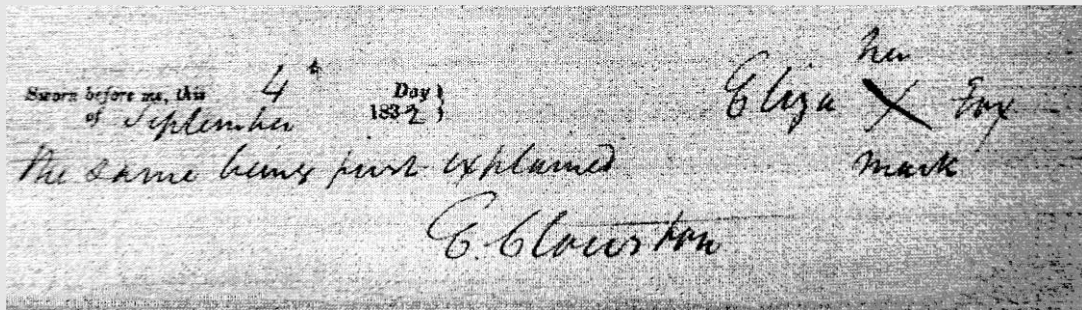


Edward & Eliza

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 3 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

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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 18

1831

Slave Law — Edward versus David Hughes — Giving-In — Edward and Rose Hall accounts — House of Commons, Resolution for the Abolition of Slavery — Edward and meeting in St Thomas in the Vale — new London Anti-Slavery Committee — Conveyance of Scholar's Cot to Edward — Edward petitions House of Assembly — Anti-Slavery Reporter and Rev Burton's 1829 St Thomas in the Vale report — Christmas Slave Rebellion — Crop Accounts for Williamsfield, and properties represented by Edward

In February 1831, the 1826 Slave Law was again passed in Jamaica, without the three offending ‘Sectarian Clauses’ – Clauses 83, 84 and 85 (see Chapter 16) – and, by an order of the King in Council, was left to its own operation’ – see – www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – *1845 Jamaican Almanac – Historical and Remarkable Events* – February 1831

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=5FgSAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *Slave Law of Jamaica: with Proceedings and Documents relative thereto, published 1828* – page 60-139

7 Geo. IV. Cap. 28 – An Act to alter and amend the Slave Laws of this island – 22 December, 1826

137 Clauses and summary of each Clause – below – summaries – omitting Clauses 83, 84 and 85

- 1 Preamble.
- 2 25 Geo. III. Cap. 8, declared in force.
- 3 Slaves to be religiously instructed, and such baptized as can be made sensible of a duty to God and the Christian faith.
- 4 Marriages of slaves regulated. Proviso.
- 5 Families not to be separately sold when levied on. Proviso.
- 6 Sunday markets limited. Proviso. Proviso.
- 7 Slaves protected from process on Saturday.
- 8 Slaves to be allowed one day in every fortnight, besides Sundays, except during crop, under penalty of 20*l*. Proviso.
- 9 Slaves not to be employed on Sundays or other days without consent of owner.
- 10 Slaves exempted from labour on Sundays during crop, and workings of mills regulated.
- 11 Negro grounds to be inspected every month. Where there are not proper lands, each slave is to have provision equal to 3*s*. 4*d*. per week, under penalty of 50*l*.
- 12 Proper clothing to be given to slaves annually, under penalty of 5*l*. for each slave, for whom such clothing shall not be provided.
- 13 Yearly accounts to be given in of the provision made for, and clothing delivered to, slaves, under penalty of 100*l*.
- 14 When slaves do not exceed forty in number, penalty not to exceed 50*l*.
- 15 Personal property of slaves protected. Proviso.
- 16 Bequests to slaves secured. Proviso.
- 17 Females who have six children living, whether their own or adopted, are to be exempted from hard labour, and their owners from taxes for them, proof being given that the mother, or adoptive mother, and children are living. Proviso.
- 18 Possessors of slaves not to turn them away on account of infirmity, but keep them on their property, and provide for them, under penalty of 20*l*. Wandering slaves may be taken up and sent to the workhouse, to be supported till possessor summoned and matter inquired into. If possessor found guilty, and refuse to pay penalty, workhouse fees, &c. he is to be sent to gaol till he pays.
- 19 Justices and vestries to lay taxes for support of disabled negroes, who are to be passed to the parishes where their former owners resided, as are those free poor who have been manumized. Vestries to make regulations for their accommodation.

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| 20 | In the case of manumized persons becoming burthensome to any parish, such parish may have recourse to the security-bond entered into under 15 Geo. III cap.18. |
| 21 | Old and infirm slaves manumized to be allowed 10 <i>l.</i> per annum. |
| 22 | Property of owners liable for support of deserted slaves, though not in the parish they become burthensome to. |
| 23 | Disabled slaves, the property of insolvent debtors, in custody of provost-marshal, may be removed by order of two magistrates to the parish where their owner resided. |
| 24 | Such order being recorded in clerk of peace's office, provost-marshal and his deputies indemnified in acting under it. Proviso. |
| 25 | If negroes afflicted with contagious diseases are allowed to leave the property, and travel about the country, the owner, &c. permitting the same, to forfeit 20 <i>l.</i> for each. |
| 26 | Field slaves are to have half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner, and to work from five to seven except during crop. |
| 27 | Slaves to be allowed the usual holidays, but they are not to have more than three successive days. Proviso. If persons allow them more holidays at those seasons, they forfeit 5 <i>l.</i> |
| 28 | Slaves taking up runaways or discovering their being harboured, are to be rewarded at discretion of a magistrate. |
| 29 | If they kill or take rebels, they are also to be rewarded. |
| 30 | Persons willfully killing slaves, to suffer death. Proviso. |
| 31 | Rape under ten years declared felony. |
| 32 | Rape to be punished by death. Proviso. |
| 33 | Punishment for mutilating, cruelly treating, or branding slaves. |
| 34 | Penalty of 10 <i>l.</i> on magistrates and vestrymen for non-attendance. |
| 35 | Justices, being informed that slaves are mutilated or confined without support, are to issue their warrants, in order that they may be brought before them. |
| 36 | No slave to have more than ten lashes at a time for one offence, unless the owner, &c. or supervisor, &c. be present, nor more than thirty-nine on any account in one day, under penalty. |
| 37 | Punishment of slaves, after the commencement of this act, regulated. |
| 38 | Complaints of slaves being improperly punished to be inquired into summarily by two magistrates, and, where they are groundless complainants are to be punished. |
| 39 | Penalties on persons putting weights or chains on slaves, or iron collars, other than here designated. |
| 40 | No slave to travel (unless to market) without a ticket, under penalty of 40 <i>s.</i> on the owner, &c. if he cannot prove he gave a ticket, or that the slave went without his consent. If justices do not inflict this penalty they forfeit 5 <i>l.</i> |
| 41 | Tickets to be only for one month. |
| 42 | Slaves absent five days, or found eight miles from home, without tickets, to be deemed runaways. |
| 43 | Slaves, who shall run away for a longer period than six months, to be punished as the court shall direct. |
| 44 | Punishment on those who continue absent for a shorter period than six months, and those who are incorrigible runaways. |
| 45 | Slaves harbouring runaways to suffer punishment, not extending to life. |

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| 46 | Punishment for harbouring or concealing slaves. Proviso. |
| 47 | Justices may grant warrants to search for runaways. Proviso. |
| 48 | Punishment for granting false tickets. |
| 49 | Owner, &c. to pay 10s. and mile-money for each runaway taken up. Proviso. This act not to alter rewards to maroons. |
| 50 | Apprehended runaways to be delivered to owner, or lodged in the workhouse. |
| 51 | Workhouse-keepers to advertise weekly in each county paper all runaways in their possession, with full descriptions of them, under penalty of 10l. charging 3s. 4d. for each paper per month, which owners are to reimburse. Advertising accounts to be paid annually by treasurers. Slaves may be detained till all expences paid, with 2s. 6d. in the pound; also 6d. per day for maintenance, 2d. per day for medical care where necessary, &c.; which charges must be attested. Owners of slaves committed under judgment excepted from payment of fees. |
| 52 | Slaves in confinement to have sufficient provisions, under the penalty of 10l. Rations for them, |
| 53 | On a negro or other person detained as a runaway alleging himself to be free, custos to summon a special sessions to investigate the truth thereof. If entitled to freedom, to be forthwith discharged; if a slave, remanded. Decision not to prejudice title. |
| 54 | No slaves detained as above to be sold until such investigation takes place. Such sale declared void. |
| 55 | Four weeks notice in the county papers to be given by supervisors, &c. of replevius, &c. brought against them for slaves in the workhouse. Expences to be paid by persons recovering. If any person give notice to supervisors, &c. of an intention to defend such actions, supervisors must detain in custody the slaves in dispute until trial, under penalty of 100l. |
| 56 | Slaves attempting to depart this island, or assisting others in such attempts, may be punished at the discretion of the court. |
| 57 | If white or free people do so, they forfeit 300l. for each, and may be imprisoned a year. |
| 58 | Accessories may be proceeded against though principals are not convicted. |
| 59 | If slaves, not authorized, travel with dogs, &c. or hunt with instruments of death, punishment may be awarded by three justices. |
| 60 | Penalty of 50l. for not endeavouring to suppress unlawful assemblies of slaves. Proviso. Information must be given within fourteen days. |
| 61 | Civil and military officers to suppress such assemblies. |
| 62 | Owners, overseers, &c. who suffer such assemblies, to be imprisoned six months. If information given in fourteen days. Slaves may have diversions on the properties they belong to, if no drums, &c. are used; but they must be over by twelve at night. |
| 63 | Negro burials to be over by sunset, or owner, &c. forfeits 50l. Burials in towns, &c. must also be over before sunset. |
| 64 | Penalty on persons permitting unlawful assemblages of slaves at their houses or settlements, if complained of in fourteen days. |
| 65 | Punishment for permitting gaming. |
| 66 | Properties of persons manumizing slaves subjected to the annual sum allowed by law for their support. Slaves to be manumized by will not exempted from any debt against the estate of the testator. Wills valid for the disposal of goods, &c. sufficient for the manumission of slaves. |
| 67 | Any person having legal or equitable estate for life, &c. of any slave, and desirous of manumizing such slave, is entitled to make application for that purpose to the custos or senior magistrate of the parish where such slave resides, in the manner and form herein stated. Proviso. |

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| | Proviso. |
| 68 | Custos, &c. to authorize the receiver-general to receive the amount of the valuation to be applied as herein mentioned. |
| 69 | Receiver-general to give certificate of the amount of the valuation being paid, on the production of which to the custos, &c. the order for manumission herein described is to be given. |
| 70 | The order for manumission, and the receiver-general's certificate annexed, to be recorded, &c. |
| 71 | The amount of the valuation, or the interest thereof, to be repaid on application, under an order of the Court of Chancery or of the Supreme Court, &c. |
| 72 | A tenant for life to be entitled to the principal or interest of the money, in case a slave, manumized in pursuance of this act, shall die in the life-time of such tenant for life, &c. |
| 73 | Purchase money may be invested in the purchase of other slaves. |
| 74 | The usual bond, given in cases of manumission, declared to be unnecessary hereafter, under certain provisions. |
| 75 | Persons travelling about the country for the purpose of trafficking in slaves, to be taken up and carried, with the slaves, before a justice, who is to proceed against them, as herein directed. On due proof, such slaves to be sold, one moiety of sale to the poor, the other to the informer. |
| 76 | The oath of the informer sufficient. |
| 77 | Sales of slaves made as aforesaid to be null and void, and the slaves forfeited. Justices, on information to issue warrants to take up slaves so sold, to sell them, and apply the money as before. |
| 78 | Proceedings under this act cannot be removed into the supreme or other courts. |
| 79 | Slaves concerned in rebellions, or committing murder, or other felony, to suffer death, transportation, &c. as the court may think fit. |
| 80 | Slaves guilty of assaults or other violence, to be punished at discretion of the court, unless by order or in defense of their owners, &c. |
| 81 | How slaves possessing firearms without knowledge of their owner, &c. are to be dealt with. |
| 82 | Slaves pretending to supernatural power may be sentenced to death, &c. |
| | Note – Clauses 83, 84 and 85 – the Sectarian Clauses omitted from the Slave Law passed in February 1831 |
| 86 | Nightly meetings of slaves unlawful, and free people attending them how punishable. If offender be a slave, he or she is to be punished as a court may direct. |
| 87 | Slaves preparing or giving poison, though death does not ensue, are to suffer death. |
| 88 | Punishment on slaves having any poisonous drugs, pounded glass, &c. in their possession. |
| 89 | Slaves found at any meeting formed for administering unlawful oaths, &c. are to be punished as the court direct, |
| 90 | as are white or free people present at such meetings. |
| 91 | Persons having knowledge of such unlawful meetings, and not giving information thereof, to be punished at discretion of court. |
| 92 | Slaves stealing horned cattle, sheep, horses, &c. may be condemned to death. |
| 93 | If slaves have in their possession twenty pounds of meat unaccounted for, they are to be whipped not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and if above twenty pounds, justices to assign punishment, not affecting life. |
| 94 | Punishments on slaves maiming or injuring horned cattle, horses, &c. |

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| 95 | Punishment on those wantonly cutting and chopping any other slave. |
| 96 | Punishment on slaves clearing their grounds by fire, if injury arise. Overseers, &c. having knowledge that any fire has been made for such purpose, and not doing their utmost to extinguish it, to be fined at discretion of two justices. |
| 97 | Slaves to be tried for crimes before courts of quarter-sessions, and by indictment before grand and petit juries. Sentence of death not to be carried into effect, but under the governor's warrant; except in cases of rebellion. Special slave-courts may be held. |
| 98 | Special slave-courts may be held in the parishes of St. Thomas in the Vale and St. John. Slaves to be discharged if not indicted in six months. Where slaves are indicted for murder, if malice prepense do not appear, verdict of manslaughter may be returned. |
| 99 | Clerks of peace may be discharged for neglect or incapacity. |
| 100 | Every parish to employ a professional man to defend slaves on their trial. |
| 101 | Penalty on persons warned to attend trials and neglecting to do so. |
| 102 | Jurors, witnesses, &c. under this act, protected in their persons, and slaves from being levied on. |
| 103 | Records to be kept by clerk of the peace, who must attend trials, and record proceedings in thirty days, under penalty of 20 <i>l</i> . His fee. Deputy marshals must warn jurors, and attend at such trials, under penalty of 50 <i>l</i> . |
| 104 | Punishment of slaves for giving false evidence. |
| 105 | If slaves against whom warrants are issued, are concealed by owners, &c. they forfeit 100 <i>l</i> . |
| 106 | Six day's notice of trial to owners, &c. of slaves. |
| 107 | How such notices are to be served where owners reside in a different parish to that in which their slaves may have committed offences and are to be tried. |
| 108 | Notices of trial to be given in newspapers, when the owner's name cannot be ascertained. |
| 109 | Executions must be public and solemn. |
| 110 | Slaves, sentenced to be executed or transported, to be valued by jury. |
| 111 | Provost-marshal must execute sentences without delay, under penalty of 200 <i>l</i> . and render account of net proceeds of sales on back of certificate of valuation. If charges amount to or exceed sale, receiver-general to pay the whole. |
| 112 | Valuation of slaves sentenced to death, &c. under this act, to be paid by receiver-general. |
| 113 | Purchasers of slaves sentenced to transportation to give bond in 500 <i>l</i> . penalty to transport them in thirty days. Bond to be lodged in clerk of the peace's office. |
| 114 | Purchasers to make oath that slaves shall be transported, and that they shall not be relanded. |
| 115 | No slave to be delivered until bond taken and oath made under penalty. Slaves returning from transportation, to be resold for transportation. |
| 116 | Such slaves going at large may be apprehended by any person, and on due proof resold. Appropriation of the money. |
| 117 | If slaves return from transportation for murder, &c. they are to suffer death. |
| 118 | Masters of vessels, willfully bringing back transported slaves to forfeit 300 <i>l</i> . for each and suffer imprisonment at the discretion of the court. |
| 119 | When slaves condemned to transportation cannot be sold, they are to be committed to hard labour in the workhouse. |
| 120 | Slaves sentenced to hard labour for life, may be sold out, after three years good behaviour. |

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| 121 | Slaves sentenced to confinement in the workhouse for two years, escaping, may be ordered fifty lashes, and recommitted, |
| 122 | and those sentenced for life escaping may be transported. |
| 123 | If marshal, constable, &c. suffer them to escape, they forfeit 50 <i>l.</i> and may be sued for their value. |
| 124 | Fees of slaves discharged by proclamation to be paid by the public, proof being given that they were properly maintained. |
| 125 | Gaol-keepers not to work out slaves sent to them for confinement, under penalty of 50 <i>l.</i> |
| 126 | Two justices may inquire into inferior crimes, giving notice to owners, &c. of slaves, and order punishment. |
| 127 | Clerks of peace to attend such summary trials, under penalty of 50 <i>l.</i> for which they are to be paid 1 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> The constable to be paid 18 <i>s.</i> Fees to the clerk of the peace and constable in Kingston. |
| 128 | Slave evidence to be received in cases of crime by magistrates, juries, and courts, on production of a certificate of baptism, and on due examination: Objections as to their competence, and evidence as their credibility, to be received in the same manner as regards white and free persons: To produce conviction against white or free persons, two slaves must consistently depose to the fact or circumstance: No conviction to take place unless the complaint be made within twelve months after the commission of any crime, &c. &c. |
| 129 | Justices and coroners to certify having examined slaves, who are competent to give evidence, and to take recognizance, or may commit to gaol. Allowance to evidences. |
| 130 | Witnesses cannot claim freedom. |
| 131 | Punishment for perjury. |
| 132 | Witnesses protected in their persons. |
| 133 | Slave evidence good in all cases against associates in crime. |
| 134 | Martial law not to suspend the operation of this law. |
| 135 | Recovery and application of penalties not before disposed of. Proviso. |
| 136 | Offences under repealed acts made triable under this act. |
| 137 | [Length of time Act to be in force] |

On 2 March 1831 Edward was owed money by David Hughes of St Catherine, but who he was I do not know.

Jamaica Archives – Records of Grand Court Judgements, Lib 538, Fol 122 – Clouston v. Hughes, David Summary/extracts

Edward Clouston, Esq, by Gilbert ... (? Shaw) attorney complains of David Hughes of St Catherine, Gentleman, of a plea of Trespass – to wit – on 2 March 1831 he was indebted to Edward in the sum of £500 Jamaica currency advanced to him before then by Edward

The rest of the record is more or less illegible but it appears that Edward won the case.

Note – in Jamaica Archives I photographed the record and then forgot to note the date. Later, via email, Jamaica Archives told me it was dated 2 March 1831. I suspect however that the hearing was after then.

www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1832 Jamaica Almanac – 1st quarter 1831
Giving-In – St Thomas in the Vale includes

Clouston, Edward, Retirement – 19 slaves – 3 stock

Harewood, Earl of, Williamsfield – 260 slaves – 17 stock

Nedham, Major General William – Mount Olive – 201 slaves – 46 stock

My photos, March 2007 – driving northeast to Riversdale – looking southeast across Mount Olive



Riversdale – once part of Mount Olive Estate



Rose Hall accounts include payments to Edward in 1830 and 1831.

Guildhall Library, London – Davison, Newman & Co – Richard Lee et al, Rose Hall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – Accounts, June 1830 to June 1831 – extracts

| | | | |
|------|--------|---|--------------|
| 1830 | Sept 1 | To paid Bill of E Clouston Esq of 15 April @ 90 days sight to H Mitchell on this account | £350 – 0 – 0 |
| | Oct 20 | To paid Bill of Ditto of 8 June @ ditto | £250 – 0 – 0 |
| | Oct 27 | To paid Bill of E Clouston Esq of 16 Dec @ 90 days sight to H Mitchell on this account | £250 – 0 – 0 |
| | Dec 31 | To paid Messrs Le Blanc & Co their acct for drawing Power of Attorney in favor of Edwd Clouston Esq for Rosehall Estate | £ 7 – 3 – 8 |
| 1831 | | To Bill of E Clouston Esq of 11 Mar @ 90 days sight to H Mitchell (accepted) due 30 July | £400 – 0 – 0 |

In the House of Commons on 15 April 1831 Thomas Fowell Buxton introduced Resolution for the Abolition of Slavery.

<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1831/apr/15/negro-slavery> – Negro Slavery – House of Commons Debate 15 April 1831 – extracts

Mr Fowell Buxton then rose, and spoke to the following effect:—Sir, in rising to submit to the House my Motion respecting the Abolition of Negro Slavery, I beg, in the first instance, most sincerely to declare, that I do so without the slightest feeling of hostility towards the West-India interest, and without the slightest disposition to cast reproach upon them, or indeed upon any other persons. The West-India planters are involuntarily entangled in the existing system. They are engaged in it, not by choice, but by inheritance. Far be it from me to charge them with being destitute of the ordinary feelings of humanity I know among them many gentlemen of as high honour, of as great integrity, of as warm humanity, as any of those whom I address. There are many of these gentlemen who see the existing evils as clearly as any man; and who are anxious to remedy those evils as far as they can be remedied without inflicting personal ruin upon themselves, and beggary upon their families. In what I have to say, then, I do not wish to make one observation painful or reproachful to the individuals to whom I allude. I complain of the system to which they belong; and on that point I have no alternative but to speak fairly out. Sir, the complaint of the West-India proprietors is, that we take a single act, and that we infer from that a general and almost a universal system of oppression and cruelty towards the slaves. That, however, is not the argument which I mean to use. I utterly disclaim all reference to individual cases of atrocity. If it were necessary, I might cite an abundance of cases which would excite the astonishment and call down the loud disapprobation of the House. But this I disclaim. Nor will I allude to the painful fact, that when any act of enormity has been committed, it has seldom happened that the West-India proprietors have not adopted the cause of the criminal, and made his case their own. Those who have attended to this subject well know how prolific the West-India islands have been of the most enormous abuses. But it is not on those – it is not on the fact that those abuses have been vindicated and approved by the West-India proprietors, that I rest my case. My case is, that the whole slave-population of the West Indies are in a miserable condition. My case is, that the whole system pursued in the West Indies with respect to the slave-population is so destructive of their moral and physical welfare, that it ought to be abolished . . . Sir, it cannot be concealed, that there is considerable difficulty in arriving at the truth with respect to the real condition of the negro in the West Indies . . . Under this conflicting evidence, it would be extremely desirable if we could obtain any test on the subject; if we could obtain any full, fair, and unequivocal proof of the real state of the negro-population of the West Indies. There is such a test – the rate at which that population has increased or decreased . . . It is, besides, a test, not applicable to the West Indies alone, but one of invariable reference.

Sir, it has been said, that the strength of our case depends on popular feeling. I deny this. I appeal to reason alone. I will attempt no excitement; I will use no ad captandum topics; I will refer myself to no popular impressions. On facts, and on facts only I rely. Sir, we have in the West Indies twenty colonies. They are not all, however, sugar colonies. Four of them produce no sugar; and another a very small quantity. Whether or not the mortality in those four colonies was greater or smaller, I will not inquire. Fourteen colonies, however, remained. The question is, whether in those colonies the slave-population has increased, has been stationary, or has decreased? The answer is, it has not increased, it has not been stationary, it has decreased. Not only has it decreased, but it has decreased at a rate so rapid, that I confess it surprises me, and I am sure will astonish the House. In the last ten years the slave-population in our fourteen colonies has decreased by the number of 45,800 persons . . . Sir, if we allow this system to proceed, we are consenting to the extinction of the whole negro-population of the West Indies . . . The whole slave-population of the West Indies is at present 45,800 less in number than it was ten years ago. Such are the facts. Unless I have forged the documents, which I presume will not be imputed to me, such are the facts. I proceed to state facts with respect to the Colonies generally, on which I am not able to detail numbers with so much precision as with respect to the three particular colonies to which I have already adverted [Tobago, Demerara, and Barbados]. The main fact is, that since the abolition of the Slave Trade, 100,000, that is to say, a seventh part of the slave-population of the West Indies, has been destroyed. At that period the number was upwards of 700,000: ten years afterwards it was 650,000; it is now less than 600,000. If this be permitted to go on – if the House allow the continuance of such a system, I beg leave humbly to represent to them that they will sign the death-warrant of many hundreds of human beings. If there were no other prospect of the extinction of slavery, it would be found in the rapid extinction of the negro race. Sir, I have hitherto argued this question most unfairly towards my own case. I have argued it as if a population ought only to maintain its numbers. I have said nothing of the increase which ought to have taken place in the population. The law of nature is, that a population should increase – not that it should decrease, not that it should be stationary, but that it should increase. In all countries, except those in which the population are drained off by extraordinary circumstances, that law in variably operates. To avoid all possibility of confutation on the ground that I am comparing blacks with whites, that I am comparing the poor with the rich, that I am comparing the inhabitants of one soil and climate with the inhabitants of another, I will again refer to the colonies of Demerara and Trinidad . . . I have shown, in the first place, that in the fourteen West-India colonies to which I have alluded, there has been a decrease of population where there ought to have been an increase. I have shown, in the second place, that in the same colonies the free-black population has greatly increased. In the third place, I have instanced the case of Hayti in support of my argument . . . If slavery, therefore, be not justly chargeable both for the decrease in population which it causes, and for the increase in population which it prevents, I wish to know with what any system is chargeable? The slave-population of the colonies ten years ago was 650,000, in round numbers. If the blacks in slavery had increased as the free blacks have increased, that population should have added 200,000 to its numbers; whereas that number has been diminished by 45,000. To keep *pari passu* with the free blacks, the blacks in slavery should have increased 20,000 a year; whereas they have decreased 4,000 a year. They should have increased fifty a day, whereas they have decreased ten a day. For this effect, this striking exception to the universal law of nature, there must be a cause. It could not occur by accident. What is the cause? I will tell the House what it is not. It is not, as it has been said to be, any disproportion between the sexes; any deficiency in the number of females. In 1814 the number of male slaves was 295,909; the number of female slaves, 300,930. The cause, therefore, of this decrease in the slave-population is not any disproportion between the sexes; it is not war, sweeping away its thousands, it is not climate, it is not soil. If any one thinks that the two last circumstances may operate injuriously upon the slave-population, I ask him why, under the same circumstances, the free-black population has so much increased? Sir, the real cause is the forced labour in the sugar colonies, and nothing else . . . Where the blacks are free they increase. Climate, soil, war, vice, misery, are too feeble to stem the current of nature. But let there be a change in only one circumstance; let the population be the same in every respect, only let them be slaves instead of freemen, and the current is immediately stopped. It is forced labour in the sugar colonies, and nothing else that has so destructive an influence on the population. That influence, so fatal to human life, is confined to the field slaves – it does not affect the domestic slaves. It is a remarkable fact that the children of slaves do not feel this influence until after a certain time of life. Up to ten years of age the number of deaths is not larger than a just proportion; they then enter on the cultivation of sugar, and the consequence which I have described ensues. These, Sir, are my proofs that forced labour is the cause of the evil. There now comes another

important consideration. Why is the cultivation of sugar by the slaves so destructive to them? . . . Mortal diseases are the necessary consequences in those countries of such intense and unrequited toil. Sir, I am dealing fairly with this question. I do not say, that the destruction which takes place among the slaves is attributable to the whip. I have heard some good friends to abolition out of doors talk of the whip as the cause. I do not believe that it is the whip; but I believe that it is oppressive labour . . . I must say, however, that from all the accounts which have reached me, I believe that such is the present condition and character of the slave-population of the West Indies, that punishment is found but too frequently necessary. I will not adduce any instances of individual cruelty, although it will be admitted there is at this moment some temptation – nor will I refer to any particular murder, because I think our cause has rather been injured than served by bringing such things forward in too prominent a manner. But, Sir, I take my stand upon the fact, that there has been an immense destruction of human life in our sugar colonies. It is a melancholy fact, that 45,000 innocent persons were found to have perished at the end of ten years. Having now briefly and temperately, but I fear, feebly explained my views of the subject, it only remains for me to say, that I have not brought forward this Motion from any feeling of hostility to the West-Indian interests, or from any party or personal motives, but from the conviction that there is a destruction of human life going on, which demands the attention of the Government. I hope the Resolutions I intend to submit will appear temperate, although I declare myself no friend to ameliorating measures, in which I have no faith. I do not think that by such measures the mortality can be repressed. Besides, I must tell hon. Gentlemen that I look upon the enslaving of our fellow-men as a crime of the deepest dye; and I therefore consider that it should be dealt with, not by palliatives, but by destroying it altogether. I accordingly felt it my duty, in spite of painful obstacles, to bring the question broadly before the House. That there are many obstacles I have said, and amongst the most considerable of these is to be found the argument so frequently and strongly urged – that property should be held sacred and left untouched. But have we not already acted too long in obedience to this principle? Have we not, within the last ten years, sacrificed 45,000 innocent men to the respect for property and to vested rights? Are we to go on in this course till the whole race of slaves is exterminated? No, Sir, however cautious we may be in dealing with property, I say it is not to be protected at all hazards, and at the expense of all crime. There is a greater consideration than the protection of property – that is, the preservation of the lives of innocent men. The men exposed to perish are British subjects, and we are bound to save them, however useful the system that would destroy them may be to individuals. The hon. Member concluded by moving the following Resolution: – “That in the Resolutions of the 15th of May, 1823, the House distinctly recognized it to be their solemn duty to take measures for the abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies; that in the eight years which have since elapsed, the Colonial Assemblies have not taken measures to carry the Resolutions of the House into effect; that deeply impressed with a sense of the impropriety, inhumanity, and injustice, of Colonial Slavery, this House will proceed to consider of and adopt the best means of effecting its abolition throughout the British dominions.”

Lord Althorp [Chancellor of the Exchequer] said, I feel it will be convenient that at this early period of the discussion, I should state the line which his Majesty's Government propose to adopt upon the present occasion. I need not say for myself, that I have always been a friend to the Abolition of Slavery, – that I have always voted for the Abolition of Slavery – and have always felt the greatest anxiety that the period should arrive when the emancipation of the slave might be safely undertaken. The hon. member for Weymouth says, he will have nothing to do with ameliorating measures – measures for the improvement of the slave-population; and if they were indeed intended to effect nothing but amelioration, I should be inclined to agree with him. But the object in view is, first to place the slaves in an improved condition – and the ultimate object is, to set them in that state of freedom to which we always desired to raise them . . . The best mode in which I can express myself is, to state to the House certain Resolutions which I shall propose for the adoption of the House; for, after what has passed, I think it will be admitted, that I have said enough to show, I do not agree with the Resolution proposed by the hon. Member. I agree with the object which the hon. Member has in view, but not with the Resolution by which he proposes to effect it. I shall feel it my duty, therefore, to negative that Resolution; but, after having done so, I shall move others to the following purport – “That this House, in its Resolutions of the 15th of May, 1823, distinctly recapitulated the evils under which the slaves in the colonies laboured, and the duty of the colonies to take such decisive measures to relieve the slave-population, and to prepare the negroes for participating in the privileges enjoyed by the other subjects of those colonies. That in those colonies in which there are no Legislative Assemblies, laws have been promulgated for ameliorating and improving the condition of the

slave population, but in those which have Legislative Assemblies, though eight years have elapsed since this House passed the Resolutions referred to, and though these colonies have been repeatedly urged to enact similar laws, no such laws have been enacted, nor have any measures been adopted to give effect to the Resolutions of this House, to the urgent opinions of the Government, or to the wishes of the British nation.” . . .

After news of the 15 April 1831 debate in the House of Commons arrived in Jamaica, meetings were held in the various parishes.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 6 Aug 1831, page Sup 9-10

Meeting of the Inhabitants of St Catherine’s. Spanish-Town, Aug 1, 1832.

At a Meeting of the freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Parish of St Catherine, convened by public advertisement, in the Court-House this day.

The Hon John Lunan, in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were read, and unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, That this Meeting feels justly alarmed at the proceedings which took place in the House of Commons on the 15th day of April last, and more especially on account of the amendments offered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Mr Buxton’s motion, stating, “That in those Colonies where there are no Legislative Assemblies, laws have been promulgated for ameliorating and improving the condition of the slave population; but in those which have Legislative Assemblies (though eight years have elapsed since this House passed the Resolutions referred to, and though these Colonies have been repeatedly urged to enact similar laws), no such laws have been enacted, nor have any measures been adopted to give effect to the Resolutions of this House, to the urgent opinions of Government, or to the wishes of the British nation.” Because such statement is not founded on truth, many salutary laws having been passed in this Colony ameliorating the conditions of slaves, and large sums annually paid for their religious instruction and improvement.

Resolved, That the Assembly of this island, in passing the Slave Law of 1831, have complied with every wish of his Majesty’s Ministers, compatible with the security and welfare of its inhabitants of all classes, and in some points have gone beyond what was required.

Resolved, That to make distinction in the levying of duties in these Colonies, which may operate in favour of such of them as adopt measures dictated to them by Government (however injurious these may be), as also stated in the Chancellor of the Exchequer’s amendment, would be unconstitutional, unjust, and oppressive, and ought to be resisted by every means in our power.

Resolved, That we possess our properties in this island under rights and charters as strong and as legal as our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain, and that to divest of such property, or any part of it, without full and ample compensation, would be contrary to all law and justice, and a violation of national faith and common honesty.

Resolved, That during sixteen years of peace, we have been oppressed by war duties on our produce, the value of which has at the same time been much reduced by the extensive cultivation of such produce in Foreign Colonies, which carry on the slave-trade to a greater degree, and under more cruel circumstances, than ever before disgraced humanity, and that the prosperity of such Foreign Colonies will be increased, and such slave-trade extended, by the destruction of the British West-India Islands.

Resolved, That in addition to these grievances, our properties have been greatly deteriorated in value, and our credit ruined, by the countenance Government has given to the machinations of our enemies, who have, at last, openly avowed that nothing short of our entire destruction will satisfy them.

Resolved, That this Meeting views, with disgust the conduct of the Ministry, and cannot believe any professions of friendship emanating from them, while they continue such a prejudiced individual as Mr James Stephen’s jun as the legal adviser of the Colonial Office, as if the profession of the law could furnish no other individual, free from those prejudices, and possessing, at least, equal knowledge and learning.

Resolved, That the numerous Addresses of our Representatives to the Throne, praying for relief and protection, have been uniformly attended to, though protection is the condition of allegiance; and, loyal to the King as we have been, unless such protection and relief be speedily and mercifully afforded to us, we shall be driven to the dire necessity of petitioning his Majesty to relieve us from our allegiance, and to

permit us to seek shelter under some other power able to secure to us our just and legal rights, and the enjoyment of our properties.

Resolved, That this Meeting calls on all and every the inhabitants of this and other Colonies, to be true to themselves, and faithful to their country, and be united in the defence and protection of their just and lawful rights, and not, by any act of their own, to be instrumental to their own destruction.

Resolved, That the above Resolutions be inserted in the John Bull, the Glasgow Courier, and the Times, once in each, in the County Papers one month, and daily papers of this island once.

