy,Accountant

---

Chapter 16. 1827 to 1828


Proceeds of 191 hhds & 30 Tierces of Sugar 72 Puns of Rum ........................................ 4646 - 10 - 7

Deduct
Insurance £150 - 9 - 7 Stores £885 - 2 - 4 Supertare
Commission Postage & Stamps £51 - 14 - 2 .......................... 1087 - 6 - 1
Pr Accounts of Geo Cuthbert & G W Hamilton dated 31 Decr 1828
Amount of this years Expenses .............................. 2616 - 18 - 11 942 - 5 - 7

Google Earth – Mount Olive and Williamsfield – arrow points to the junction of the track up to the site of the old Mount Olive Great House and down to the site of the old Mount Olive Sugar Works – arrows – left points to Williamsfield Bridge – right points to the site of the old Williamsfield Great House

Below – my photos – Williamsfield Bridge –
March 2007 – Mr Tenn, who arranged for young men to show us the ruins of the old Williamsfield sugar works in March 2007 and in September 2008, outside his hardware store

September 2008 – Bridge View Pub – left Neville, Rev Claudette Johnson’s adopted son and server at St Saviour’s – middle, Albert, one of the young men who showed us around the ruins of the old Williamsfield sugar works in September 2008 – right, a local school teacher – and the barman
CHAPTER 17

1829 to 1830

Conveyance to Edward and Henry Lowndes, executors of John Gray — Conveyance from Edward to Robert Dundas Clunie and Henry Lowndes — Edward transmits burial certificate to Rev Burton — Edward Captain in St Thomas in the Vale Militia — Registration of Slaves, 1829, Edward as owner, Williamsfield, and Edward as attorney, etc — Martha Bryce and George William Hamilton — death of James Reid — Crop Accounts for properties represented by Edward, and Williamsfield — Catechetical Schools, St Thomas in the Vale — Edward and Road Appropriations — Giving-In 1830 — McIntosh versus Edward — Edward and Slave Court, St Thomas in the Vale — Catechetical Schools, St Thomas in the Vale — Powers of Attorney to Edward — Crop Accounts, 1830, for properties represented by Edward, and Williamsfield
On 1 January 1829 Asher Asher conveyed 6 slaves to Edward and Henry Lowndes, the Executors of John Gray (see Chapter 16 – John Gray’s Will)

*Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series – summaries/extracts*

*Lib 575, Fol 39 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 11 Apr 11829 – Deed Poll dated 1 January 1829 – summary*

For £332 – Asher Asher of St Catherine, Esq, conveys to Edward Clouston and Henry Lowndes, Executors of John Gray – 6 Negro slaves – 3 males – and a mother and her 2 daughters

On 18 March 1829 Edward, acting it appears as a middle man, conveyed a small piece of land to Robert Dundas Clunie and Henry Lowndes.

*Lib 773, Fol 28 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 20 Jan 1831 – Indenture dated 18 March 1829 – summary*

For 10s – Edward Clouston of St Thomas in the Vale, Esq conveys to Robert Dundas Clunie and Henry Lowndes, both of St Thomas in the Vale, Esqs as tenants in common – 8 acres and 3 rods in St Thomas in the Vale – butting and bounding as per diagram annexed – signed, sealed and delivered by E Clouston – Witness P Blackburn

18 March 1829 – P Blackburn made oath to Geo W Hamilton that he was present and saw Edward Clouston sign, seal and deliver the deed for the purposes therein mentioned

Diagram annexed

Jamaica ss – This diagram represents Eight Acres and three roods of land situate in the parish of St Thos ye Vale and is intended to be conveyed by Edward Clouston Esq to Robert D Clune and Henry Lowndes Esqrs butting and bounding as above Performed in 1815 – Signed Weightman & Gordon

I Henry Lowndes do swear that the land mentioned in this Indenture is not of the real and true value of one thousand pounds – So help me God – H Lowndes – Sworn before Edward McCaw on 15 January 1830 – Entered in the Parochial Freehold Book of Saint Thomas in the Vale on 23 March 1829 – signed Wm Lord, Clk Vest

Jamaica ss St Catherine – I George Thomas do swear that the within deed contains 7 legal sheets of 160 words each and 44 words over – So help me – Sworn before H Lowndes on 19 January 1831
On 21 March 1829 Henry Lowndes gave notice of his intention of leaving Jamaica. The following day there were ‘some very smart shocks of Earthquake’ in St Thomas in the Vale.

**London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 28 Mar 1829, page PS 19**

Extract of a letter dated St Thomas’ in the Vale, the 24th inst.

“On Sunday morning, at twenty minutes after five, we had some very smart shocks of Earthquake, apparently from West to East, and as severe as that of 1812; at a quarter past four on that evening we had another severe shock. – At ten minutes before two, on Monday morning, we were visited with another smart shock, and during the night and Tuesday morning we had two other slight shocks.

*PS, page 23 – Names of Persons Intending to leave the Island – include

March 21 – Henry Lowndes, St Thomas in the Vale.

Hector John Campbell who kept a private school in St Thomas in the Vale (see Chapter 16 – Rev Burton’s 1827 report) died on 4 May 1829. His burial certificate was transmitted by Edward to Rev W G Burton.

**London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 27 Jun 1829, page PS 19**

Died – In St Thomas in the Vale... At Richmond-Hill on the 4th ult Hector John Campbell, Esq in the 85th [sic] year of his age, 58 of which he had resided in the island, whose urbanity of manners and strict integrity endeared him to his friends, who will long lament his loss.

**Latter Day Saints – Family History Centre, London - microfilm no. 1291731 – St Thomas in the Vale Parish Register – 1829**

Burials – Hector John Campbell – Colour: White – Abode: Richmond Hill – Where Buried: (blank) – Age: 73 – By whom Ceremony performed: Nicholas Gyles – According to the Certificate transmitted to me (Rev W G Burton) 6 July by E Clouston

On 5 July 1827 a free black child named Robert Clouston was baptized in St Thomas in the Vale.

On 15 July 1829 Edward was promoted to be a Captain in the St Thomas in the Vale Militia.

"London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 25 Jul 1829, page PS 23"

The St Thomas in the Vale Militia was reviewed by Major General Cox on Tuesday, 25 August 1829.

"Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 5 Sep 1829, page PS 19 – from St Jago de la Vega Gazette, Sat 29 Aug 1829"

On Tuesday last the St Thomas’ in the Vale Regiment of Militia, under the command of Colonel Page, and Troop of Horse, under the command Colonel McInnes, were reviewed on Shenton Pastures, by Major-General Cox, when they made a very handsome appearance, and went through the evolutions and firings in a manner that called forth the warm approbation of the General. A Ball was given by the Officers in the evening, which was numerously attended, and opened by Colonel Page, who danced with Mrs Cox, the General’s lady; Mrs Page was honoured with the hand of the General. The dancing was kept up with much spirit until midnight, when the company was introduced to an elegant supper-table, covered with profusion of good things, which was done ample justice to; as from the number of the company, although fifty plates were on the table, it was three or four times filled with a succession of guests. There were about fifty Ladies present, and dancing was renewed with great hilarity until the dawn of morning.

"British Library – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 1 Mar 1828, page PS 19 – Militia Generals and Staff – District No. 3"

The parishes of St Mary, St Ann, and St Thomas in the Vale, under the orders of Major General the Hon Henry Cox.

His Aide-de-Camp is Lieut. Henry Cox, jun. St Mary’s Regiment, and Major of Brigade Capt. George William Hamilton, St Thomas in the Vale.

4 Feb 1831 – George William Hamilton to be a Major – Militia Promotions – St Thomas in the Vale Regiment – London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 5 Mar1831, page not noted

On 15 January 1824 George William Hamilton was promoted to be a Captain


Henry Lowndes was promoted to be a Lieutenant on 31 May 1826 – and to be a Captain on 3 December 1829 – Militia Promotions – St Thomas in the Vale Regiment – London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 3 Jun 1826, page PS 23 – and – Sat, 5 Dec 1829, page PS 21

1829 was the fifth year slaves were registered in Jamaica – the 5th Triennial Returns of Slaves

Note – the 1829 and 1832 Triennial Returns were made in duplicate and one set for each year was sent to the Colonial Office. Each Return includes the signature (or mark) of the person who swore the Return and the signature of the Magistrate or senior Judge before whom a Return was sworn.
Chapter 17. 1829 to 1830

London National Archives – 1829 Jamaica Slave Registers – St Thomas in the East – no page numbers

T71/149 (no page numbers) – Edward Clouston – (no scan on – http://search.ancestry.co.uk/)

Return of Slaves made by Edward Clouston as Owner – on 28 June 1826: 2 Males, 1 Female, Total 3 – on 28 June 1829: 2 Males, 1 Female, Total 3 – no Increase – no Decrease – sworn on 14 September 1829 by Edward Clouston before George Wright


Return of Slaves made by Thomas Blakely as Attorney to John Pedley includes – Robert Clouston, Negro, Age 5 – one of 134 slaves purchased from the Estate of Font Hill and registered by Archibald Dick in 1826

St Ann – T71/48 \ (no page numbers) – Return of Slaves made by James Betty as Attorney to Cath Wordie includes Ed Clouston, Negro, Age 2 yrs 10 mths

St Thomas in the Vale – 3 Vols – T71/29 - /30 - /31 (no page numbers)

T71/30 – Earl of Harewood


Bessy and her family on 28 June 1829 – Increase: 1 – Decrease: 2

Birth – Cudjoe – Negro – Age 3 – Son of Dorothy Beckford (formerly Dolly)

Manumitted – Henry Clouston – Mulatto (sic) – Age 5 – and – Eliza Fox – Mulatto – Age 35

Note – at the time of Henry’s manumission on 15 September 1827 he was aged 4 – see Chapter 1 – Henry born on 16 November 1822.
In 1829 George William Hamilton swore a number of Triennial Returns before Edward, including the Earl of Harewood’s Return in St Dorothy – slaves attached to Nightingale Grove.