His Honour the Custos having left the Chair, John March, Esq took his seat, when the thanks of the Meeting were voted to his Honour the Custos for his conduct in the Chair, and that he be requested to sign the Resolutions.

John Lunan, *Custos*.

At a Meeting in St Thomas in the Vale on 30 July 1831 Edward Clouston was the first named on a Committee of five men who were appointed to to 'meet delegates from other parishes, and to enter into and adopt such measures as they conceive most likely to benefit the Country'

Sat, 6 Aug 1831, page Sup 9-10

AT a numerous and most respectable MEETING of the FREEHOLDERS and other INHABITANTS of the Parish of St. Thomas in the Vale, held at the Court-House, Rodney-Hall, on Saturday the 30th July, 1831.

ALEX. M'INNES, Esq. in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

That the Property we hold in Slaves in this Island has been lawfully acquired, under the authority of the Laws of the United Kingdom, and that it ought to be held as sacred as any other description of Property belonging to his Majesty's subjects.

That the object avowed by a certain faction, the enemies of the Colonies, of separating our Slaves from the Land, would render the latter, of no value whatever, and as we depend almost entirely on our Properties for the support of ourselves and families, we should be involved in utter ruin and distress if such a measure was carried into execution.

That it has ever been the pride and boast of the British Constitution, that no individual, however

humble, can be deprived of his property without full and ample compensation. If, therefore, we are compelled to part with ours, we claim the right of being paid the worth of our Lands, Buildings, Slaves, and other Plantation Property, not according to their present value, but the amount of what they would have been sold for before they were deteriorated by the acts and misrepresentations of this party.

That it appears to this Meeting that his Majesty's Ministers contemplate forcing on our Legislature, plans for the local and internal management of

our affairs; but we trust the House of Assembly will resist every such attempt, as being a manifold violation of their privileges and the rights of private property; and that, however threatened with oppressive duties on our Produce, they will stand firm, and never consent to any act by which they will surrender or impair their Constitutional Independence.

That the British Government, by its vexatious and arbitrary conduct towards the Colonies, the unequal and unjust taxation of their staple articles, for many years past, and the countenance, in fact supported, afforded to their implacable enemies, has tended greatly to alienate the affections from the Parent State of his Majesty's heretofore most loyal subjects of Jamaica; and, if the Ministers persevere in this pernicious system, they have no other alternative (however painful and distressing it may be to them) than humbly to intreat his Majesty that he will be graciously pleased to absolve them from their allegiance, and that they may be permitted to seek protection from some other nation powerful enough to secure to them the quiet possession of their rights and properties.

That a Committee be appointed to meet Delegates from other parishes, and to enter into and adopt such measures as they conceive most likely to benefit the Country.

That Mr. Clouston, Mr. Gyles, Mr. Page, Mr. Daly, and Mr. Mac Caw be a Committee for that purpose.

That the above Resolutions be published in the three County Papers for One Month, and in the Jamaica Courant and Kingston Chronicle for One Week.

That a Copy of these Resolutions be transmitted to the Agent by the Chairman, with a request that he will have them inserted in the Times Newspaper, John Bull, and Glasgow Courier for One Month.

That the Chairman be requested to sign these Resolutions in behalf of the Meeting.

(Signed)

ALEX. M'INNES,

Chairman.

Alexander M'Innes, Esq. having left the Chair, and Richard Kinhead, Esq. being called thereto,

Resolved, That the Thanks of the Meeting be given to Alexander M'Innes, for his impartial conduct in the Chair.

In England in 1831 a 'new Antislavery committee was formed'.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=YL_o_0Hnc0wC&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Antislavery Recollections: in a Series of Letters addressed to Mrs Beecher Stowe (author of Uncle Tom's Cabin), written by Sir George Stephen at her request, published 1854 – page 126-135 – extracts

The Antislavery committee consisted of some half a dozen members of Parliament, sometimes more, and a few gentlemen out of Parliament. The M.P.'s always thoroughly understood the inside of the House, and the outsiders did not; hence the latter were by no means slow in urging motions to be made and resolutions to be passed, and notices to be given, which the former honestly believed would do mischief. The M.P.'s said, "Trust to Parliament;" the outsiders replied, "Trust to the people." The M.P.'s rejoined, "The people know nothing about it." The outsiders retorted, "The House cares nothing about it." Such was the origin of that temporary dissension which prevailed in the committee towards the summer of 1831, and, unluckily, both parties were right; confidence was essential, both in the Parliament and in the people, and the one knew nothing about while the other cared less. But a majority determined to adhere to the House, and a section whom I have called the young England abolitionists, resolved to appeal to the people. But both parties were honest, and though resolute to pursue their own course, they were so entirely governed by the same motive, that eventually they were enabled to play most successfully into each other's hands. They worked separately, but they worked harmoniously together, after the first somewhat angry alienation.

. . . a new Antislavery committee was formed, and office was taken, a secretary appointed, and work began; but, alas, dissension began with it. The new body, as you may suppose, was at once joined by the young England abolitionists, and though some leading members of the old committee were elected on the new one, it was resolved to avoid leavening the lump, by restricting the new committee to eighteen. Their advice was wanted, but not their control. To prevent the idea getting abroad that there were divisions in the camp, the new committee engaged offices in the same building in Aldermanbury. This was a new source of apprehension, the old committee fearing lest they should be committed by the indiscretions which they anticipated on the part of the volunteer allies. To meet this objection the latter assumed the title of "The Agency committee," as their work was essentially to be carried on through agents, and by this name I shall hereafter speak of them.

The first step of the Agency committee was a novel one; I strongly recommend it to all collective bodies who wish to get through their business. They resolved to meet daily at twelve o'clock, without the form of summons, and to secure work and not tattling; they determined that any three of the number should be a quorum, and that the first who entered the room should be the chairman for the day. The effect of this arrangement was speedily visible. For the first two or three weeks the Agency committee attended in force, but they soon found the attendance too severe, and gradually dropped off. Even Mr Macaulay, whom no labour could daunt, retired when he found that the Agency committee strictly confined itself to the work of agitation which they had proposed themselves in the first instance. It had acquired his confidence, though not without much hesitation; but when they had acquired it, he would allow nothing to shake it. It is, however, a singular fact, that powerful as such a body must necessarily prove for good or evil, and efficient as it proved itself for good, you will not find it once mentioned, as I believe, in "The Antislavery Reporter!"

By the gradual secession of less active members, the Agency committee became, virtually, reduced to three working men, and two of them were Quakers – Emanuel and Joseph Cooper . . .

It proved by no means an easy matter to obtain competent agents, for their duty was not confined to lecturing; they had also to revive drooping Antislavery societies, and to establish new ones; they were to assist in the organization of new societies with a view to bear upon the electors, and, as auxiliary to these objects, they were to omit no opportunity of gaining over the provincial press. Yet, for these important functions, and to defray their travelling expenses besides, the agency capital scarcely exceeded a thousand pounds. It never could have accomplished but for two circumstances. Many gentlemen offered their gratuitous aid in their respective localities, and both the gratuitous and stipendiary agents were instructed to have collections after every lecture.

Before any choice could be made of agents, it was indispensable to define their duty, and for this purpose to prepare what may be called an Antislavery creed. In any other committee than such as the Agency committee speedily became, a select trio agreeing in every article of Antislavery faith, this would have been impossible . . .

The agency Antislavery creed, however, was simple; it was in effect restricted to one position, in which no three men agreed more heartily than the three who formed the working committee: "To uphold slavery is a crime before God, and the condition must therefore be immediately abolished." . . .

It greatly simplified the task of selecting agents. "Will you uphold this tenet under all circumstance, and against all opposition?" was the only catechism required as to principle . . . It proved far more

difficult to find men qualified by their knowledge as well as by principle, but even this difficulty was relieved by the broad simplicity of the principle on which they were required to act. I will transcribe these instructions . . .

<http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/255029.html> – Anti-Slavery Medal, 1787



Women's Anti-Slavery Associations played an important role in the campaign for the Abolition of Slavery.

<http://spartacus-educational.com/REslaveryW.htm> – Women's Anti-Slavery Associations – extracts

. . . By 1831 there were seventy-three of these women's organisations campaigning against slavery.

. . . In 1824 Elizabeth Heyrick published her pamphlet *Immediate not Gradual Abolition*. In her pamphlet Heyrick argued passionately in favour of the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the British colonies. This differed from the official policy of the Anti-Slavery Society that believed in gradual abolition. The leadership of the organisation attempted to suppress information about the existence of this pamphlet and William Wilberforce gave out instructions for leaders of the movement not to speak at women's anti-slavery societies.

The Female Society for Birmingham had established a network of women's anti-slavery groups and Heyrick's pamphlet was distributed and discussed at meetings all over the country. In 1827 the Sheffield Female Society, became the first anti-slavery society in Britain to call for the immediate emancipation of slaves. Other women's groups quickly followed but attempts to persuade the leadership of the Anti-Slavery Society initially failed.

In 1830, the Female Society for Birmingham submitted a resolution to the National Conference of the Anti-Slavery Society calling for the organisation to campaign for an immediate end to slavery in the British colonies. In an attempt to persuade the male leadership to change its mind on this issue, the society threatened to withdraw its funding of the organisation. The Female Society for Birmingham was one of the largest local society donors to central funds, and also had great influence over the network of ladies associations which supplied over a fifth of all donations

At the conference in May 1830, the Anti-Slavery Society agreed to drop the words "gradual abolition" from its title. It also agreed to support Sarah Wedgwood's plan for a new campaign to bring about immediate abolition. The following year the Anti-Slavery Society presented a petition to Parliament calling for the "immediate freeing of newborn children of slaves".

<https://archive.org/details/oates71082284> – The Female Society for Birmingham, West Bromich, Wednesbury, Walsall and their Respective Neighbourhoods for the Relief of British Negro Slaves – Album – 1827



The mode of flogging Slaves.
as described in *Bickells' West Indies as they are*, page 13.



The separation of a family of Slaves after being seized & sold upon a Warrant of destraint for their Master's debts.
as described in *Bickells' West Indies as they are*, pages 16 & 17.



Slaves chained together by the neck and driven to work on the roads.

See Bickells 'West Indies as they are,' page 13.

Edward's second plantation in St Thomas in the Vale, Scholar's Cot, a mountain plantation containing 72 acres and one rood, was conveyed to him on 5 August 1831,

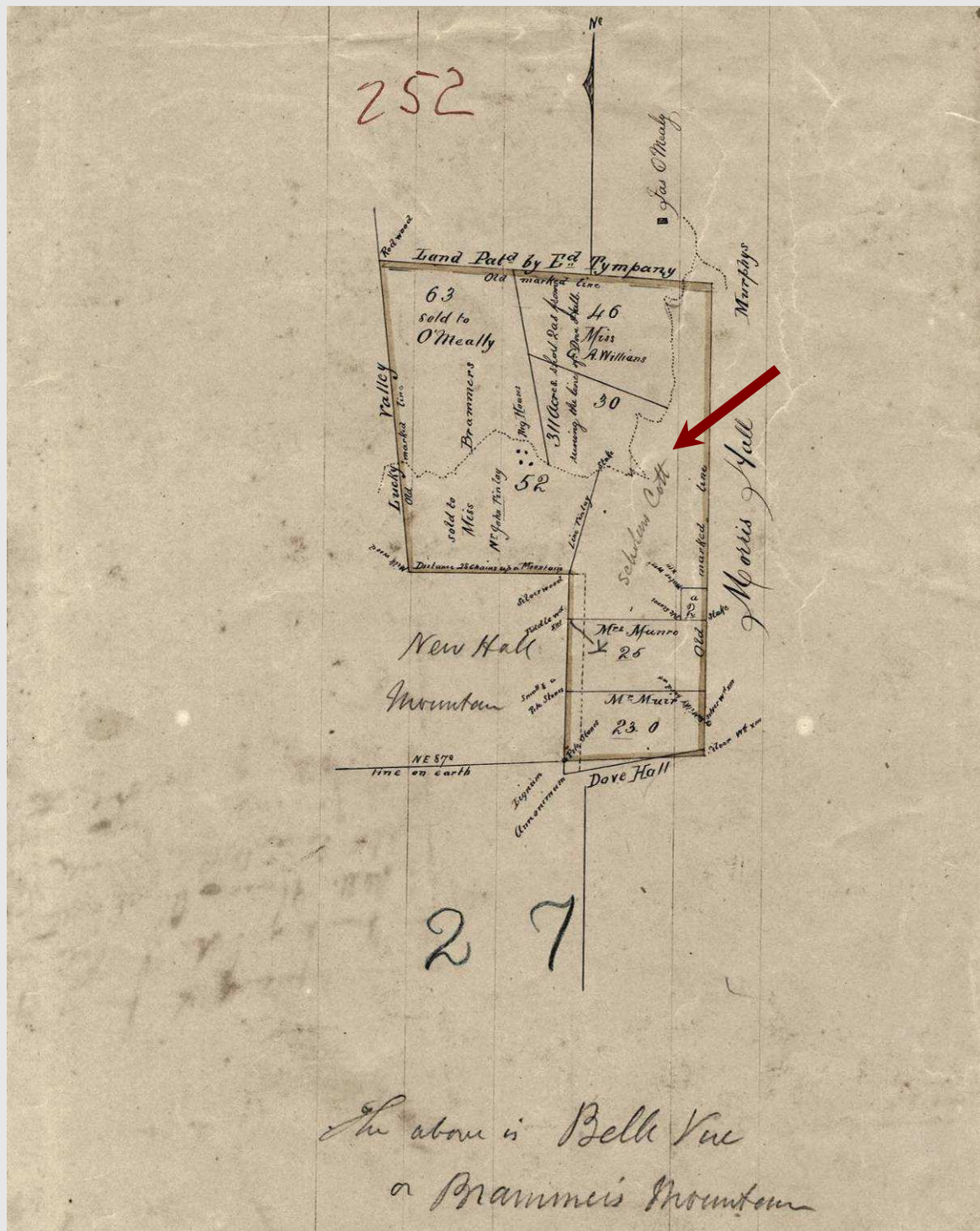
Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 780, Fol 1 – Entered Island Secretary's Office 21 Jun 1832 – Indenture dated 5 August 1831 – between Mary Marks of Kingston, Widow surviving Trustee name in and by a certain Indenture hereinafter part recited (1) – Alexander Scholar of Kingston, Lumber Measurer and wife Charity Harry (2) – and Edward Clouston of St Thomas in the Vale, Esq (3) – extracts/summary

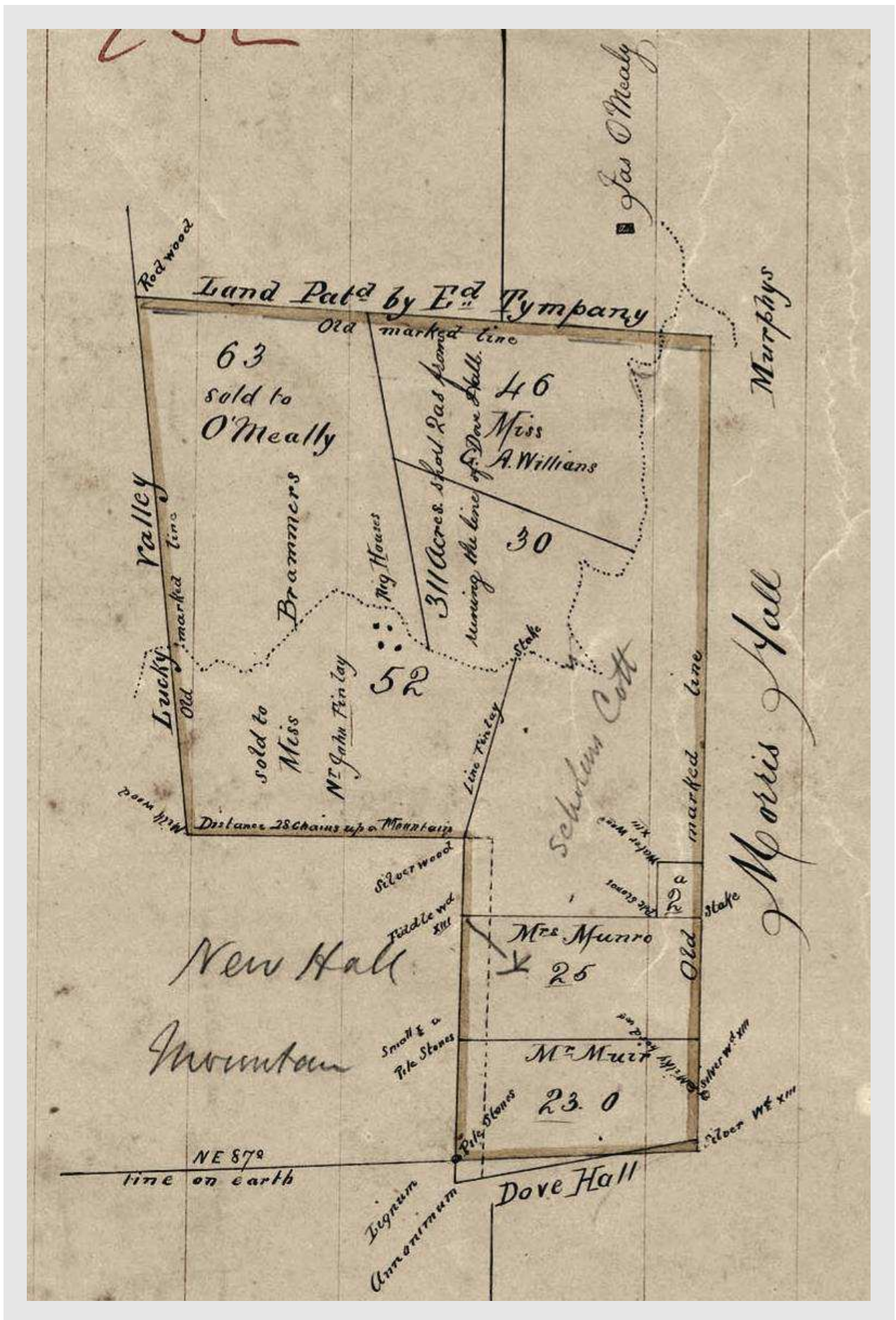
Recitals – Indenture or Conveyance in Trust dated 10 January 1826 between said Alexander Scholar and Charity Harry his wife of the one part – and John McFarlane, Gentleman since deceased and Mary Marks of the other part – Alexander Scholar and wife released unto John McFarlane and Mary Marks the several male and female slaves therein particularly named – upon trust – to and for and upon and subject to all and every the uses trusts etc therein after mentioned – provided and agreed upon by the said parties thereto – that in the case the said Charity Harry wife of Alexander Scholar should at any time during her life be minded and desirous that all or any of the said trust slaves and premises should be sold – should give notice in writing jointly with Alexander Scholar to John McFarlane and Mary Marks – lawful for the said trustees to sell the same – Indenture dated 21 April 1826 between Elizabeth Brammer, Spinster of the one part – and said John McFarlane and Mary Marks of the other part – Elizabeth Brammer conveyed unto John McFarlane and Mary Marks as such trustees as aforesaid – a mountain plantation – therein and herein after described – to hold upon trust – John McFarlane has since departed this life leaving Mary Marks his co-trustee surviving – Charity Harry with the consent of her husband Alexander Scholar is desirous of selling the said mountain plantation

For £200 Jamaica currency to Mary Marks and for 10s Jamaica currency to Alexander Scholar and wife Charity Harry – they convey to Edward Clouston all that said Mountain Plantation (Scholar's Cot) – conveyed by the said lastly herein before lastly recited Indenture – in St Thomas in the Vale – containing by estimation 72 acres and one rood more or less – butting and bounding – by the diagram survey annexed to the said lastly hereinbefore in part recited Indenture will appear

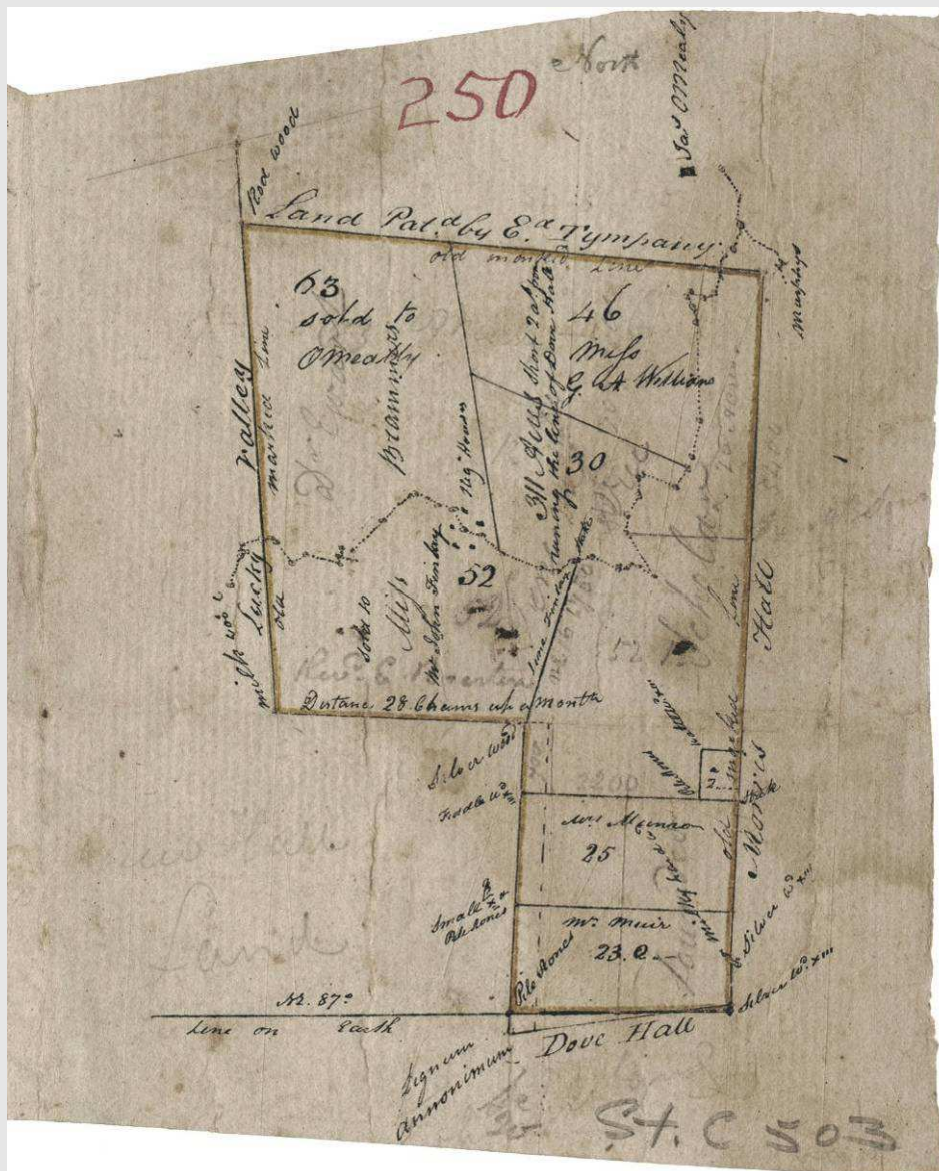
The above 5 August 1831 Indenture makes no mention of the location in St Thomas in the Vale of the plantation conveyed to Edward, and from searching *Records of Contracts* it appears that the 21 April 1826 Indenture (referred in the above Indenture) was not entered in the Island Secretary's Office. However, knowing that Scholar's Cot was the name of the plantation (see Chapters 1 and 20 – Edward and Eliza's claims for compensation), and knowing that Scholar's Cot was near Morris Hall (see Chapter 15 – 25 October 1826 Indenture) I searched maps and plans in the Jamaica National Library, and found two plans marking Scholar's Cot.

Jamaica National Library – Maps & Plans – St. C 534 – no date – Belle View or Brammer's Mountain – **arrow** points to Scholars Cott (or Cot) on the west side of Morris Hall



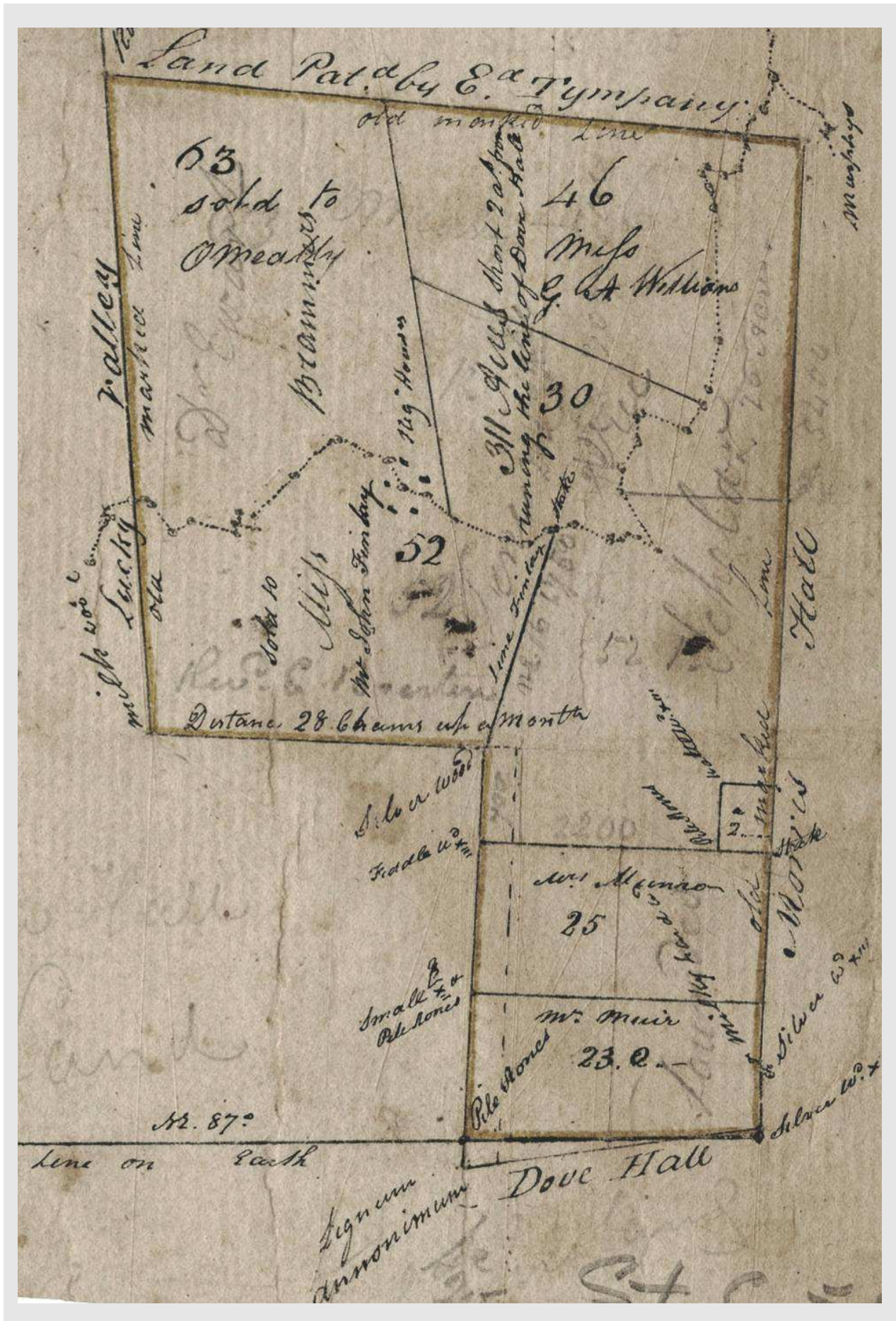


Jamaica National Library – Maps & Plans – St. C 534 – no date – St Thos. Vale – Brammers Mountain – middle right, in pencil, Scholars – 52 1 – plus – 20 acres

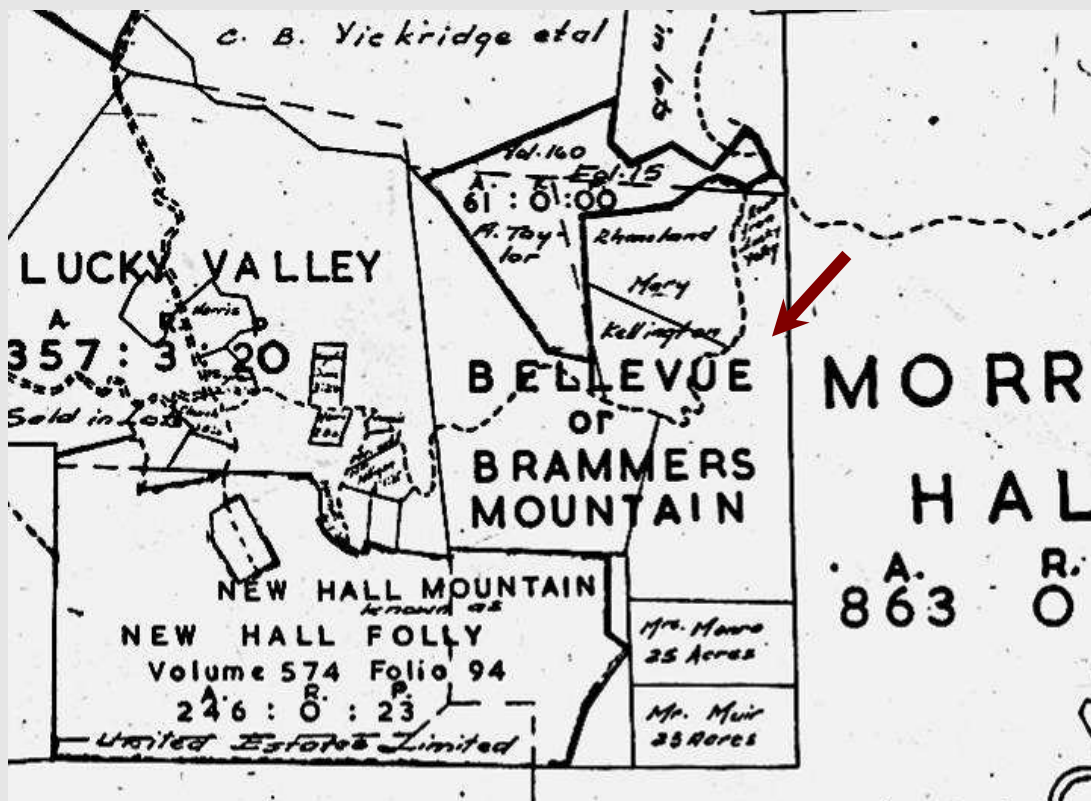


Back

Burtons. Brumley t.
St. Thos. Vale
Brammers Mountain
St. Thomas



Jamaica National Library – Maps & Plans – No. 1 Parish of St Catherine, compiled in 1882 by Thomas Harrison, Govt. Surveyor, revised in 1956 – section – **arrow** point to Scholar's Cot (not named on the map) – **arrow** points to Roman Hall (Edward's Retirement plantation – see Chapter 17)



In the second half of the 1820s Alexander Scholar (see above conveyance of Scholar's Cot to Edward) was a planter in St Thomas in the Vale.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Lb4NAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *A Letter to the Rt Hon Sir George Murray, G.C.B. his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State of the Colonies, relative to the Deportation of Lecesne and Escoffery from Jamaica, published 1829* – page 568 – Alexander Scholar's examination – extract

Alexander Scholar *being asked*, –

Q. What is your name, place of residence, and occupation?

A. My name is Alexander Scholar; I live at present in St Thomas in the Vale, and have now become a planter; I have also a house in Kingston, where my family reside. I am a native of Jamaica.

Q. Were you a member of the committee of coloured people of this city?

A. I was: I was its secretary.

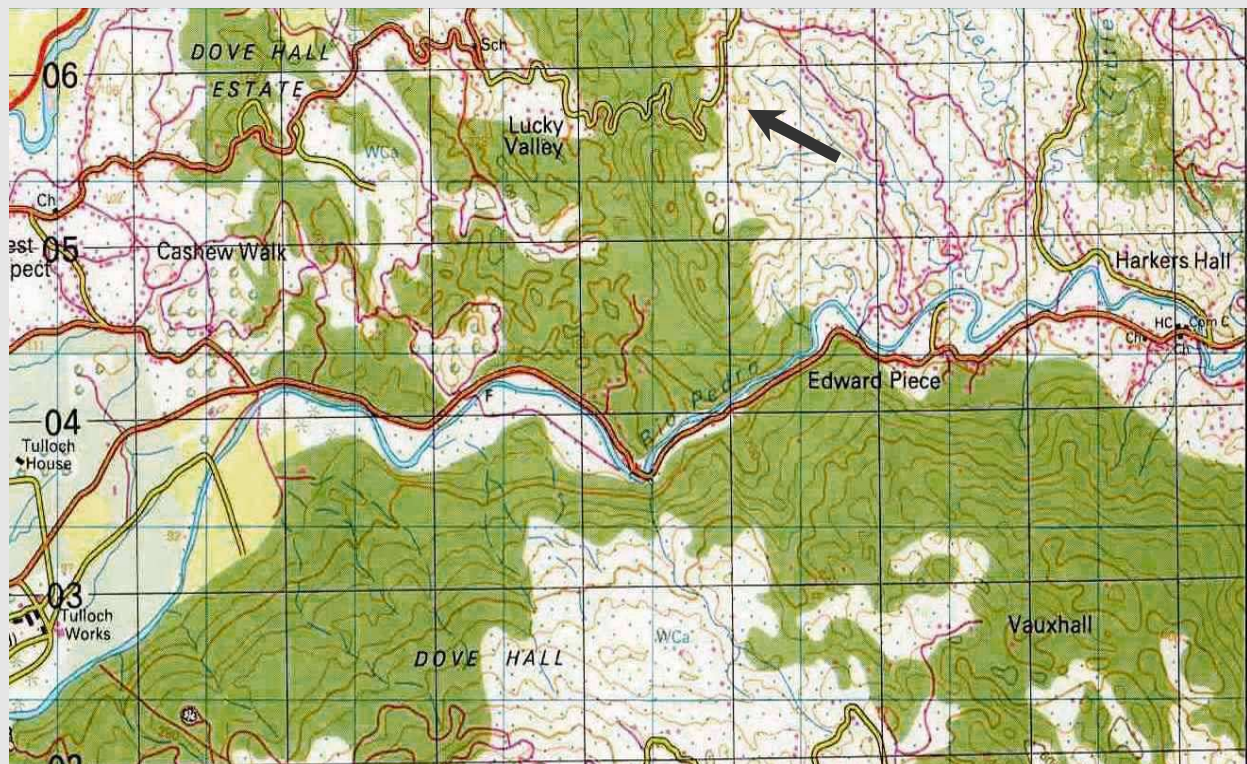
Q. Were Louis Celeste Lecesne and John Escoffery, or either of them, who were lately sent from this island by order of the Governor, members of that committee?

A. They were.

www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – *Jamaica Almanacs* – Giving-In – St Thomas in the Vale – March 1826 to March 1831 – Alexander Scholar was in possession of a few slaves on Scholar's Cot

In 1834 Alexander Scholar was a Kingston Lumber Measurer – *London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 29 Mar 1834, page PS 24*

Stanfords map and travel bookshop, London – Jamaica maps 1992 – Crown Copyright – Series E725 – Edition 1-GSGS – Sheet 12 (purchased 2002) – Linstead-Chapelton – Williamsfield and Harewood – section – arrow points approximately to Scholar's Cot



Below – *my photos, March 2007* – road along the banks of the Rio Pedro between Tulloch (above bottom left) and Harkers Hall (above right) – and on east to Above Rocks Post Office

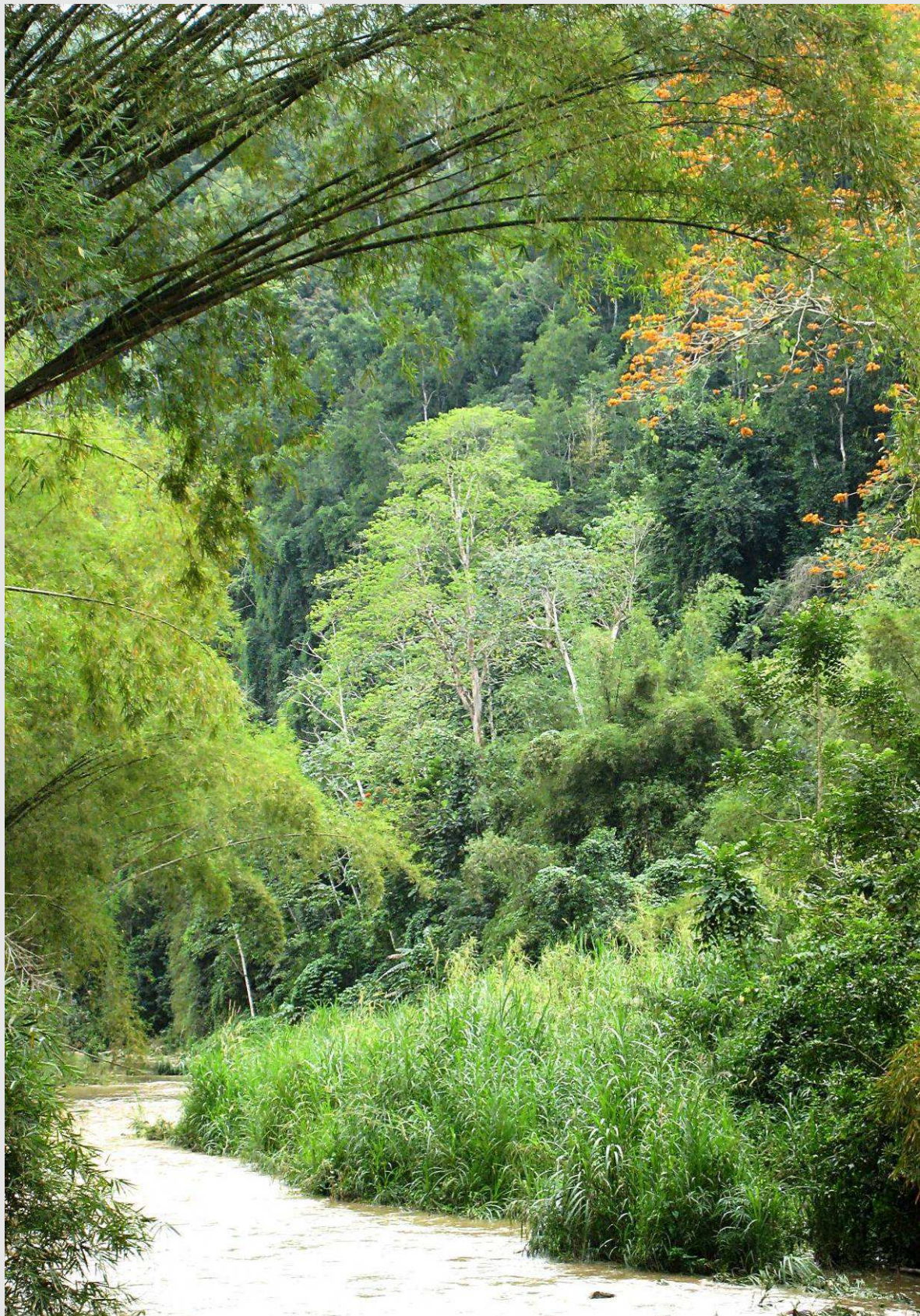
Tulloch looking east



Rio Pedro



Rio Pedro



Looking upstream from the bridge over the Rio Pedro between Tulloch and Edward Piece – see map above



Google Satellite – upper left, Lucky Valley – middle right Edward Piece – far middle left Harkers Hall – **arrow** points approximately to Scholar's Cot



Edward Piece – looking north – on the far side of the ridge – Brammers Mountain and Scholar's Cot



From the road between Edward Piece and Harkers Hall – looking north – the Rio Pedro



Harkers Hall



November 2009 – road to St Faiths (Mount Concord) at the junction with the road to Above Rocks – men scooping up buckets of sand from the Rio Pedro



Google Satellite – top middle left, St Faiths – bottom right, Above Rocks Post Office – **arrows** – left points to the bridge over the Rio Pedro at the junction of the road from Harkers Hall to Above Rocks with the road to St Faiths – right points to Edward's Retirement plantation



March 2007 – road to Above Rocks – looking north



Above Rocks Post Office



On 11 October 1831, acting as Attorney to James Berney Bourdieu, Edward purchased 14 slaves at Public Sale from David J Soares, Deputy Marshall of St Catherine.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 779, Fol 18 – Entered Island Secretary's Office 22 Mar 1832 – Bill of Sale/Bill of Parcels and Receipt dated 11 October 1831 – David J Soares to Edward Clouston

Venditioni returnable October Grand Court 1831 – Wilson, Jno & al Merchants vs Adam Steel – Ewart Jno vs Same Ex – Same & al vs Same – Same vs Same

Spanish Town, 11 Oct 1831 – Edward Clouston, Esq – Bought of David Soares D.M at public Sale 14 Negro Slaves – levied upon under and by virtue of the above Writ and sold for the sum of £485 13s 4d Jamaica currency – received payment in full D J Soares D.M.

On 29 November 1831 a petition of Edward, in connection with duty charged on timber imported for Enfield Estate in May 1830, was offered to the House of Assembly.

My photo, September 2008 – Spanish Town, Emancipation Square (formerly King's Square) – from the Rodney Memorial looking east – the old House of Assembly



London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat 3 Dec 1831, page PS 20 – House of Assembly, 29 November 1831 – extract

A petition of Edward Clouston, of the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale, was offered to the House, and under the special circumstances of the case, reading forth;

“That the petitioner, as attorney for Enfield estate, in St. Thomas in the Vale, the property of William Harvey, Esq. has been overcharged in the amount of duty upon a quantity of Norway deals imported for the use of the said estate in the ship Simon Taylor, from London, in May, 1830.”
 Referred to a Special Committee of Mr. Barclay, Mr. Yates, and Mr. Erater

Sat, 10 Dec 1831, page PS 22 – House of Assembly, (day not noted) December 1831 – extract

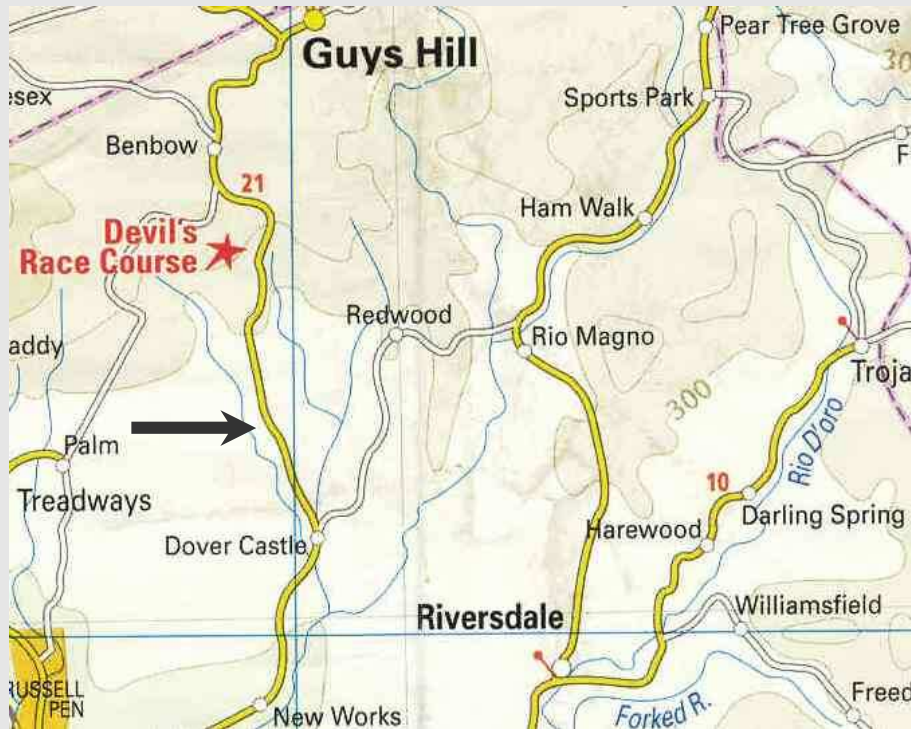
... on Mr Speaker resuming the Chair, the following Resolutions were reported, viz: 1 ... 2, to agree to the Report on the petition of Edward Clouston, and to direct the Receiver-General to refund him 10l, 7s. 9d. amount of duties overcharged on Norway deals imported; 3 ...

My photo, September 2008 – Spanish Town, Emancipation Square (formerly King's Square) – north side, Rodney Memorial – Admiral Rodney, victor at the Battle of the Saints, 1782



From Mount Olive the shortest way by road to Enfield is via Riversdale, north to Hampshire and Rio Magno, west via Redwood to Dover Castle – the junction with the road to Guys Hill

*Know How Jamaica road map – north of Dover Castle – **arrow** points approximately to Enfield*



Below – *my photos, March 2007* – Enfield to Riversdale and Mount Olive – Enfield district



Dover Castle – junction of the road north to Guys Hill and the road east to Redwood



Road to Redwood



Redwood – looking south



Continuing on towards Rio Magno



Road from Rio Magno to Hampshire



Looking northwest between Rio Magno and Hampshire



Hampshire



Road from Hampshire to Riversdale



Riversdale – road to Mount Olive and Williamsfield – immediately beyond the yellow railings the road crosses over Mount Olive Natural Bridge – see Chapter 13



Mount Olive – looking south



In November 1831, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* reviewed the Report of the Society for the Conversion, etc, of Negro Slaves for the year 1829 – see Chapter 17.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Q0YXAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *Anti-Slavery Reporter* – Editor Zachary Macaulay – Vol IV – January to December 1831 – November 30, 1831 – Report of the Society for the Conversion, &c, of Negro Slaves for 1829 – Jamaica – page 469-477 – extracts

In our former Volumes we reviewed the Reports of this Society for 1827 and 1828. Our review excited the keen displeasure and called forth loud vituperations of certain rash and injudicious friends of the Society, who ventured to deny the correctness of our statements, and to impugn our motives . . .

We now have before us the Society's Report for 1829; and we shall proceed to give a brief analysis of its contents, and first of the account of the Society's proceedings in the Diocese of Jamaica, containing a slave population of about 330,000; only promising that it is our intention to confine our view principally to what appears to have been done for the conversion and instruction of the *slave*, and not of the *free* population, following the Report, step by step, through the different parishes of the Island.

12. *St Thomas in the Vale*, (12,000.) The report from this parish states that on 29 plantations about 885 children, and 484 adults receive instruction chiefly by means of book-keepers belonging to the estates; a plan which appears to have originated with the Rev Mr Barton [Burton], the rector of the parish, and to have met with favour not only from his superiors in the church but from the planters also. Doubtless, if instruction is to be conveyed to the slaves at all, this is precisely the plan which, on account of its incongruousness and inefficiency, the reluctant planter would prefer to any other. Care is taken, however, that it shall be the slave's own time and not that of the master which is appropriated to this mockery of religious instruction. The evening is devoted to it. The Bishop and some of his clergy highly eulogize this new invention – but for ourselves we must regard it as a death blow to the hope of diffusing either the knowledge or the practice of Christianity among the slaves.

In a former number of our present volume (No. 76, p. 124,) we have already briefly touched on this subject. After adducing the testimony of the Christian Record, a very able periodical work published in Jamaica itself, to the inefficiency of the general plan of catechetical instruction, as pursued in that island, we quoted the following passage: – “If then this species of oral instruction be useless in the hands of the catechists appointed for the purpose, is it likely to be more effectual when employed by book-keepers? Are their habits of life calculated to give additional weight to the formularies of the church? If it were proposed, *as a general measure*, to employ them in teaching morality to the slaves, would not the proposition excite ridicule, at least, if not disgust? Are they the men competent to give instruction in the principles of the Christian religion, which is the source of all pure morality?”

Such is the book-keeper system, which has obtained the patronage of the Bishop of Jamaica, and through him of this Society! And can it be wondered at that the friends and advocates of negro improvement should not support and countenance such a system by their contributions? Few, if any, of these pretended instructors of our enslaved brethren in the word and ways of God are to be found who are not living in the open and notorious violating of the laws of chastity, and of the sanctity of the Lord's day; and yet these are the men to whom the Bishop of Jamaica and his brethren of the Conversion Society intrust the exposition and inculcation of the scriptural faith, and the Christian practice, taught and enjoined by the formularies of the Church of England. These things ought not so to be; and we conjure the Governors of the Society not to be led, by ill-advised representations from abroad, any longer to yield to such a system the sanction of their high authority.

At Christmas 1831 slaves in the west of Jamaica went on ‘general strike’ and it quickly became ‘one of the biggest slave rebellions the island was to experience’.

British Library – Biographical Annals of Jamaica by Frank Cundall, 1904 – (page not noted)

A rebellion broke out, under Samuel Sharp, in the western part of the island – a rebellion, as it was then described, “of a more extensive nature, of a more daring character, and more destructive of life and property than any rebellion which has taken place in this island since it belonged to the British Crown,”

originating in a misbelieve that emancipation had been granted by the British Government, but was being withheld by the planters. On one night in December 1831, sixteen incendiary fires took place in St James, and many lives were lost in quelling the outbreak of the slaves. Martial-law had to be declared throughout the island, and the general Sir Willoughby Cotton, the commander of the forces, felt compelled to take the field in person. Property to the value of £666,977 was destroyed.

www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1845 Jamaican Almanac – Historical and Remarkable Events.

1831 – Dec. 30. Martial law proclaimed, a rebellion having broken out in the county of Cornwall, which was attended by commotions and a spirit of disaffection almost general among the whole slave population; a great number of estates were burnt by the insurgents. The united exertions of the regulars and the militia with the seamen of the navy and merchant vessels, and the aid of the maroons, directed by the military skill and experience of Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, the commander of the forces, who hastened without a moment's delay to the scene of insurrection, speedily suppressed this extensive and formidable rebellion. Property to a considerable amount was destroyed by the rebels. A great number of them, in resisting the military, were killed in the field, and not a few expiated their crimes on the scaffold. Martial law terminated on the 5th February. The British government, in commiseration of the deplorable state to which the proprietors of estates were reduced, extended to them pecuniary assistance by a loan of £200,000.

History of Jamaica, by Clinton V Black (1st edition published 1958), published 1999 – Sam Sharpe's Rebellion – page 105-106 – extracts

. . . Still believing that they had been freed by England but were being held in bondage by their masters, the slaves in the western part of the island organised by one Samuel 'Daddy' Sharpe, a slave and a Baptist preacher, went on a sort of general strike during the Christmas week of 1831. This strike soon developed into one of the biggest slave rebellions the island was to experience – and the last of its kind. The great house and sugar works at Kensington Estate, St James, were the first to be set on fire by the slaves; within a matter of hours several other plantations in the neighbourhood were ablaze.

. . . The few British troops in the island, under the sound and humane leadership of their commanding officer, Sir Willoughby Cotton, soon brought the revolt under control, but the retaliation by the civil authorities against the slaves who had taken part was prolonged and terrible. A great many were executed and scores brutally flogged. Sharpe himself was hanged for his part in the revolt which, although it had miscarried, helped to hasten the day of freedom he had striven for.

The Nonconformist missionaries, especially the Baptists, had never been popular with the planters because of the work they did among the slaves, and now they found themselves being blamed for the disorders. The Baptist preachers William Knibb and Thomas Burchell and the Moravian H G Pfeiffer amongst others, were arrested and charged with inciting the slaves to rebellion. They were eventually acquitted.

<https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/254050> – Herbert Jarret James' Letter-Book, transcribed and edited by Sarah Harrison – letter dated 4 January 1832 to Sir Michael Benignus Clare – extract

. . . 52 Estates destroyed in Hanover and St James, and 15 to 20 in Trelawny, 2 in St Elizabeth – Negroes wont work without pay . . .

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 7 Jan 1832, page PS 18

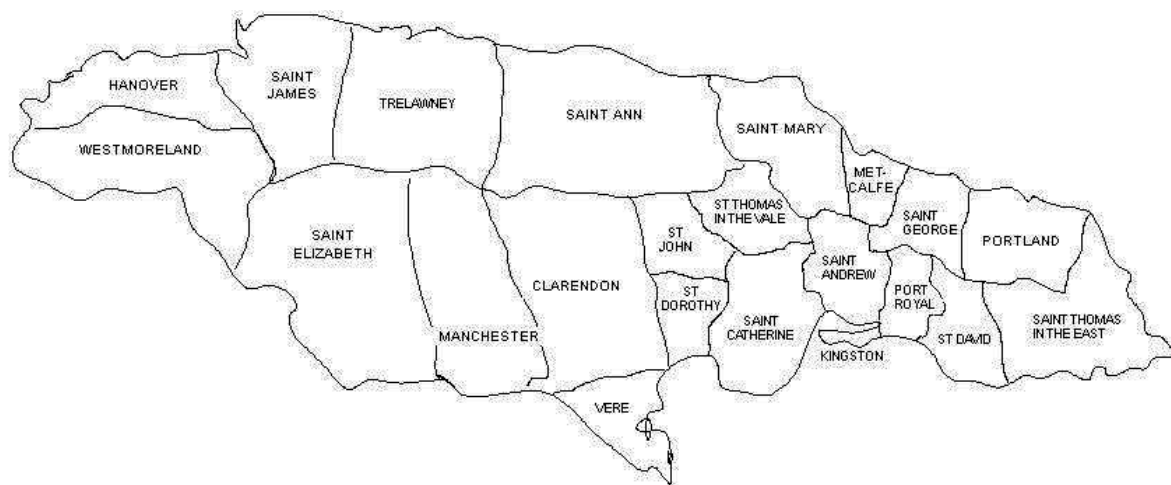
. . . the question which has affected the fate and existence of the West-India Colonies is the discussion which ensued upon the motion of Mr Buxton on the 15th of last April. The resolution then promulgated by Lord Althorp, the organ of Ministers in the House of Commons, having for its object the enforcing, by discriminating duties, the views of the Anti-Slavery faction, although not brought forward from the sudden dissolution of Parliament, may be considered as having set in motion the elements of insubordination now

unhappily kindled in this island. The statement that the Colonists had not attended to the resolutions of Parliament passed in 1823, is rebutted by the fact that our Slave Code had since that period received considerable modification, whilst all its enactments tended to protect and ameliorate the condition of the slave, and progressive improvements would have been made, giving him gradually, as he approached nearer to civilization, an extension of privileges ultimately terminating in his freedom.

A serious breach has now however been made in the relations between master and slave, and it will require a considerable period to renew those ties which have been thus dissevered, and to restore that confidence in our dependants which we had hoped the indulgencies granted to them by the Legislature, and a more liberal system on the part of their masters, was calculated to instill.

Note – following the dissolution of Parliament on 22 April 1831, the 1831 General Election (polling 28 April to 1 June) was a landslide victory for the Whigs over the Tories. The new Parliament was the first predominantly Whig administration since 1806-1807.

http://www.digjamaica.com/parish_evolution – Jamaica Parishes, 1814-1840



Below – reports of the Rebellion published in the Jamaica Royal Gazette.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 7 Jan 1832, page PS 18-21 – extracts

The earliest intelligence this week from the disturbed districts of St James and Trelawny announced on the arrival at Montego Bay of the Commander of the Forces, and of the detachments of Regular Troops ordered on this service. The first act of Sir Willoughby Cotton was to cause a Proclamation to be disseminated among the Negroes, for the purpose of inducing them to return to their duty. We subjoin a copy.

Head-Quarters, Montego Bay,
Jan. 2, 1832.

NEGROES,

You have taken up arms against your masters, and have burnt and plundered their houses and buildings. Some wicked persons have told you that the King has made you free, and that your masters withhold your freedom from you. In the name of the King, I come amongst you, to tell you, that you are misled. I bring with me numerous Forces to punish the guilty, and all who are found with the principals will be put to death without mercy. You cannot resist the King's Troops. Surrender yourselves, and beg that your crime may be pardoned. – All who yield themselves up at any Military Post, immediately, provided they are not principals and chiefs in the burnings that have been committed, will receive his Majesty's gracious pardon; all who hold out will meet with certain death.

(Signed) Willby. G. Cotton, Major-General Commanding.

The dispatches giving this information were received at the King's House on Tuesday, and his Excellency the Governor on the same day issued the Proclamation which appears in our Paper of this week, offering a reward for the apprehension of certain of the most disaffected of the insurgents.

The arrival of the Post, after the various and contradictory rumours was looked for with considerable anxiety, but the news which the papers and letters from the Northside contained, were far from being satisfactory or encouraging. The destruction which had been effected in the parishes of St James and Trelawny is described as harrowing – the whole extent of country beyond the towns appearing one continued scene of desolation. Properties, which a few days since were flourishing, and from which their possessors hoped to reap their little income, have been burned to the ground, and nothing but ruin appears now to be the lot of the unhappy inhabitants. The events which the last few days have produced, will shew to those who affect a greater regard for the negro than for his master, that he is far removed from a state to receive the blessings of the liberty they would bestow upon him. The desperation with which they wish to hurry forward the time of his emancipation, has brought down evils which, though they might have foreseen, they were little inclined to prevent; and when such men as the late Rev Andrew Thompson assert that slavery would be cheaply purchased by blood, we can have little to expect from the party who have allied themselves to the cause opposed to the West-Indian interest, and whose philanthropy would not be exerted if their *white* brethren were the sufferers, but who nevertheless feel for the reported hardships and sufferings of the black population.

Though every one must regret the occasion which renders such a lesson necessary as a salutary check upon others, all must lament the necessity which has placed these deluded creatures under the ban of military law, and the loss of lives which must now be offered up to offended justice.

<http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/241921.html> – James Fuller Boxer – Attack and capture of the Rebels positions near Montego Bay by boats from HMS Blanche. 1831



Jamaica Royal Gazette – Sat, 7 Jan 1832, page PS 18-21 – extracts continued

(From the *Cornwall Courier* of Jan. 4)
Rebellious State of the Slaves in Trelawny and St James's.

Since our last, the rebellious conduct and destructive acts of the slaves in this parish and St James's, particularly in the latter, have been most extensive. In this parish we have not yet heard of any works on sugar estates being destroyed. The acts of the incendiaries have been confined to the destruction of trash-houses. In St James's the whole of the works, on 15 estates, between last Tuesday night and Sunday morning, have been levelled to the ground, by fire. Last Wednesday forenoon two divisions of the Trelawny Regiment, each about 150 strong, with a few Regulars attached to them, took post, the one at Bounty-Hall the other at Good-Hope estates. These divisions have already (Monday) sent in nearly 200 prisoners.

We have, for a very long time, used every exertion to shew that the Missionaries in this Island were inculcating our Slave population with doctrines and principles most dangerous to the well-being of this Island. The acts of rebellion and incendiarism, committed and still committing, in this parish and St James's, are occasioned by the slaves having been deceived and misguided by the Sectarians. Let the blood that must be spilt rest on the heads of the instigators. We can now only state, that facts of the rebellion which has been preached to the slaves, and instilled into their minds, in the name of Religion, are hourly coming to light.

We most strenuously exhort the Missionaries throughout the island to use their utmost endeavours to restrain, by the authority with which they are invested, the further spread of st... and rebellious tenets, through the means prom...ous preachers, as disbanded soldiers, and to hold forth without complying with the law of the island for a proper license. Upon rebellious negroes who have been taken into custody in this parish, have been found tickets of the "Baptist Church," and we are that if there is any difference as to the dangerous principles disseminated amongst our slave population by the Sectarians, those broached ignorant and unenlightened class by the Baptists are the worst.

"Montego-Bay, 2d January, 1832 – 10 o'clock, a. m.

"Every evening a fire signal has been burning some conspicuous settlement, which has been answered by burning the properties in the neighbourhood, and if my information be correct, which I believe it to be, a very few estates remain to take off the approaching crop. The destruction in the upper part of Hanover has also been very great.

"The manner in which the rebellion has been conducted affords abundant proof that it has been concocted and carried on by individuals possessing much more knowledge than negroes in general can be possessed of; and it is the opinion of almost every one here, that the Sectarians, especially the Baptists, are

"As yet the loss of life on our part is trifling, but the rebels have now shewn a disposition to act on the offensive by shewing but have uniformly been repulsed with loss. It is said that they have only a few guns, but ... opinion they are better armed and organized than several will allow.

"Almost all the female part of this community are on board the few vessels in the harbour. The summary measures of the out-post promises much good."

Montego-Bay, 30th December 1831

"On Wednesday evening the works on eleven properties, almost all sugar estates, in this parish were burnt to the ground by the rebels. The signal for commencing was given by setting fire to Kensington, a most elevated and conspicuous site. Last night the same scene presented itself. I may venture to say that one half of the of the sugar works is destroyed. Several estates in Hanover were burnt last night, but I have not yet any account of their names."

Trelawny, Friday Morning

"By an intelligent person from Newman-Hall estate, in St James's I learn that the following estates' works are totally destroyed in that parish . . . [15 estates destroyed]. The whole of the slaves belonging to these properties are in open rebellion, armed with machetees, and a considerable number with fire arms."

Doubt no longer exists as to the instigators of the rebellion that has broken out in this parish and St James's. The poor deluded wretches who have been captured, and the ringleaders who are all Baptists, declare that the Missionaries have told them they were to be free; and if their freedom was withheld at the end of the year they must take it by force.

Tuesday, 12 o'Clock.

Three Baptist Missionaries – Wm Knibb, Wm Whitehorne, and Thos F Abbot, have just been forwarded under an escort to the Head-Quarters at Montego-Bay, where a Military tribunal is sitting. Five Rebels were tried and shot at Montego-Bay yesterday.

What satisfaction can it afford to the Anti-Colonial faction in England, to see the work of destruction that has been instigated by their emissaries in this island? Hecatombs of once peaceful and contented slave population of Jamaica, we fear, must be offered up, ere a stop will be put to the rebellion which has been infused into their minds.

Immediate steps should be taken to place the whole of the Sectarian Preachers in the Island if not in close custody, at least under a most rigid surveillance. This is not the time for half measures.

The whole of the elevated settlements in the neighbourhood of Maroon-Town, and on the hills around Montego-Bay, have from night to night been set on fire as signals for the torch to be applied to all the estates that had yet escaped the devastation. The first signal on Tuesday night the 27th ult was setting fire to Kensington, which signal was immediately followed by the instantaneous firing of seven estates.

On Monday, Capt Smith, with a detachment of the 22nd Regiment, in St James's, came up with the Rebels, and drove them in all directions, killing thirty, and wounding several. Yesterday morning a detachment from the 84th Regiment also fell in with a large party of the Rebels – dispersed and killed many.

Yesterday a woman was hung, and several Rebels shot at Montego-Bay, by sentence of a General Court-Martial now sitting there.

We learn during Monday afternoon and night, the buildings on all the estates in the immediate vicinity of Montego-Bay were burnt down . . .

Tuesday Night, nine o'Clock.

By the latest accounts from the Windward part of this parish we are happy to say, that the negroes there, generally, are at work, also on Tharp's properties.

It is impossible for us to give our readers a detailed account of these seriously disturbed districts, or of any transactions connected with them, in the present highly excited state of the country. That the negroes have been imposed upon by incendiaries, no person endowed with any ordinary portion of reason will for a moment doubt. The horrible principles inculcated by some Sectarians, in unison with the infamous writings of the great advocates of Colonial Reform, it is most generally believed, have operated most powerfully on the minds of this yet benighted and ignorant class of society. This, however, may become a matter of proof, when the legal season shall arrive to institute a commission to inquire into the real cause of insurrection in this hitherto quiet and contented country.

January 4.

Dispatches have been received from St Thomas' in the East, stating that the negroes on several properties in the district of Manchioneal had refused to work, being impressed with the idea that the King had made them free, and that his Majesty's troops would not act against them; but it was supposed that, on the appearance of a few regulars, they would return to their duty. We are happy to say that a detachment of his Majesty's troops are in consequence ordered for Port-Morant, and will embark this evening.

Dispatches have also been received from Colonel Hilton, of the St Ann's regiment, giving information that he had visited various estates where the negroes had struck work, but remained quiet, under the same impression.

Three companies of the St Ann's Eastern Regiment are ordered out to be in readiness, should they be required by Colonel Hilton.

The Batteaux have established a boat at Port-Henderson, to convey dispatches to his Majesty's ships at Port-Royal.

A deputation of the Charlestown Maroons, have waited on his Excellency the Governor, with a letter from Mr Fyffe, their Superintendent, offering their immediate services to go into Trelawny, or be employed in any part of the island. They have seventy effective men.

Port-Antonio.

Accounts have been received from Capt Wright, commanding the Maroons, at Moor-Town, stating his having employed the Maroons under his command, in consequence of an application from the Custos and Magistrates of Portland, in going to several estates where the slaves had refused to work. They proceeded through the woods to three places. Cambridge, Canny, and Egghill, in such a manner as would prevent the negroes for taking advantage of the rocks, caves, and fastnesses of the mountains. Upon their approaching of these estates, the mutinous negroes made haste home, and promised to return to their duty, which, with

few exceptions, they did. Several slaves were also brought in by the Maroons, and lodged in gaol at Port-Antonio. The Maroons were then about to proceed to Windward in search of any negroes remaining out.

<http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/241949.html> – James Fuller Boxer – 1832 – A Maroon Encampment in the Mountains of Jamaica during the Rebellion



Jamaica Royal Gazette – Sat, 7 Jan 1832, page PS 18-21 – extracts continued

January 5.

Dispatches were received on Monday evening at the King's House, from Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, dated Tuesday evening last, bringing the intelligence of the capture of numerous prisoners, several of whom had been tried and shot.

One of the women shot was the wife of a man who had been previously shot; there was discovered in her possession, a quantity of gunpowder and other combustibles, which was intended to be used in destroying the town of Montego-Bay.

The rebels appear to have taken to the interior and other commanding heights, and have communication with the negroes by means of signals.

Dispatches were this morning received from Sir Willoughby Cotton, dated 10 o'clock, A M 4th January, stating the negroes had collected between Montego-Bay and Maroon-town, and at Montpelier and the neighbourhood. Col Grignon and his corps and the whole of the 33rd, under the command of Capt Galloway, had been ordered to Montpelier, and a large detachment of men had been sent to occupy Maroon-Town.

The Maroons under the command of Captain Hilton, had been directed to occupy Belfont and Ducket's Spring.

No burnings had taken place on the night of the 3rd, but the negroes were entirely off from all the properties destroyed.

General Cox has been ordered to send three companies of St Ann's Eastern Regiment to Rio-Bueno, Colonel Hilton's corps having advanced into Trelawny, occupying Spring Mountain and Cambridge, and communicating with Fontabelle.

Dispatches have been received from Colonel Hilton dated the 3rd January, giving a detail of the operations of his corps. Colonel Brown and 100 men had visited Harmony-Hall, Lancaster, Beddeford, and Hopewell – the slaves of which had returned to their work.

The negroes of Manchester estate, Trelawny, had refused to work, and were to be sent into Falmouth the following day.

A company of fifty men of the St Ann's Regiment, under Captain Taggart, had been sent to Barco, in consequence of the threats held out by the Lancaster and Harmony-Hall people against the negroes of that estate.

Head-quarters, Jan 4, 1832.

M. G. O.

His Excellency the Captain General regrets very much the necessity of Major-General Marshall resigning the command of District, No 1.

Major-General McInnes will assume the command of that district.

Major-General McInnes will continue to command the Middlesex Regiment of Horse until further orders. In the meantime, his Excellency desires that all regulations established by the Major-General for stationing Picket Guards of his Regiment may be strictly adhered to.

January 6.

Dispatches were received, at four o'clock yesterday evening, from Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton dated Head-quarters, Montego-Bay, 4th January, 5 P M giving very favourable accounts from St James's . . .

It appears beyond doubt, that the burnings are conducted by regular parties, who are dressed in blue jackets and black cross belts, thus accoutred (four or five) were seen by Cap Burnet, who had advanced up the hills, and had addressed several parties, who were standing within hail, in groups, and they hollowed – War – War. Only 20 of them were armed – they fled with 3 or 400 others, who were on the side of the hills.

Favourable accounts have been received from the parish of Trelawny, numerous prisoners are coming in, and no fires had taken place.

Dispatches were received this morning from Sir Willoughby Cotton, dated 10 o'clock A M 5th January, containing most favourable intelligence from St James's. The slaves were returning in numbers to the estates. All the ladies and other women who had embarked on board the ships in the harbour were landing, and resuming their domestic avocations.

Extract of a letter from an officer of high rank at Montego-Bay, dated 4th Jan 1832: –

“Much as the absolute necessity of adopting rigorous measures towards the captured negroes is to be regretted, yet the result has restored confidence to the country, and, with the proclamation, been of the greatest use. The negroes are coming in in all directions this afternoon, and a panic has been struck amongst them to the greatest degree. Not a smoke is to be seen, and the country is open. A party which was proceeding to Maroon-Town has been counter-manded, as the road is open, the negroes having this morning left, and gone towards Seven Rivers – so the informer says.”

(From the Courant.)

Extract of a letter from Montego-Bay, dated 3rd inst.

I have only found time to apprise you of the awful change of circumstances which has taken place in this neighbourhood since I last addressed you. – The whole of the highly cultivated and beautiful parish (with very few exceptions) has been fired by the Negroes and destroyed – the conflagration of the different properties are to be seen at all hours in the day and night. Even yesterday, in defiance of the large force, both naval and military, which are now here, the Bogue Wharf, where A Hart lived, at the foot of Reading Hill, with the two adjoining wharves, the Ramble and Reading Pens, with Bellfield, Bogue, and Spring-Garden Estates, all in sight of the Bay, were in flames about the same period, and the work of destruction still continues, as at this moment I observe a small settlement just set on fire. There is a strong guard stationed at all the avenues of the town, to prevent, if possible, its being set on fire, which I fear will be attempted if the greatest caution and alacrity is not observed. The Militia has been on active duty, day and night, since Monday. Hard work for civilians. The females and children are on board ship for safety.