St Thomas in the Vale – T71/29 – Edward Clouston

Return of Slaves made by Edward Clouston as Owner – on 28 June 1826: on 28 June 1826: Total 3 Males – on 28 June 1829: 8 Males and 8 Females – Total 16 – Increase: 13 purchased – Decrease: 0 – sworn on 23 September 1829 by Edward Clouston before Samuel Dare

Increase – 13 purchased – all Creoles – (most of the side of the page is hidden by the binding)

Henry Paterson – Negro – Age 19 – Registered in 1817 in same Parish by Jane Rennalls

James – Negro – Age 12 – Registered ditto

….. Edlyne alias Gift – Negro – Registered ditto

Robert – Negro – Age 6½ – Registered in 1823 in same Parish by Jane Rennalls

John – Negro – Age 2 – Phillis alias Mary Marshall his mother

…. alias Priscilla Edlyne – Negro – Age 42 – Registered in 1817 in same Parish by Jane Rennalls

…. alias Mary Marshall – Negro – Age 37 – Registered ditto

…. (? Sarah) – Negro – Age 28 – Registered ditto

Eleanor Marshall – Negro – Age 19 – Registered ditto

…. – Negro – Age 10 – Registered in 1823 in 1823 in same Parish by Jane Rennalls

Susannah – Negro – Age 6½ – Registered in 1826 in same Parish by Jane Rennalls

Frances Rennalls – Negro – Age 46 – Registered in 1826 in the Parish of Kingston by Ann B Bains

Mary – Negro – Age 4½ – Registered in 1826 in this Parish by Jane Rennalls

T71/29 – Edward Clouston – Additional Return

Return of Slaves made by Edward Clouston as Owner – on 28 June 1826: (blank) – on 28 June 1829: 1 Male – Joseph Peacan – Negro – Age 40 – purchased at Collecting Constable’s Sale (see Chapter 16) & formerly given in by Simon Peacan of this Parish – sworn on 25 September 1829 by Edward Clouston before Peter F (Francis) Garrigues

In 1829 Edward made thirteen Triennial Returns of Slaves as Attorney, Agent, or Receiver – and one Return was made on his behalf by his Agent.

St Thomas in the Vale – Returns 1 to 10 sworn by Edward on 23 September 1829 before Samuel Dare

1 – T71/29 – John Blackburn – New Works and Wallens Estates

Return of Slaves made by Edward Clouston as one of the Attorneys to John Blackburn – on 28 June 1826: Total 604 – on 28 June 1829: 259 Males, 326 Females, Total 585 – Increase: 44 Births, and 1 Runaway since 1817 to be re-entered should he return – Decrease: 64 – 62 Deaths, 1 Manumission, Eliza Gray, Quadroon, Age 4 belonging to New Works (daughter of John Gray), and 1 Runaway since 1817 to be re-entered
### 2 – T71/29 – James Berney Bourdieu – Hog Hole Estate


### 3 – T71/29 – Sir John Gordon, Bart – Golden River Plantation

Return of Slaves made by Edward Clouston as Attorney to Sir John Gordon, Bart – on 28 June 1826: Total 118 – on 28 June 1829: 53 Males, 61 Females, Total 114 – Increase: 8 Births – Decrease 12 – 9 Deaths, 2 Manumissions, James alias James Richards and Simpson alias Joseph Waugh, Creole Negroes, Age 37, and 1 Runaway since 1827 to be re-entered should he return

### 4 – T71/29 – Mount Concord Plantation – Edward Clouston, Receiver

Return of Slaves made by Edward Clouston as Receiver under the Court of Chancery – on 28 June 1825: Total 124 – on 28 June 1829: 49 Males and 73 Females, Total 122 – Increase: 9 Births – Decrease: 10 Deaths and 1 Runaway

### 5 – T71/30 – John Hayman – Berkshire Hall Estate

Return of Slaves made by Edward Clouston as Attorney to John Hayman – on 28 June 1826: Total 168 – on 28 June 1829: 80 Males, 82 Females, Total 162 – Increase: 15 Births – Decrease: 20 Deaths and 1 Runaway

### 6 – T71/30 – William Hervey – Enfield Estate

Return of Slaves made by Edward Clouston as Attorney to William Hervey – on 28 June 1826: Total 107 – on 28 June 1829: 54 Males, 46 Females, Total 100 – Increase: 5 Births – Decrease: 12 Deaths

### 7 – T71/30 – Richard Lee, James Esdaile and William Thwaytes – Rose Hall Estate


### 8 – T71/30 – Heirs and Devisees of James Seton Lane – Coolshade Plantation

Return of Slaves made by Edward Clouston as Agent to the Heirs and Devisees of James Seton Lane – on 28 June 1826: Total 135 – on 28 June 1829: 66 Males, 64 Females, Total 130 – Increase: 11 Births – Decrease: 14 Deaths, 1 Female Negro, Age 42, purchased and Manumized by James Bell and 1 Female Negro, Age 16, Transported for attempting to poison her Mistress

Above – attempting to poison her mistress = Millicent Lane, nee Guy, James Seton Lane’s second wife (see Chapter 15) – [https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/254050 – Herbert Jarret James’ Letter-Book, transcribed and edited by Sarah Harrison] – letter to Sir Michael Benignus Clare, 4 August 1828 – . . . Mrs Lane poison J S Lane dying – (see Chapter 16 – James Seton Lane died)

### 9 – T71/31 – Major General William Nedham – Mount Olive Estate

Return of Slaves made by Colin Mackenzie and Edward Clouston as Attorneys to Major General William Nedham – on 28 June 1826: 108 Males, 124 Females, Total 232 – on 28 June 1829: 100 Males 100, 114 Females, Total 214 – Increase: Total 22 – 8 Births and 14 transferred from Crescent Pen, St Catherine – Decrease: Total 40 – 33 Deaths, 1 tried and Sentenced to the Workhouse for Life by sentence of Slave Court, and 6 Runaways
10 – T71/31 – Francis James Flutter Steevens – Harkers Hall Estate


11 – T71/29 – John Gray, deceased

Return of Slaves made by Edward Clouston as Executor and Guardian for John Gray deceased – on 28 June 1826: 0 — on 28 June 1829: 3 Males, 2 Females – Increase: 3 Males and 3 Females purchased (see above Deed Poll dated 1 January 1829) – Decrease: 1 Runaway since 7 Feb 1828 – sworn on 25 September 1829 by Edward Clouston before Peter F (Francis) Garrigues

St Catherine – no page numbers

12 – T71/9 – Major General William Nedham – Crescent Pen

Return of Slaves made by Colin Mackenzie and Edward Clouston as Attorneys to Major General William Nedham – on 28 June 1826: 7 Males, 13 Females, Total 20 – on 28 June 1829: 2 Males, 9 Females, Total 2 – Increase: 0 – Decrease: 4 Deaths and 14 transferred to Mount Olive Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 23 September 1829 by Edward Clouston before Samuel Dare

13 – T71/10 – Francis James Flutter Steevens – Lime Tree Garden Pen

Return of Slaves made by Edward Clouston as Attorney to Francis James Flutter Steevens – on 28 June 1826: Total 27 – on 28 June 1829: 14 Males, 14 Females, Total 28 – Increase: 3 Births – Decrease: 2 Deaths – sworn on 25 September 1829 by Edward Clouston before Peter F (Francis) Garrigues

1829 St George’s Slave Register – Adam Gray made a Return as Agent to Edward Clouston

T71/162 – page 159 – Rev Alexander Johnston


Note – in the London National Archives I searched the 1826 St George Slave Register but found no Return for Rev Alexander Johnston.

Above – 1 – John Blackburn – New Works and Wallens Estates, St Thomas in the Vale – (see Chapter 5) – Edward registered a power of attorney from John Blackburn in 1829-30.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees

1829-30 – Lib 240, Fol 63 – to Clouston, Edward – from John Blackburn

1824 – Lib 227, Fol 149 – to Hamilton, George W, & al – from John Blackburn

1824 – Lib 227, Fol 149 – to Lowndes, Henry, & al – from John Blackburn


Chapter 17.  1829 to 1830

Slave Registers – St Thomas in the Vale – John Blackburn

1826 – Return of Slaves made by George William Hamilton and Henry Lowndes as Attorneys
1823 – Return of Slaves made by George William Hamilton and Henry Lowndes as Attorneys
1820 – Return of Slaves made by George William Hamilton and Edward Sword as Attorneys
1817 – Return of Slaves made by Francis Graham as Attorney

Above – 2 – James Berney Bourdieu – Hog Hole Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – (see Chapter 15) – Edward registered a new power of attorney from James Berney Bourdieu in 1828

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees

1828 – Lib 237, Fol 205 – to Clouston, Edward – from James Berney Bourdieu, Exor. & Devisee

Above – 6 – William Hervey – Enfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – (see Chapter 15) – Edward registered a new power of attorney from William Hervey in 1828-29

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees

1828-29 – Lib 238, Fol 103 – to Clouston, Edward – from William Hervey


Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees

1823-24 – Lib 226, Fol 163 – to Lane, James Seton, & al – from Richard Lee

Slave Registers – St Thomas in the Vale – R Lee, J Esdaile and W Thwaytes

1826 – Return of Slaves made by Malcolm Macleod as Attorney
1823 – not noted
1820 – Return of Slaves made by William Shand and Malcolm McLeod as Attorneys
1817 – Return of Slaves made by William Shand and Malcolm McLeod as Attorneys


1830 – includes – 31 December – To paid Messrs Le Blanc & Co their acct for drawing Power of Attorney in favour of Edwd Clouston, Esq for Rosehall Estate - £7 3s 8d
1826 – includes – 30 September – To paid William Le Blanc, Esq, for Power of Attorney to Malcolm Macleod, Esq in 1824 (and in case of his death to J S Lane, Esq) to manage Rosehall - £ - (amount not noted)
See – Manuscript Sources for the History of the West Indies, by K E Ingram, published 2000 –
Rosehall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – page 45, 46, 61, 62, 76, 80 and 145

– https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=8C0OAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – New Annual
Register or General Repository of History, Politics & Literature for year 1806, published 1807 –
page 84 – Richard Lee (a London merchant) Deputy Chairman of the West India Docks in
1806.