The greatest consternation prevails, and I fear it will be some time before order is restored. It would appear that the Baptists, by their precious doctrines, has been the cause of deluding the poor devils who, from their ignorance, are really to be pitied. The loss of life, for the sake of example, will be immense. There are many prisoners for trial, consequently Courts-Martial will be daily held, who commenced their proceedings yesterday, when five men were condemned, who was immediately led out into the parade, and shot. There are some others condemned to-day, who will, in a couple of hours, meet the same fate . . . Some troops have marched to the country, which may be the means of convincing the rebels of their delusion – they being impressed with the idea that the King has given them free, and that his troops will not act against them . . . Few white lives as yet have been sacrificed . . .

<http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/241910.html> – James Fuller Boxer – Destruction of the Bogue Estates by the rebel slaves in 1831. Boats of HMS Blanche engaging. 72 killed, 240 prisoners



Jamaica Royal Gazette – Sat, 7 Jan 1832, page PS 18-21 – extracts continued

Extract of a letter from an Officer at Falmouth, dated 3rd ins: –

The dragon of desperation is loose, and all the dreadful anticipations of internal warfare, staring us in the face. Destruction has commenced, to the death blow of this fine Colony, and acts of perfidy, bloodshed, and murder, approaching its zenith. The whole parish of St James irretrievably lost! There are only five estates standing on that fertile soil!! – Fires still continue to pervade the environs. I was told yesterday, that the night before last, any paragraph in a paper might be read in the middle of the street, from the blazes around us!! The greatest consternation and confusion prevails, and we know not what to be at. The incendiary operations in Trelawny, in the district adjoining St James, is in extent to the proportion to that parish; and what is worse, the same spirit prevails through the whole of the Windward district. Days were appointed for the progress of destruction; and but for the timely declaration of Martial Law, and the prompt division of the Militia, I do believe that there would not be an estate in this parish

standing! Our communication with Montego-Bay is tardy. We only know of the arrival of Sir Willoughby and the Sparrow-hawke. The troops here are employed in scouring the country! On some estates where the negroes have openly rebelled, field-pieces have been ordered to play on their houses, and, it is to be feared, the innocent may have suffered with the guilty.

District, No 2.

Head-Quarters, Hanover-street, Kingston, Jan 6, 1832.

The Major-General in command hastens to promulgate for general information the following pleasing intelligence, which he has received from the Windward part of this district:

Colonel Watson, of the Portland Regiment, in his dispatch of the 4th from Port-Antonio, announces the leader of the rebels, taken at Rose Garden estate by the Maroons, had been tried by a military commission and shot at Mulatto River, and his body taken back to Rose-Garden and hung up. The Parish of Portland was quiet – all the negroes who had revolted having returned to their homes.

Colonel Delpratt's dispatch conveys the agreeable intelligence that the Negroes on Weybridge Estate had returned to their work on the 4th, after an affair with a division of the Manchioneal Company, under Lieut Bignall, the day previous, when one man of the Rebels was killed and another wounded.

The conduct of the Maroons under Capt Wright had been highly exemplary.

Accounts from Plantain-Garden River announce that several of the Ringleaders had been shot at Manchioneal, which had induced the people on most of the Properties to return to their duty, and all at Plantain-Garden River were behaving well.

Despatches have also been received from Lieut Col Codrington and Capt Papley reporting the trial and execution of two of the rebels, both of whom were leaders and instigators, the most salutary effects immediately followed, by the return of all the negroes who had absconded from five large properties in Manchioneal to their duty.

The adoption of the military mode of flogging the Slaves not found guilty of violence has been productive of much benefit.

The accounts which have been received from the parish of St Elizabeth state that in that parish a party of runaways from Trelawny and the other disturbed parishes had been joined by the negroes on Y. S. estate and attacked the Militia, by whom, however, they were repulsed and several of the rebels killed and wounded. The number of prisoners taken was considerable . . . These incendiary proceedings appear to be the general concomitants of the risings of the negroes, and though they may be slow to destroy human life, yet they hesitate not to commit the wildest depredations upon the property of their masters.

In St Thomas in the Vale in 1831 some slaves were said to have gone on strike at Christmas, but otherwise it appears that the slaves did not rebel.

On 31 December 1831, the Earl of Belmore, Governor of Jamaica, issued a Quarantine Proclamation.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 7 Jan 1832, page Sup 14 – extract

BY THE KING – A PROCLAMATION

Whereas it is necessary to make further and more particular provisions for establishing Quarantine in this Island: And whereas certain Foreign Parts have been infected with the contagious Disease, called CHOLERA MORBUS: And whereas there is reason to apprehend that such contagious Disease may be brought into this Island by Ships and Vessels, trading or coming from Foreign Parts so infected: In order, therefore, to prevent that infection being brought into this Island by Persons or Merchandize, it is absolutely necessary that all Ships and other Vessel, trading or coming from such Places to this Island shall be obliged to perform Quarantine, in such manner as hereinafter directed . . .

BELMORE.

In 1831 a Cholera epidemic was spreading around the world

See – http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_cholera_pandemic_%281829%E2%80%939351%29

Williamsfield crop account for year 1831 – includes – To hire of Ann Balfour (Bessy's eldest daughter) for one year - £16

My photos – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 72, Fol 1 – Williamsfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – crop account for year 1831 – entered Island Secretary's Office 23 Mar 1832 – sworn on 10 March 1832 by William Allanach before Edward McCaw

| Distributions | Sugar | | | Rum | | |
|-------------------------------|-------|----|-----|-----|------|-----|
| | lbs | Sh | lbs | Bar | Gals | per |
| Shipped on board the Guardian | 15 | | | | | |
| the planet | 30 | | | 10 | | 19 |
| the Tullock's Castle | 40 | | | 20 | | |
| the Duke of Devon | 40 | | | 10 | | |
| the Kingston | 20 | | | | | |
| the Henry Davidson | 50 | | | 15 | | |
| the Janet | 13 | | | | | |
| the Velocity | | | | 28 | | |
| Sold in " in Kingston | | | | | | |
| Farmer Bell | | | | | | |
| Mr. Page | | | | | | 15 |
| Notfield plantation | | | 700 | | | 125 |
| D ^r Ewart | | | | | | 19 |
| Mr. Ludo | | | 550 | | | |
| Mr. Daly | | | 400 | | | 60 |
| Mr. Stanbury | | | | | | 60 |
| Mr. Blackburn | | | | | | 60 |
| Hill side plantation | | | | | | 116 |

Mr. Lohman

Total

| | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|----|-------|
| | | 400 | | |
| 207 | 1 | 280 | 90 | 155 9 |

Sold nightingale House Estate 10000 stock @ £10 ahead £100.000

House pigs of lead 15.2.4

Thirty six New hawks weighing
1500 lbs @ 40¢ p lb 30.000

R.D. Glensie & Co. Iron Saw plates 10.000

1084 lbs old Sawp @ 90 p lb 40.13.4

3530 lbs old lead @ 80¢ p lb 53.5.0

7252 lbs old copper @ 11 p lb 33.4.7

Hyde Estate 4 pigs of lead 18.2.11/2

To hire of Ann Belfour for one year 16.000

" " " Eliza Watson from 12th January to 30th Decr
£20 p ann 19.5.9

£334.12.8 1/2

Jamaica.

I William Allanach do swear that the above is a just and true account of all the rents issues profits produce and proceeds of Williamsfield Estate for the year ending 31st December one thousand eight hundred and thirty one excepting what has been used in crop and reserved for the use of the Estate to the best of my knowledge and belief

So help me God
William Allanach.

Sworn before me this
10th day of March 1832

Edward M^cCaw

Wm & M JB

For the crop year 1831 Williamsfield made a loss of £275 19s 10d.

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/adv_search/ – Lascelles West Indies – movinghere.org.uk –
Account Book – Abstract of the Income and Expenditure for Williamsfield & Nightingale Grove
Plantations – Nelson & Adam, London, 30 April 1832 – Crop 1831

Williamsfield

Proceeds of 208 Hhds of Sugar & 83 Puns of Rum - 2823 - 3 - 2

Deduct

Insurance £148- 10 - 1 Stores £622 - 2 - 6 Supertare

Commission Postage & Stamps £40 - 2 - 11 ----- 810 - 15 - 6 2012 - 7 - 8

Pr Accounts of Geo Cuthbert & G W Hamilton dated 31 Decr 1831

Amount of this years Expenses ----- 2288 - 7 - 6

Loss ----- £ 275 - 19 - 10

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
Harewood – Nelson & Adam, London, 30 April 1832 – Crop 1831 – Williamsfield

Williamsfield Estate
Proceeds of 208 Hhds of Sugar - 2240. 2. 8 - 10. 10. 24 Hhds
83 Puns of Rum - 583. 5. 6
deduct 2823 3. 2

Insurances £148. 10. 1, Stores £622. 2. 6
Supertare, Commission postage
& Stamps £40. 2. 11 ----- 810. 15. 6 2012 7 8

Below – 1831 crop accounts for properties represented solely or in part by Edward.

Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts – for year 1831

Lib 71, Fol 76 – Hog Hole Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 12 March 1832 by William H
(Holloway) Clarke before Edward McCaw

Lib 71, Fol 77 – Coolshade Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – see below

Lib 71, Fol 80 – Enfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 17 March 1832 by Robert Evans, Overseer, before Richard Kinkead.

Lib 71, Fol 81 – Mount Concord Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 7 November (sic) 1832 by James Adams, Overseer, before John Blake – includes – From Edward Clouston for hire of negro named Richard Read - £18

Lib 71, Fol 85 – Pleasant Farm and Ivy Pens, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 20 February 1832 by John Davis before Edward McCaw

Lib 71, Fol 152 – Golden River Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 14 March 1832 by Francis Gordon, Overseer, before John Mais

Lib 71, Fol 157 – Harkers Hall Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 14 March 1832 by Robert Laidlaw Montcreiff before John Blake

Lib 71, Fol 176 – Rose Hall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 15 March 1832 by Thomas Clowes, Overseer, before Richard Kinkead

Lib 72, Fol 44 – Mount Olive Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, and Crescent Pen, St Catherine – see below

Lime Tree Garden Pen, St Catherine – not noted

My photo – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, *Lib 71, Fol 77* – Coolshade Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – crop account for year 1831 – Entered Island Secretary's Office 17 Mar 1832 – sworn on 17 March 1832 by James Heighington before Edward McCaw

| | | | | |
|--|--------------------|------------|-----------|----------|
| <i>St. Olive Estate for cane holes dug</i> | <i>29. 6. 2.</i> | . | . | . |
| <i>for day labour on 12. 2. 45/1000 plus 100</i> | <i>14. 2. 2.</i> | <i>48</i> | <i>8</i> | <i>4</i> |
| <i>Harkers Hall Estate for cane holes dug</i> | <i>195. 4. 9</i> | | | |
| <i>day labour</i> | <i>95. 11. 11</i> | <i>240</i> | <i>4</i> | <i>9</i> |
| <i>Prospect Estate for cane holes dug</i> | | <i>145</i> | <i>17</i> | <i>5</i> |
| <i>King Hole Estate for cane holes dug</i> | <i>205. 7. 6</i> | | | |
| <i>day labour on the estate but May make</i> | | | | |
| <i>from cane & watch by day and</i> | <i>149. 11. 10</i> | | | |
| <i>6 young steers at 19</i> | <i>114. 11. 11</i> | <i>164</i> | <i>4</i> | <i>6</i> |
| <i>Treadways Estate for cane holes dug</i> | <i>161. 13. 5</i> | | | |
| <i>day labour</i> | <i>65. 11. 11</i> | <i>276</i> | <i>13</i> | <i>5</i> |

day of december 1831. to the best of my knowledge & belief
 do help me for
 sworn before me this } James Reighington
 12th day of march 1832 }
 Edward McCaw.
 Esq. J.P. & M.B.

Mount Olive crop account for 1831 was sworn by John Munro, the overseer.

My photos – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 72, Fol 44 – Mount Olive Estate, St
 Thomas in the Vale, and Crescent Pen, St Catherine – crop account for year 1831 – Entered Island
 Secretary's Office 24 Mar 1832 – sworn on 12 March 1832 by John Munro, Overseer, before Edward
 McCaw – includes – for supplies to a party of Maroons - £9 15s

| How Disposed of | Sugar | | Rum | |
|--|-------|--------|-----|--------|
| | lbs | to Pts | lbs | to Pts |
| Shipped on King Guardian Forest for London | 16 | | | |
| " Ship Salloch Castle Pearce. f ^o . | 65 | 15 | " | 25 |
| " Marque Kingston Hoame do | 19 | | | |
| " Ship Henry Davidson Williams do | 36 | 15 | 1 | 35 |
| Sold to Samuel Hammond | | | | 50 |
| " " William Shaw | | | | 60 |
| " " John Munro | | | 50 | |
| " " James L. Kerr | | | 25 | " |

| | | 136 | 30 | 1 | 45 | 60 | 110 |
|---|--|-----|----|---|-------------|----|------|
| condemnation certificate for a slave named Ben Nung Nung | | | | | | | |
| tried as an incorrigible runaway & sentenced to | | | | | £ 45 | | |
| the workhouse for life named | | | | | | | |
| Rose Hall Estate | | | | | | | |
| For carriage of produce and sundry supplies | | | | | | | |
| to and from Crescent Pen to Port Henderson | | | | | | | |
| Wreck | | | | | £ 11. 6 | | |
| For pasturage of Crescent Pen | | | | | 6. 11. 3 | 93 | 29 |
| The Public of Jamaica | | | | | | | |
| For work performed on the Public Road | | | | | £ 41. 11. 9 | | |
| → For supplies to a party of maroons | | | | | 9. 15. 0 | 51 | 13 9 |
| Booleshade Plantation | | | | | | | |
| For carriage of supplies from Farm Pen to | | | | | | | |
| Pen to Booleshade | | | | | £ 5. 0 | | |
| For carriage of logwood from Haystack | | | | | | | |
| Pen to Port Henderson & return of Huggins | | | | | £ 32. 10. 0 | 26 | 15 " |
| 2000 | | | | | | | |
| Hire of Jemie Stevenson from 11 th January to 31 st Dec. 1831 | | | | | | 25 | 5 " |
| penn. | | | | | | | |
| Hire of Bopy for 25 weeks @ 1/6 per week | | | | | | 9 | 10 " |

| | | |
|---|-----|----|
| £ | 251 | 66 |
|---|-----|----|

Jamaica.

I, John Munro, owner of Mount Olive Estate in the
 Island and parish aforesaid do hereby declare that above is
 a just and true account of all the rents, profits, produce and proceeds,
 of said Estate and from in the above mentioned Parish and every
 care between the first day of January & the thirty first day
 of December one thousand eight hundred and thirty one.

So help me God
 John Munro

Given before me this
 12th day of March 1832

Edward McCaw

Edw. P. P. & W. B.

In late 1831 or early 1832 Edward registered one power of attorney.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney, 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees

1831-32 – Lib 243, Fol 62 – to Clouston, Edward – from James McCook, & al

I have no information on James McCook, but he may have been James McCook, an Edinburgh lawyer – see Chapters 22 and 23.

CHAPTER 19

1832

Aftermath of Christmas 1831 Slave Rebellion — House of Lords and House of Commons Committees on Slavery — Eliza purchases a slave — Edward's letters as attorney of Rose Hall — death of Rev William Clouston — Registration of Slaves, Eliza as owner, Edward as owner, Williamsfield, and Edward as attorney etc — Edward executor of William Thaw — Powers of Attorney given to Edward — Edward and the late James Reid — Edward sells a slave — death of Sir M B Clare — Edward and meeting in St Thomas in the Vale — Edward and subscriptions for a Kirk in St Thomas in the Vale — Catechetical schools, St Thomas in the Vale — Earl of Harwood's attorneys' accounts for Williamsfield — Crop Accounts for Williamsfield, and properties represented by Edward — Reform Bill — Anti-Slavery canvassing and General Election

Sectarian missionaries were blamed for the Christmas 1831 Slave Rebellion, and at the end of January 1832 'war against the sectarians' was enflamed by the establishment of a Colonial Church Union.

Knibb, *'the Notorious': Slaves' Missionary, 1803-1845*, by Philip Wright, published 1973 – page 101-102 – extracts

... St Ann's had remained quiet during the emergency, and the militia was restricted to unexciting support duties ... All the more eager were the St Ann's gentry to distinguish themselves in the war against the sectarians ...

On 26 January the Custos and other magistrates of St Ann's had appeared on the platform of a public meeting when it was resolved to establish a 'Colonial Church Union'; pending formation of branches of the Union in other parishes, leading planters of St Ann's were elected as its president and officers. Apart from the publication of pro-slavery propaganda the aims of this body were veiled, but they became more explicit at a second meeting held on 15 February ... Resolutions passed on this occasion began with a declaration that the time had come for the colonists to adopt the same weapons as their opponents, namely political unions and organized societies; presumably an allusion to the Anti-Slavery Society and the extra-parliamentary pressure on the political unions in England in favour of the Reform Bill. Members of the Union were exhorted to organize an island-wide petition for the expulsion of the sectarians; to combat the spread of religious doctrines at variance with those of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland; and to lend their support and protection to chapel-wrecking mobs, or, as the resolution preferred to call them, 'those patriots who on behalf of paramount laws of society have hazarded their personal responsibility for our preservation'.¹⁸

The moving spirit of the Union was generally understood to be the St Ann's rector, the Reverend Mr Bridges. To him was no doubt due its ecclesiastical façade, and the cynical parallel with the political unions in England. It quickly became an island-wide organization, and as most of the justices joined it and became officers of their parish branches, the unionist's threat to take the law into their own hands was not in vain ...¹⁹

¹⁸ John Hinton, *Memoir of William Knibb*, 1847

¹⁹ *A Narrative of Recent Events Connected with the Baptist Mission in this Island ...*, by the Baptist Missionaries (Kingston, Jamaica), 1833

Above – Reverend Mr Bridges = Rev George Wilson Bridges – see Chapter 15 – *Annals of Jamaica*

In the *History of Christian Missions*, Rev William Brown recorded numerous outrages against Methodist and Baptist missionaries during and after the Rebellion.

See – https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=UQRAAQAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *History of the Christian Missions ...* by Rev William Brown, M.D, secretary of the Scottish Missionary Society – 3rd edition published 1864 – Vol I – Propagation of Christianity by the Methodist Missionaries – Art. 6 – Jamaica – page 480-490

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=odZJAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *History of the Christian Missions ...* by Rev William Brown, M.D, secretary of the Scottish Missionary Society – 3rd edition published 1864 – Vol II – Baptist Missionary Society – Sect. II – Jamaica – page 78-85

In the Rebellion only 14 whites died, but during and after the Rebellion over 500 slaves lost their lives, including Samuel Sharpe, the 'main instigator'.

<http://jis.gov.jm/heroes/samuel-sharpe/> – National Heroes of Jamaica – Samuel Sharpe – extracts

Samuel Sharpe was the main instigator of the 1831 Slave Rebellion . . . Because of his intelligence and leadership qualities, Sam Sharpe became a “daddy”, or leader of the native Baptists in Montego Bay . . . Sam evolved a plan of passive resistance in 1831, by which the slaves would refuse to work on Christmas Day of 1831 and afterwards, unless their grievances concerning better treatment and the consideration of freedom, were accepted by the estate owners and managers . . . soon it was clear that the plan of non-violent resistance, which Sam Sharpe had originated, was impossible and impractical. Armed rebellion and seizing of property spread mostly through the western parishes, but the uprising was put down by the first week in January. A terrible retribution followed. While 14 whites died during the Rebellion, more than 500 slaves lost their lives – most of them as a result of the trials after. Samuel Sharpe was hanged on May 23, 1832. In 1834 the Abolition Bill, was passed by the British Parliament . . .

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ViYCAAAAYAAJ&source=gb_s-navlinks_s – *The Land of the Free, or, a brief view of Emancipation in the West Indies*, by E Woolley, Missionary from Jamaica, Part I, published 1847 – The Baptist Chapel at Montego Bay destroyed by the Militia, 1832



THE BAPTIST CHAPEL AT MONTEGO BAY DESTROYED BY THE MILITIA, 1832.

On 14 March 1832 Bishop Lipscomb wrote that comparative tranquillity had at length been restored to the island.

<http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk/> – *Parliamentary Papers – Journals of the House of Lords*, 6 Dec 1831 to 16 Oct 1832 – 9 August 1832 – Report from the House on the West India Colonies – Appendix, No. 2 – Minutes of Evidence – Letter, dated 14 March 1832, from the Bishop of Jamaica to the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of Negroes in Jamaica – extracts

In the last Letter received from the Bishop of *Jamaica*, dated 14th *March* 1832, he writes as follows: – “Your Letter of the 4th of *January* last, reached me in the midst of much Confusion and Excitement, which has by no means yet subsided, arising out of the Circumstances of the late Rebellion. Comparative

Tranquillity, however, has at length been restored; but Men's Minds are left in a very irritable and unsettled State. Life and Property, to a great Extent, have been destroyed, and I fear Confidence will never again be restored between Master and Slave. I regret to state that the Ebullition of Public Feeling has manifested itself in the Destruction of many of the Baptist Chapels.

The Insurrection would certainly have been general throughout the Island but for the Mistake as to the precise Day, – the Negroes being always very inaccurate as to Time; and the prompt Exertions of the Army, Navy and Militia arrested its Progress, and saved the Towns from Conflagration. Investigations are at this Moment going on before the Assembly and in the Courts of Justice, which will supply the Evidence on which an Opinion may be formed. In the mean time it would be unjust and premature to come to any Conclusion as to the real Causes of an Insurrection unparalleled in the History of this or any other Colony for the Secrecy with which it has been carried on, and the Atrocities attending it, and the Audacity of the Slaves, as well as their Duplicity and Treachery towards their Masters. The present desolate State of the Parishes where these Outrages have been committed renders the Situation of the Negroes truly deplorable. Their Huts are all consumed, and the Hospitals and Stores on every Estate are no longer open to their Necessities. The whole of *St James's* Parish is a Wilderness. *Hanover* partially has suffered. *Trelawney* and *St Elizabeth* have also felt the sad Effects of Rebellion. The poor Creatures are sullen and desponding; and, although they have returned to their Work, their Behaviour is constrained and sulky, and they feel bitterly the sad Effects of their own Misdeeds. A Committee of the House of Assembly has been appointed to inquire generally into the Causes of the Rebellion; and the Chief Justice and Attorney General are gone to *Montego Bay* to try the numerous Prisoners confined there. Lord *Seaford's* Properties, and those of Sir *Simon Clarke* and the *Vaughans*, have been entirely destroyed.

I feel grateful to the Society for the Renewal of their Annual Grant; but I fear all our Endeavours to promote Instruction will be retarded for the present."

"From the Mischief which is alleged to have arisen from the Perversion of Scripture, and the fatal Effects produced on the Minds of the Negroes, I have printed some Extracts from the Homilies on 'Duty to Magistrates and Civil Obedience,' and those 'against Rebellion,' in order that the true Doctrines of our own Church on this important Subject may be made known. The Clergy have in many Instances introduced these Passages into their Discourses to the Congregations, and with good Effect. This Part of the Island has remained perfectly quiet; but a deep Conspiracy at *Port Antonio*, had it not been prevented by the timely Arrival of His Majesty's Ship *Champion*, (Captain *Colton*,) would certainly have extended here, as all the Estates in *St Thomas in the East* were ripe for Rebellion. I hope soon to write in better Spirits, and under more auspicious Circumstances."

In London on 5 April 1832 the Earl of Harewood was the Chairman at a meeting of over 6,000 people 'interested in the Preservation of the West India Colonies'.

British Library – Proceedings at a Public Meeting of Persons interested in the Preservation of the British West India Colonies, 5 April 1832 – extracts

At a
GENERAL MEETING of PROPRIETORS, MERCHANTS, BANKERS, SHIP.OWNERS,
MANUFACTURERS, TRADERS, and Others interested in the Preservation of the West India Colonies,
convened by public Advertisement, and held at the City of London Tavern,
on Thursday, the 5th April, 1832:

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The Noble CHAIRMAN [the Earl of Harewood] proceeded to address the Meeting to the following effect:

Gentlemen, – Before I proceed to the business of the day, I must beg, in the first place, to mention that a noble Lord, (the Marquis of Chandos), who has been in the habit of representing the interests of the West India body, is unavoidably prevented from attending to-day, which alone is the cause of my having the honour of being appointed to the Chair. That noble lord has been unremittingly attentive to the interests of the West India planters, and I would much rather have seen him in the Chair upon this occasion than myself. I therefore beg leave to offer on his behalf his apology for not attending, being

prevented by unavoidable Parliamentary duty. I feel that, standing before so numerous and respectable a body as that now present, a most arduous and melancholy duty is imposed upon me; in endeavouring to draw your attention, which I shall do, not by anything from myself, but trusting all to the cause, to the situation in which the West India proprietors are involved. I do not desire to attribute the distress they labour under to any particular circumstances connected with party or political persons, but I desire that that distress may be considered as it operates not only on individuals, but on the national interests of this country. I am more particularly desirous of delivering my sentiments on this occasion, and in the heart of this metropolis, because I feel that aspersions have gone forth against the great body of West India proprietors, which deserve to be met fairly and honestly, and refuted, as we can refute them, before our country. (*Cheers.*) I, among others, am a sufferer; but I am not a sufferer equal to those who may have nothing but their West India property to depend upon. (*Hear, hear.*) It is on their behalf that I am anxious to plead the cause, if I can – indifferent, I may say, as to the fate of my own interests. (*Hear, hear.*) There have been strong feelings of prejudice created in this country against all proprietors of West India property, as possessors of a slave population. Not only has that been a topic of charge

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against US, but it has been urged, as if we were wickedly and improperly deriving profit from the labour of those Individuals. That is not the fact. I will speak not only for myself, but I will speak for the whole of the proprietors of West India property, and I will assert that we should be most anxious to do without that description of labour if we could. (*Cheers.*) But we say that, being proprietors, we are not fairly or justly dealt with. I am not appealing merely to West India proprietors; I am appealing to many who have no direct or immediate interest in the subject, except as members of the general community, and I am appealing against a portion of my countrymen who are endeavouring to sink the West India interest into utter ruin; a party who, by misrepresentation "and falsehood, are seeking to accomplish their object, and who knew at the time when those misrepresentations were concocted that they were false, or that they gave a colour to proceedings and circumstances, which in honesty and justice they ought not to be made to bear. (*Loud cheers.*) Why, is it to be said, because in a slave population some acts will be done which, for the honour of human nature, we must always deplore, but which, from the wickedness of human nature, are inevitable, that therefore the whole of the West India proprietors are to be held up to odium, and their property, from an isolated or a few cases of cruelty or of vice, to be reduced in public estimation, and rendered worse than worth nothing? (*Hear, hear.*) How does the matter stand? The West India proprietors are most unfortunately circumstanced. If our returns are bad, if they amount even to nothing, or are worse than nothing, (*Cheers*) what course are we compelled to adopt? Why, to hold on and support those persons from whose labour we derive nothing. (*Hear, hear.*) Is that the case with any other description of property? If persons engaged in manufactures or in commerce employ labourers, or if labourers are employed in public works, the moment the occupation of the labourer ceases to be beneficial to the employer, the employer can put an end to his responsibility by dismissing the labourer. But can we do that? – No. (*Cheers.*) Why do I mention this? It is to show that we, the West India proprietors, do not wish to hold a population in that state of existence if we could do otherwise. We are in the difficulty; it is not of

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our making; and it is the duty of those who are so loud in their complaints respecting it, to show us our way out. A West India proprietor is not at liberty to cast upon the public every bad or inefficient servant he may have, for if he does so he may injure a whole community. A West India proprietor cannot, the moment he becomes a loser, dismiss his slaves, but he is obliged, from a regard to the peace and security of the Colony and of his property, to maintain the unproductive labourer. It will not do, therefore, to say that if a West India proprietor is a loser he can liberate, and so get rid of his labourers, for, in their present state of mind, to set them free would be to endanger the Colonies. (*Hear, hear.*) It is in that state of society that we are now living. I mention these things to remove that unwarrantable blame which has been cast upon us as persons who are wilfully and willingly resisting all attempts at emancipation. That charge is not true. (*Loud cheers.*) But let it not be supposed that I attribute all our distresses to the interference with the slave population. Upon a close consideration of the subject, I am bound to say, as I am here to speak the truth, that there are other circumstances operating injuriously on the property in the old

Colonies. The ceded Colonies produce a large quantity of sugar, which depreciates the price of that of the old English Colonies. That and other circumstances have an effect; but is it, therefore, the policy of this country to leave its old possessions, founded and carried on by British enterprize and capital, to utter ruin? Never, until late years, was such the policy of this country; and since that crooked policy has crept in, this distressed state of circumstances has occurred. I would wish to mention a subject which I know to be of rather a delicate nature; and as I am disposed at this Meeting, both with regard to the respectable parties assembled, and from my own feelings, to exclude anything bearing a complexion of political or party views, before I mention that subject, I again disclaim all such feeling. I would not appear here today in the situation I now hold, if I were required to entertain the subject in that point of view. But having thus guarded myself against misconception, I cannot help adverting to the Order in Council of the 2nd Nov. last. In adverting to that Order in Council, I am led to notice the Resolutions come to by Parliament in 1823, and I must say that

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those who were parties to those Resolutions ought not to have been parties to the Order in Council. (*Loud cheering.*) We are living in times of great colonial distress – we are living in times when great Colonial agitation is on foot, and it would have been but wise and politic to conciliate rather than inflame. But what has been the effect of the Order in Council of 1831? It bears on the face of it irritation to the Colonies, and injustice to the proprietors. (*Cheers.*) As long as you permit those Colonies to have Local Legislatures, and to have the right of deciding questions relating to the several Colonies, it is unjust and illegal – (*Cheers*) to interfere in the manner proposed in this Order in Council. But from whom did the Order in Council come? The dictation to the Colonial Legislatures did not proceed from Parliament, (*Hear, hear,*) – but from the Privy Council, and really to me the whole matter, to say the least of it, appears extraordinary. By the framers of this Order in Council it is said – “We have certain benefits to confer on this Colony, and if you, the Colonial Legislature, do not agree precisely to what we dictate, you, even in your present depressed and sinking condition, shall not receive those benefits.” But what must be the effect of this upon the Mother Country herself? On the one hand, you attempt to coerce the Colonies, and upon the other, if the Colonies do not give way, you punish the Mother Country for the disobedience of the Colonies. It is idle to suppose that the Colonies can be ruined or injured without the Mother Country suffering also. (*Hear, hear.*) There is neither sense nor justice in such a proceeding. And look at the statistics of the case. The duties alone upon the produce of the Colonies amount annually to 7,000,000*l.*, and the amount of British exports to those Colonies is annually 5,000,000*l.*; is that great revenue to be sacrificed because an Order in Council is not obeyed? (*Hear, hear.*) And under what circumstances is it that the duties upon our West India produce amount to 7,000,000*l.*? Any person would naturally suppose that the, property upon which so large a sum was levied gave an immense return to the proprietors. Is the fact so? So far from it, the duties levied on West India property are in reality, in some cases, the confiscation of that property. (*Hear, hear.*) Can a country go on in such a state of things? Does it prove, or does it not, that justice is not consulted, but that some popular

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feeling merely is leant to? It is important to us to see what has occurred with respect to this subject, Some Resolutions have been lately come to, which are calculated to produce an impression on the public mind, that nothing has been done, and that all is yet to do, regarding the amelioration of the condition of the slaves. But it was not fair to the West India body to keep out of sight any amelioration that had been made in the condition of the slaves. I ask what has occurred since 1823? Has there been a stoppage of improvement in the slave population? Has there been any turning back from the course of amelioration? No; a progressive state of improvement has gone on. Then where under such circumstances, is the wisdom or the propriety of issuing such Orders in Council, which appeared to indicate that an utter disregard had been manifested by the West India proprietors towards the state of the Slave population? It is unfair, it is strengthening the prejudice against the proprietors, it is lowering an interest, already sunk so low, and it is not just towards the efforts already cheerfully exerted. (*Cheers.*) I beg to say again, that in any observations I make upon the Order in Council, I am actuated by no political feelings. I remark on those Orders as in my conscience I believe they will work, that is, injuriously to the peace of the Colonies. But as to the distresses. There is an accumulation of hardships, particularly as regarding two of the

Colonies; one of which, Barbados, has suffered from the visitation of God, which we can only lament, not complain of; and the other has suffered from another cause, which has not only sacrificed the interests of the proprietors, many of whose property is destroyed, but also thrown back the course of civilization. (*Cheers.*) Those anxious to promote the welfare of that population are doing unwisely towards these people and the proprietors to allow any irritation or false conceptions to go forth to those Colonies, as they can, only be injurious to the master, and throw back the civilization, of the slave. (*Hear, hear.*) We are in such a situation that we are complainants on the one hand, and beggars on the other. (*Hear, hear.*) I therefore wish to deal as leniently as I can, and come in *forma pauperis* before those who can give us relief. I shall therefore say no more as to the mismanagement of colonial affairs; but I could not resist stating what I have stated respecting the Order in council. I will

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therefore conclude by saying we are all thankful for any assistance we may obtain in support of ourselves and property under the misfortunes at Barbados and Jamaica; I say we are not only thankful for what has been done, but we shall be thankful for what we have a right to expect to be done – a right which, as British subjects, we state strongly, and we claim at the hands of Parliament that protection which is due to every British subject who lives under its dominion, and to such especially as employ their capital and their industry for the benefit and advantage of the country. (The Noble Earl resumed his seat amidst loud applause.)

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On the 17th of April, the EARL OF HAREWOOD presented to the House of Lords the Petition adopted, and most numerous and respectably signed, on this occasion; and their Lordships, then, on the motion of the Noble Earl, agreed to the appointment of a Select Committee,

“To enquire into the laws and usages of the several West India Colonies in relation to the Slave population; the actual condition and treatment of the Slaves, their habits and dispositions; the means which are adopted in the several Colonies for their progressive improvement and civilization, and the degree of improvement and civilization which they have at present attained; and also to enquire into the distressed condition of those Colonies.”

The following were named for this Committee:

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Archbishop of Canterbury. | Viscount Goderich. |
| The Lord President. | Bishop of London. |
| Duke of Richmond. | Bishop of Lichfield and |
| Duke of Wellington. | Coventry. |
| Duke of Buckingham. | Lord Howard de Walden. |
| Earl of Selkirk. | Lord Napier. |
| Earl Bathurst. | Lord Holland. |
| Earl of Clarendon. | Lord Suffield. |
| Earl of Rosslyn. | Lord Auckland. |
| Earl of Harewood. | Lord Redesdale. |
| Earl of Munster. | Lord Ellenborough. |
| Viscount St. Vincent. | Lord Monteagle. |
| Viscount Combermere. | Lord Seaford. |

See – *British Library Newspapers online – Morning Chronicle, 6 April 1832* – report of the 5 April 1832 Meeting at the City of London Tavern

In May 1832 the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee to enquire into the ‘Extinction of Slavery throughout the British Dominions’.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=pVoSAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Report from the (House of Commons) Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery throughout the British Dominions: with the Minutes of Evidence, and general index – Ordered by the House of Commons, to be Printed, 11 August 1832 – reprint published 1833 – first page – Thursday, 24 May and Wednesday, 30 May 1832

Ordered,

That a Select Committee be appointed to consider and report upon the Measures which it may be expedient to adopt for the purpose of effecting the Extinction of Slavery throughout the British Dominions, at the earliest possible period compatible with the safety of all Classes in the Colonies, and in conformity with the Resolutions of this House on the 15th day of May, 1823 – And a Committee was appointed of

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Mr. Fowell Buxton. | Mr. George John Vernon. |
| Lord John Russell. | Mr. Holmes. |
| Sir Robert Peel, Bart. | Dr. Lushington. |
| Sir James Graham, Bart. | Mr. Baring. |
| Sir George Murray, Bart. | Mr. Frankland Lewis. |
| Mr. Goulburn. | Lord Viscount Ebrington. |
| Mr. Burge. | Mr. Littleton. |
| Mr. Evans. | Mr. Bonham Carter. |
| Lord Viscount Sandon. | Mr. Hodges. |
| Lord Viscount Howick. | Mr. Ord. |
| The Marquis of Chandos. | Mr. Fazakerley. |
| Mr. Andrew Johnston. | Mr. Alerman Thompson. |
| Mr. Marryat. | |

And they are to meet To-morrow, in the Speaker's Chamber; and have Power to send for Persons, Papers and Records.

Ordered, That Five be the Quorum of the Committee.

The Commons Select Committee examined 27 people and the Lords Select Committee examined 32.

A number of these people were examined by both Committees, including Rev John Barry, Wesleyan missionary from Jamaica – see Chapter 14 – extracts from Rev Barry's examination by the Commons Committee.

Sir Michael Benignus Clare was one of the people examined by the Lords Select Committee.

<http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk/> – Parliamentary Papers – Journals of the House of Lords, 6 Dec 1831 to 16 Oct 1832 – 9 August 1832 – Report from the House of Lords on the West India Colonies – Appendix, No. 2 – Minutes of Evidence – Sir Michael Benignus Clare's examination – extracts

Have you resided long in the *West Indies*? Upwards of Thirty Years.

When did you first go to the *West Indies*? I began Practice as a Medical Man in *Jamaica* in 1798.

Have you resided there constantly from that Time for Thirty Years? I was off the Island Three Times for Health.

When did you last leave it? Last Year, 1832.

In what Part of *Jamaica* did you reside? The greater Part, the latter Part of my Time, I was upwards of Nineteen Years in *Spanish Town*.

In the first Part of your Residence in the Island, in what Part of the Island did you reside? At *Rimesbury*, in *Clarendon*.

During the first Part of your Residence had you the Charge, as Medical Practitioner, of any Plantations? Yes; I had charge of Lord *Dudley's* Estates at *Witney* and *Rimesbury* [Rymesbury], and Mr *Delabocho's* [De La Beche's] and Mr *Scott's*, and several other Estates which my Memory does not at this Moment recall to me; and an Average of 3,000 Slaves.

Do you mean in the Aggregate on the Estates? Yes, sick and well, that I considered I was responsible for attending on; I had charge of that Number in the Aggregate.

Do you consider Marriage to be encouraged by the Planters? When the Clergy were doubled it was for a considerable Time very much encouraged; when the Bishop of *Jamaica* came out it happened then that Marriage was in great vogue, but it soon fell into disrepute and Disuse.

Is it encouraged by the Masters or Managers of Estates? They have always tried to encourage Men to keep to One Wife; that has been their Ambition, to procure the rearing of Children; they discourage Polygamy as much as they can, but they cannot succeed.

Is the Rite of Marriage encouraged by the Masters? Certainly.

You state that the Masters feel it desirable to confine One Man to One Woman; but is the Rite of Marriage encouraged? It is constantly encouraged by Proprietors and those connected with the Estates, for carrying on the good Management of their Estates.

What is the Nature of the Encouragement given? Attention is paid always to well-behaved Negroes; particular Douceurs are given to them; they are remarked for being an orderly Set; as a good Example for others to copy; their Pride is excited as much as can be to Emulation.

And Marriage is One of those Instances of good Conduct which entitles a Slave to such Indulgence? Of course, unquestionably; and the rearing of Six Children entitles a Woman to her Freedom.

Is any Distinction made between Six Children reared legitimately and Six Children reared without Marriage? The legitimate Marriage is praised and regarded by far the best; but still they are very proud of a Woman who brings Six healthy Children. But those Negroes so frequently change their Mind, and so often apply to the Rector of the Parish or the Clergyman to get unmarried again, that it makes the Ceremony appear to be ridiculous rather than solemn.

What is their Object, in your Opinion, in desiring to be unmarried? To chose another Wife; they do not seem to have a solemn idea of what Marriage is.

You do consider that a Woman bearing Six legitimate Children would always receive a greater Degree of Reward than a Woman who bore Six illegitimate Children? Certainly she would rank higher in the Estimation of the Inhabitants.

Would she be entitled to any greater Indulgences? No; raising Children is entitled to the same Indulgence, in whatever Way.

But she is looked on with great Favour? Much greater Favour.

Do you know many Instances of that? Not in Field Negroes.

Among Domestic Negroes? A good many.

Of their marrying, and their bearing a Number of Children? Yes.

You say that a Woman who has borne Six Children is entitled to her Freedom; do you mean Exemption from Labour or Manumission? Not Manumission, because they are entitled to the Perquisites of Slaves, which if they were manumised they would lose.

Therefore they lose the bad Part of Slavery, and keep the good Part of it? Yes, just so.

You state that a Man not unfrequently applies to the Rector to unmarry him; does the Woman in any Instances apply? I believe there has been One Instance of a Woman applying, but the Men have applied in several Instances.

You stated that when the Number of Clergy was doubled, Marriage was then permitted; was it permitted by the Proprietors or by the Clergy? It was come into by the Negroes, who conceived they should get their Freedom by it.

Do the Clergy now permit it? Yes; they promote it so far as they find they are able to understand it; but the Negroes have an Idea that being Christians, or being baptized, is an Absolution for all past Sins; therefore, they are inclined to become Christians, and then consider what they shall do afterwards.

What steps have been taken to correct so erroneous an Opinion? The Curates and the Rectors, and the Rural Deans are constantly going about to inculcate, but I do not see that they do much good with the Adults. Since Catechists have been employed the Children have improved very much; they appear docile and well-meaning little Creatures.

What Opportunities do the Clergymen have of visiting those Slaves? They have their Parish Days, their regular Duty, and the Rural Dean goes round every few Weeks to inspect the State of the Schools.

Do you know, of your own Knowledge, that the Rural Dean, or any other Person in a similar Capacity, is in the habit of seeing Negroes in private, speaking to them and reasoning with them in private, on

Religious Subjects? The Catechist is the Person who gives them that verbal Instruction, and the Rural Dean examines what the Catechists have done.

Do you know any Slaves who can read? Yes, a good many.

On what Estates? I think I could mention several Estates in *St Thomas in the Vale*, and in *St Katherine's* and I think I might say *St Dorothy*.

Do you know where they learnt to read? No, I do not know where they learnt to read, but I suppose from mutual Instruction, which has become very prevalent amongst them.

Amongst the Negroes? Yes; they read the Newspapers; I have seen them with Newspapers in their Hands; I never made them read them to me.

Will you mention any One Slave or more Slaves, and mention where they resided, who was able to read a Newspaper? I know One Slave who taught himself; he was a Servant of mine.

Do you know of any Instance of a Field Negro who was able to read? No, not as to point them out; but I have seen them with printed Papers in the Hands. In *St Thomas in the Vale*, on *Tulloh* [Tulloch] Estate, I have seen a Negro reading to other Field Negroes.

Can you state his Name? No. I have seen many reading to others in riding through the Country.

What is the Period at which young Negresses generally are capable of producing Children? I have seen a Child with Child at Ten Years old; I would say generally about Twelve Years old.

If in the Course of Nature that Person should bear in Six or Seven Years Six Children, she would become entitled to Freedom from Labour? Yes, certainly.

Does it then follow, if such a Privilege would be given as a Reward for Six Children, that if Abortion is resorted to as a common Practice, the looking to their Freedom from Labour does not constitute an essential Consideration in their Minds? I do not think that it does.

Has your Attention been directed to an Increase among the *African* and the Creole Negroes; whether it has been greater among the Creole Negroes than the *African*? I believe it is pretty nearly the same; I do not think the average Difference is striking. It is to be remarked that those young Women who procure Abortion afterwards are not able to breed, though they wish it. When a Woman advances in Life, and wishes to have Six Children; she loses her Progeny, and very often it is difficult to bear them.

Are the *African* Women who remain on the Estates of an Age now to be beyond Parturition? I should say fully beyond, for they do not breed late; they leave off bearing Children more early than *European* Women.

At what Age do Women in general cease to bear Children? Very commonly when they are Thirty.

At what Age do they cease to bear Children in this Country? Not 'till they are Fifty; that is an extreme Case.

At what Time do the Mothers wean the Children generally? Not for Two or Three Years, if they can avoid it; they ought to wean them in Ten or Twelve Months.

In what Sense do you say they ought? For the Health of the Children.

Is any Constraint made use of to make them wean them earlier? None.

Any Persuasion? Persuasion is used, but the Mothers will insist upon keeping them, and become clamorous and troublesome.

Is there any Exemption from Work in consequence of suckling? Yes; they have much more Freedom; but I attribute it more to their own Enjoyment – their own Indulgence; having Possession of the Child, they will not attend to any Orders give by the Overseer or Book-keepers.

Can you state what the Indulgence from Labour or in other respect is? They sit down and play with the Child; they are not obliged to work.

Has the Mother any Assistance from the Estate during the Time she suckles the Child? That is a Department with which I had very little to do with; I have always seen them receive Provisions from the Book-keepers on the Estates.

Do you think the length of Time that they suckle interferes with the Number of Children they bear? Yes; and that is One Reason they continue it.

During how many Years should you consider a Negro Woman capable of bearing Children? I should think they average Fifteen Years.

For how many Years should you consider a Woman in *England* capable of bearing Children? You might say Twenty-five Years.

Examination of Rev Peter Duncan, Wesleyan Missionary in Jamaica, 1821-1832, who was stationed at Grateful Hill for two years around 1828 – extract

Have you ever seen or known Instances of suffering endured by Negroes, either from extra Labour or otherwise, in consequence of the pecuniary Embarrassments of the Owner of the Estates to which they belonged? I have known of Instances.

Have the goodness to state them? There is One Estate, a Coffee Property, situate next to my House in *St Thomas in the Vale, Mount Concord*. That Property is very much embarrassed. The Negroes belonging to it have a very excellent Character given them; indeed they bore an excellent Character for many Years; but in consequence of severe Labour, a Number of those who had been the most steady, excellent and valuable People upon the Estate actually ran away. I found Two of the Negroes, Members of our Society, had run away; those People, much against my personal Feeling, I was obliged to exclude. I was well acquainted with the Gentleman who was the Overseer of that Property.

Was his Name ----- ? No; ----- there had been an Overseer of the Name of ----- upon it a Year or Two before, but I never knew him. The Overseer informed me that the Case was this: that the Debt of the Property must be paid off, and therefore a considerable Number of Negroes were sent out to job. I believe the Distance was between Twenty and Thirty Miles. Mr ----- told me himself it was a great Hardship upon the Negroes, and the Negroes were determined they would not put up with it any longer, and for these Reasons: in the first place, they had harder Work; then, they were a Week or a Fortnight away from their Families at a Time, and never saw them but on *Sunday*; that they had no Opportunity of returning to the Property to which they belonged; that their Provision Grounds were at that time uncultivated; and their Allowances nothing like a Compensation for losing their Provisions; that they had nothing like a comfortable House – nothing but temporary Booths covered with Cocoa-nut Branches, on the Sides of the Road, instead of their comparatively comfortable Huts on their own Properties; therefore, as they were harder wrought, and taken up from their Families, they were determined to put up with it no longer, and ran away into the Woods. The Overseer told me it was very hard, and he felt he could clear 500*l.* a Year by this kind of jobbing . . .

Note – during the time Rev Duncan was stationed at Grateful Hill, Henry Mignot (see Chapter 16) was the overseer of Mount Concord.

William Burge, in his examination, below, was asked if he had any recollection in 1825 of a person of the name of Jordan. Francis Jordan was the overseer of Mount Concord in 1825 – see Chapter 15.

Examination of William Burge – extracts

. . . I resided in *Jamaica* Twenty Years, without once leaving it.

In what Situation? As a Barrister; and during the last Twelve years of my Residence I was the Attorney General of the Colony, and a Member of the Council.

When did you return to this Country? In *May* 1828. I now hold the Office of Agent of the Island of *Jamaica*, under an Act of the Legislature.

Have you any Recollection, in the Year 1825, of a Person of the Name of *Jordan* having shut up Three Females, because One of them would not go and sleep with him? I never heard of the Case. Supposing that to be the Case where a Party made a Representation to Mr *Lane* [James Seton Lane] a Magistrate, I never heard of it until it was stated by One of the Witnesses examined before the Committee of the House of Commons, I think, Mr *Barry*; and I complain again, and it is a peculiar Hardship on the Island of *Jamaica* and the other Colonies, that Persons who, whilst they are in the Island, become acquainted, as they allege, with the Circumstances of an Outrage which they represent to have occurred, never make them known to the Authorities there, in order that they might be investigated and the Delinquent punished; but they confine their Communication of those Circumstances to a Society in *England*, for the Purpose of having it transmitted from this Society to His Majesty's Government, or of bringing it forward as a Subject of Reproach and Attack upon the Colony. I am the more induced to make this Remark because

within a few Hours past I have had put into my Hands a Speech of One of the Persons who, I believe, has been a Witness before your Lordships, Mr *Barry*. He appears to have attended a Religious Meeting at *Liverpool*, and among other and very strong Expressions to be found in his Speech is this, "Look for Justice in *Jamaica* ! the Executive Government was incapable of carrying it into execution. If One of the Magistrates who were concerned in pulling down the Chapel were convicted at the Moment, the Executive of the Country could not carry the Sentence into effect." Such is the Language used at a Religious Meeting by a Minister of Religion; the Representation is perfectly untrue, and can have been made, I fear, with no other Object than that of inflaming the Public Mind. I may be justified in saying that the Person from whom such a Representation proceeds cannot view or narrate the Transactions which take place in the Colony with the calm and dispassionate Consideration which strict Truth requires, and which alone entitle his Representations to Credit. I refer to that Paper, because I am aware your Lordships have had before you Mr *Knibb*, Mr *Barry* and Mr *Duncan*; they may have represented Cases of Cruelty, Cases calculated to harrow up the Feelings of those to whom they have been communicated; but it would be an Act, I venture to say, of gross Injustice, if their Representations were deemed to be true before an Opportunity had been afforded to Persons in the Island, conversant with all the Circumstances, of giving their Explanation or their Refutation. I can assure your Lordships, with respect to those Cases, that I should have felt I did not deserve to hold my Office of Attorney General, if the most distant Rumour of either of those Cases had reached me, and I had not taken instant Means to bring the Offender to Justice.

Are you acquainted with Mr *Lane*? I was acquainted with him. I rather think he is dead [see – Chapter 16 – death of James Seton Lane, 1828]

If a Case of this kind had occurred, is it your Opinion that must have inevitably become Public? I believe so. The Negroes themselves are prone to make Complaints; they are not a Description of Persons from Habit, Temper, or Constitution, disposed to sit down silently under a Grievance which they or any Persons of their Class have sustained. I am sure it would be known; and considering that the Distance to *Spanish Town* from *St Thomas in the Vale*, where Mr *Lane* resided, and in the Neighbourhood of which I presume, from the Reference to him, the Negroes resided, was such that the Negroes come to *Spanish Town*, where the Governor and the Attorney General reside, to the Market on their *Saturday* or *Sunday*, and that they are within the Reach of the public Market, and that consequently there were abundant Opportunities for their talking of this Outrage, as well as bringing it before the Governor or the Attorney General, if it had had an Existence; I cannot doubt that it must have been known if it had taken place.

If such a Fact as this was made known to a Missionary are you aware whether he considers it a Part of his Duty not to interfere about it between the Master and the Slave? I have heard so, but I cannot understand that there would be any thing objectionable in his making a Communication of it to the Magistrate or the highest Functionary in the Island. It seems to me inconsistent with his Duty to suppress it.

Can you reconcile to that Duty his hearing and listening to the Tale of a Slave, and transmitting it to the Society of this Country, and not making it known or taking any Means for redressing the Complaint in *Jamaica*? I cannot reconcile it to a Sense of his Duty. Perhaps One of the Circumstances which have so much excited Suspicion and Distrust towards the Missionaries of the Island is this particular Line of Conduct which they have pursued. They receive Complaints from Slaves. They do not give an Opportunity in the Island for public Examination before the Magistrates, that the Delinquent might be punished if guilty, or exculpated if innocent, but they transmit the Complaint to *England*, in order that it may be sent out to the Colony; in the mean time it is published in *England*, and made an Instrument for exciting strong Prejudice against the Colony.

Do you consider that a Minister of the Church of *England* would have so acted, or do they so act? They do not so act. I have never perceived any Unwillingness on the Part of Ministers of the Church of *England* to make Representations of any Grievance of which a Slave complained. I would say further, that if a Proprietor of an Estate knew that an Overseer had committed such an Act my firm Conviction is that he would have discharged that Overseer immediately, and, consistently with the general Practice of all Managers of Estates to inquire into the previous Character and Conduct of the Overseer, if he had ascertained that such an Offence had been committed that Overseer would have been unable to get Employment.

Though there is no Law to prevent the Employment of an Overseer who has been convicted of Cruelty towards a Negro, would such a Man, in the present State of Society in *Jamaica*, find Employment if such an Act of Cruelty were known? Certainly not. The Moral Feeling of the Country would be a Bar to that Man's Advancement; and if we are not supposed to have an adequate degree of Moral Feeling in the

Island, still Considerations of Interest would prevent the Employment of such an Overseer, for it is the Interest of the Proprietor to have an Overseer upon his Estate who by his good Conduct and Character will keep his Negroes in a contented State, for the more contented they are the more efficiently will they work upon the Estate.

Can you assign any Reason whatever for the Overseer's having an Interest in extorting undue Labour from a Slave? Certainly not; the Moment that an Overseer makes himself obnoxious to the Slaves under his Charge his Life is one continued Scene of Vexation to him; there either is a Complaint made to the Attorney or Principal Manager of the Estate or to some Magistrate, and by the Publication of his Conduct a Suspicion is thrown on his general Character, and the probable Advancement of himself by Employment upon other Estates may be prejudiced. It is against the Interest of the Overseer to conduct himself in the Way in which Overseers have been represented as conducting themselves.

Below – reports from the Select Committees on Slavery – House of Lords dated 9 August 1832 – followed by the House of Commons dated 11 August 1832

<http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk/> – *Parliamentary Papers – Journals of the House of Lords, 6 Dec 1831 to 16 Oct 1832* – 9 August 1832 – Report from the House of Lords on the West India Colonies

The Duke of *Richmond* reported from the Lords Committees appointed to enquire into the Laws and Usages of the several *West India* Colonies, in relation to the Slave Population, the actual Condition and Treatment of the Slave Population, the actual Condition and Treatment of the Slaves, their Habits and Dispositions, the Means which are adopted in the several Colonies for their progressive Improvement and Civilization which they have at present attained; and also to enquire into the distressed Condition of those Colonies; and to whom were referred certain Petitions and Papers in relation to the Matters before the Committee; “That the Committee had applied themselves to the Matters referred to them, and, considering that was no Prospect of their being able to examine into the State of the *West India* Colonies during the Continuance of the present Session, came to an early Determination to confine their Enquiry, in the first instance, to the Island of *Jamaica*; and though they have collected much Evidence upon the Condition of the Slaves in that Island, some of which is of the most contradictory Description, yet they have not found it possible to enter into a detailed Examination of many of the other Points referred to them, and upon none has their Enquiry been so complete as to enable them to submit to the House any definite Opinion. They had, amongst others, called before them Planters, Managers, and Proprietors of Estates, Attornies, Overseers, Persons having Connection with the Island or who have visited it in Public Capacities, and Missionaries of different Persuasions; and the most material Points brought under their Notice have been:

- “1st. Any progressive Improvement which may have taken place in the State of the Slaves since the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807:
- “2d. The actual State and Condition of the Slaves, the Nature and Duration of their Labour, and also Evidence as to Instances of Cruelty and gross Abuse of Authority and Power:
- “3d. The Increase or Decrease of the Slave Population as it respects African and Creoles, and as affected or not by the State and System of Slavery: And
- “4th. Plans for improving the Condition of the Slave or effecting his Emancipation, and Opinions as to the probable Condition of the Negro, and the Effect upon Society and Property in the Island, which is likely to be produced by such Emancipation: Beyond this the Enquiry has unavoidably diverged into various collateral Matters, from which the Committee could not abstain without omitting many important Points the Consideration of which would be essential to a satisfactory Conclusion.

“Under the Circumstances, advertng to the advanced Period of the Session, and to the probable Arrival of Persons of Authority from *Jamaica* whose Evidence would be most desirable, they had decided to postpone the Consideration of any detailed Report, and simply to lay the Evidence collected before the

House, with such Index as may enable the House without Difficulty to refer to the Information which has been obtained upon any of the Objects of Enquiry.”

Which Report being read by the Clerk;

Ordered, That the said Report and Minutes of Evidence do lie on the Table.*

Ordered, That the said Report and Minutes of Evidence be printed.

Ordered, That the Evidence taken before the last mentioned Committee be delivered to all the Members of the House.

*This Evidence is inserted in the Appendix to this Volume, Vide Appendix, No. 2.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=pVoSAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Report from the (House of Commons) Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery throughout the British Dominions: with the Minutes of Evidence, and general index – Ordered by the House of Commons, to be Printed, 11 August 1832 – published 1833 – Report

The Committee appointed to consider and report . . . and who were empowered to report the Minutes of the Evidence taken before them to The House: – Have considered the Matter to them referred, and have agreed the following Report: –

Your Committee, in pursuance of the Instructions by which they were appointed . . . adverted, in the first instance, to the condition contained in the Terms of Reference, which provides, that such Extinction shall be “in conformity with the Resolutions of The House, passed on the 15th of May, 1823.”

This House also then declared, “That it was anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest possible period compatible with the well-being of the Slaves themselves, with the safety of the Colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the Interests of private Property.”

In consideration of a question involving so many difficulties of a conflicting nature, and branching into subjects so various and so complicated, it appeared necessary to Your Committee, by agreement, in the first instance, to limit their Inquiries to certain heads.

It was, therefore, settled that Two main points arising out of the Terms of Reference should be first investigated, and these were embraced in the two following Propositions:

1st. That the Slaves, if emancipated, would maintain themselves, would be industrious and disposed to acquire property by labour.

2d. That the dangers of convulsion are greater from Freedom withheld than from Freedom granted to the Slaves.

Evidence was first called to prove the affirmative of these Propositions; it had been carried in this direction to a considerable extent, and was not exhausted when it was evident the Session was drawing to a close, and that this most important and extensive Inquiry could not be satisfactorily finished. At the same time Your Committee was unwilling to take an exparte view of the case, it was, therefore, decided to let in Evidence of an opposite nature, intended to disprove the two Propositions, and to rebut the testimony adduced in their support. Even the limited Examination has not been fully accomplished; and Your Committee is compelled to close its labours in an abrupt and unfinished state.

With some few exceptions, the Inquiry has been confined to the Island of Jamaica; and the important question of what is due “to the fair and equitable consideration of the Interests of Private Property,” as connected with Emancipation, has not been investigated by Your Committee.

Many incidental topics, which Your Committee could not leave unnoticed, have presented themselves in the course of this Inquiry; and some opinions have been pronounced, and some expressions used, by Witnesses, which may seem to be injurious to the character of Persons in high stations in the Colonies.

Unwilling to present the Evidence in a garbled state, Your Committee have resolved not to exclude from their Minutes testimony thus implicating the conduct of Public Functionaries; but they are bound to impress on The House the consideration, which it is just constantly to remember, that no opportunity of contradicting or of explaining these Statements has been afforded to the private parties accused; and Evidence of this description must be received with peculiar caution.

Your Committee, however, are unwilling that the fruits of their inquiry should be altogether lost, and they present the Evidence taken before them to The House, which, although incomplete, embraces a wide range of important Information, and discloses a State of Affairs demanding the earliest and most serious attention of the Legislature.

11th August, 1832.

Returning to Jamaica – in St Thomas in the Vale in March 1832 Edward owned 15 slaves, Major General William Nedham owned 196 slaves and the Earl of Harewood owned 213 slaves.

www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1833 Jamaica Almanac – 1st quarter 1832
Giving-In – St Thomas in the Vale

Clouston, Edward, Retirement – 15 slaves

Nedham, Major General, Mount Olive – 196 slaves – 45 stock

Harewood, Earl of, Williamsfield – 213 slaves – 16 stock

My photo, March 2007 – St Thomas in the Vale from the hills south of Tulloch looking north to Mount Olive and Williamsfield



On 27 March 1832 Eliza purchased her first slave – a Sambo boy named William.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 779, Fol 45 – Entered Island Secretary's Office 3 Apr 1832 – Deed Poll dated 27 March 1832

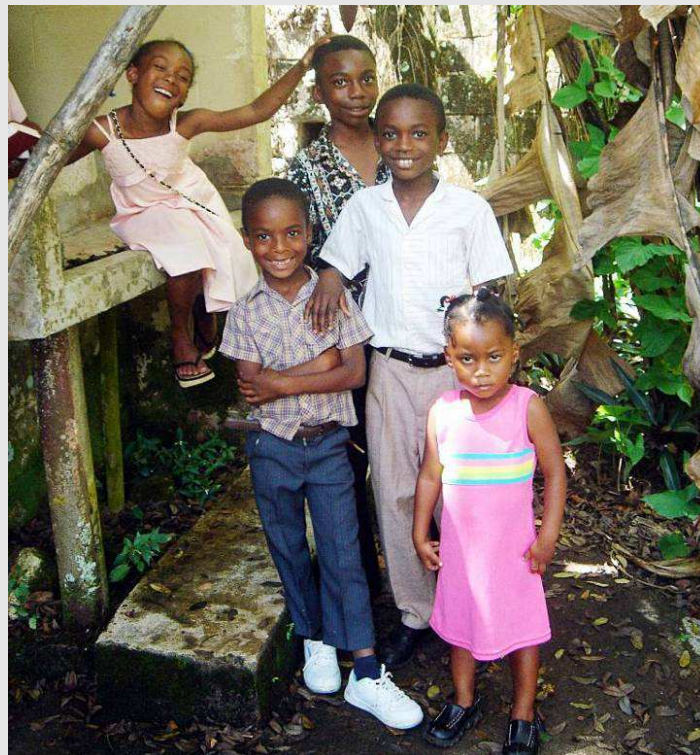
Now H. Jamaica B. Know all Men by these presents that William Holloway Clarke of the parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale and Island aforesaid planter, found in consideration of the sum of forty eight pounds current money of Jamaica to me in hand paid at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents by Eliza Fox the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge have bought and sold and do hereby do buy and sell and deliver unto the said Eliza Fox a Sambo boy named William Fokume and I do hereby do buy and sell and deliver unto the said Eliza Fox her lawful administrator and assigns to have and then only to possess and hold forever and I do hereby do buy and sell and deliver unto the said Eliza Fox her lawful administrator and assigns the said boy named Fokume unto the said Eliza Fox her lawful administrator and assigns from and against all persons shall and will warrant and defend by these presents In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal dated at Saint Thomas in the Vale on the twenty seventh day of March in the second year of His Majesty's reign and in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty two. William H. Clarke
Signed sealed and delivered in the presence of James Heighington

Received the day and year first within written of and from the within named Eliza Fox the sum of forty eight pounds current money of Jamaica being the full consideration money within mentioned to be paid by her to me
L48. - William H. Clarke
Witness James Heighington
Be it remembered that on the thirty first day of March 1832 personally appeared before me James Heighington the Substituting Witness to the execution of the within deed poll instrument in writing and made on the last day of March 1832 and did see the within named William H. Clarke sign seal and do and deliver the same for the purposes therein contained.
Edward McCaw
I James Heighington do swear that I have examined the within title and find it to contain two legal Heirs and Legals and no more. Attest me God James Heighington
Given before me this 3rd day of April 1832 William Paton and
Paton J.P. 1832.

Summary

William Holloway Clarke of St Thomas in the Vale, Planter (overseer of Hoghole Estate) to Eliza Fox – for £48 Jamaica currency – W H Clarke conveyed to Eliza Fox – a Sambo boy named William – signed, sealed and delivered by W H Clarke before James Heighington (overseer of Coolshade Plantation)

My photos, March 2007 – St Thomas in the Vale – St Mark's Anglican Church at Ham Walk in the neighbourhood of what was once Rio Magno Pen – boys and girls after the Sunday service



On July 7 and on 18 August 1832 Edward, Attorney for Rose Hall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, wrote to Davison, Newman & Co in London.

Guildhall Library, London – Davison, Newman & Co papers – copy letter, dated St Thomas in the Vale, 7 July 1832, from Edward Clouston to Messrs Davison, Newman & Co

Gentlemen,

The above is duplicate of my respects to you on 30th May. I have now to request you will protect 5 Hhds of RH Sugars which I have engaged on the Brig Demarara, Capt Turner, expected to sail on or about the 25th inst. & that you will further insure 8Hhds of the same mark on vessels or vessel, as shipping is at present very scarce & it was a matter of favour that I obtained room for the above 5 Hhds. – I am going to Kingston for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain room for the remainder by the 1st of August.

The weather still continues very bad – rain almost every day – and the roads are in such a state that it is almost impossible to get produce to the Wharf. Rose Hall Crop is not finished – 169 Hhds Sugar are now made and 7 or 8 more expected from the Canes remaining to cut, or perhaps more provided we have a few dry days to take them off

I am most respectfully Dear Sirs Your faithful obed S

E Clouston

Edward's letter, dated Jamaica, 18th August 1832, to Davison, Newman & Co

Gentlemen, Jamaica, 18th Aug^r 1832
I regret to inform you that I failed in obtaining room on any vessel that sailed before the 1st Aug^r for any more of your RH

mark – Even the 5 Hhds engaged on the Brig Demarara remain unshipped. – I got one of the consignees to visit the Captⁿ about them & other produce I had been promised room for in that vessel, & the Captⁿ promised the consignee to take them to the last, but did not take a cask. There is now scarce any prospect of obtaining room for them or the remainder of the Sugar even with the weight of high Insurance before ~~just~~ the non-arrival of several vessels that were looked

the non-arrival of several vessels that were looked
 for having left a vast quantity remaining on
 the Wharves - from which there will in consequence
 be much waste. - The late Crop of Rose Hall
 at present stands thus - upwards of $1\frac{1}{2}$ Hhds having
 been already taken to fill up the other Casks at the
 Wharf - 133 Hhds of $\frac{L}{RH}$ - 38 of RH, & 6 remaining
 to have both marks. I am with respect

Dear Sirs Your faithful & Obedt Servt
 E. Clouston

Transcript

Gentlemen,

I regret to inform you that I failed in obtaining room on any vessel that sailed before or on the 1st Augt for any more of your RH mark - Even the 5 Hhds engaged on the Brig Demarara remain unshipped. - I got one of the Consignees to ... the Captn about them & other produce I had been promised room for in that vessel, & the Captn promised the Wharfinger to take them to the last, but did not take a Cask.

There is now scarce any prospect of obtaining room for them or the remainder of the Sugars with the weight of high Insurance before Jany the non-arrival of several vessels that were looked for having left a vast quantity remaining on the Wharfs - from which there will in consequence be much waste. - The late Crop of Rose Hall at present stands thus - upwards of $1\frac{1}{2}$ Hhds having already been taken to fill up other Casks at the Wharf - 133 Hhds of L/RH - 38 of RH [? H], & 6 remaining to have both marks. I am with respect

Dear Sirs Your faithful & Obedt Sevt

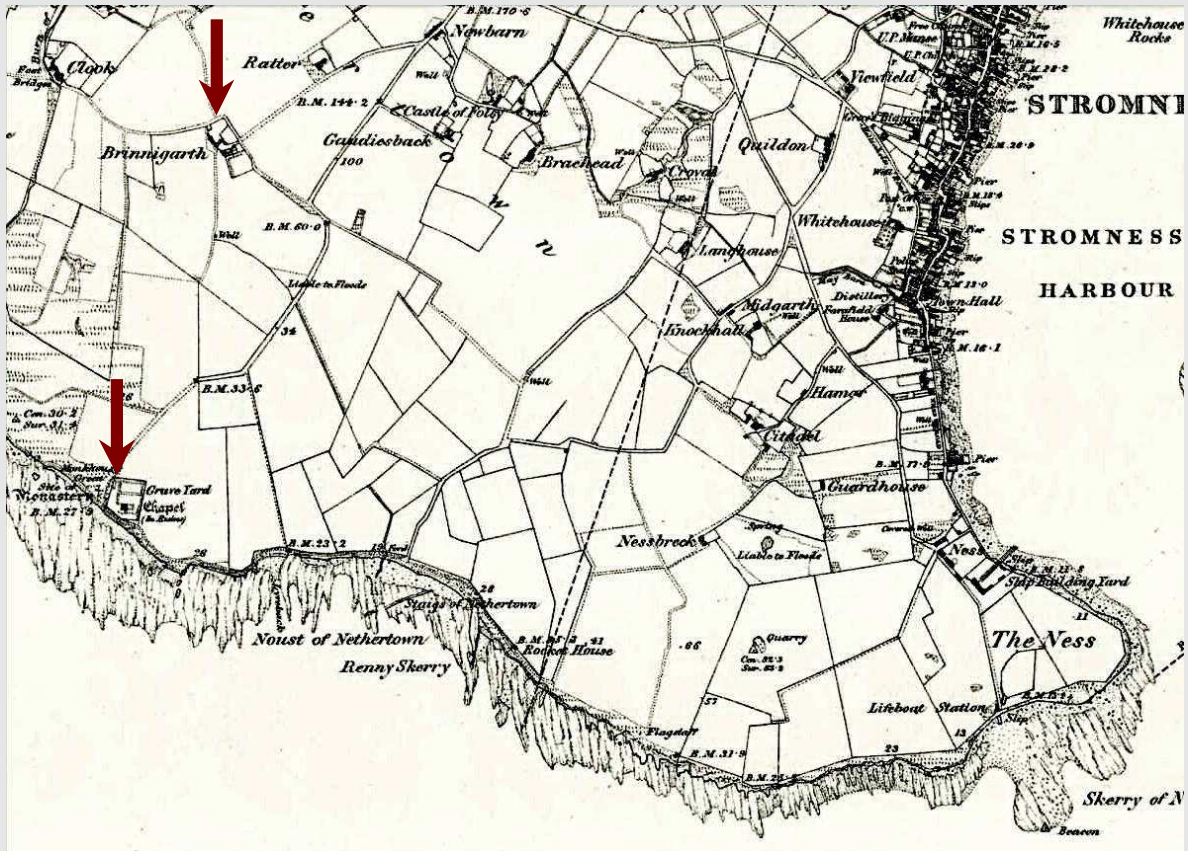
E Clouston

Two days later, on 20 August 1832, in Orkney, Edward's father died at the Manse of Brinnigarth.