– http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=NL4NAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Papers
presented to the House of Commons on the 7th May 1804, respecting the Slave Trade; &c. &c.
Ordered to be printed 8th June 1804 – Section G – Jamaica – page 47-50 – St Thomas in the
Vale – Number of Negroes in the aforesaid Parish … agreeable to the 11th of July last, taken at
an extraordinary Vestry, November 2d 1799 – includes – Lee, Richard – Rose Hall – 227
Negroes

Above – 10 and 13 – Francis James Flutter Steevens – Harkers Hall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, and
Lime Tree Garden Pen, St Catherine – (see Chapter 15) – Edward registered a new power of
attorney from Francis J F Steevens in 1828-29.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees

1828-29 – Lib 238, Fol 106 – to Clouston, Edward, & al – from Francis Jas F Stevens (sic)

http://maps.nls.uk/jamaica/index.html – The Three Counties of Jamaica, by James Robertson, published
1804 – County of Middlesex – Parish of St Thomas in the Vale – section – underlined – Rose Hall –
Wallens and New Works, and Burtons (added to New Works following John Blackburn’s purchase
between 1810 and 1817)
My photos, March 2007 – road from Rose Hall to Wallens

Rose Hall – looking west
Road from Rose Hall to Wallens – New Works – looking northwest – oranges

New Works – looking east
November 2009 – Wallens looking south towards New Works – sugar cane

Wallens – looking southeast
In 1829 numerous Triennial Returns of Slaves were sworn before Edward, including two Returns made by Martha Bryce in St Thomas in the Vale.

*London National Archives – 1829 – St Thomas in the Vale – Return made by Martha Bryce as Administratrix of Ann Frances Cameron – 1 slave – and – Return made by Martha Bryce as Owner – 1 slave*

Martha Bryce, a Mestee (12.5% black/- 87.5% white), was George William Hamilton’s housekeeper and mother of his children. In 1820 Martha Bryce was the mother of two children baptized in St Catherine.


*Above – John Robert Hamilton and Andrew Bogle Hamilton*

George William Hamilton in his Will (see Chapter 25) mentioned his son John Robert Hamilton. He made no mention of Andrew Bogle Hamilton, but he may have been Andrew Hamilton who died in St Thomas in the Vale at Tulloch in 1824.

*https://familysearch.org/ (accessed June 2011) – St Thomas in the Vale Parish Register, 1816-1826 – Burials – 1824*

*Although Andrew Hamilton, above, is recorded as a Mestee, the St Thomas in the Vale Parish Register did not record, as far as I have seen, any baptism, marriage, or burial of a Mustiphini (6.26% black - 93.75 white = White by Law).*

In his Will George William Hamilton mentioned his son Larchin Lynch Hamilton who may have been Larchin Lynch Hamilton, abode Tulloch, who was baptised in St Thomas in the Vale on 8 May 1827.

*Below – Latter Day Saints, London Family History Centre – Microfilm 1291711 – St Thomas in the Vale Parish Register – Baptisms*
1827 – 6 May – Colour: Mestee – Christian Name: Larchin Lynch Hamilton – Father’s Names/Mother’s Name: (not filled in) – Abode: Tulloch – By whom ceremony performed: W G Burton.

In 1829, on 6 October, George William Hamilton’s father John Hamilton of Northpark, Glasgow, died. His wife Helen, nee Bogle, George William Hamilton’s mother, died in September 1826.


Rev W G Burton’s daughter Olivia Elizabeth died on 14 October 1829 – and Rev David McCaw (or MacCaw), Island Curate for St Thomas in the Vale (priest in charge of Harewood Chapel), died on 16 October 1829.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 24 Oct 1829, page PS 23

Died – At Allington, in St John’s, on the 14th inst, aged 5 months, Olivia Elizabeth, the infant daughter of the Rev W G Burton, Rector of St Thomas in the Vale

– In St Thomas in the Vale on the 16th inst the Rev David McCaw, Island Curate for that Parish

Sat, 7 Nov 1829, page PS 23 – Civil Appointments

Nov 2 – Rev Sommersall Richards Mackenzie to be Island Curate for St Thomas in the Vale

Jamaica Archives – Bishop’s Book, Vol 1 – page 194 and 204

1829, 14 June – Sommersall Richards Mackenzie, BA St John’s, Cambridge, ordained Deacon by Charles James, Bishop of London

James Reid, who hired Edward’s slaves in St Thomas in the East and his plantation Orkneys (see Chapter 15), died towards the end of 1829.
I James Reid, born at Inverness, North Britain, on 14 December 1781 – I bequeath to Mary Maggie a Quadroon woman now living with me – £100 Jamaica currency and one of my Negro Slaves – I bequeath to nine Mustee Children, six sons and three daughters, as follows – to the oldest, and undutiful son, James Reid now residing, I believe, in Scotland 20 shillings Sterling – my will is that my 2nd Boy Robert Logan Reid be educated in this country at the expence of my Estate, and give him £100 Jamaica currency and 2 of my Negro Slaves – to John Reid the next oldest in like manner I bequeath £100 Jamaica currency and 2 of my Negro Slaves – to Colin Reid, Kenneth Reid and Alexander Reid, the 3 youngest, I bequeath to each of them £100 Jamaica currency with 2 of my Negro Slaves to each of them – I also request that the 3 last named Boys get a decent Education at the expence of my Estate – to the 3 Mustee Girls, Children of the aforesaid Mary Maggie – to Isabella Reid, the eldest, I bequeath one of my Negro Slaves and £100 Jamaica currency – to Nancy Reid £100 Jamaica currency and one of my Negro Slaves – and to the youngest Mary Reid £100 Jamaica currency and 2 of my Negro Slaves – and request the 3 Girls be learned to read and write at the expence of my Estate – it is my particular request that my Executors do endeavour their utmost in Educating the Boys – a plain and decent Education – likewise to fix them to Trade or such occupations as may best suit them – And as a guide to my Executors to prevent dividing any Family of Slaves I shall name in a Codicil those I consider to be most usefull to the said Mary Maggie and her children to the number of 15 already Willed to them

I further bequeath to Mary Maggie and her children Robert Logan Reid, John Reid, Colin Reid, Kenneth Reid, Alexander Reid, Isabella Reid, Nancy Reid and Mary Reid – my Coffee and provision plantation – 90 acres of Land – called Inverness in St Thomas in the East with Buildings House hold furniture &c – equal share amongst them with wearing apparel and should Mary Maggie have any more Children for me – I bequeath the Same as to those already herein named – if Males £100 Jamaica currency with 2 Negro Slaves and to be decently Educated out of my Estate – if Females £100 Jamaica currency and one of my Negro Slaves and to be learned to read and write out of my Estate – with Equal share of my plantation called Inverness – if the Coffee field at Inverness be in good Cultivation at my decease and my Executors deem it prudent that it be continued while beneficial to my Estate

To my Cousin Robert Reid now living as overseer on Boston and Buckingham Estate, St Thomas in the East, £100 Jamaica currency – to my Cousins Mary Anderton Reid, Isabella Reid, Ann Gilbert Reid, Helen Reid, Frances Sanford Reid now living in London – £20 Sterling each – remainder of my Estate I bequeath to my 2 sisters Isabella Reid and Helen Reid now living in the parish of Fearn and Kiltearn, Ross Shire, Scotland, to be divided equally amongst them

To Alexander McFarquhar, William Forsyth Grant and Duncan Mackenzie now living at Glenmay, Lyssons, and Springfield, St Thomas in the East – 10 Guineas as a small token of my friendship

My desire is that my Executors retain my Pen in St Thomas in the East called Font Hill with the Slaves thereunto belonging with the remainder of my Slaves attached to Inverness Plantation with the Exception of the number Willed to Mary Maggie and her Children, and that Font Hill Pen with Inverness Plantation may be cultivated and the Slaves to be continued to be Employed until my debts are paid – then Font Hill Pen with the Stock, House, Household furniture &c &c thereon to be Sold at Publick Sale to the highest & best bidder in the event of a Kind & Good Master to my Slaves do not offer fair for it which I would prefer


Codicil (no date) – I bequeath to Mary Maggie my Negro Slave Jean Reid, to Isabella Reid my Negro Slave Sarah Reid – to Nancy Reid my Negro Slave Charlotte Reid – (the 3 slaves are sisters) – to Mary Reid my Negro Slaves Harriot Morgan & Mary Reid junior – to Robert Logan Reid, John Reid, Colin Kenneth Reid and Alexander Reid I bequeath the following Negro Slaves – George Reid, Helen Reid,
Andrew Reid, George Reid, Douglas Reid, Charles Reid, Alick Reid and Job Reid, all sons of Helen’s – Sally Reid & Charles Munro her son to be divided two each as they may agree amongst themselves – Witness same as above

Codicil (no date) – I bequeath to my son James Reid any 2 of my Negro Slaves, Males, that he may make choice of – Witnesses – Alex McFarquhar, Robert Munro, James Forsyth

4 November 1829 – Frederick F Hill and Thomas Blakely of St Thomas in the East Esqs – both or one or other – appointed to administer oath unto James Forsyth and Robert Munro of St Thomas in the East Esqs that they saw James Reid deceased sign, seal, publish and declare his Will and Codicils

19 December 1829 – Frederick F Hill administered An Oath unto James Forsyth and Robert Munro

Above – Inverness and Font Hill – Inverness = the 20 acres immediately north of Orkneys that were conveyed to James Reid at the same time as the 10 acres (Orkneys) were conveyed to Edward in September 1812 (see Chapter 7) – Font Hill – the earliest mention I have of James Reid in connection with Font Hill is in 1828.

At the time of James Reid’s death, he owed money to Edward for the hire of his slaves in St Thomas in the East and Orkneys.

Edward Clouston Esq by John Archer his attorney complains of Robert Reid and Duncan McKenzie of St Thomas in the East, Esqs, Executors of James Reid of St Thomas in the East, deceased, of a plea of Trespass – James in his lifetime to wit 31 December 1829 [sic – James had died by 4 November 1829 – see Will above] at St Thomas in the East was indebted to Edward in the sum of £3,000 Jamaica currency – for the hire and wages, work, labour and service of slaves belonging to Edward – and for the use and occupation of a certain piece or parcel of Land [not named] in St Thomas in the East

And whereas the said Robert and Duncan, Executors, afterwards to wit 16 January 1831 ……. (much that follows is illegible). Edward was awarded £2,175 9s 7d – and £9 3s 9d Costs

On 20 November 1829 the Bachelors of St Thomas in the Vale gave a Ball at Bog Walk.