British Library - Inverness Journal, Friday, 7 Sep 1832

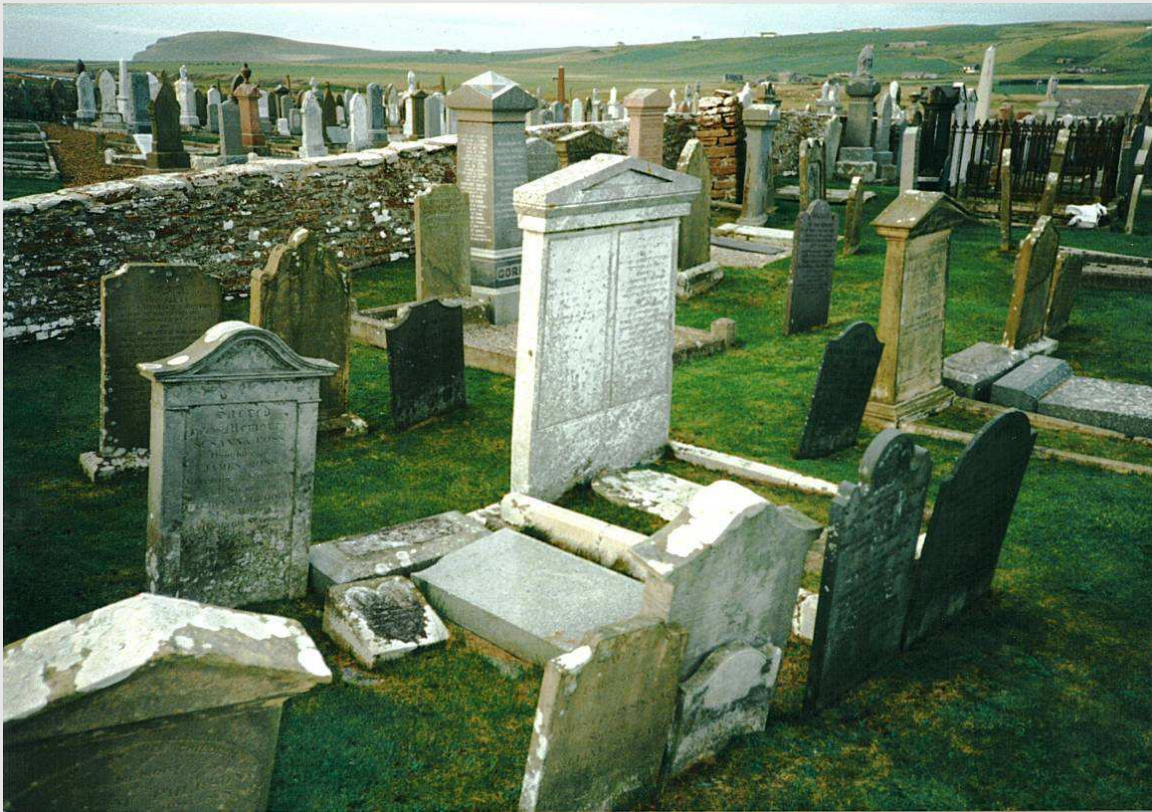
DIED—At the Manse of Stromness, Orkney on the 20th ultimo, the Rev. William Clouston, Minister of Stromness and Sandwick; in the 86th year of his age, and 60th of his ministry.

<http://maps.nls.uk/view/74427920> – Ordnance Survey, 6 inches to mile, published 1882 – Orkney – West Mainland – section – **arrows** – top points to Brinnigarth (Rev William's Stromness Manse) – bottom points to Stromness old Kirk-yard



My photos, October 2001 – in the middle, double tombstone – right section in memory of Rev William Clouston – left, in memory of his wife Isabella





Inscription in memory of Rev William – Latin translated by the Orkney Family History Society

William Clouston born in this parish in the year 1747
 Admitted to teach the doctrines of the Holy Gospel in the year 1771
 Called and ordained to the office of minister in the year 1775
 Nominated a fellow of the Society for the Propagation of the Christian Faith
 in Scotland in the year 1800
 He died in the year 1832.
 His remains are here until the great day is revealed
 when he will enter the hope of life and salvation and glory in Christ

British Library – Inverness Journal, Friday, 7 Sep 1832

(From a Correspondent.)
 The Rev. Mr Clouston, whose death is announced in our paper of to-day, was a native of Stromness, and one of the four oldest Clergymen in the Church of Scotland, and it is a curious fact, and perhaps a proof of the healthiness of the north, that another of them is a member of the same Presbytery, and that the Parish of a third is within eight of their's ; indeed, one half of the Presbytery of Cairnton have for some time been among the oldest veterans in the Church. During his protracted ministry, Mr Clouston laboured in two charges, more laborious than any one can now have in the County, as the first of them has been supplied with a Government Church, and the last, at his death, forms two

distinct charges by a decree of the Court of Teinds. Notwithstanding the laborious nature of his duty, and his frequent exposure to the elements by land and sea, which rendered it necessary for him to employ assistants for many years, he was, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, anxious, and occasionally able, to perform the duties of his sacred office to the last, and though he did not actually die on the field, yet it is believed that he there received the wound which led to the termination of his career, for in dispensing the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper last July, he spoke above two hours at one time to a congregation of about 2 000 people, 1350 being communicants, when his memory was so retentive that he never opened a book, even the passage of Scripture and Psalms usually read on such occasions being repeated. There are few witnesses of his earliest exertions now alive, but whatever effect they may have had on the minds of his hearers, they could scarcely have affected their hearts more than his last effort did, for even the first appearance of their venerable pastor, bent beneath the weight of years, drew tears from the eyes of many, and when he adverted to his former addresses to their fathers and grandfathers above sixty years ago, he seemed like an ancient Prophet risen from the dead, or an aged Patriarch stationed in the stream of time to warn the ephemeral generations of man, as they quickly passed on to the ocean of eternity. When in a state of exhaustion from this excessive fatigue, the wind blew him down on his birthday (17th July), and dislocated his shoulder, but from this accident he appeared to recover amazingly. A week before his death, however, he caught a feverish cold, and the preceding day he began to complain of lumbago, and at last he gently fell asleep in Christ, apparently because the taper of life was burnt to the end. He was considered when young of a delicate constitution, and his longevity and health, his mental faculties, contentment, and cheerfulness, which he preserved to the last, are striking proofs of the good effects of temperance and exercise; for several years he lived entirely on vegetable food, without spirits or fermented liquors of any kind. His loss will not only be felt by his flock and family, but his tenants will miss a too indulgent landlord, who never raised the rents of a small patrimonial property which he held for about 70 years. Many benevolent Institutions will miss his name—many friends will miss his tales of other years—the stranger will miss his hospitable abode, and the poor his liberal charity; he came to his grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in, in his season, and he was followed thither by hundreds of his parishioners, and many of the Gentry and Clergy of the County. "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the last end of that man is peace. Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, they rest from their labour, and their works do follow them. Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

My photo, October 2009



<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Wills – Rev William Clouston's Will, dated 31 October 1826 – extracts/summary

I the Reverend William Clouston Minister of the Gospel of Stromness and Sandwick – Considering that by Disposition executed by me, dated 27 October 1820, I have already Disposed the lands belonging to me to my Eldest Son Edward Clouston, and his heirs, whom failing, to my three younger Sons, successively, according to their Seniority, and to their heirs, whom failing to my three Daughters successively, according to their Seniority, and to their heirs, burdened always with the liferent right, use and possession of Isabella Traill my Spouse, in the event of her surviving me, during her lifetime – and also Considering that my three Daughters are already provided and secured in the sum of £1,000 Sterling – by an Heritable Bond, bearing date 22 November 1817 by John Traill Urquhart Esquire of Elsness in favour of me, whom failing in favour of my said Daughters – and also in the further sum of £300 Sterling – by an heritable Bond bearing date 13 June 1821, by Robert Clouston Merchant in Stromness, in favour of me and Isabella Traill my Spouse on liferent, and to my three Daughters in fee

And being now resolved to settle the rest of my worldly affairs, so as to prevent all disputes and differences that may arise – after my decease – I do hereby give, grant, assign Dispone, and Convey – to and in favour of George Traill Esquire of Holland. Edward Clouston Esquire, Factor on the Estate of Brugh, and John Mitchell Writer in Kirkwall and to their Survivors or Survivor of them accepting, two of them to be a Quorum, and in the event of the death of any two of them, the survivor to have the full and sole power as Trustees for the ends uses and purposes herein after mentioned – all and sundry lands, houses, tenements and other heritable subjects whatsoever, now belonging to me or which shall belong to me at the time of my decease, with the exception of my lands already disposed as aforesaid, and also all debts and sums of money whether hereditary or moveable, goods – effects, and personal Estate of whatever kind – that shall be due or belong to me at the time of my decease – etc – etc – etc

Fifthly – for paying to William Clouston my Grand Son the sum £100 Sterling, to whom I hereby legate and bequeath the same, together with my Watch, the interest of which sum I direct to be paid to the said William Clouston, until his majority or marriage, which ever shall first happen, and then the principal sum to be paid to him.

Sixthly – for paying the following legacies, which shall be payable at the first term of Whitsunday or Martinmas after my decease, viz – £5 Sterling to the Bible Society of Stromness – £5 Sterling to the Library there – £10 Sterling to the Poor of the Parish of Stromness – £5 Sterling to the Poor of the Parish of Sandwick – and £5 Sterling, to the Poor of the Parishes of Harray and Birsay – which sums are to be entrusted to the respective Kirk sessions of these Parishes, for distribution – One guinea to each of the Parochial Society teachers within these Parishes at the time of my decease – One Guinea to each servant that may be in my service at the time of my decease – £5 Sterling, to the fund for promoting Education in the Highlands and Islands – and £5 Sterling, to the Aberdeen Society for behoof of the sons and daughters of Clergymen.

Seventhly – in the event of the said Isabella Traill my Spouse surviving me, I deduct the sum of £250 Sterling to be set a part and laid out on Interest, which Interest the said Isabella Traill shall have the power of applying and disposing of for behoof of any of my family as she may judge proper during her lifetime, and she shall also have power with the consent and approbation of any one or more of my said Trustees, to legate and bequeath the said principal sum to each of my Children or Grand Children as she pleases and in such proportions as she shall appoint – and in the event of her dying without legating and bequeathing the same with such consent and approbation, then I direct the said principal sum to be divided at the first term of Whitsunday or Martinmas after her decease, amongst all my children equally, and in the event of any one of them predeceasing the said Isabella Traill and leaving a child or children, that such child or children shall be entitled to receive the share that would have fallen to their deceased parents had they been alive.

Eighthly – as the said Isabella Traill is entitled by contract of marriage, to the use and possession of my household furniture during her lifetime, in the event of her surviving me – I direct that after her decease, the same with the exception of family paintings, which I bequeath to my Eldest surviving son, shall belong to, and be equally divided, amongst my Daughters – and I also direct that all my written Books and manuscripts, shall belong and be delivered to my said Eldest surviving son – and that all my printed Books, shall belong and be delivered to my youngest son, Charles Clouston.

Ninthly – I hereby direct that all arrears of Rent that may be due by all or any of my Tenants at my decease, shall be held as paid and discharged, and the same shall not be demandable from my Tenants either by my said Trustees or by any other person or persons – and I also direct, that if any of the poor Widows, to whom I have reduced or remitted Stipend be in arrears at the time of my death, these arrears shall not be demanded from them.

Tenthly – as my sons have already received from me the following sums in part of their patrimony viz – Edward Clouston £239 6s 6d Sterling – Thomas Clouston £650 Sterling – Robert Clouston £700 seven Sterling – and Charles Clouston £457 18s 10d Sterling – and my said daughters are already provided and secured in the sum of £1,000 Sterling, as before mentioned – and as it is my wish that all my sons and daughters shall share equally in the succession of my whole property and effects, heritable and moveable with the exception of my lands which I have already disposed to Edward Clouston my Eldest son, and which on account of these lands coming to me by descent – and also on account of the said Edward Clouston not having enjoyed equal advantages by means of advances, as my other sons have done – he is to receive over and above his share of the rest of the property and effects – I hereby direct my Trustees as soon as convenient may be, and at any rate within twelve months after my decease to make up a state of the residue of my whole property, and effects, exclusive of the lands already disposed, the legacies before mentioned, my death bed and funeral charges and expences and the expences of Management, and to the amount of which residue they shall add the sums before specified paid to my sons in part of their patrimony, and also the £1,000 Sterling, provided and secured to my daughters – and to pay over to each of my said sons and daughters, such a sum as together with what each of them has already received or is

provided in will amount to one seventh part of the whole aggregate sum, whereby each of my said sons and daughters, will share equally in my succession with the exception of my lands before disposed

And further I hereby bind and oblige myself my heirs and successors, to deliver to my said Trustees – all deed and Writings – etc – that shall be necessary for the due execution and management of the present Trust – And I also hereby nominate and appoint my said trustees and the survivors or survivor of them accepting to be my lawful Executors or Executor, and Intromitters or Intromitter with my whole moveable and personal Estate excluding my nearest of kin, and all others whatsoever, from the said office – etc

My photo, October 2009 – Orkney sea and sky



Meanwhile in Jamaica, on 4 September 1832, a ball was given by the Officers of the St Thomas in the Vale Militia.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 8 Sep 1832, page PS 21

The Officers of the St Thomas in the Vale Regiment and Troop of Horse gave a splendid Ball to the Ladies of that and the adjacent parishes on Tuesday evening last. The Ball was opened by Colonel Page. At half past twelve the company retired to the supper room, where every delicacy of the season was displayed. After the ladies had retired, several appropriate toasts were given, among them was the health

The toast was received and drank amidst the most deafening cheers.

Mr O'Reilly returned thanks. He said, that the feeling which had been evinced, had been assimilated to those of a mob meeting, and truly it had been so, for the feelings given vent to by such assemblages were those of sincerity, and he participated in them. He arrived in this island an utter stranger to its inhabitants, its institutions, and the manners of the country. His instructions when he left England were, to ascertain the condition of the negro – to report it faithfully, and to be the friend and protector of the slave. Faithfully had these instructions been obeyed; and he could from ocular demonstration state, and the fact was undeniable, that slavery existed but in name. The negroes were a well fed happy people – their condition in every respect superior to that of the majority of the peasantry of England. In fact, they enjoyed luxuries which he never could have imagined. The protection of an Attorney-General was not required by the slave, for their kindest friend and protector was their humane and generous owner. – These were his sentiments.

Although but a short time in the Colony, he had witnessed enough to convince him that the character of the planter was slandered, and the condition of the slave misrepresented in Europe. In conclusion he would merely say, that he would ever discharge the duties of his office faithfully, and if in doing so he restored confidence to the planter, and was instrumental in saving to the British Crown this beautiful and important island, his greatest ambition will have been attained, for he was well satisfied that then the character of an honest Attorney-General would still be given to him. (Loud and continued applause followed the address of the Learned and Hon Gentleman.)

A week later the Jamaica Royal Gazette published 'a more correct version' of the Attorney-General's speech.

Sat, 15 Sep 1832, page PS 21

The Attorney-General's Speech at the Ball in St Thomas' in the Vale.

We have been requested by a friend of the Attorney-General, to give the following, as a more correct version of the Learned Gentleman's speech, in reply to the compliment which had been paid to him, by drinking his health at the Military Ball, in St Thomas' in the Vale: –

"In the perhaps tumultuous expression just now exhibited, he recognized something to him infinitely pleasing; it was warmth of heart, sincerity of feeling. From the kindness from which this arose, he was deeply grateful. True he was a stranger amongst them – yet, all imperfectly acquainted as he was with their island, in it he had ample opportunity to recognize that beautiful Jamaica, so often described to him in England. The people, too, seemed so happy – he would almost say, the very slaves appeared to enjoy themselves more than many poor in the Home Countries. As for the Gentlemen, he had found them full of kind and honourable sentiments; in them, since his arrival he had frequently experienced intelligent and energetic assistants in the protection of slaves. To this Country he had come, thus instructed, well in his memory, to hold that Jamaica was an Island of the first consequence in the West-Indies, and carefully to remember, that in it, every of his faculties must be devoted, to the strictest and most impartial discharge of his duty. Firm was his determination, faithfully to act on this; and if to him, then, the name of honest, he would have succeeded in the highest ambition; but, at the same time, if such a line of conduct deserved their approbation, their applause was principally due to those who directed him."

1832 was the 5th and last year of the Triennial Returns of Slaves. Eliza swore her return of one slave before Edward – the first record I found linking Edward with Eliza – see Chapter 1 – and this is the only document I have seen which includes Edward's signature and Eliza's mark.

<http://search.ancestry.co.uk/search/db.aspx?dbid=1129> – London National Archives – 1832 Jamaica Slave Registers – St Thomas in the Vale

Page 125 – Return of Slave made by Eliza Fox as Owner – on 28 June 1829: 0 slaves – on 28 June 1832: one slave – William – Colour Sambo – Age 17 – Registered in last Return by William H Clarke in same parish – Increase one by Purchase – sworn on 4 September 1832 by Eliza Fox before Edward Clouston

Page 61 – Return of Slaves made by Edward Clouston as Owner – on 28 June 1829: 17 slaves – on 28 June 1832: 16 slaves – Increase: 2 – George Clouston removed from St Thomas in the East, and one Birth – Phoebe Ann, Colour Mulatto, Age 2, daughter of Sarah – Decrease: 3 deaths – Joseph Peacan, Mary and Eleanor Marshall – sworn on 5 September 1832 by Edward Clouston before Henry Lowndes

Jamaica, ss.

A RETURN of SLAVES, in the parish of *Saint Thomas in the East* in the possession of *Edward Clouston* as owner on the *Twenty eight* day of *June* in the year of our Lord, 1832

MALES by last Return *9*
FEMALES *8*
TOTAL by last Return *17*

| NAMES (Names of Males to precede names of Females) | COLOUR. | AGE. | AFRICAN or CREOLE. | REMARKS. | INCREASE, AND CAUSE THEREOF. | DECREASE, AND CAUSE THEREOF. |
|---|--------------|-----------|--------------------|--|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| MALES. | | | | | | |
| <i>George as was George Clouston</i> | <i>Negro</i> | <i>40</i> | <i>African</i> | <i>Registered last Return in Saint Thomas in the East on same profession</i> | <i>Removal</i> | |
| <i>Joseph Peacan</i> | <i>Negro</i> | <i>41</i> | <i>African</i> | | | <i>Death</i> |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| FEMALES. | | | | | | |
| <i>Phoebe Ann</i> | <i>Mulatto</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>Creole</i> | <i>Daughter of Sarah</i> | <i>Birth</i> | |
| <i>Mary</i> | <i>Negro</i> | <i>5</i> | <i>Creole</i> | | | <i>Death</i> |
| <i>Eleanor Marshall</i> | <i>Negro</i> | <i>21</i> | <i>Creole</i> | | | <i>Death</i> |
| | | | | | INCREASE. | DECREASE. |
| | | | | | <i>Two</i> | <i>Three</i> |

NUMBER of SLAVES on the *Twenty eight* day of *June* 1832 *Males - Nine*
BIRTHS since last Return *One* *Females - Three*
DEATHS since last Return *Three* *Edward Clouston*

Jamaica, ss.

E. Clouston of the Parish of *Saint Thomas in the East* in the County of *Trinidad* in the said Island, *do* being duly sworn, maketh oath, and saith, that he hath carefully counted all the words and figures in the above Triennial Return of Slaves contained, and that the whole amount to *one* legal sheet of one hundred and sixty words per sheet, and *one hundred and five* words over, to the best of his deponent's knowledge and belief—SO HELP ME GOD.

Sworn before me this *fifth* day of *September* 1832

Printed at the Chronicle Office, Harbour-street, Kingston.

I, *Edward Clouston*

do swear, that the above list and return is a true, perfect, and complete list and return to the best of my knowledge and belief, in every particular therein mentioned, of all and every slave and slaves possessed by me as *owner* permanently settled, worked, or employed in the parish of *Saint Thomas in the East* on the *Twenty eight* day of *June* in the year of our Lord 1832 —
fraud, deceit, or evasion.—SO HELP ME GOD.

Sworn before me, this *fifth* day of *September* 1832

Henry Lowndes

E. Clouston

Page 111 – Return of Slaves made by Edward Clouston as Owner – on 28 June 1829: 2 slaves – on 28 June 1832: one slave (Dorothy, first registered by Edward in 1817) – Increase none – Decrease one – George alias George Clouston, Colour Negro, Age 40, African – Removed to St Thomas in the Vale in same possession – sworn on 5 September 1832 by Edward Clouston before Henry Lowndes

A RETURN OF SLAVES in the Parish of *Saint Thomas in the East* in the Possession of
Edward Blonston as Owner
on the Twenty-eighth day of June, in the year of our Lord 1832

| NAMES. <small>(Names of Males to precede names of Females.)</small> | | COLOUR. | AGE. | AFRICAN OR CREOLE. | REMARKS. | INCREASE, and cause thereof. | DECREASE, and cause thereof. |
|---|-------|---------|---------|---|----------|------------------------------|---|
| MALES. | | | | | | | |
| George alias George Clouston | negro | 40 | African | | | | Removal to Saint Thomas in the Vale in some fortnight |
| FEMALES. | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | INCREASE. <i>None</i> | DECREASE. <i>One</i> |
| <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div> <p>Number of Slaves on the 25th day of June, 1832 — <i>None</i></p> <p>BIRTHS since last Return <i>None</i></p> <p>DEATHS since last Return <i>None</i></p> </div> <div> <p><i>Males — none</i></p> <p><i>Females — One</i></p> <p><i>Total — One</i></p> </div> </div> | | | | | | | |
| <p>I <u>Edward Clouston</u> do swear,</p> <p>That the above Return contains, (to the best of my reckoning and belief)</p> <p>and <u>one</u> Legal Sheets, of one hundred and sixty words or figures each and <u>change</u> words or figures over.—So help me God.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>E. Clouston</i></p> <p>Signed before me, this <u>fifth</u> day of <u>September</u> 1832 }</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Thos. W. H. Howard</i></p> | | | | <p>I <u>Edward Clouston</u> do swear,</p> <p>That the above List and Return is a true, perfect, and complete List and Return, to the best of my knowledge and belief, in every particular therein mentioned, of all and every slave and slaves possessed by me as <u>Owner</u></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>E. Clouston</i></p> <p>considered as most permanently settled, worked, or employed, in the Parish of <u>Saint Thomas in the East</u> on the 25th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1832, without fraud, deceit, or evasion.—So help me God.</p> <p>Signed before me, this <u>fifth</u> day of <u>September</u> 1832 }</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Thos. W. H. Howard</i></p> | | | |

MALES by last Return *One*

FEMALES *one*

Total by last Return *Two*

Printed at the London Custom Office.

Note – in St Thomas in the East in 1829 Edward registered 3 (not 2) slaves – 2 males and 1 female – (see Chapter 17)

St Thomas in the Vale

Page 83 – Williamsfield Estate – Return of Slaves made by George Cuthbert and George William Hamilton – on 28 June 1829: 275 slaves – on 28 June 1832: 243 slaves – Increase: 14 births – Decrease: 46 – 45 deaths, and one condemned to the workhouse by sentence of a slave court – sworn on 6 August 1832 by George Cuthbert before Henry Lowndes

Bessy and her family on 28 June 1832 – Increase – one birth – Anthony Pinnock, Colour Negro, Age 2 years 9 months, son of Sandy-Gut Dolly alias Dorothy Beckford

In 1832 Edward made eleven Triennial Returns as an attorney, receiver, etc.

St Thomas in the Vale

* = sworn on 27 August 1832 by Edward Clouston before Henry Lowndes

*Page 57 – Mount Concord – Return made by Edward Clouston as Receiver under the Court of Chancery for Mount Concord – on 28 June 1832: 114 slaves – Increase: 9 – 8 births and one runaway returned – Decrease: 17 deaths

*Page 58 – Harkers Hall Estate – Return made by Edward Clouston as Attorney to Francis James Flutter Steevens – on 28 June 1832: 246 slaves – Increase: 19 births – Decrease: 42 – 41 death, and one sentenced to the workhouse for life

*Page 59 – Rose Hall Estate – Return made by Edward Clouston as Attorney to Richard Lee, James Esdaile and William Thwaytes – on 28 June 1832: 210 slaves – Increase: 13 births – Decrease: 22 – 21 deaths and one manumitted

*Page 60 – Hog Hole Estate – Return made by Edward Clouston as one of the Attorneys to James B Bourdieu, Executor and Trustee of John Bourdieu deceased – on 28 June 1832: 173 slaves – Increase: 22 – 5 births, 16 purchased, and one runaway returned – Decrease: 18 – 15 deaths and 3 manumitted

*Page 62 – Enfield Estate – Return made by Edward Clouston as Attorney to William Hervey – on 28 June 1832: 95 slaves – Increase: 6 births – Decrease: 11 deaths

*Page 63 – Golden River Plantation – Return made by Edward Clouston as Attorney to Sir John Gordon, Bart – on 28 June 1832: 105 slaves – Increase: 3 births – Decrease: 12 – 9 deaths and 2 manumitted

*Page 64 – Coolshade Plantation – Return made by Edward Clouston as Attorney to the Heirs and Devisees of James Seton Lane deceased – on 28 June 1832: 124 slaves – Increase: 12 births – Decrease: 18 – 17 deaths, and one sentenced to workhouse for life

*Page 65 – Pleasant Farm and Ivy Pens – Return made by Edward Clouston as one of the Attorneys of Sarah Barriffe – on 28 June 1832: 67 slaves – Increase: 5 births – Decrease: 13 – 3 deaths, 8 manumitted by Will, and one runaway

Page 66 – Return made by Edward Clouston and Henry Lowndes as Executors and Guardians under the Will of John Gray deceased – on 28 June 1832: 6 slaves – Increase: 1 runaway returned – Decrease: 0 – sworn on 24 September 1832 by Henry Lowndes

Page 67 – Return made by Edward Clouston as one of the Executors of William Thaw deceased – on 28 June 1832: 9 slaves – Increase: 0 – Decrease: 0 – sworn on 21 September 1832 by Edward Clouston before John Blake – (see below – William Thaw)

St Catherine

Page not numbered – Lime Tree Garden Pen – Return made by Edward Clouston as Attorney to Francis James Flutter Steevens – on 28 June 1832: 28 slaves – Increase: 2 births – Decrease: 4 – 3 deaths, and 1 manumitted – sworn on 27 August 1832 by Edward Clouston before Henry Lowndes

The 1832 Triennial Returns for Mount Olive Estate and Crescent Pen were made by Colin Mackenzie and Alexander Geddes.

St Thomas in the Vale

Page 217 – Mount Olive – Return of Slaves made by Colin Mackenzie and Alexander Geddes as Attorneys to Major General William Nedham – on 28 June 1829: 214 slaves – on 28 June 1832: 200 slaves – Increase: 12 – 9 births, and 3 runaways returned – Decrease: 26 deaths – sworn on 17 September 1832 by Colin Mackenzie before Rob Innes

St Catherine

Page 114 – Crescent Pen – Return of Slaves made by Colin Mackenzie and Alexander Geddes as Attorneys to Major General William Nedham – on 28 June 1829: 2 slaves – on 28 June 1832: 0 slaves – Increase: 0 – Decrease: 2 – one death, and one committed to the workhouse for life being an incorrigible runaway – sworn on 17 September 1832 by Colin Mackenzie before Robert Innes

Note – in 1832 Edward continued to be an attorney to Major General William Nedham – see below powers of attorney registered by Edward in 1832

Numerous 1832 Triennial Returns were sworn before Edward – including two Returns for William Falcolner (see Chapter 17 – power of attorney from William Falconer registered by Edward in 1830).

St Mary

Page 135 – Return made by Alexander Gilzean as Agent to Colin Mackenzie Attorney to William Falconer – 207 slaves – sworn before Edward

St Thomas in the Vale

Page 135 – Return made by Alexander Gilzean as Agent to Colin Mackenzie Attorney to William Falcolner – 54 slaves – sworn before Edward

Above – William Thaw – a Millwright of St Thomas in the Vale, made his Will on 19 April 1832 and had died by 21 September 1832.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Wills, Old Series, Lib 113, Fol 79 – Entered Island Secretary's Office 1 December 1832 – William Thaw's Will, dated 19 April 1832, and two Codicils – summary/extracts

I William Thaw of St Thomas in the Vale, Millwright – to my Mother Jane Thaw now a Widow residing in County of Forfar, Scotland, £20 Sterling, during her lifetime – to my Sister Barbara Thaw residing in or near also to my Sister Clementina, Wife of James Dear – also residing in or near Bath – also to my Sister Jane, the Wife of Robert Stewart – Children residing late in the County of Fife, Scotland – £20 Sterling each – to my late (sic) Brother John Thomas Thaw & Anne Thaw £20 to purchase mourning

And for and in consideration of the long and faithful services of Miss Jane Marshall, a free Quadroon, I give £100

Signed by William Thaw with his mark X – Witnesses – Donald Mackay, Hugh Edwards, Angus Mackay

Codicil (no date) – I further give to Miss Jane Marshall my two Horses & Wearing apparel

Codicil (no date) – I appoint Alexander Gilzean, Edward Clouston, & John Ross to be my Executors

Signed by William Thaw with his mark X – Witnesses – Jane Edwards, Hugh Edwards, Jane Marshall

In 1825 William Thaw was of the parish of St Mary

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 19 Nov 1825, page Add PS 28

Change Hill, St Mary's, Nov 14, 1825

Notice is hereby given, That the Copartnership of Thaw and Duncan terminates this day, by the subscriber withdrawing his name from the said firm; and no Monies paid to the said Firm will be legal without his signature to it.

William Thaw

A Young Man, who has been regularly bred to a Millwright and Carpenter will be met with liberal encouragement, by applying as above.

Over the years 1828 to 1832, William Thaw may have been a Millwright on Mount Olive.

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

Crop Accounts for years 1828, 1829, 1830 and 1831 – include – to William Thaw 60 Gallons Rum

Crop Account for year 1832 – includes – to William Thaw 40 Gallons Rum

In 1832 Edward registered two powers of attorney.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Powers of Attorney, 1819/20 to 1879/82 – Index to Grantees

1832 – *Lib 244, Fol 7* – to Clouston, Edward, & al – from Maj Gen Nedham, & al

Maj Gen Nedham & al – & al appears to be Aeneas Barkly – see Chapter 20

1832 – *Lib 244, Fol 246* – to Clouston, Edward, & al – from Henry W Masterson

I have no further information in connection with Henry W Masterson

In 1832 the money awarded by the Court to Edward from the Estate of the late James Reid of St Thomas in the East (see Chapter 17) remained unpaid. At the June Grand Court 1832 it was ordered that unless the money was forthcoming, Edward was to be paid out of the proceeds of the sale of forty four of James Reid's slaves. On 5 October 1832 the Deputy Marshal of St Thomas in the East gave notice of the sale of the slaves under a writ of Venditioni Exponas

Venditioni Exponas – see – <http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Venditioni+exponas>

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 6 Oct 1832, page PS 22

Deputy-Marshall's Office, Morant-Bay, Oct 5, 1832.

*Clouston, Edward, esquire, vs. James Reid,
esquire.*

Robert Reid, a driver.
 James Reid, a field-negro.
 George Reid, ditto.
 Lewis Reid, ditto.
 Edward Smith, ditto.
 Thomas Reid, ditto.
 William Reid, a watchman.
 William Bryan, a field negro.
 James Munro, a carpenter.
 Thomas Gray, a watchman.
 Andrew Reid, a boy.
 Edward Moodie, a field-negro.
 Henry Shathy, a boy.
 George Reid, a field-negro.
 Charles Munro, a boy.
 Archie Reid, ditto.
 Douglas Reid, ditto.
 Charles Reid, ditto.
 James Logan, a watchman.
 David Harris, a boy.
 Robert Reid, a field-negro.
 James Harris, ditto.
 George Reid, a boy.
 Maria Harris, a driveress.
 Mary Reid, a field-negro.
 Sally Reid, ditto.
 Elizabeth Reid, ditto.
 Jane Reid, ditto.
 Sarah Reid, ditto.
 Helen Reid, ditto.
 Gracey Harris, ditto.
 Harriet Morgan, ditto.
 Phillis Taylor, ditto.
 Nancy Reid, good for nothing.
 Charlotte Reid, a field-negro.
 Annie Reid, a girl.
 Mary Reid, ditto.
 Susanna Harris, ditto.
 Catherine Reid, ditto.
 Job Reid, a child.
 Phillis, ditto.
 Richard (Phillis's child).
 Gracey (Jane's child).
 Becka (Helen's child).

*Burnett, Mary, vs. Robert Parke, dec. in the hands of Thomas Thomson, esquire, exor
 James, a black tailor; supposed age 30 years.*

Take Notice, That I will put up to Public Sale, at Martin's Tavern, Morant-Bay, on Saturday the 27th [sic] day of October instant, between the hours of 10 and 12 o'clock in the forenoon, the above LEVIES, levied upon under and by virtue of the above Writs of *Venditioni Exponas*.

J. Martin, D. M.

On 19 October 1832 Edward entered a Caveat on the Estate of James Reid.

Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 20 Oct 1832, page PS 19 – Secretary's Office

| CAVEATS entered in this Office. | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| On whose Estate. | By whom Entered. |
| Oct. 4 John Moxsy | Francis Hen. Moxsy |
| Jane Moxsy | Francis Hen. Moxsy |
| - Thos. J. Strong | Francis Hen. Moxsy |
| 9 Andrew Stevens | Henry Stevens |
| 10 Edw. Wm. Purcell | William Douglas |
| 18 John Moffat | George Barnett |
| → 19 James Reid | Edward Clouston. |

On 26 [sic] October 1832, at Public Sale, Edward purchased six of James Reid's forty five slaves.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 781, Fol 212 – Entered Island Secretary's Office 17 Jan 1833 – Bill of Sale/Bill of Parcels and Receipt, dated 26 October 1832 – Venditioni returnable June Grand Court 1832 Clouston Edward Esq vs Reid James Esq deceased in the hands of Robert Reid and Duncan McKenzie Esqs Exors – summary

Morant Bay 26 (sic) Oct 1832 – Edward Clouston Esq – Bought of John Martin, D. M. at Public Sale Six Negro Slaves named Sally Reid, Charles Munro, William Bryan, James Munro, Harriet Morgan, and Bessy Reid for £252 Jamaica currency – Levied upon and under and by Return of the above Writ – received payment in full – (signed) John Martin D.M – 9 November 1832 – John Martin, D. M. appeared before Ths. Thomson – 15 January 1833 – Edward Clouston swore that the Bill of Sale contained one legal sheet and ten words

John Martin D.M. Venditioni returnable June Grand Court 1832 Clouston Edward Esq vs Reid James Esq deceased in the hands of Robert Reid and Duncan McKenzie Esqs Exors. Edward Clouston Esq. Morant Bay 26th Oct^r 1832. Bought of John Martin D.M. at Public Sale Six Negro Slaves named Sally Reid, Charles Munro, William Bryan, James Munro, Harriet Morgan and Bessy Reid for the sum of five hundred and fifty two pounds levied upon and under and by Return of the above Writ and sold for the sum of £252.0.0 Received payment in full John Martin D.M.