A Ball was given at Bog-Walk by the Bachelors of St Thomas in the Vale, on Friday evening the 20th inst. when a numerous party attended. Dancing commenced at seven o’clock, chiefly Spanish and country dances, which continued till the hour of twelve, when the Stewards invited the party to the supper-room, and recommenced dancing which did not conclude till daylight.

Three days before Christmas 1829, Dr James Macfadyen left Spanish Town for a ‘short Botanical Excursion’. After visiting the parish of St John he travelled on through St Thomas in the Vale to Mount Olive and Williamsfield.

In the morning of Monday, the 22d December, 1829, I left Spanish-Town. My road lay towards St John’s, the hills of which, marking the boundary of the two parishes, rose conspicuously in the distance. Before me was stretched the plain of Liguanea, bounded towards the South by the sea, and on the East by the precipitous range of the Blue Mountains. The sun had not yet emerged above the horizon, the hills were unclouded, and the outline of their woody ridges was most distinctly marked. The air was cool, the thermometer standing at 64º, and we journeyed on, refreshed by the occasional land-breeze that came across us, laden with the fragrance of flowers... This is indeed that season of the day when we can boast that this climate affords us all we can desire; the delightful coolness of the matin prime is rendered more grateful by the recollection of the parched noon of the preceding day, the oppressive heat of which a few hours are about to bring back. There is one deficiency, however, that must ever strike the traveller from Europe. No song of the feathered tribes greets him in his way. At times, it is true, he may listen to the lay of our Transatlantic nightingale, (Turdus polyglottus,) as, seated on some spray, it pours its rich and varied note in reply to some other species of its species, with whom it would appear to carry on a rivalry in song. More commonly, however, we are annoyed with the harsh cry of the Savannah Black-bird, (Crotophaga Ani,) which gives warning to its companions of the approach of a stranger, or to the chirp of a Grass-bird, or the dreary note of the Bald-coot, (Fulicca atra,) sounding from some lonely morass.

The Botany of the immediate neighbourhood of Spanish-Town is far from being interesting. The land which is not cleared for the purpose of pasturage is almost entirely occupied by thickets of Logwood, (Hæmatoxylon Campechianum,) the Poponax, (Acacia tortuosa,) and the Cashew, (A. juliflora,) These are introduced plants, which have become naturalized. They are useful as fuel; being recommended by the quick growth and close texture of their wood. The first also supplies a well known dye-stuff; the second yields a gum, not inferior to the common description of Gum Arabic; whilst from the wood of the last, the most durable description of shingles is made...

Journeying on, we crossed the Bog Walk River, which passing out of the Vale through a ravine, assumes, near Spanish Town, the name of Rio Cobre. Even here, in body of water, it far exceeds the greater number of our Jamaica streams. It takes its origin in the mountains of Clarendon, passes through the Vale of Linda in St Johns, till it reaches Swansea Estate, where it sinks, to re-appear, after a subterranean course of two or three miles, at River-Head Estate, in St Thomas in the Vale. Few tropical rivers abound more in fish. On its margin we observed that solitary, yet graceful bird, the Egret, (Ardea Egretta.)

My photos, December 2009 – fish pond near Spanish Town
March 2007 – Mount Olive

At the works of Byebrook Estate... Passing on, we reached the Savannah where the church stands. The land here is marshy: the prevailing grass is the Wire-Grass, (*Panicum strictum*), disliked by cattle. Scarcely any shrub is to be seen but the Cocoa Plum, (*Chrysobalanus icaco*), and the *Coccoloba diversifolia*... On the road-side, we gathered specimens of those rather rare plants... That pest of the pastures, the Jamaica Marygold, (*Silphium trilobatum*), is also present here. In many parts of the Island, especially in the wet districts, this plant is so luxuriant as to take possession of whole pastures, being what is considered a weed in the eye of the pen-keeper.

In the Vale itself, as in all spots which have been long in cultivation, there are few objects to engage the notice of the Naturalist, whose richest banquets are spread in the remote wild of undisturbed nature. We met occasionally in the pastures with the Quail; and the Snipe, (*Scolopax Gallinago*), during this season of the year, is to be found in every ditch. On a tree, a Whistling-Duck, (*Anas arborea*), was observed perching; it is seldom seen during this part of the year in this latitude, as it is supposed to migrate, to spend the winter months in Carolina... Below Mount Olive House, I found the *Epidendrum anceps* on almost every tree; and on every bank *Hbenaria hirta*. At Williamsfield, the *Epidendrum nocturnum* was abundant, and along with it, though of less frequent occurrence, the *Bernhardia complanata*. There was one solitary specimen of *Epidendrum verrucosum*...

This district has been regarded as unhealthy; the negroes being more sickly, and more subject to ulcers than in any other part of the Island. This, some may be inclined to attribute, and indeed have attributed, to the influence of Malaria. There can be no necessity to ascribe effects to a suppositious agent, for which we can otherwise easily account. The true cause is most probably the morning fogs, the chilling effects of...
which are opposed to the intense heat of the noontide sun, which, in this district, owing to its being surrounded by hills, is only slightly relieved by the sea-breeze. We may also take into account that provisions are far from being abundant, and that the negroes are unquestionably the least improved, both in their morals and general habits of any in the Island – retaining many of their African notions and vices; in particular, the pernicious habit of dirt-eating. I believe I am not far from the truth in my calculation, when I say, that in this Spanish district, nine negroes out of ten will be found addicted to this singular and eventually fatal practice.

As for the unhealthiness of the district, in respect to its white inhabitants, it is only during years when the rainy seasons are heavy, and the north-easterly winds very prevalent, that it deserves this character. Since the fatal year of 1823, few parishes in the Island have been more healthy. From that period, an improvement has taken place in the habits of the occupiers of the district, which, previously, were intemperate to an excess. I have ventured on these few remarks, having frequently heard that this district named peculiarly exposed to the influence of Malaria; an agent, as has been already observed, whose existence is, at best, but conjectural, and whose repeated effects I have always, as yet, been unable satisfactorily to account for, by the action of more obvious causes.

*My photos, November 2011 – St Thomas in the Vale – roadside north of Sandy Gut*
Chapter 17. 1829 to 1830

Below – properties represented solely or in part by Edward in 1829.

**Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts for year 1829**

**Lib 68, Fol 169** – Wallens Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, and Montpelier Pen, St Mary’s – sworn on 24 March 1820 by Henry Lowndes, Attorney, before George William Hamilton

New Works not noted

**Lib 69, Fol 71** – Berkshire Hall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 16 March 1830 by Thomas Hooper, Overseer, before John Kelly

**Lib 69, Fol 72** – Enfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 16 March 1830 by William Higgins Steel before George William Hamilton

**Lib 69, Fol 72** – Hog Hole Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 16 March 1830 by William Holloway Clarke, Overseer, before George William Hamilton

**Lib 69, Fol 73** – Harkers Hall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 2 March 1830 by R L (Robert Laidlaw) Montcrieff before John Blake

**Lib 69, Fol 73** – Lime Tree Garden Pen, St Catherine – sworn on 1 March 1830 by George Mackerlie of Lime Tree Garden Pen before John Lunan – includes – Hire of a Negro to E Clouston from 20 Sep to 31 Dec at £18 per annum - £5 0s 6d

**Lib 69, Fol 74** – Mount Olive Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, and Crescent Pen, St Catherine – see below

**Lib 69, Fol 75** – Rose Hall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 23 March 1830 by Alexander Armstrong before Richard Kinkead

**Lib 69, Fol 76** – Mount Concord Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – in possession of Edward Clouston, Receiver – sworn on (no date) by Henry Mignot before John Blake

**Lib 69, Fol 77** – Golden River Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 9 March 1830 by Francis Gordon, Overseer, before Charles Satchell

**Lib 69, Fol 78** – Coolshade Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 24 February 1830 by James Heighington, Overseer, before John Blake

Williamsfield expenses for the year 1829 were considerably more than the proceeds of the crop.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proceeds of 97 Hhds of Sugar &amp; 42 Puns of Rum</th>
<th>1698 - 16</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deduct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance £107 - 7 - 4 Stores £829 - 13 - 7 Supertare</td>
<td>975 - 6 - 10</td>
<td>31 Dec 1829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commission Postage &amp; Stamps £38 - 5 - 11 - - - -</td>
<td>723 - 9 - 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pr Accounts of Geo Cuthbert &amp; G W Hamilton dated</td>
<td>2031 - 14 - 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of this years Expenses - - - - - - - -</td>
<td>1308 - 4 - 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss - - - - - - - - -</td>
<td>£</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abstract of the Produce of the Estates and other Property in the West Indies belonging to the Earl of Harewood – Nelson & Adam, London, 30 April 1830 – Crop 1829 – Williamsfield

Williamsfield crop account for the year 1829 – includes – To hire of Annie Balfour (Bessy’s eldest daughter) 8 May to 31 Decr @ £16 per annum - £10 7s 9¼d

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Lucas Ely</td>
<td>275</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George W. lanett Ely</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantfield Plantation</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill Dr Plantation</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Port Plantation</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleasant Mount Pleasant</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>142</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**

- A.D. £1000 1st day of Apr 1798 at 6% per annum
- £57 12 0
- Midsummer term from May 21st to Dec 31st at £20 0 0
- £320 0 0
- £2 10
- £500 1 9 10
- £498 11 0 14
- £8 10

---

**Jamaica 1830**

To William B. Banks: the undersigned do render the above as just and true account of all the rents, dues, and charges for the year 1829, being the eight hundred and twenty-sixth year of the line of the estate of Mr. Thomas B. Banks, deceased, and that all rents, dues, and charges have been paid during the year for the use of the estate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

To William B. Banks,

Wm. H. Banks

From before me this 10th day of March, 1830

R. H. Kent
Chapter 17. 1829 to 1830


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sugar</th>
<th>Acre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unaccounted for at the sheriff

Ed. John B. Henshaw
Wm. Hare
Edward Clouston
Pepper Mill Plantation
Chideok

Berkshire Hall Estate for carriage of missing supplies and produce to sail from Crescent Pen

Parish of St. Thomas for rape labour on the Public Road
New Port Plantation for carriage of a load of coffee to New Amsterdam, Barbados

Paid to Wm. Clouston for carriage of a still from the cane
Sells for Carriage of 3 Tiers of Coffee
Chapter 17. 1829 to 1830

My photos, September 2008 – St Saviour’s churchyard – left – November 2009 – St Faith’s Anglican school, Mount Concord
Chapter 17. 1829 to 1830

In 1829 Rev W G Burton reported that instruction for slaves in the Church Catechism had been introduced on twenty nine properties in St Thomas in the Vale.

*British Library – Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Island – Report for the year 1829 – Diocese of Jamaica – page 2-3*

The Bishop has subdivided the whole Island into three Deaneries, and has appointed the Rev. Lewis Bowerbank, Rural Dean of Middlesex; Rev. Alexander Campbell, of Surrey; and Rev. John McIntyre, of Cornwall. Much benefit has already resulted from these appointments. In compliance with the suggestions of the Bishop, the vestries of St Andrew, St George, Trelawny, St John’s and St James, St Elizabeth and Hanover, have either already erected, or advertised for tenders for the erection of chapels, at Mount James, Hope, and Annotto Bays, Duncan’s, Luidas Vale, Montego Bay, Lacovia, Green Island. In the parish of St George, twenty-five gratuitous teachers assist the Rector in the Sunday School, which had increased from 70 to 140. In the parish of St James, the Free School has been, by a recent Act of the Assembly, (Appendix, No. 2,) enlarged to admit free persons of colour, as well as children of white parentage: and, in addition to the trustees appointed by a previous act of 1805, the Bishop of Jamaica, for the time being, is constituted a trustee for all purposes contained in this and the above-mentioned act. In the parish of Kingston, the chapel erected by private subscription and a grant from his Majesty’s Government, and capable of containing 1200 persons, is nearly ready for consecration. In the parish of St Thomas in the East, on the estate of Golden Grove, a chapel has been built by Chaloner Andrew Arcedeckne, Esq, and has been licensed and opened by the Bishop, (the circumstances of the property not admitting consecration,) and will contain about 600 persons – the officiating Minister to be appointed by the Bishop, with a stipend of 100l. sterling per annum from Mr Arcedeckne. In the parish of St Anne, a chapel has been built at Aboukir, on the borders of Clarendon, under the will of John Howlett, Esq, and is nearly ready to be licensed or consecrated by the Bishop, as circumstances may permit. In the parish of St Thomas in the Vale, on almost all the estates and plantations, one of the book-keepers is appointed to instruct all the children, and such adults as will attend, in the Church Catechism, and other elementary books, under the direction and superintendence of the Rector and Curate (Appendix, No. 3), who attend at the estates at stated periods for that purpose. It is to be regretted, however, but it must be confessed, that *‘the profanation of the Sabbath generally, still continues to be the opprobrium of our community, and is the great obstacle to the increase of religion.’ – *Report of Rev A Campbell.

... In the parish of St Thomas in the Vale, on almost all the estates and plantations, one of the book-keepers is appointed to instruct all the children, and such adults as will attend, in the Church Catechism, and other elementary books, under the direction and superintendence of the Rector and Curate (APPENDIX, No. 3), who attend at the estates at stated periods for that purpose...

Page 14-15 – Parish of St Thomas in the Vale

The difficulty of procuring proper persons as catechists is much felt in a country where the white population is so rapidly decreasing, and a strong prejudice exists against the admission of coloured teachers on the estates – in fact, few are qualified for the office. To obviate these difficulties in some measure, a book-keeper has been selected on almost all the estates in this parish to instruct all the children and such adults as will attend, in the catechism and other elementary books, under the superintendence of the clergy who visit these properties periodically. Whatever objections may be made to this mode of instruction, the advancement has been more rapid than in any other part of the Diocese, under the peculiar circumstances of a large and scattered population, and the prejudices existing against coloured teachers. The only means of affording religious instruction on one general plan, in a district favourable to education under the established clergy, has been adopted. The exertions of the Rev. Mr Barton [Burton], and the late Rev. David McCab [McCaw], the Curate, who has been prematurely taken off by fever, have been unremitting; and the Bishop considers it his duty to bear testimony to the zeal and diligence of the catechists, who receive a small annual remuneration from the proprietors of the estates.* During his Lordship’s last visitation, he examined the children on many of these estates, and was particularly struck with their improved orderly demeanour and the proficiency they made. If he were to single out any, it would be Hopewell, where Mr White, the overseer, had adopted this plan for some time previous to its general adoption in the parish, and whose conduct and character as a kind and humane overseer is evinced
by the attachment of the negroes under his care. Since the death of Rev. David McCab [McCaw], Mr McKecknie has been appointed to the Island Curacy of this parish, and officiates at the chapel at Williamsfield, the property of Earl Harewood. Service is performed at the Work-house regularly very early on Sunday morning. There is a Parochial School for the education of free children of all colours in reading, writing, and arithmetic, but at present only one scholar, though many have availed themselves of this charity.

*“Every facility is afforded to the rector and curate for visiting the estates under this system of instruction. It was introduced in April, and is now generally prevalent. At first, a portion of two days in each week was allotted for instruction, but, subsequently, the teachers have devoted their evenings also to the same object, and the rapid progress made by the slaves on some of the estates is highly creditable to the teachers. There are upward of 1200 adults and children under regular instruction.” – Rev. Mr. Barton’s [Burton’s] Report

Page 42-44 – Appendix No. III – arrows = properties represented solely or in part by Edward

### ST. THOMAS IN THE VALE.

#### STATE OF CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION, DECEMBER 31, 1829.

#### DEANERY OF MIDDLESEX.

Middlesex, 1829.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estate</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Total number under Instruction</th>
<th>Ch.</th>
<th>Ad.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WILLIAMSFIELD</td>
<td>Robert Smith, Teacher</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TULLOCH</td>
<td>Edward Kent Staines, Teacher</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HYDE</td>
<td>Henry Graves, Teacher</td>
<td>.</td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYNDLOSS</td>
<td>James Guthrie, Teacher</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALLEN’S</td>
<td>Alexander Durward, Teacher</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW WORKS</td>
<td>William Cozens, Teacher</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estate</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Total number under Instruction</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>Ad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Palm Estate</strong></td>
<td>Henry Coates</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rose Hall Estate</strong></td>
<td>Farrell Hogg</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dove Hall Estate</strong></td>
<td>John Parke</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Berwick Estate</strong></td>
<td>William Bryan</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hog Hole Estate</strong></td>
<td>Archibald Howson</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shenton Estate</strong></td>
<td>Sotham</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Charlton Estate</strong></td>
<td>William Baldwin</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>River Head Estate</strong></td>
<td>Walcom</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mount Olive Estate</strong></td>
<td>Kerr</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Harker's Hall Estate</strong></td>
<td>James Falconer</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prospect Estate</strong></td>
<td>Thomas Lowett</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Knollis Estate</strong></td>
<td>William Mc'Dowall</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 17. 1829 to 1830

In March 1830 Edward was mentioned on three lists of Road Grants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estate</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Ch.</th>
<th>Ad.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TREDWAY’S ESTATE.</strong></td>
<td>James Wiley, Teacher.</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number under Instruction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>STERLING CASTLE ESTATE.</strong></td>
<td>Twyford, Teacher.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number under Instruction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BYBROOK ESTATE.</strong></td>
<td>King, Teacher.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.B. On this estate the instruction is very recently commenced, but the number under tuition is</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BERKSHIRE HALL ESTATE.</strong></td>
<td>Teacher.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number under Instruction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ENFIELD ESTATE.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number under Instruction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DOVER CASTLE.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number under Instruction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HOPEWELL PLANTATION.</strong></td>
<td>Richard M. White, Teacher.</td>
<td></td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number under Instruction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CAREW CASTLE PLANTATION.</strong></td>
<td>William Palmer, Teacher.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number under Instruction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PLEASANT FARM PEN.</strong></td>
<td>Davis, Teacher.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number under Instruction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RAZA MOUNT PLANTATION.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number under Instruction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GINGER HALL PLANTATION.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number under Instruction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of Slaves under Instruction in St. Thomas in the Vale</td>
<td>233</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following Road Grants, which were included in the Poll-Tax bill of 1828, have been provided for in the Law of the last Session, and are now published for general information – County of Middlesex – extracts

To Robert William Harris, Alexander McInnes, George Marshall, Fitzherbert Batty, John Blair, George William Hamilton, John Campbell, Edward Clouston, and Henry Lowdnes, Esqrs. or any three of them, the sum of three hundred and twenty three pounds, for repairing the bridges and road leading from Tackey's Bridge to the ten mile-stone on the northside of the Bog-Walk fording.

To Robert William Harris, Alexander McInnes, George William Hamilton, Edward Clouston, and Robert Page, Esqrs. or any three of them, the sum of fifty pounds, for repairing the road leading from Knox's estate, in St. Thomas' in the Vale, to the line of St. Mary's, near Kendall.

To the Hon. John Lunan, George Marshall, Alexander McInnes, George Wm. Hamilton, John Blair, Edward Clouston, and Fitzherbert Batty, Esqrs. or any three of them, the sum of five hundred pounds, for repairing the road leading from the four mile-stone at the Angels to Bog-Walk, in St. Thomas' in the Vale.

My photos, November 2009 – Rio Cobre Gorge – road from the Angels to Bog Walk – looking north
In St Thomas in the Vale in March 1830 the Earl of Harewood owned 268 slaves – Major General William Nedham owned 212 slaves – and Edward owned 17 slaves.

Robert William Harris of Hopewell Plantation (on the southeast side of Williamsfield) died on 27 March 1830.

On 15 May 1830 a deed executed in England on 15 September 1828, acknowledging receipt of payment, and releasing and indemnifying Edward and Henry Lowndes, executors of the late John Gray, from further charges against John Gray’s estate, was entered in the Island Secretary’s Office.