Jamaica Is. Memorandum this 9th day of November 1832 personally appeared John Martin Deputy Marshal for the parish of Saint Thomas within East Sea and acknowledged the signature of Martin with the initials D.M. signed and subscribed to the above Bill of Sale and Receipt to be the proper hand writing of John Martin. Ths. Thomson

Jamaica Is. J. E. Clouston do hereby swear that the within title contains to the best of my knowledge belief one legal sheet and ten words to help myself E. Clouston

At witness on this 15th day of Jan'y 1833.

Thos. Thomson

In the novel *Marly*, published in 1828, the author described a public sale where three slaves, daughters of a white man who had died, are put up for sale to pay his debts.

<https://archive.org/details/marlyoraplanter00unkngoog> – *Marly; or a Planters Life in Jamaica, by an unknown author, published 1828* – page 180-194 – extracts

At the hour of the sale, Marly entered the vendue room, when his attention was immediately directed towards three genteel well-dressed young females, exposed for sale in one lot. They were sisters, of the cast denominated Mustees [or Mestees], their mother having been a Quadroon, and their father a white man. The handsome forms, the apparently cultivated manners, the soft and pleasing faces wholly European, even more fair than numbers of our countrywomen, and the neatness, nay elegance of their dress, aided by the faint vermillion tinge, which their unfortunate and public exposure to all eyes forced into their countenance, caused them to form a very interesting group. There were few people in the room who did not feel pity for their lamentable fate; and it is probable, the sensation of these poor girls were such as to baffle description. Their father had been a respectable gentleman, and they were his family by a brown woman, who had been a slave of his own. He had brought them up in a genteel manner as his recognised family, and they had been educated similarly to the free ladies in the island, the father never having considered them in the light of slaves. They had been accustomed to receive the same treatment, in every respect, as the free children of a man living in somewhat opulent circumstances, so that nothing could have been more distant from their thoughts, than that ever this would be their sorrowful situation – that they were one day to be exposed in a public vendue room as slaves, and knocked down to the highest bidder. The granting of their freedom, unhappily, (for their mother had died a slave), had been postponed from time to time by their father, till death removed him from this mortal stage, without the deed of manumission having been executed. His affairs were found in so embarrassed a state, that his creditors attached his whole property, and even his own children as part of his estate. The consequence was, these girls were brought to the hammer to pay their father's debts, being held to be part of his moveable property. No offerers appeared, however, and though they were afterwards several different times advertised, and exposed to public auction, they would not sell. Their genteel manners, liberal education, and pleasing appearance, would have entitled them to comfortable marriages in Britain; and it was the very same reasons that prevented any one in Jamaica from making a purchase of them; because the neighbourhood would have cried shame, had they been put to any laborious or even servile employment, considering the very special situation in which they had been brought up, contrasted with the unfortunate and unexpected one in which they now stood. And as the lot could not be separated, and no prospect of any sale, they were allowed to roam at large, in the same manner as if they had been free. For the Jamaica proprietors have not as yet, to their credit, at least, not to their shame, learned to make a traffic of the beauty of their female slaves, of a nature, which many worthy ladies, it is said, of Dutch extraction at the Cape, (who carry their heads pretty high, and esteem themselves as the nobility of the place,) find very lucrative. And if some of the Barbadian ladies are not much belied, a similar praiseworthy custom prevails in some towns in the island.

Reflecting on the painful situation, and lamenting the hard fate, of these interesting-looking girls, Marly was proceeding out of the sale room, when he met an old college acquaintance, with whom he had been in habits of intimacy while at university. Marly cordially shook him by the hand, expressing the pleasure which he felt at so unexpected a meeting. His college chum was equally pleased, though he seemed so confused in his utterance, as to attract the particular notice of Marly, who had known him for a smart youth, and a very serious scholar. Marly, whose back was towards the people in the auction room, did not immediately perceive the cause of his companion's confusion; but, on turning round, he observed all eyes fixed upon himself, and from the contemptuous looks bestowed, the tittering carried on, and the appearance of the white company, he had no doubt, but he had done something to cause the confusion of his friend. He at once recollected, what had not occurred to him at the moment, that the face of his companion was brown, and that in their estimation, he had degraded himself, as unworthy of being white, by shewing so much familiarity and condescension to a person of so low a caste as a man of colour, even though free, to treat him as if he were an equal. But Marly was not one of those, who can forget or forsake his old acquaintances, without a just cause, and he had not yet drunk so deeply of West Indian prejudices, as to think, that one who was esteemed in Edinburgh a good and worthy acquaintance, though of a darker shade than himself, should be an unworthy one in Jamaica, for that reason only. His pride was up, for it was now more difficult to recede, than to advance; and, disregarding the illiberal thoughts of those of his

own complexion, he took him by the arm and walked out with him, as with one who was his equal in every respect, and on his companion's entreaty, accompanied him home to talk over old matters.

After chatting for sometime till dinner was over, and glasses were placed on the table, the brown gentleman called Marly's attention to the spectacle which they had shortly before witnessed, and from this topic he diverges to the state of the people of his own colour. And as the discourse related to a large class of mankind in the colonies, of whom it may be interesting to the reader to know the actual situation – the true distance at which they are held by the white inhabitants – their rank in society, and the regard bestowed upon them by their white brethren; – we will give in the gentleman's own words, his ideas on a subject which has received less discussion than its merits deserve.

“... We have always been viewed, as you are well aware, in the light of an inferior race, to those whose parents have been wholly white. Our very fathers had the unnatural feelings, of enacting cruel and degrading laws, proscribing their own issue, as unworthy of being ranked in the same class with those who were the means of giving them existence... These cruel fathers disregarding the most strong and tender law of nature, an affection the most deeply rooted in human beings, that of the love of parents for children, consented, nay even assisted in enacting laws, the object of which was to make their own issue slaves... They formed laws, and enforced them, declaring that their sons and daughters were not worthy to be believed on oath. That even though relieved from the bondage of personal slavery – made members of the Christian church – educated in the Universities of Britain, and capable of holding employments in the mother country of the very highest description, both civil and military; yet, if these persons, however respectable in Europe, return to this island, their company would be shunned and disdained by the poorest white, and their evidence would not be received in the most trifling case; – they would be incapable of holding any employment, even of the lowest – and their father, even though he bestowed on them their freedom, had not the power to convey his own property to them, to a greater extent, to each coloured child, than £2000 currency, which you know is forty per cent less than sterling, when on par. To the disgrace of the British empire in the west, these laws have remained for nearly two centuries, and they still remain in force, to the prejudice of vast numbers of our unfortunate brethren of colour, who less fortunate than those whose shackles have been loosened still remain in a state of bondage. They still groan under the want of personal freedom, and though the children of Britons, who boast so highly of their liberty, the blood of their fathers confers no rights upon them. The blood of their mothers, it would seem, has so neutralized that of their fathers, that none of the rights which the father inherited from his fathers, with the exception of the single one of life, can descend to them. In lieu of their father's privileges, however, they have the whole portion of their mother; that is, the misery of the most abject slavery which ever existed on the face of the earth, and these, the children of Englishmen, form part of the goods and chattels, frequently of their own fathers, and may, and are, often sold by the owners of their mother, nay often by the creditors of their father.

“... Till within a few years, scarcely any of the privileges of humanity were conferred on us, excepting freedom, and although there were among us, numbers of well educated and virtuous men, our applications to the colonial legislature, for the redress of the grievances under which we laboured, were treated with contempt...

“In this low grade in the scale of humanity, were we placed, and little prospect appeared, that the legislature would remove us farther from the abject state of our mothers, and nearer to that condition possessed by our fathers, when a new era was opened, from a source which we did not expect... A few years have only elapsed, since this just and philanthropic measure was effected, by the exertions of the late Honourable John Shand... In his humane endeavours, he had to contend against strong and powerful opposition in our own colonial legislature – a faction who did not scruple to impute his motives to a selfish intention, and opposed the measure, without having any regard to the public welfare, on the ground that he himself was the father of a family of coloured children, whom he wished to inherit his large fortune. Whatever may have been his motives, the effect has been beneficial to us, while it has been prejudicial to no one...

“Though it was an act of justice for which we cannot be too thankful, to a liberal mind, it has not gone far enough. It is evident, we are still considered as aliens in the country which gave us birth, and in the only country which we can claim as our own. You will observe, that we cannot be jurymen, magistrates, commissioned officers in the militia, nor members of the assembly or council, nor even in any of the minor local offices... In Britain, and in every country in Europe, we are placed upon an equality with the

whites; and in the former, there is no bar in law, to prevent our becoming judges of the land, generals in the army, or members of parliament . . .

“With regard to the free girls of our complexion, observe how woefully ill treated are they . . . Too few marriages among the coloured population themselves, have as yet been entered into; but this arises, not so much from the girls themselves being of immoral character, as from observing the superior affluence in which their acquaintances move, who live with white gentlemen. As naturally might be expected, they are attracted by this appearance of rank, and by the superior respect which they witness a white man receives, in comparison with the degradation of a brown one. A girl, therefore, observing this, and that the circumstances of living with a white man, conveys no disgrace, nor carries any loss of caste along with it, naturally aspires to rise above her former mode of life, by forming a connexion with a white man. This is the real cause, and if she happens to possess any property, or has any friends to look after her interest, the transaction, to call it by a mild name, sometimes takes place on the man’s promising, or giving a bond for the payment of, a certain specific sum on his marriage, or departure from the island; and in some instances, these bonds are for so very large sums, as effectually to prevent the white man either from marrying, or leaving the island. It is no uncommon circumstance for a father to make these bargains himself . . .

“Fortunately, however, there are fathers, who are of a different stamp. These men send their sons and daughters to Britain for their education, with instructions to remain there during their lives. Possessing the true feelings of men, and of fathers, for their issue, they will not consent to their children being placed in a rank beneath themselves; and feeling horror at the very idea of their daughters living in a state of concubinage, they will never consent to their returning to the island . . .

On 3 November 1832 Edward sold Dorothy – the last of the eight slaves he first registered in St Thomas in the East in 1817 – see Chapter 9.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 789, Fol 138 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 17 Oct 1833 – Deed Poll dated 3 November 1832 – Edward Clouston of St Thomas in the Vale, Esq (1) – to William Rae of Kingston, Esq (2) – summary – for £45 Jamaica currency Edward conveys to William Rae a Negro slave name Dorothy, alias Eliza Thomas – signed, sealed and delivered by Edward – Witness D M Hall

My photo – Jamaica National Gallery – by Koren – 1930



Rev William Clouston's death and Sir Michael Benignus Clare's death were both announced in the Jamaica Royal Gazette on 1 December 1832.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 1 Dec 1832, page PS 19 – Died

Lately at Cairston, in Scotland, the Rev. Mr. Clouston, at a very advanced age. The Inverness Journal says of this aged and faithful Minister of the National Church of Scotland, "When he adverted to his former addresses to their fathers and grandfathers above sixty years ago, he seemed like an ancient Prophet risen from the dead, or an aged Patriarch stationed in the stream of time to warn the ephemeral generations of man as they quickly passed on to the ocean of eternity. Many benevolent institutions will miss his name—many friends will miss his tales of other years—the stranger will miss his hospitable abode, and the poor his liberal charity; he came to his grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in, in his season, and he was followed thither by hundreds of his parishioners, and many of the Gentry and Clergy of the country." He is succeeded in his patrimonial estate by his son Edward Clouston, Esq. of St. Thomas in the Vale, in this island.

Above – Cairston – the Presbytery of Cairston includes the parishes of Stromness and Sandwick

At Cromarty House, N. B [Scotland] on the 19th September last, Sir Michael Benignus Clare, Knight, M.D. for many years a most eminent Medical man in great practice in this island, who, by combining with his professional skill the manners of a polished gentleman and the kind sympathies of a friend, rendered himself cherished in general society, and his presence at the bed of sickness, on all occasions, a balm to the afflicted sufferer; nor was his actual beneficence withheld wherever he found it requisite. He was Knighted by our late King, at the particular request of Louis XVIII for his active and gratuitous services professionally and personally to the French refugees and prisoners here. He was one of the Honourable the Council, and Provincial Grand Master of Free Masons in this Island. His return here had been looked for in this year, but the tidings of his death at the comparatively early age of 55 years, increase the chasm in the long standing and most respectable society of this community, so fatally produced during the last two years. It was idle to doubt general regret at such a privation of acknowledged worth.

Sir M B Clare was survived by his wife Margaret, nee Graham (eldest sister of Francis Graham's widow Jamima Charlotte) and by two illegitimate daughters.

www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/wills.htm – Sir Michael Benignus Clare's Will and Codicil – probate granted 27 December 1832 – Will dated 8 November 1828 and Codicil dated 20 October 1829 – extracts

To my Wife Margaret Clare an annuity of £200 Sterling – over and above Settlement of £5,000 Sterling made on marriage with my wife Margaret, now in the hands of Messrs Davidson, Barkly and Co of Lime Street, London

To Sarah Lee Clare one of my two natural and reputed daughters by Jamima Johnson Lee and who was baptized at Spanish Town by the names of Sarah Lee Clare and who is now aged 18 and is resident at Honfleur, France – an annuity of £100 – To Jamima Lee Clare, the other of my two natural and reputed daughters by Jamima Johnson Lee, who was baptized at Spanish Town by the names Jamima Lee Clare and who is now aged 16 and is resident at Honfleur, France – an annuity of £100

Three years later Sir M B Clare's widow Margaret married Sir Hugh Halkett.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=2Bcg-NQ6YIEC&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *The United Service Magazine* – 1836 – page 572 – Marriages – 1836

July 12th at Cromarty, Lieut-Col Sir Hugh Halkett, C.B., K.C.H., late German Legion, to Margaret, eldest daughter of the late Colonel C. D. Graham, and relict of the late Sir Michael B. Clare.

Sir M B Clare's daughter Sarah died at Wolverhampton in 1837 or early 1838.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=WIVIAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *Gentleman's Magazine, January to June 1838* – Obituary – page 669

Lately. At the Deanery, Wolverhampton, aged 26, Sarah, eldest daughter of the late Sir M. B. Clare, of Jamaica.

On 14 December 1832 the Governor of Jamaica, the Earl of Mulgrave, dissolved the House of Assembly.

www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1845 Jamaica Almanac – History of Jamaica

1832 – 14 December – the House of Assembly dissolved by the Governor. The cause of dissolution originated in a difference of opinion between the Council and Assembly, respecting the originating of a bill by the former “authorizing the Custodes and Vestries to take probates of deeds, and to perform other acts on payment of certain fees.”

In response to the dissolution of the Assembly meetings were held in various parishes. At a meeting in St Thomas in the Vale on 22 December 1832, Edward was first named on a committee appointed to draft Resolutions.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 29 Dec 1832, page PS 22 and 23 – I have put Edward in ‘**bold**’

St Thomas in the Vale, December 22

At the Meeting of the Freeholders and other inhabitants which took place this day, Alexander McInnes was unanimously called to the Chair. He briefly explained the object of the Meeting, and wished that any Gentleman present who had prepared Resolutions, would then propose them.

Mr Parker submitted three, which having been read by the Clerk were handed up to the Chairman. As these Resolutions were not seconded,

Mr Gyles said, that before he presented the Resolutions which he held in his hand, he would take the present opportunity of stating his opinion, as to the conduct of his Excellency, in dissolving the House at such a momentous period as the present. His Excellency, in his Speech says, “In taking the only course which is thus left to me, I do not think it is necessary, upon this occasion to make any comment with respect to the question in dispute.” &c. &c. It would, in my humble opinion, have been better in consulting the interest of the country at large not to have dissolved the House at this particular period; for instead of healing the breach between their Honours of the Council, it will no doubt widen it; for I hope to see the same persons again returned; for our own Members, I believe, there is but one feeling, and I hope the same exists in every parish in the island. It was his Excellency's duty to promote a better understanding between the two branches of the Legislature, instead of which as the head of the whole, he steps forward and makes himself party in the dispute, by deciding in favour of the Council, and dissolving the House. From the Bill itself which caused the rupture, no injury could have resulted – it would only have given a simple Magistrate the power at present exercised by a Judge or an Assistant Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. No complaints had been made by the Judges, the duty was very simple, it was only a low subterfuge by both Governor and Council, and a pretty specimen of the Governor's sincerity, as it is well known that the House would resist the intended innovation. If they had yielded, others would have been palmed upon them. Of this his Excellency is well aware, for he tells the House, “I could not but

foresee, from the tendency of your very first proceedings, that I might at any time find myself obliged to take the disagreeable step this day forced upon me.” This is of itself enough to shew us, that the dissolution was preconcerted; yet, in a subsequent paragraph, his Excellency says, “You must always recollect, that I never originated this discussion – the question is of your own seeking – the provocation was given entirely by you, and with you must its consequences rest.” We all know that the dispute did not originate with the Assembly; every person who reads the paper, knows well that the cause originated by the Council sending down a bill, and consequently I maintain, the origin is with the Council. I shall not dwell any longer on the subject, but would read his Resolutions (and which we regret to say, we could not obtain a copy.) After reading them, he said it was very strange that his Excellency should so soon have forgot his promise of co-operation – it was a manifestation of his Excellency’s petulance. His Excellency’s conduct was like that of a Schoolmaster previous to a Christmas vacation – a treat, and send the scholars home. He concluded by declaring, that the language used by his Excellency, to the House of Assembly, was altogether uncalled for. As to his Excellency’s remark “that the island was not an independent kingdom,” the inhabitants of it knew that fact, as well as his Excellency, but at all events his Excellency had met a set of independent men representing the interests of the island.

“To the enlarged constituency,” “the Elective Franchise.” Were these observations called for. No doubt he hopes to see such men returned to the next Assembly, who may be more subservient, and assist him in his anticipations. The language was, I again say, utterly uncalled for, and calculated to excite dissatisfaction, and I do regret to say, that his Excellency has so shewn the cloven foot.

The Resolutions (four in number, one voting thanks to Henry Lowndes, Esq) were then handed up, and read; after which,

Mr Page said, that the present state of the island required unanimity in its inhabitants, and he hoped that nothing would break in and disturb it. He had prepared a few Resolutions, which, with permission, he would read. The Resolutions of Mr Page were then read; after which, Mr Daly moved that a Committee be appointed to take the whole into consideration, and frame such Resolutions upon them as they might think fit, and report them to the Meeting. The following Gentlemen were then appointed such Committee: – **Edward Clouston**, Richard Kinkead, J Ewart, R Daly, and R H Sharpe, Esqrs.

The Meeting adjourned for half an hour

The Meeting again met, and Mr Clouston from the Committee, reported the Resolution which they submitted for the consideration of the Meeting. – (Vide advertisement)

After the Resolution had been read, Mr Gyles said, that the Meeting was bound to receive the Resolution, and he only regretted that it did not go far enough, nor were the terms sufficiently strong.

Dr Ewart was of the same opinion.

Mr Kinkead – If Mr Gyles think fit he propose another – no, no, from several Gentlemen.

The Resolution was then read and agreed to, after which, Mr McInnes left the chair, and Richard Kinkead, Esq was called thereto.

Mr Roach, the head constable, was called upon to answer why he had not executed a warrant long in his possession against a Parson, who had been preaching to the slaves in the parish in an unlicensed house, and himself not being licensed. Mr Gyles said, that in passing the place some short time back, he found a pamphlet lying about 50 yards from the house, at 50 more another; at 50 more another; at 50 more another, making in all five. He saw the unlicensed Parson, and knew him from the “Cut of his Jib.” Mr Roach said, that he had used every endeavour to execute the warrant, but had been unable to do so, but would as soon as possible.

When the motion was made respecting the publication of the Resolutions of the Meeting, that they be inserted in the Kingston papers, a Gentleman rose and said no, that will include the Watchman; no it will not replied another Gentleman, that is not a daily paper, besides nobody in this parish knows it; it has not been seen here for months past – every copy that has been seen here have been burnt.

Mr Daly – I think we ought to exclude the “Despatch.” I have my reasons why we should not encourage that paper by inserting the Resolution, and if we –

Mr Burton, if a satisfactory reason is shewn, certainly we ought to exclude it from any profits we can. A Gentleman behind the table said, the ostensible Editor is represented as a person who has been favourable to the Council’s attempted innovations. The Resolution was, however, ordered to be inserted in the Dispatch.

The Meeting then broke up – *Chronicle*.

Richard Kinkead

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 22 Dec 1932, page PS 19

| Subscription List, for the purpose of building a Kirk in the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale. | | | | | |
|---|-------|------|------------------|-------|------|
| Edw. Clouston | £.50 | 0 0 | R. D. Clune | £.16 | 0 0 |
| John Ewart | 25 | 0 0 | P. Blackburn | 5 | 6 8 |
| Wm. Allanack | 5 | 6 8 | John Williams | 5 | 6 8 |
| John Munro | 5 | 6 8 | Rev. R. Steer | 5 | 6 8 |
| J. Heighington | 5 | 6 8 | Alex. Gilzean | 25 | 0 0 |
| J. L. Kerr | 1 | 6 8 | Cocking and Daly | 20 | 0 0 |
| D. H. Moncrieffe | 5 | 6 8 | Thomas Clowes | 2 | 13 4 |
| J. N. Bonito | 2 | 13 4 | James Gilzean | 5 | 6 8 |
| William Palmer | 5 | 6 8 | John Davis | 2 | 0 0 |
| W. J. French | 5 | 6 8 | James Milne | 5 | 6 8 |
| T. O. Benwell | 2 | 0 0 | Thomas Hooper | 5 | 6 8 |
| W. H. Clarke | 5 | 6 8 | George Rees | 1 | 0 0 |
| Alexander Kerr | 1 | 6 8 | Robert Baird | 1 | 6 8 |
| James Dunn | 1 | 6 8 | Chas. M'Donald | 5 | 6 8 |
| Charles Gordon | 2 | 0 0 | N.P. Hinshelwood | 5 | 6 8 |
| Alex. Hunter | 10 | 0 0 | P. H. Lally | 2 | 0 0 |
| Alex. Anderson | 1 | 6 8 | John Anderson | 30 | 0 0 |
| T. H. Burgher | 1 | 6 8 | Wm. Duncan | 2 | 0 0 |
| Robert Roach | 2 | 0 0 | Adam Rankine | 10 | 0 0 |
| W. G. Russell | 1 | 6 8 | Edward M'Caw | 10 | 13 4 |
| William Ross | 1 | 6 8 | Francis Gordon | 10 | 13 4 |
| D. M'Kenzie | 1 | 6 8 | Alex M'Innes | 30 | 0 0 |
| | | | G. W. Hamilton | 21 | 6 8 |
| | | | H Lowndes | 16 | 0 0 |
| | £ 141 | 13 4 | | | |
| | | | | 243 | 6 8 |
| | | | | 141 | 13 4 |
| | | | | £.385 | 0 0 |

On the table below, Catechetical schools in St Thomas in the Vale in 1832, Henry Lowndes is given as one of the attorneys of the Earl of Harewood. He did not however register his power of attorney from the Earl until 1839-40 – see Chapter 20.

British Library – Reports of the Incorporated Society for the Conversion & Religious Instruction & Education of the Negro Slaves . . . published 1833 – Report for 1832 – Jamaica – Appendix II – page 6-7 – St Thomas in the Vale – page 6 White rows = properties mentioning Edward

| No. | Properties | Proprietors and Attorneys | Catechists |
|-----|---------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 1 | Shurton [sic] | J. G. Vidal – Joseph Gordon, <i>Att.</i> | |
| 2 | Hyde | Richard Welsh [sic] H. Lowndes and . McLeod, <i>Atts.</i> | |
| 3 | Hoghole | Heirs of Bourdien [sic] E. Clouston and J. Forsyth, <i>Atts.</i> | |
| 4 | Berwick | Sir A. Grant- Joseph Gordon, <i>Att.</i> | |
| 5 | Mount Olive | Major-General Needham A Geddes and C. McKenzie [sic], <i>Atts.</i> | |
| 6 | Williamsfield | The Earl of Harewood Hon. G. Cuthbert and H. Lowndes, <i>Atts.</i> | |
| 7 | Hopewell | Heirs of Harris – R. Page and F. Batty, <i>Atts.</i> | |
| 8 | Glingoff [sic] | S. C. Rennalls – R. H. Sharpe, <i>Att.</i> | |
| 9 | Mount Concord | In Chancery E. Clouston, <i>Att.</i> | |
| 10 | Honker's [sic] Hall | F. Stephens [sic] – E. Clouston, <i>Att.</i> | |
| 11 | Dove Hall | B. Edwards – proprietor resident | |
| 12 | Tulloh [sic] | Major Munro G. W. Hamilton and C. McKenzie [sic], <i>Atts.</i> | |
| 13 | West Prospect | Charles Blair – Alex. McWilliam, <i>Att.</i> | C. Broomfield (slave) |
| 14 | Byndloss | John Dand – Hon. Henry Cox, <i>Att.</i> | |
| 15 | Rose Hall | R.. Lee – E. Clouston, <i>Att.</i> | |
| 16 | New Works | J. Blackburn – Henry Lowndes, <i>Att.</i> | |
| 17 | Wallews [sic] | J. Blackburn – Henry Lowndes, <i>Att.</i> | |
| 18 | Dover Castle | S. Da Silva – Resident | |
| 18 | Enfield | W. Harvey [sic] – E. Clouston, <i>Att.</i> | |
| 20 | Louisana | Heirs of Burnett – Hon B. Maddan, <i>Att.</i> | |
| 21 | Rio Magno | Sir A. Grant – J. Gordon, <i>Att.</i> | |
| 22 | Palno [sic] | M. Gutierrez – G. W. Hamilton, <i>Att.</i> | |
| 23 | Treddways [sic] | J. Dawkins T. J. Bernard and W. G. Stewart, <i>Atts.</i> | |
| 24 | Charlton | Heirs of Inglis – J. M. White, <i>Att.</i> | |
| 25 | River Head | C. Anderson – Resident | |
| 26 | Carew Castle | Henry Pallmer [sic] – William Pallmer [sic], <i>Att.</i> | The Family |
| 27 | Berkshire Hall | J. Hayman – T. Hooper, <i>Att.</i> | |
| 28 | Cottage | Heirs of Lobbau | The Family |
| 29 | Mount Pleasant | Miss Poulton | Miss Poulton |

At Byebrook and New Hall the Overseers had received orders from the Attorneys to

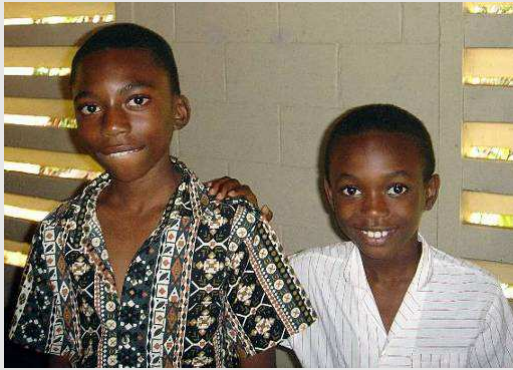
Report for 1832 – Jamaica – Appendix II – page 6-7 – St Thomas in the Vale, continued – page 7

White rows = properties mentioning Edward

| No. | Instructing Book-keepers | Total Population | Number of Males | Number of Females | Total under Instruction | Days of Instruction | School when formed |
|-----|--------------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--|--------------------|
| 1 | Pacifico | 174 | 90 | 84 | 47 | Daily, or rather about four times a week | Apr 1829 |
| 2 | Vacant | 154 | 68 | 86 | 39 | Tuesday and Friday | Sep 1829 |
| 3 | Alexander Kerr | 172 | 84 | 88 | 37 | Tuesday and Friday | Nov 1829 |
| 4 | George Bassett | 151 | 73 | 78 | 34 | Daily | June 1829 |
| 5 | William Hylton | 202 | 97 | 105 | 53 | Tuesday and Friday | May 1829 |
| 6 | Robert Henry | 241 | 114 | 127 | 71 | | May 1829 |
| 7 | J. Robertson | 180 | 83 | 97 | 59 | Tuesday and Friday | July 1829 |
| 8 | J. Guthrie | 136 | 63 | 73 | 39 | Tuesday and Friday | July 1829 |
| 9 | R. White | 114 | 48 | 66 | 35 | Tuesday and Wednesday | July 1829 |
| 10 | J. Gordon | 248 | 129 | 119 | 57 | Tuesday and Friday | Apr 1829 |
| 11 | Vacant | 176 | 83 | 93 | 42 | Tuesday and Friday | Apr 1829 |
| 12 | Edward Hamilton | 382 | 174 | 208 | 74 | Tuesday and Friday | Mar 1829 |
| 13 | | 138 | 64 | 74 | 52 | Daily in the Evening | May 1829 |
| 14 | Vacant | 156 | 86 | 70 | 35 | Tuesday and Friday | Apr 1829 |
| 15 | William Hobbins | 210 | 101 | 109 | 46 | Tuesday and Friday | Apr 1829 |
| 16 | John Ferrier | 296 | 133 | 163 | 61 | Tuesday and Friday | Apr 1829 |
| 17 | A. Mattur | 286 | 125 | 161 | 74 | | Apr 1829 |
| 18 | J. Osborne | 148 | 71 | 77 | 19 | | Nov 1829 |
| 19 | G. McKenzie | 95 | 51 | 44 | 18 | | Nov 1829 |
| 20 | Vacant | 156 | 74 | 62 | 55 | Daily | Nov 1829 |
| 21 | John Fraser | 153 | 80 | 73 | 33 | Tuesday and Friday | Nov 1829 |
| 22 | C. Lowes | 198 | 109 | 89 | 41 | | Apr 1829 |
| 23 | R. Hazard | 238 | 110 | 128 | 42 | Monday, Wednesday, and Friday | Nov 1829 |
| 24 | Vacant | 202 | 102 | 100 | 29 | | May 1829 |
| 25 | C. Gruber | 154 | 81 | 73 | 32 | Two days | Nov 1829 |
| 26 | | 110 | 49 | 61 | 35 | Three days | 1829 |
| 27 | Thomas Evitt | 154 | 74 | 80 | 21 | Four times a week | |
| 28 | | 111 | . . | . . | 111 | Daily | |
| 29 | | 20 | 10 | 10 | 15 | Three times a week | 1831 |
| | | 4135 | 2426 | 2598 | 1300 | | |

commence instruction under Bookkeepers, but it had not begun when I [? Rural Dean] was in the Vale

My photos, March 2007 – St Thomas in the Vale – after the service at St Mark's Anglican Church at Ham Walk in the neighbourhood of what was once Rio Magno Pen – (see above No. 21 Rio Magno)



George Cuthbert and George William Hamilton's accounts, below, for Williamsfield dated 31 December 1832, appear to be the only surviving account giving details of Williamsfield expenditure.

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/adv_search/ – Lascelles West Indies – movinghere.org.uk – Geo Cuthbert & Geo Wm Hamilton Attornies in Jamaica – accounts dated 31 Decr 1832, Williamsfield Estate

Sundries D^{rs} Geo Cuthbert & Geo Wm Hamilton Attornies in Jamaica
accounts by them rendered dated 31 Decr 1832
Williamsfield Estate

| | | | | |
|--|--------------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| <i>allowances to Negroes</i> | <i>£</i> | <i>12</i> | <i>18</i> | <i>4</i> |
| <i>Butcher's Meat</i> | <i>60</i> | <i>5</i> | <i>10</i> | |
| <i>Cooperage</i> | <i>10</i> | | | |
| <i>Christmas Cheer</i> | <i>16</i> | | | |
| <i>Cattle purchased 10 Steers <i>£</i>136</i> | <i>406</i> | | | |
| <i>12 Mules <i>£</i>360</i> | <i>68</i> | | | |
| <i>Carpenter's labour & materials</i> | <i>16</i> | <i>4</i> | <i>6</i> | |
| <i>Cartage & Haulage</i> | <i>90</i> | <i>13</i> | <i>6</i> | |
| <i>Duties paid</i> | <i>312</i> | <i>14</i> | <i>4</i> | |
| <i>Field labour hired</i> | <i>92</i> | <i>12</i> | <i>8</i> | |
| <i>Fish</i> | <i>649</i> | <i>6</i> | <i>7</i> | |
| <i>Lumber</i> | <i>119</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>8</i> | |
| <i>Medical attendance & Medicines</i> | <i>31</i> | <i>17</i> | <i>2</i> | |
| <i>Hospital Fees</i> | <i>40</i> | <i>7</i> | <i>6</i> | |
| <i>Plumbers work</i> | <i>220</i> | <i>14</i> | <i>4</i> | |
| <i>Supplies - Oil Nails Pitch & Tar</i> | <i>84</i> | <i>6</i> | <i>1</i> | |
| <i>Taxes</i> | <i>370</i> | | <i>8</i> | |
| <i>Cooperage</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>13</i> | <i>10</i> | |
| <i>Salaries</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>13</i> | <i>4</i> | |
| <i>Workhouse Fees</i> | | | | |
| <i>Recording crop & returns</i> | | | | |
| <i>Gratuities to mothers</i> | | | | |
| <i>Attornies Commission 6 per cent <i>£</i>8835 6.2 value of 202 Hds Sugar</i> | <i>530</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>4</i> | |
| <i>449 Hds Rum shipped to London & 14 Hds Sugar 2 Hds Rum sold in the Island</i> | | | | |
| <i>Postages Stamps & Printed Forms</i> | <i>14</i> | <i>13</i> | <i>4</i> | |
| <i>Balance of Interest</i> | <i>56</i> | <i>4</i> | <i>4</i> | |
| <i>Carried over</i> | <i>£3511</i> | <i>10</i> | <i>11</i> | |

Accounts – 31 Decr 1832 – Williamsfield Estate – continued below

Brought over ————— £3511. 10. 11
 deduct
 Proceeds of Sugar & Rum disposed
 of in the Island — £590. 3. 5
 Received for 6 months hire
 of a Nurse ————— 0.
 Sugar & Rum sold in Kingston
 Net Proceeds ————— 254. 11. 4
 The ad of Old Cattle sold — 56.
 Received for hire of a Carpenter — 17. 17. 10
 944. 12. 7
 £2566. 10. 4
 Exchange 140 p Cent Sterling £1033. 10. 3

My photos, March 2007 – Williamsfield





Williamsfield crop account for 1832 includes – To the hire of Ann Balfour (Bessy’s eldest daughter) for one year @ £16

My photo – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 73, Fol 164 – Williamsfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – crop account for year 1832 – entered Island Secretary’s Office 22 Mar 1833 – sworn on 12March 1833 by William Allanach before R V Perry Ogilvie

| How disposed of | Sugar | | | Rums | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|------|----|------|------|----|
| | Shs | Tons | lb | Shs | Tons | lb |
| Shipped on Board the Planet | 40 | " | " | 15 | " | " |
| " " " Kingston | 20 | " | " | " | " | " |
| " " " Tulloch Castle | 40 | " | " | 20 | " | " |
| " " " Duke of Bronte | 30 | " | " | " | " | " |
| " " " Standard | 20 | " | " | " | " | " |
| " " " Henry Davidson | 30 | " | " | 4 | " | " |
| " " " Velocity | " | " | " | 10 | " | " |
| " " " Demerara | 22 | " | " | " | " | " |
| Sold in Kingston | 14 | " | " | 21 | " | " |
| " " " Spanish Town | " | " | " | 20 | " | " |

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|-----|---|------|----|------|
| " | George W Hamilton Esq ^r | " | 1 | " | " | " |
| " | Healthfull Plantation | " | 1 | " | " | " |
| " | The Branks Gas built best | " | " | 470 | " | " |
| " | Robert Page Esq ^r | " | " | 700 | " | 175 |
| " | Platfield Plantation | " | " | " | " | 226 |
| " | Hopewell | " | " | " | " | 120 |
| " | Rich ^d Daly Esq ^r | " | " | " | " | 130 |
| " | Peter Blackburn Esq ^r | " | " | " | " | 116 |
| " | Robert Henry | " | " | " | " | 115 |
| " | Mr Stemberry | " | " | " | " | 60 |
| " | Hill side plantation | " | " | " | " | 78 |
| " | Mr Lobbin | " | " | " | " | 40 |
| " | On Stand | " | " | 2 | " | " |
| Total produce | | 216 | 2 | 1770 | 92 | 1060 |

| | | | |
|---|----|----|----|
| → To the hire of Ann Balfour for one year @ £16 | £ | 1 | 6 |
| Sold Nighlingale Grove Estate 7 head old cattle @ £8 | 56 | " | " |
| To labour of 36 Trades men making stone head for said Estate at 4/2 per day | 7 | 10 | " |
| Sold Platfield a new p.m | 2 | " | " |
| | £ | 81 | 10 |

I amued M^r William Allanaach do swear that the above is a just and true account of all the Rent Issues Profits Proceeds and Produce of Williamsfield Estate for the year ending December 31st One thousand eight hundred and thirty two excepting what has been used in Crop and reserved for the use of the Estate of the best of my knowledge and belief
So help me God.