On Monday George William Hamilton, Esq was unanimously elected a Representative in Assembly for the parish of St Thomas in the Vale, in the room of the late Robert William Harris, Esq deceased.
in England – Joseph Wootton of Pinner, County of Middlesex, Gentleman and Sarah his Wife, and Eliza Gray of No. 1 Little Orchard Row in the parish of Camberwell, county of Surrey, Widow (1) – To Edward Clouston and Henry Lowndes of Kingston (sic – St Thomas in the Vale), Jamaica, Executors of John Gray late of Kingston (sic – St Thomas in the Vale), Jamaica, Gentleman deceased (2)

A list of Contested Causes for the 1830 June Grand Court includes – McIntosh vs. Clouston. I searched in Jamaica Archives for a record of this cause but without success.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 19 Jun 1830, page Add PS 27 – List of Contested Causes for the June Grand Court, 1830 – No. 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 2</th>
<th>Moir, Alex. &amp; ux Doe ex dim. Adolphus vs. Sutherland, James</th>
<th>Bryant vs. Crosby</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gyles vs. Hylton</td>
<td>M‘Pherson vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brooks vs. Williamson</td>
<td>Hay vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Doe ex dim. Davis vs. Evelyn</td>
<td>Geoghegan vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lynch vs. Palmer</td>
<td>Shelly vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dawson vs. Cleghorn</td>
<td>Cleghorn vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pratt vs. Gilmire</td>
<td>Same vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barone vs. Shelly</td>
<td>Hind, George H. vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hodgson vs. Same</td>
<td>Hind &amp; al. vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Doe ex dim. Same</td>
<td>Same vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Same vs. Watson</td>
<td>Lynch vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Francis vs. Smith, T. B.</td>
<td>Allen vs. Grierson</td>
<td>M‘Cartney vs. Plunkett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M‘Rae vs. Williams</td>
<td>Williams vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Williams, admix. vs. Williams &amp; al. exors.</td>
<td>M‘Lean vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Keelner vs. Tonge</td>
<td>Gordon vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bernard vs. Fraser</td>
<td>M‘Intosh vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Booth vs. Fraser</td>
<td>Williams vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M‘Intosh vs. Clouston</td>
<td>Ross vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Williams vs. Fisher</td>
<td>Fisher vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gordon vs. Williams</td>
<td>Williams vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muirhead vs. Edwards</td>
<td>Edwards vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whittaker vs. Murray</td>
<td>Murray vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northcote vs. Moss, Judah</td>
<td>Sergeant vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dawson vs. Austin</td>
<td>Austin vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Watkins vs. Gardner</td>
<td>Hilton vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bond vs. Kyraston</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Watkins vs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Needham vs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carter vs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lambie vs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Edward was one of the Magistrates at a Special Slave Court in St Thomas in the Vale on 5 August 1830.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 7 Aug 1830, page PS 19
On 7 August 1830 Rev W G Burton’s wife gave birth to a daughter and five days later his only son died.

**London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 28 Aug 1830, page PS 23**

Birth – In St Thomas in the Vale on the 7th inst the lady of Rev W G Burton, of a daughter

Died – In St Thomas in the Vale on the 12th inst Alfred William, aged four years, the only son of the Rev W G Burton

George IV died on 26 June 1830 and was succeeded by his brother the Duke of Clarence, King William IV. After news of the death of King George arrived in Jamaica the Assembly was dissolved. In the following General Election, Henry Lowndes was one of the candidates for St Thomas in the Vale.

**Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 11 Sep 1830, page PS 23**

The New Elections.

We omitted to state in our last the name of a very respectable Gentleman, Henry Lowndes, Esq a new Candidate for St Thomas in the Vale.

**Sat, 9 Oct 1830, page 7 – The New General Assembly – For St Thomas in the Vale**

George Wm Hamilton (in the last Assembly, and had resigned his seat, and been re-elected, but had not sitten), and Henry Lowndes, Esqrs.

On 7 September 1830 the St Thomas in the Vale Regiment was reviewed by Major General Cox.

**Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 11 Sep 1830, page PS 23**

Inspection of the St Thomas in the Vale Regiment.

The St Thomas in the Vale Regiment, under the command of Col Page, and Troop of Horse, under the command of Capt Gilzean, were reviewed on Tuesday last, by the Hon Major-Gen Cox, on Shenton Pastures. The Major-General arrived on the ground at 10 AM and was received by the Regiment with opened ranks, and a general salute; after which they marched past the Reviewing Officer in slow and quick time. Having gone through the several evolutions laid down by Sir John Keane, the Major-General was pleased to express himself to Col Page, in nearly the following terms: –

“Colonel Page,

“It affords me much pleasure to observe the neat and soldier like appearance of your Regiment, and to find they have so considerably increased in number – The marching and firing have been excellent, and the evolutions performed in a manner highly creditable to the corp, and calls forth my warmest approbation. – I beg you will convey these my sentiments to your Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Privates.”

On the conclusion of the General’s speech, Col Page addressed him, and stated, that he had on the field a banner, which had been presented by his present Majesty, when Duke of Clarence, to the Troop of Light Horse of St Thomas in the Vale, more generally known by the name of “the Duke of Clarence’s Light Horse*.” He would, with his permission, unfurl it, in order that the Regiment and Troop might pay it that tribute of respect, which the gift of so great and illustrious a character as William the Fourth merited. He begged to add, that it was viewed as a token, which every Officer and soldier of the Regiment most highly prized.

The General immediately gave his consent, and the banner being produced and unfurled, the Major-General joined with the Troop of Horse, under the command of that gallant veteran, Capt Gilzean. After they had gone through several movements, he was pleased to address the Captain in the following terms:

“I am very much pleased with the appearance of your Troop; the men are well mounted, and equipped. I have only to regret, that they are so few in number.”
In the evening, the officers of the Regiment and Troops, gave a splendid Ball to the Reviewing-General, which was very numerously attended. At 12 o’clock, the gay assemblage sat down to a most sumptuous supper, at which every delicacy of the season had been provided by the Stewards, to whom too much praise cannot be given.

Dancing was kept up with great spirit until five A.M.

*Capt Caldwell, father-in-law of Col Page raised this Troop, and it was then denominated Prince William Henry’s Light Horse. He had not then (in 1783) been created Duke of Clarence. It was in 1789 that the title, and those of Duke of St Andrew’s and Earl of Munich, were conferred upon him by his Father George III – Editor Royal Gazette.

In this Battalion the Grenadier-Company acts as Light-Horse. During Prince William Henry’s residence in this Island in 1783, they had the honor of attending him as a Body-Guard, and his Royal Highness was so much pleased with their conduct, that he desired that they should in future be named Prince William Henry’s Troop, and a Standard with his Arms, by his Royal Highness’s command, was presented to them.

In 1783, when Prince William Henry visited Jamaica, he was a midshipman in the Royal Navy.

A book-keeper on Mount Olive died on 12 September 1830.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 9 Oct 1830, page PS 23

Died – At Mount-Olive estate in St Thomas’ in the Vale, on the 12 ult, Mr William McIver, late a book-keeper on that property. His mild and unassuming manners, and exemplary conduct, endeared him to everyone who had the pleasure of his acquaintance

A Return of Catechetical Instruction to slaves on properties in the Deanery of Middlesex was presented by the Rural Dean, Rev Lewis Bowerbank, in November 1830 at a meeting of the Jamaica Diocesan Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK).

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 14 Jul 1832, page PS 18

In the Appendix to this [SPCK] Report we find a Report of the Jamaica Diocesan Committee of the same year, from which we have pleasure in making several extracts, premising that the general remarks which those extracts contain on the progress of religious instruction, were accompanied with tabular statements of the means used for the instruction of the slave population, the names of estates under religious instruction, the nature and extent of the instruction given to the several properties, and various other particulars . . .

Extracts from the Report.

While the leading object of the Diocesan Committee has been the dissemination of the Society’s sound and salutary publications, still it has ever been kept in view that the general design of the Institution is to promote Christian knowledge by all such means as are consistent with the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. The attention and enquiries of the Committee have, therefore, been anxiously directed to all the measures proposed or adopted for Christian instruction, whether by the personal labours of the Clergy, or by schoolmasters and oral catechists under their superintendence. Prompted by solicitude with respect to the extent and success of such means of instruction, the following Resolution was passed at a Quarterly Meeting held on the 14th of July, 1830. “That the Secretaries be requested to lay before the Anniversary Meeting, in each year, a return of the estates under instruction in the respective Deaneries whether by the Clergy, visiting catechists, or resident book-keepers employed as catechists; with such other information relative to the success of such instruction as they may deem proper.”
In compliance with the desire expressed in this Resolution, a return for Middlesex was presented by Mr Bowerbank, at the Meeting of the 29th November, 1830. The returns for the other Deaneries were not then ready...

Middlesex.

By the return from this Deanery it will be seen that oral instruction in the Catechism, by the young men employed in the capacity of book-keepers on the estates, and receiving from the properties a small increase of salary for this additional service, had been carried to great extent; especially in the parish of St Thomas in the Vale, under the active superintendence and encouragement of the Rev Mr Burton, the Rector. – This mode of instruction has been introduced on nearly all the larger properties in that parish; and the Rural Dean, having recently visited, and carefully examined the catechetical school on each estate, reported most favourable of their proficiency. A great proportion of the children on many of the estates could repeat correctly and fluently the whole of the Church Catechism, and the rest were rapidly advancing. Sir Michael Clare, who was present at the Meeting of the 25th November, stated, that after a few years’ absence from Jamaica, he also had lately visited some of the these estates, and that, being well acquainted with their former condition, he was much struck with the improved and more orderly appearance of the children, which he ascribed to the establishment of the catechetical schools; and he likewise strongly expressed his conviction that these schools would have an influence not less beneficial on the class of young persons employed as teachers. The thanks of the Meeting were on this occasion given to the proprietors and attornies, through whose support and encouragement these schools were established.

Slaves who were receiving Catechetical Instruction on properties in the Deanery of Middlesex were examined by the Rural Dean in September and October 1830

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 22 Jan 1831 – at the end – A3 size sheet, folded in half, headed

A Return of Properties, &c within the Deanery of Middlesex, upon which Catechetical Instruction has been introduced, and is now carried on either by Bookkeepers or Catechists, under the superintendence of the Parochial Clergy.

Below – my summary of the Parishes and Properties in the Deanery of Middlesex upon which Catechetical Instruction had been introduced by November 1830

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Properties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St Thomas in the Vale</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vere</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Mary</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarendon</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St John</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Catherine</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Dorothy</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Ann</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below – St Thomas in the Vale
St Thomas in the Vale – left side     White rows = properties mentioning Edward

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Estate</th>
<th>Proprietors</th>
<th>Attornies</th>
<th>Overseers</th>
<th>Catechists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tulloch</td>
<td>G. G. Munro</td>
<td>G. W. Hamilton</td>
<td>R. D. Clunie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mount-Olive</td>
<td>General Needham</td>
<td>Edward Clouston</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Williamsfield</td>
<td>Lord Harewood</td>
<td>Hon G. Cuthbert and G. W. Hamilton</td>
<td>W. Bankes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Hog-Hole</td>
<td>Heirs of Bourden</td>
<td>Edward Clouston</td>
<td>W. C. Clarke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Berwick</td>
<td>Sir A. Grant</td>
<td>J. Gordon</td>
<td>C. Gordon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Prospect</td>
<td>Blair</td>
<td>A. Bayley</td>
<td>R. Hobbes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Hyde</td>
<td>Welch</td>
<td>G. W. Hamilton</td>
<td>Wm. Duncan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hopewell</td>
<td>R. W. Harris</td>
<td>Page and Batty</td>
<td>– Dunn</td>
<td>R. Allen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Byndloss</td>
<td>Daud</td>
<td>Hon A. Hodgson and G. W. Hamilton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>New Works</td>
<td>J. Blackburn</td>
<td>Hamilton and Lowndes</td>
<td>– Rees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Wallen’s</td>
<td>J. Blackburn</td>
<td>Hamilton and Lowndes</td>
<td>– Milne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Dover-Castle</td>
<td>S. Da Silva</td>
<td>A. J. Lindo</td>
<td>T. Dowle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Berkshire-Hall</td>
<td>J. Hayman</td>
<td>E. Clouston</td>
<td>– Hooper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Enfield</td>
<td>W. Harvey</td>
<td>E. Clouston</td>
<td>– Falconer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Rose-Hall</td>
<td>R. Lee et al</td>
<td>E. Clouston</td>
<td>– Armstrong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Palm</td>
<td>M. Gutteres</td>
<td>G. W. Hamilton</td>
<td>C. McClymont</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Pleasant-Farm</td>
<td>S. Barriffe</td>
<td>E. Clouston and P. Garrigues</td>
<td>– Davis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Treadway’s</td>
<td>J. Dawkins</td>
<td>Wm. Hewitt and E. Clouston</td>
<td>– Russel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Charlton</td>
<td>Heirs of Inglis</td>
<td>J. M. Whyte</td>
<td>– Ricord</td>
<td>– Bowie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>River-Head</td>
<td>C. Anderson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Harker’s Hall</td>
<td>F. Stevens</td>
<td>E. Clouston</td>
<td>R. L. Montcrieffe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Shenton</td>
<td>J. G. Vidal</td>
<td>J. Gordon</td>
<td>W. P. Hinshelwood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Rio Magno</td>
<td>Sir A. Grant</td>
<td>J. Gordon</td>
<td>– Worger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>– Burnett</td>
<td>A. Bayley</td>
<td>– White</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Mount Concord</td>
<td></td>
<td>E. Clouston</td>
<td>– Mignot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Goff</td>
<td>S. Rennalls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Carew-Castle</td>
<td>– Pallmer</td>
<td>Wm. Pallmer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Instructing Bookkeepers</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Under Instruction</th>
<th>Examined by Rural Dean, Sept-Oct 1830</th>
<th>Days and Hours of Instruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>E. K. Staines</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>Daily at shell-blow, and at evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kerr, sen.</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Tuesday and Friday, one hour at evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Binger</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Daily at twelve o’clock, for three quarters of an hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kerr, jun.</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Daily in the evening, for three quarters of an hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>W. Hoodley</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Tuesday and Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>A. Dawes</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Thrice weekly, for two hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>R. Smith</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Twice weekly, for one and a half hour, and frequently for one hour at evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Walcom</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>Thrice a-week, for one and a half hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Fraser</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Tuesday and Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>J. B. Burnett</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Daily one hour at noon, and two hours in the evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>A. Durward</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Twice weekly, for one hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Osborn</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Twice in the week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Wells</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Twice in the week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Trewant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Thrice in the week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>J. Brookes</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Daily for an hour at noon, and one hour at evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Coates</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Twice weekly, for one and a half hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Davis</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Tuesday and Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Wyley</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Daily for half an hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>W. Baldwin</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Daily for one a half hour at evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>170</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Omitted in the return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Wybrants</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Daily for one and a quarter hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Guthrie</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Five times weekly for two hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>J. Jackson</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Daily for one hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>R. M. White</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>No return</td>
<td>No return</td>
<td>No return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>132</td>
<td>No return</td>
<td>No return</td>
<td>No return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Mignot</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>87</td>
<td></td>
<td>Omitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>137</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td>Omitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>W. Palmer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Above – St Thomas in the Vale – No. 18 – Treadways Estate – Proprietor J Dawkins – E Clouston and Wm Hewitt Attorneys – in the Powers of Attorney Index to Grantees there is no mention of Edward registering a power of attorney from J (James) Dawkins.
James Dawkins of Over Norton, Oxfordshire, and Richmond, Surrey (England), took the middle name Colyear in 1836. He inherited various properties in Jamaica from his father Henry Dawkins (died 1814) of Standlynch (or Standlinch), Wiltshire, and Over Norton, Oxfordshire.

**Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney, 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees – 1828**

*Lib 237, Fol 203 – to Hewitt, William – from James Dawkins et al*

**Jamaica Slave Registers – 1829 St Thomas in the Vale – Return of Slaves made by William Hewitt (followed by a gap) as Attorney to the Trustees of James Dawkins – 245 slaves**

1832 St Thomas in the Vale – Return of Slaves made by Thomas James Bernard and Walter George Stewart as Attorneys to Viscount Downe, Sir George Francis Hampson, Bart, and Sir William Hervey Cooper Trustees of James Dawkins – 238 slaves

**[www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm](http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm) – 1829 Jamaica Almanac – 1st quarter 1828 Giving-In**

St Thomas in the Vale – Dawkins, James, Treadway’s – 243 slaves – 6 stock

**1831 Jamaica Almanac – 1st quarter 1830 Giving-In**

St Thomas in the Vale – Dawkins, James, Treadways – 249 slaves

In 1830 Edward registered four powers of attorney.

**Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney, 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees – 1830**

1 – *Lib 242, Fol 46 – Power of Attorney to Clouston, Edward, & al – from Sarah Barriffe*

2 – *Lib 242, Fol 102 – Power of Attorney to Clouston, Edward – from Millicent Lane*

3 – *Lib 242, Fol 103 – Power of Attorney to Clouston, Edward – from Francis Stevens (sic) & al*

4 – *Lib 242, Fol 151 – Power of Attorney to Clouston, Edward, & al – from William Falconer*

Above – 1 and 2 – Sarah Barriffe (widow of George Barriffe) – Pleasant Farm and Ivy Pens, St Thomas in the Vale – and her sister – Millicent Lane (widow of James Seton Lane) – Coolshade Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale

**[https://archive.org/stream/sketchpedigreeso00livi#page/n3/mode/2up](https://archive.org/stream/sketchpedigreeso00livi#page/n3/mode/2up) – Sketch Pedigrees of some of the Early Settlers in Jamaica... by Noel B Livingston, published 1909 – page 138-139 – extracts**

... Millicent Guy born 15 Decr 1788 – Sarah Guy born 19 February 1791

... Millicent Guy was married to James Seton Lane Esq at Hayfield [St Thomas in the Vale]

30th September 1810 ... Sarah Guy was married to George Barriffe 21st December at Hayfield ...

George Barriffe and his wife Sarah sailed from Jamaica in April 1826.
**London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 22 Apr 1826, page PS 23**

Sailed from Old Harbour – John Shand for London – Passengers Sailed – In the John Shand – ... Mrs Barriffe ... George Barriffe ... Esqrs

*Sat, 31 Jul 1830, page PS 23* – Died

In London – In Southamton-row, Russel-square on the 15th ult George Barriffe, Esq of Pleasant Farm, in the parish of St Thomas in the Vale.

**1826 Slave Register – St Thomas in the Vale – Return of Slaves made by John March as one of the Attorneys to George Barriffe – 66 slaves**

www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – *1831 Jamaica Almanac – 1st quarter 1830*

Giving-In – St Thomas in the Vale – Barriffe, George (Estate of), Pleasant Farm – 24 slaves – 422 stock

Above – 3 – Francis James Flutter Steevens – Harkers Hall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – and Lime Tree Garden Pen, St Catherine – see Chapter 15

Above – 4 – William Falconer of Lentran, County of Inverness, Scotland, owner of Berry Hill Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale, and Rose Hill Estate, St Mary’s

**1823 Slave Registers – St Thomas in the Vale – Return of Slaves made by John Alves, Alexander Gilzean and James Seton Lane as Attorneys to William Falconer**

**Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Wills, Old Series, Lib 106, Fol 147**

Will of John Alves of Kingston, dated 11 August 1823 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 27 Jul 1826 – Executors include – William Falconer, County of Inverness, and James Seton Lane of Coolshade, St Thomas in the Vale.

John Alves – see Chapter 16 – James Seton Lane’s Will

Records of Wills, Old Series, Lib 107, Fol 28

Will of Alexander McIntosh of St David’s, Jamaica, dated 12 December 1825 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 27 Jul 1826 – Executors include – William Falconer of Lentran, County of Inverness, and John Alves of Kingston

www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – *1829 Jamaica Almanac – 1st quarter 1828*

Giving-In

St Thomas in the Vale – Falconer, William, Berry Hill – 36 slaves – 67 stock

St Mary – Falconer, William, Rose Hill – 200 slaves – 2 stock

**1831 Jamaica Almanac – 1st quarter 1830**

St Thomas in the Vale – Falconer, William, Berry Hill – 38 slaves – 66 stock

St Mary – Falconer, William, Rose Hill – 208 slaves
Jamaica National Library – Maps & Plans – No. 1 Parish of St Catherine, compiled in 1882 by Thomas Harrison, Govt. Surveyor, revised in 1956 – section – arrows point to Ivy and Pleasant Farm (Sarah Barriffe’s pens) – arrow points to Treadways (J Dawkins’ estate)

*My photo, March 2007 – Treadways – looking north*
The road over Mount Diabolo, to open a more easy communication between the South and North side of the Island, was formed about fifty years since. The elevation is gradual and easy to its summit, and the toil of mounting it is amply repaid by the extensive prospect which it commands; the whole parish of St Thomas in the Vale backed by the high grounds of St David’s, and the more distant blue mountains being spread before the eye. In the wood beneath us are the buildings of the Ivy Sugar Estate, now thrown up, and lately purchased by George Barriffe, Esq: beyond is Charlemont Penn, the property of Sir Alexander Grant, Bart, and more distant, the works on Treadways, the property of Henry Dawkins, Esq. The immense height and consequent distance renders the markings of other estates too indistinct for the pencil. The greater part of the parish is comprised within the Vale called the Sixteen Mile Walk. This Vale is about eleven miles in length, and eight in width. It is neither flat nor swampy, but diversified throughout with gentle risings and slopes: the soil is fertile; for the most part a red coarse earth, mixed with clay, or a dark mould, with a whitish marl. The Vale is almost daily throughout the year overcast with a thick fog, which begins to rise slowly on the approach of evening, grows denser as the night advances, becomes gradually diffused into all the contiguous vales or inlets among the surrounding mountains, is heaviest about the dawn of day, and remains settled until the sun has warmed and agitated the air: then it rises higher, expanding into the atmosphere; and between the hours of eight and nine in the forenoon, it begins to flow away in two principal streams, the one westward among the mountains on that side; and the other southward following the course of the river. The air of the parish is in general reported healthy, and the habitations throughout the Vale, being for the most part built upon rising ground, are not liable to damps. This tract was among the first settled with sugar plantations, and what it produces now of that commodity is of an excellent quality, but the land is thought to be much worn . . .
In December 1830 Edward was again mentioned in connection with the maintenance of the road through the Rio Cobre Gorge


... the first, second, and third resolutions, being again severally read, were agreed unto by the House, and are as follows:

1. That it be recommended to the House to agree to the report from the Committee on Roads, and that it be an instruction to the Committee of the whole House on the Poll-Tax bill to receive a clause or clauses for carrying into effect the grants thereby allotted.

3. That it be recommended to the House to direct a clause to be inserted in the Poll-Tax bill, for paying to the Hon. John Lunan, George Marshall, George William Hamilton, Henry Lowdes, Larchin Lynch, Anthony Davis, and Edward Clouston, Esqrs. or any three of them, the sum of 500l. for repairing the road leading from the four-mile-stone at the Angels to Bog Walk fording, in St. Thomas’ in the Vale.

Then the fourth resolution was read, as follows:

That it be recommended to the House to direct a clause to be inserted in the Poll Tax bill, for paying George Marshall, the Hon John Lunan, the Hon Henry Cox, the Hon Abraham Hodgson, Larchin Lynch, Thomas James Bernard, George William Hamilton, Henry Lowdes, Fitzherbert Batty, Thomas Legal Yates, and John Blair, Esqrs or any five of them, the sum of 3000l. towards completing the erection of the iron bridge over the Bog-Walk River, in St Thomas in the Vale, on the abutments of the late wooden bridge, and for making such repairs as shall be found necessary to the other bridges which were erected over the St John’s River and over the Black River in the line of the great road leading from the southside to the northside of the island...
Below – properties represented solely or in part by Edward in 1830.

**Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts – 1830**

*Lib 70, Fol 102* – Golden River Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 7 March 1831 by Francis Gordon, Overseer, before Charles Satchell

*Lib 70, Fol 102* – Enfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 7 March 1831 by J Falconer, Overseer, before Richard Kinkead

*Lib 70, Fol 108* – Mount Concord Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – see below

*Lib 70, Fol 116* – Pleasant Farm and Ivy Pens, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 19 February 1831 by John Davis before Edward McCaw

*Lib 70, Fol 117* – Harkers Hall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 19 March 1831 by Robert Laidlaw Montcrieff before Samuel Rennalls

*Lib 70, Fol 125* – Coolshade Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 21 March 1831 by James Heighington before Samuel Rennalls

*Lib 70, Fol 127* – Rose Hall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 5 March 1831 by Thomas Clowes, Overseer, before Richard Kinkead

*Lib 70, Fol 128* – Hog Hole Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 4 March 1831 by William H (Holloway) Clarke, Overseer, before R Perry Ogilvie – includes – Sold to Edward Clouston 60 gallons Rum

*Lib 70, Fol 132* – Mount Olive Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, and Crescent Pen, St Catherine – see below
Lib 70, Fol 200 – Treadways Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 7 February 1831 by George Russell before Richard Kinkead

Not noted – Berkshire Hall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, and Lime Tree Garden Pen, St Catherine

Chapter 17. 1829 to 1830

Jamaica, __________.

[Text appears to be a handwritten record of financial transactions and signatures indicating that the transactions were witnessed and attested to.]

So help me God
9th day of March 1835

[Signatures of individuals involved in the transactions.]
The Catechetical School on Mount Concord, established by Edward, was the forerunner to the school attached to St Faith’s Chapel, a Church of England chapel built in the 1840s on, it appears, Mount Concord.
St Faith’s Anglican Church (formerly St Faith’s Chapel) is on the hill above the school – view from the north door

Below – in 1849 the Island Curate, Incumbent of St Faith’s, gave his address as Mount Concord.


Williamsfield expenses for 1830 continued to be more than the proceeds of the crop.


| Proceeds of 167 Hhds of Sugar & 63 Puns of Rum | 3348 - 3 - 8 |
| Deduct | |
| Insurance £135 - 17 - 9 | 975 - 6 - 10 |
| Stores £838 - 2 - 11 | 31 Decr 1830 |
| Supertare Commission Postage & Stamps £55 - 13 - 4 | 3495 - 16 - 3 |
| Pr Accounts of Geo Cuthbert & G W Hamilton dated | |
| Amount of this years Expenses | 1177 - 6 - 7 |
Chapter 17. 1829 to 1830


My photos – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 70, Fol 93 – Williamsfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – crop account for year 1830 – entered Island Secretary’s Office 23 Mar 1831 – sworn on 18 February 1831 by William Allanach before William Peterswald – includes – To hire of Ann Balfour for one year - £16 0s 0d

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sugar</th>
<th>Rum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shipped to Great Britain

- in bond the Annamabel
- halfcoke bale
- 2 hick
- 2

Sold in Kingston

- Robert Speirs
- Robert A. McBeth

In the British Library
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sold Nightingale George Beverley Stock at 10 p.</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Estell against stone</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayne Estate 30 Y. mahogany at 750 p.</td>
<td>18.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hellon Estat[es] 20 Y. mahogany at 350 p.</td>
<td>13.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schoo of Ann Halfpenny for one year</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Anderson and the said Eunawanny Eastman</td>
<td>13.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to work under for life unless at</td>
<td>28.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 198.55 pounds.

I, William Allnash, do swear that the above account
and these accounts of all the rents, issues, profits, produce and revenues of the said estate, for the year ending December the thirty-first of the current year, as far as I know, mark, or having examined and carefully compared what has been paid, and among keeping an accurate record of the estate, to the best of my knowledge and ability.

Sworn before me this 10th day of February 1830.

[Signature]

William Allnash.
My photos, September 2008 – Williamsfield – Cacao

Norman showing us the inside of a Cacao pod
Albert with a Guava – and Norman with Cacao pods

Clive holding the Cacao seed, the raw material for chocolate, surrounded by the white fleshy fruit
Williamsfield – beside the Rio Doro – Norman with an Almond pod

Williamsfield – looking across to the south bank of the Forked River
Looking south across the Forked River

March 2007 – Forked River cascading down to Mount Olive
Mount Olive crop account for 1830 includes – Sold Edward Clouston - 912 lbs Sugar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ship Henry Davidson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barque John</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barque Scotspeak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barque Albion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Hignston</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golden Grove Estate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Grant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Blount</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Lee Park</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridget O'Driscoll</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred Gilmore</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golden Grove Estate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Hamman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Shaw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

133 65 2530 42 232

Bonded mortgage certificate for a mortgage deed named Robert Mill for $50.00 to James Hignston on the 6th of May, 1829. The mortgage certificate for $100.00 was signed by Robert Mill on the 6th of May, 1829. The bond is secured by a mortgage on the following properties:

- By order of the court for the payment of $100.00, to be paid on or before the 15th of May, 1830.
- For the payment of the bond on the 15th of May, 1830.
- For the payment of the bond on the 15th of May, 1830.
- For the payment of the bond on the 15th of May, 1830.
- For the payment of the bond on the 15th of May, 1830.
- For the payment of the bond on the 15th of May, 1830.
- For the payment of the bond on the 15th of May, 1830.
- For the payment of the bond on the 15th of May, 1830.
- For the payment of the bond on the 15th of May, 1830.
- For the payment of the bond on the 15th of May, 1830.
- For the payment of the bond on the 15th of May, 1830.

943
Chapter 17. 1829 to 1830

For balance on account of further negro labor
Newport plantation for earnings of 289.6£ at 22.6 p. mouth

 Stored labor for Henry W. McCall

R. B. Buxton's account for 21.10 at 12.60

Mount Vernon plant for 12.40 p. month

Hay Hole Estate for 32.10
Ambrose Hall Estate for balance of wages

Enfield Estate for spotted

House of Negroes for 1 month

London

I. Edward, Clerk to the attorney for Mount Vernon Estate,

Sufficient pen in the Island & Parish, agree as sure that there is a just time account of all the rents, partnership, proceeds from this property in my own use and direction except what has been necessarily used for the code of the said properties, from first day of January to thirty first day of December one thousand eight hundred thirty

Sworn before me this 24th March 1830.

S. Finch

To help one G.D.

E. Blountown