Given before me this twelfth
day of March 1833

William Allanaach

A. V. Perry Esq^r.
Clerk of the Court & M^r & M^r & M^r

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 Harewood – Nelson & Adam, London, 30 April 1833 – Crop 1832 – Williamsfield

Williamsfield Estate
Proceeds of 202 Hhds of Sugar - 2723.17.8
The Number of
Regons on this Estate 49 - Sum of Rum - 442.11.8
Spent dated 31 Dec 1831 in
deduct
240
Insurances £107.11.11 Stores £639.12.7
Commission Postage & Stamps £34.3.7
781-8-1

£2385-1-3

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/adv_search/ – Lascelles West Indies – movinghere.org.uk – Account Book – Abstract of the Income and Expenditure for Williamsfield & Nightingale Grove Plantations – Nelson & Adam, London, 30 April 1833 – Crop 1832 – Williamsfield

| | | | |
|--|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| Proceeds of 202 Hhds of Sugar & 49 Puns of Rum - | 3166 - 9 - 4 | | |
| Deduct | | | |
| Insurance £107- 11 - 11 Stores £639 - 12 - 7 | | | |
| Commission Postage & Stamps £34 - 3 - 7 ----- | 781- 8 - 1 | 2385 - 1 - 3 | |
| Pr Accounts of Geo Cuthbert & G W Hamilton dated | 31 Decr 1832 | | |
| Amount of this years Expenses ----- | ----- | 1833 - 10 - 3 | 551 - 11 - 0 |

Below – 1832 crop accounts for properties represented solely or in part by Edward.

Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts – 1832

Lib 73, Fol 92 – Coolshade Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 21 March 1833 by Edward Clouston, as Attorney to the heirs of James Seton Lane, before Samuel Rennalls

Lib 73, Fol 94 – Enfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – see below

Lib 73, Fol 99 – Golden River Plantation, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 15 March 1833 by Francis Gordon, Overseer, before Charles Satchell

Lib 73, Fol 102 – Harkers Hall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 11 March 1833 by Robert Laidlaw Moncrieff before Charles Macglashan

Lib 73, Fol 103 – Hog Hole Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 19 February 1833 by William H (Holloway) Clarke, Overseer, before Samuel Rennalls

Lib 73, Fol 112 – Mount Olive Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, and Crescent Pen, St Catherine – see below

Lib 73, Fol 115 – Pleasant Farm and Ivy Pens, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 25 January 1833 by Horatio Lewis, Overseer, before William Reeves

Lib 73, Fol 118 – Rose Hall Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – sworn on 7 March 1833 by Thomas Mann, Overseer, before Richard Kinkead

Lime Tree Garden Pen, St Catherine, not noted

My photo – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 73, Fol 94 – Enfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – crop account for year 1832 – sworn on 2 March 1833 by Robert Evans, Overseer, before Richard Kinkead – includes – To E Clouston for Sundries – 1259 lbs Sugar

| | Sugar | | Rum | |
|--|-------|-----------|-----|------|
| | lbs | lbs | Prs | Gall |
| Shipped to London by Ship Samson Taylor | 30 | " | " | " |
| " " " " Duke Brooks | 20 | " | " | " |
| " " " " pr Brig Velocity | " | " | 10 | " |
| " " " " pr Brigue Thales | 14 | " | " | " |
| " " " " pr Brigue boxes | 4 | " | " | " |
| " " " " sent to Kingston to be sold by Miller Baker & Tyndal | 29½ | " | 14 | " |
| " " " " J. Haszard & Co | 14 | " | " | " |
| " " " " Robert Taylor | " | " | 2 | " |
| " " " " to Spanish Town by Sanguinetta & Bros | " | " | 10 | " |
| " " " " by Asher Asher | 2 | " | " | " |
| " " " " On the Estate | " | " | 4 | " |
| " " " " Sold to Richmond Hill | " | 800 | " | 40 |
| " " " " Spring Farm | " | 450 | 1 | " |
| " " " " Pleasant Farm | " | 300 | " | 64 |
| → " " " " To E Clouston for Sundries | " | 1259 | " | " |
| " " " " John Aris | " | 400 | 2 | " |
| " " " " Robert Evans | " | 200 | 2 | " |
| " " " " Chapman | " | 100 | " | " |
| " " " " John McGregor | " | 50 | " | 40 |
| " " " " M. F. Guy | " | 150 | " | " |
| Total | | 113½ 3709 | 45 | 144 |
| Charley Mount Pen for 10 Old Cattle @ \$8 | | \$80. | | |
| pr head exchanged for 5 young ones | | " " | | |

Berkshire Hall Est for the first of ^{a. r. p.} 20. 0. 8
 bare land & 20% per acre per annum

| | | |
|-------|----|---|
| 20. | 1 | . |
| £100. | 1. | " |

Scimouca St.
 St Tho^s in the Vale & J. Robert Evans Overseer of Infields
 Estate in the Parish of St Tho^s in the Vale do swear that
 the above is a just and true account of all the Profit Profit
 and Proceeds of the said Estate from 1st Jan'y to 31st Dec^r
 1832 except what was necessarily used upon the said Estate
 and taken to fill up to the best of my knowledge & Belief To
 help me God -
 Sworn before me this 2nd
 day of March 1833. R. Hindhead.
 G. H. H. H. H. H.

Robert Evans

My photo, March 2007 – Mount Olive – looking southwest



Mount Olive and Crescent pen crop account for 1832, below, includes – Goshen Pen for 9 head of Stock Sold.

My photos, March 2007 – near Goshen in St Ann



My photos - Jamaica Archives - Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 73, Fol 112 - Mount Olive Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, and Crescent Pen, St Catherine - crop account for year 1832 - sworn on 19 February 1833 by John Munro, Overseer of Mount Olive and Crescent, before H D Mackay

| How disposed of. | Sugar | | | | Rum | |
|--|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | Ethiops | Tons | Bbls | lbs | Pms | Galls |
| Shipped for Plant Bunkly for London | 10 | . | . | . | 5 | . |
| Fullock Castle Bagg | 38 | 13 | 1 | . | 18 | . |
| Guardian Forest | 20 | 11 | . | . | . | . |
| Henry Davidson Williams | 39 | 20 | . | . | 20 | . |
| Demmond Forest | 4 | . | . | . | . | . |
| Sold in Kingston to Messrs Bates and Cockburn | 10 | . | . | . | . | . |
| Spanish Town to Messrs Tacey Marsden | . | . | . | . | 11 | . |
| J R McKenzie Long Port Henderson | . | . | . | . | 4 | . |
| Rose Hill plantation | . | . | 1 | . | 1 | . |
| Alexander Gilean | . | . | . | . | 1 | . |
| William Thew | . | . | . | . | . | 40 |
| John Munro | . | . | . | 50 | . | 40 |
| Total | 124 | 44 | 2 | 50 | 60 | 80 |
| Rose Hill Estate for Hagganaga from Crescent Pen to Port Henderson | | | | | 161 | 17 3 |
| Emfield Estate for ditto | | | | | 30 | . |
| Hog Hole Estate for ditto | | | | | 4 | . |

| | | | |
|---|----|----|----|
| Coolshade Plantation for ditto | 15 | 18 | 4 |
| Twickenham Park for ditto | 8 | . | . |
| Rest Pen for Fellows got out of Crescent Pen 145 c 1/8 | 3 | 15 | . |
| The Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale for work performed on public roads | 46 | 11 | 10 |

| | | | |
|--|----|-----|-----|
| Goshen Pm for 9 head of Stock sold | 72 | . | . |
| James Thompson for 5 head fat cattle sold | 72 | " | . |
| Mo-Pike for one fat Steer sold him | 15 | . | . |
| Wife of Jeph Thompson to the 15 June a £26 p am ^t | 11 | 7 | 11 |
| | £ | 441 | 0 4 |

Jamaica St & I John Munro owner of Mount Olive Estate
 St George Vale & Crescent Pm in the Island and Parishes aforesaid
 do swear that above is a just and true account of all the Rent Profit
 Produce and Proceeds of said Estate and Parc under my care between
 the first day of January and the thirty first day of December 1832 So
 help me God - John Munro
 Sworn before me this 19th
 day of February 1833 A.D. Mackay.

My photo, September 2008 – Mount Olive – looking southwest



In Britain on 3 December 1832 Parliament was dissolved. The following General Election (December 1832/January 1833) was the first General Election to be held after the Reform Bill received Royal Assent on 4 June 1832.

www.bl.uk/learning/histcitizen/21cc/struggle/chartists1/historicalsources/source2/reformact.html – The 1832 Reform Act – extract

Until the 1830s, Britain's elections were neither representative nor balanced. A range of factors determined whether you were eligible to vote, including whether you lived in a county or a borough and whether your area was eligible to send an MP to Parliament at all.

In a few places all men could vote, but in the vast majority of locations it depended on whether you owned property or paid certain taxes. Some boroughs, such as those in the rapidly growing industrial towns of Birmingham and Manchester, had no MPs to represent them at all. At the same time, there were notorious 'rotten' boroughs, such as Old Sarum at Salisbury, which had two MPs but only seven voters. There were also 'pocket' boroughs – those owned by major landowners who chose their own MP. Moreover, with no secret ballot, voters were easily bribed or intimidated.

... The Prime Minister at the time, the Duke of Wellington, remained defiantly against reform, but he was forced out of office. King William IV asked the Whig, Earl Grey, to form an administration and he used his position to pursue reform of the electoral system. The path of the resulting reforming Bill through Parliament was extremely tough and its being finally passed on 4th June 1832 was only as a result of widespread public unrest and the resignation of Earl Grey.

In its final form the Reform Act of 1832 increased the electorate from around 366,000 to 650,000, which was about 18 per cent of the total adult-male population in England and Wales. The vast majority of the working classes, as well as women, were still excluded from voting and the Act failed to introduce a secret ballot. The working classes felt betrayed by an act which made no real difference to their lives. However, the reform of Parliament had begun ...

George Stephen in his letters to Harriet Beecher Stowe described the Agency Committee's Antislavery canvassing 'in preparation for the Reform Bill', and canvassing before the December 1832/ January 1833 General Election.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=YL_o_0Hnc0wC&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Antislavery

Recollections: in a Series of Letters addressed to Mrs Beecher Stowe, written by Sir George Stephen at her request, published 1854 – page 161-169 – extracts

... The old Antislavery committee had greatly erred in two particulars; they had relied too much on the influence of political rank and party strength, and they had limited their hope of popular support to a religious few detached from the people, and not only detached, but distrusted. They made no efforts to gain over the "respectable" as distinguished from the "pious" ...

To correct these errors before the first reformed election, was the work to which the 1,200 affiliated societies were immediately called. The agency lecturers paved the way; they placed the question in its proper light, throwing aside all party and political hyper-religious feeling alike, and reducing the controversy to the simple point, that the state of slavery was criminal before God. This was enough; once satisfied on this head, "respectability" began to move, and the affiliated societies led by metropolitan direction, guided the movement.

The first point, of course, was to discover and "incense" as I believe you call it, all the new electors created by the Reform Bill ... It was a great advantage to begin early with new men; to point out to them a noble exercise of their newly acquired privileges; the affiliated societies made it their duty, in many instances, perhaps in all, to appoint visiting committees, who personally went round among the electors, preaching to them from West Indian and Mauritius texts, and thus securing their promise, that they would vote for no candidate who would not, in his turn, promise to vote for immediate emancipation. This was the work of the autumn 1831.

This Antislavery canvassing was commenced in preparation for the Reform Bill, and continued after its enactment, and even while it was still in jeopardy; and it was materially assisted by the revolutionary tone then adopted by the daily press, especially by the "Times;" for if the press began to teach people to think

of their political rights, it also taught all the respectable portion to think of the political duties; the affiliated societies were prompt to suggest emancipation as the first of political duties, and when the condition of slavery was explained by neighbours whom they knew to be trustworthy, the voters were not slow in appreciating the duty: more especially when they found it urged upon them apart from all party motives, and simply as a matter of conscience arising from the second commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

So quietly was this canvassing carried on, that it was not till the dissolution of Parliament on the passing of the Reform bill, that the effect of it became visible; even the old committee were but partially acquainted with the progress made, nor at first very well pleased with the ultra-liberal tone of the new policy; but as soon as candidates began to open their canvass, they were met in every quarter with a demand for Antislavery pledges. This unexpected stipulation provoked much angry discussion on the right of electors to bind their representatives hand and foot . . . but it mattered not; candidates were abundant; if one man would not pledge himself, another would. The Agency committee cared for no qualification but the pledge, and the affiliated societies would exert themselves for nobody but the Agency committee. More than 3,000 letters were addressed to the committee in that year upon the subject.

The incessant labour of their correspondence on electioneering tactics, compelled the committee to adopt a novel plan; they took a leaf out of the Reform Act, and published schedules in the daily papers of all eligible, ineligible, and doubtful candidates. This was taking the bull by the horns, and it must be acknowledged that the measure led them into some unpleasant scrapes, for, with all the care that could be taken in previous inquiry, some names were inserted in a wrong schedule . . . The labour and the anxiety were indeed great, but so also was the fruit. There was scarcely a contested election throughout the country in which the result did not virtually turn on the proslavery or antislavery promises of the candidate, and the Antislavery interest gained the day . . . It would have cheered your heart to see how every wall was covered with huge placards avowing Antislavery faith . . . The eternal "Am I not a man and a brother?" met the eye at every corner; cartwhips, chains, and the negro, seemed stereotyped on every board, and some of our party, among whom Mr Crisp was conspicuous, were engaged night and day in devising electioneering squibs and doggerel rhymes to dispatch to the country, in aid of the provincial wit. Schoolboy phrases always convey our ideas most accurately. I look back to those days as affording some of the "finest fun" that I ever enjoyed. The result of the whole was, that an Antislavery House was for the first time returned by an Antislavery public.

I am far from saying that, under any circumstances, such a result would have been partially obtained . . . The Agency committee did not of itself accomplish the work, but they accelerated its accomplishment by at least one generation.

Captain Charles Hamlyn Williams, RN declined being a candidate in the December 1832/January 1833 General Election because the conditions he was asked to engage in differed from his own view.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 1 Sep 1832, page PS 22

The following Address from Capt Williams, late of the Racehorse, formerly on this station, is highly honourable to him as a man and British Officer: –

To the Independent Electors of the Borough of Carmarthen. London July 12, 1832.

Gentlemen,

Having lately declined the honour of being a Candidate to represent the Borough at the ensuing election – my reasons for not accepting your kind offers to return me are – that the conditions you wished me to engage in "to support *in toto* Mr Buxton's principles on the Slave Trade," differ from my view of that subject. When I sailed, the autumn before last, for the West-Indies, I was a very great Anti-Slaver; and during 18 months that I was on that station, I had an opportunity of visiting most all our islands, and I particularly inquired into the condition of the slaves. I returned convinced they are much better off than any of the labouring classes of this country. Every slave has now one day in each week to himself, besides Sunday, and the labour they have to perform during the other five is not greater than the working classes here. – The slaves are clothed, and, besides the provisions they are furnished with, each family has a hut and garden, belonging to the proprietor, on which they can raise a sufficient quantity of vegetables, fruit, pigs, and poultry for themselves, and also are enabled to supply the markets; and from this sale all industrious persons afford themselves many luxuries; and they have balls and fetes, in which they go to a

great expense, particularly in their dresses; and I am so convinced of the want of hardship of their situation, that as the term *Slave* is uncongenial to British sentiments, we have only to alter the name into that of *Labourer*, and then consider slavery abolished – modifying the manumission by term instead of life, and establishing a maximum of valuation.

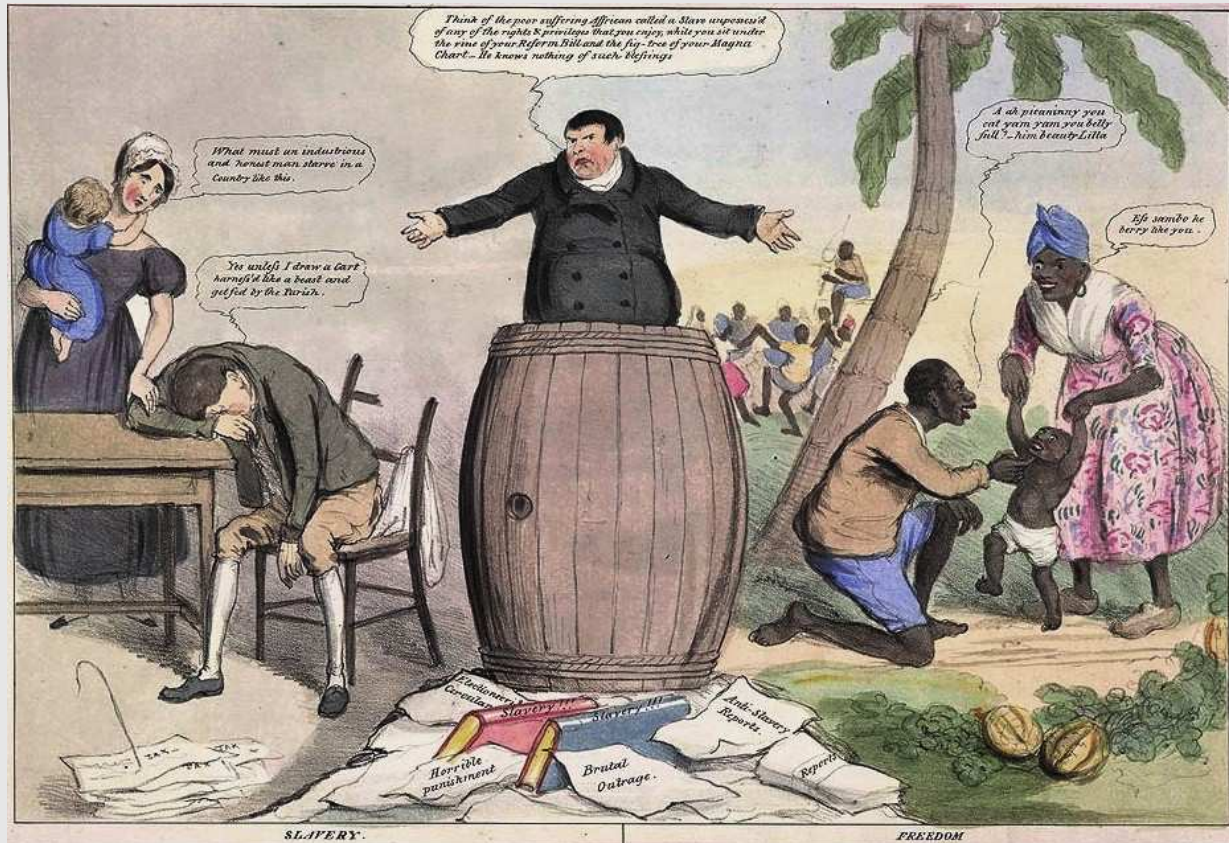
I will not take up your time by entering into the interests of the proprietors, or the effects that total abolition will have in destroying their property, also of taking away the slaves' homes, which would be the consequence to them, as they all belong to the Planters; and were all these persons rendered houseless, what would be the effect? In my opinion a complete uncontrolled abolition would be the greatest possible injustice to the slave themselves; as when the authority would be removed that now restrict them, they would become lawless, dissolute, immoral, and profligate, in consequence of the circumstances of their position, as in no instance is a black population kept under restraint but by coercive authority; and to instance an example, I can with confidence affirm, that the black population of our West-Indies are much better off, and are subject to less tyranny than the inhabitants of St Domingo. It would be troubling you too much to enter into the effects that an unconsidered abolition would have in destroying property, and the consequent failure of every interest in the Mother-Country, particularly in the revenue, as a *return* home; the loss of exports to our manufactories which now send out a large supply; the quantity of shipping and sailors thrown out of employ; the impossibilities of keeping engagements, and many other disadvantages which I feel I should intrude too much on your time to enumerate.

From what I have stated, Gentlemen, it would have been inconsistent in me to have accepted your kind offer of support for the Borough of Carmarthen; and although I would not endeavour to influence your opinions, I feel confident that you could give me credit for placing the subject, which should be the condition of my return to Parliament, in the light which, the opportunity I had of witnessing, *makes it appear to me*.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your very faithful servant,

Charles Hamlyn Williams.

<https://eng166fall2015.wordpress.com/2015/09/02/literature-of-abolition/> – McLean's *Monthly sheet of caricatures*, no. 32, published 1832 – caption – Slavery – Freedom



In *Tom Cringle's Log* the character Aaron Bang (George William Hamilton), referring to slavery in the British West Indies, rails against the notion that 'the English gentleman, who shall be virtuous and beneficent, and just in all ways, *before he leaves home*, and *after he returns home*, shall, during his temporary sojourn within its influence, become a very Nero for cruelty'.

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=AJULAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *Tom Cringle's Log*, by an anonymous author (Michael Scott), published 1834 (first published as a book in 1833) – page 375-376 – and 386 – extracts

... Aaron waxed warm as he proceeded – “Why will not Englishmen lend a hand to put down the slave-trade amongst our opponents in sugar growing, before they so recklessly endeavour to crush slavery in our own worn-out colonies, utterly regardless of our rights and lives? Mind, Tom, I don't defend slavery, I sincerely wish we could do without it, but am I to be the only one to pay the piper in compassing its extinction? If, however, it really *be* that upas-tree, under whose baleful shade every kindly feeling in the human bosom, whether of master or servant, wither and dies, I ask, who planted it? If it possess the magical, and incredible, and most pestilential quality, that the English gentleman, who shall be virtuous and beneficent, and just in all ways, *before he leaves home*, and *after he returns home*, shall, during his temporary sojourn within its influence, become a very Nero for cruelty, and have his warm heart of flesh smuggled out of his bosom, by some *hocus pocus*, utterly unintelligible to any unprejudiced rational being, or indurated into flint of the *nether* millstone, or frozen into a lump of ice”

... continued Aaron; “if all this was so, I would again ask, who planted it” – say not that *we* did it – I am a planter, but I did not plant slavery. I found it growing and flourishing, and fostered by the Government, and made my home among the branches like a respectable *corbie* *craw*, or a pelican in a wild- duck's nest, with all my pretty little tender black *branchers* hopping about me, along with numberless other unfortunates, and now find that the tree is being uprooted by the very hands that planted and nourished it, and seduced me to live in it and all”

“Our Government shall quarrel about a sixpence here or sixpence there of discriminative duty in a foreign port, while they have clapped a knife to our throats, and a flaming faggot to our houses, by absurd edicts and fanatical intermeddling with our own colonies, where the slave-trade has notoriously, and to their own conviction, entirely ceased; while, I say again, they will not put out their little finger to prevent, nay, they calmly look on, and permit a traffic utterly repugnant to all the best feelings of our nature, and baneful to an incalculable degree to our own West Indian possessions; provided, forsooth, the slaves be stolen within certain limits, which, as no one can prove, naturally leads to this infernal contraband ...”

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/> – *Scottish National Portrait Gallery* – by Augustin Edouart – Michael Scott (1789-1835), author of *Tom Cringle's Log*



CHAPTER 20

1833

Edward attorney to Major General William Nedham and Aeneas Barkly — conveyance of a slave to Edward — Edward's letters to Davison, Newman & Co — Edward a Churchwarden for St Thomas in the Vale — Eliza sells her slave William — Edward gives notice of his intention of leaving Jamaica — Edward conveys four of his slaves to Eliza — Edward sails from Jamaica for New York — William Rhodes James' *Journal* — Government's proposals for the Abolition of Slavery — Earl of Harewood's speeches — Edward's Jamaica attorneys — Eliza purchases her son William Burrowes — Edward's Jamaica attorneys sell Orkneys — Jamaica Governor's Assent to Slavery Abolition Bill — Crop Accounts for Edward, and Williamsfield and Mount Olive

On 1 January 1833 Edward and Colin Mackenzie as attorneys to Major General William Nedham and Aeneas Barkly (partner in the firm Davidson, Barkly & Co, London West India merchants) conveyed a slave belonging to Mount Olive to Alexander Gilzean.

Note – Major General William Nedham, before he made his Will in 1822, mortgaged Mount Olive to Henry Davidson (died 1827), then the senior partner of Davidson, Barkly & Co.

See – www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/wills.htm – Major General William Nedham's Will – probate granted 4 March 1844 – Will dated 15 July 1822, and Codicil dated 26 December 1822.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 784, Fol 8 – Entered Island Secretary's Office 13 Mar 1833 – Deed Poll dated 1 January 1833 – William Nedham of Bath, England, Esq and Aeneas Barkly of the City of London, Merchant by their Attorneys in Jamaica Colin Mackenzie and Edward Clouston, Esqs (1) – to Alexander Gilzean (2) – summary

William Nedham is seized or otherwise well entitled to Mount Olive Plantation or Estate with the several negro and other Slaves thereon and thereunto belonging and Aeneas Barkly who has survived his late Partner Henry Davidson of the City of London Merchant deceased, is entitled to a debt secured to him and his late Partner by way of mortgage on Mount Olive and Slaves

For £86 Jamaica currency – Colin Mackenzie and Edward Clouston convey to Alexander Gilzean – Negro Slave named Sam Beckford belonging to Mount Olive Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – signed, sealed and delivered by C Mackenzie and E Clouston – Witness Colin Graham

26 January 1833 – Colin Graham made oath before Samuel Rennalls that he had seen C Mackenzie and E Clouston sign, seal and deliver the Deed Poll

13 March 1833 – Edward Clouston of St Catherine (sic) made oath before Samuel Rennalls that the Deed Poll contained 4 legal sheets and eighty one words

*William Nedham & Aeneas Barkly
to
Alexander Gilzean
13 March 1833*

Jamaica Is To all to whom these presents shall come William Nedham of the City and Bath in England Esquire and Aeneas Barkly of the City of London in England aforesaid Merchant by Colin Mackenzie and Edward Clouston both of the said Island of Jamaica Esquires their true and lawful attorneys in this Island for this purpose specially constituted and appointed send greeting Whereas the said William Nedham is seized or otherwise well entitled to a certain Plantation or Estate in the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale in the said Island called Mount Olive with the several negro and other Slaves thereon and thereunto belonging And the said Aeneas Barkly who hath survived his late Partner Henry Davidson of the said City of London Merchant deceased is entitled to a debt or sum of money secured to him and his said late Partner by way of

mortgage on the said plantation and slaves And whereas the said William Nedham and Oneas Barclay by their said attornies have Contracted and agreed with Alexander Gilzean of the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale in the said Island Gentlemen for the absolute sale and conveyance to him of the Negro Slave hereafter named, being one of the Slaves belonging or attached to the said plantation called Mount Olive) & Now therefore, Know all Men that the said William Nedham and Oneas Barclay by their attornies aforesaid for and in Consideration of the Sum of Eighty six pounds Currency to them the said William Nedham and Oneas Barclay by their said attornies in hand well and truly paid by the said Alexander Gilzean the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged Have and each of them

hath according to their several and respective Estates rights and Interests in the Premises granted bargained sold aliened released conveyed and confirmed And by these Presents do and each of them doth grant bargain sell alien release convey and confirm unto the said Alexander Gilzean his heirs and assigns A Certain Negro Slave named Sam Beechford being one of the Slaves belonging to the said plantation called Mount Olive aforesaid And the Reversions and Reversions unclaimed and remainders yearly and other rents issues and profits of the said Slave and all the Estate right title interest use trust possession property benefit claim and demand whatsoever of them the said William Nedham and Oneas Barclay and each of them respectively into or out of the said Slave To have and To hold the said Slave named Sam Beechford and other the Premises hereby granted and released or mentioned or intended to be unto and to the only proper use and behoof of the said Alexander Gilzean his heirs and assigns forever and to and for no other use intent or purpose whatsoever In witness whereof the said William Nedham and Oneas Barclay have hereunto set their hands and seals by their said attornies this first day of January one thousand eight hundred and thirty three

Wm Nedham
by Colin MacKenzie his attornies

O Oneas Barclay
by Colin MacKenzie his attornies

Wm Nedham
by Edw Clouston his attornies

O Oneas Barclay
by E Clouston his attornies

signed sealed and delivered by the within named Colin MacKenzie and Edward Clouston
 as the attornies and in the names and as and for the respective acts and deeds of the within
 also named William Needham and Rneas Parckly in the presence of C Graham
 Received on the day of the date of the within written deed poll of and from the within named
 Alexander Gilzean the sum of Eighty six pounds Currency being the Consideration money
 within mentioned to be by him paid to me unto us. Colin MacKenzie

Witness C Graham

Memorandum this 26 day of January 1833 personally appeared before me Colin Graham
 the subscribing witness to the execution of the within written deed poll and made oath that he
 was present and saw the within named Colin MacKenzie and Edward Clouston as the attornies
 and in the names and as and for the acts and deeds of the within also named William Needham
 and Rneas Parckly sign and seal and as and for their several and respective acts and deeds
 deliver the same for the purposes therein mentioned Saml Rennalls 26 Janey 1833

Edward Clouston of the Parish of St Catherine made oath and saith that he hath counted
 the words and figures contained in the within deed poll and endorsements thereon & that the
 same amount to four legal sheets and eighty one words to the best of his belief.

Sworn before me this 13 of March 1833. Saml Rennalls
 Esq. J.P. W.D.

Alexander Gilzean was acting as a middle man for Edward. On the following day, 2 January 1833, he conveyed Sam Beckford to Edward.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 784, Fol 8 – Entered Island
 Secretary's Office 13 Mar 1833 – Deed Poll dated 2 January 1833 – Alexander Gilzean of St Thomas
 in the Vale, Gent (1) – to Edward Clouston of St Thomas in the Vale, Esq (2) – summary

For £86 Jamaica currency – Alexander Gilzean conveys to Edward Clouston – Negro Slave named Sam
 Beckford lately belonging to Mount Olive Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – signed, sealed and delivered by
 Alexander Gilzean – Witness Colin Graham

26 January 1833 – Colin Graham made oath before Samuel Rennalls that he had seen Alexander Gilzean
 sign, seal and deliver the Deed Poll

(Day blank) January 1833 – Edward Clouston of St Catherine (sic) made oath before Samuel Rennalls
 that the Deed Poll contained 2 legal sheets and 47 words

an Alex^r
to
lorn Edw^d
Have
March 1833

Jamaica 11 I know all Men by these Presents that Alexander Gilzean
of the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale in the said Island Gentelman in and in
consideration of the sum of Eighty six pounds Currency to him in hand received
truly paid by Edward Clouston of the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale in the said
Island Esquire the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged hath granted bargain
ed sold aliened released conveyed and confirmed and by these presents doth
grant bargain sell alien release convey and confirm unto the said Edward
Clouston his heirs and assigns a certain Negro Slave named Sam Bredford lately belonging to
Mount Olive Estate in the said Parish of St Thomas in the Vale And all the Estate right title
interest property possession benefit claim and demand whatsoever of him the said Alexander Gilzean
of interest of the said Slave To have and To hold the said Slave named Sam Bredford
hereby granted and conveyed as expressed or intended to be unto and to the only proper use and
benefit of the said Edward Clouston his heirs and assigns for ever And to and for no other use
intent or purpose whatsoever In witness whereof the said Alexander Gilzean hath hereunto set his
hand and seal this second day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and
thirty three

Alex^r Gilzean

Sealed and delivered in the Presence of Graham

Received on the day of the date of the within written deed poll of and from the within named Edward
Clouston the sum of Eighty six pounds Currency being the Consideration money within mentioned to be
by him paid to me

Alex^r Gilzean

Witness Graham

Memorandum this 26 day of January 1833 personally appeared before me John Pennells the
subscribing Witness to the execution of the within written deed poll and made oath that he was present
and saw the within named Alexander Gilzean duly sign and seal and as and for his act and
deed deliver the same deed poll for the Purpose herein mentioned Jan^y Pennells 26 Jan^y 1833
Edward Clouston of the Parish of St Catherine made oath and said that he hath counted
the words and figures contained in the within deed poll and endorsement thereon & that the
same amount to two legal sheets and forty seven words to the best of his belief

Given before me this day of January 1833 John Pennells

John Pennells

My photo, September 2008 – Mount Olive



On 5 January 1833, as the attorney for Rose Hall Estate in St Thomas in the Vale, Edward wrote to Davison, Newman and Co, with a copy of his letter dated 15 December 1832.

Guildhall Library, London – Davison, Newman & Co – copy letter dated St Thomas in the Vale, 15 December 1832, from Edward to Messrs Davison, Newman & Co

Gentlemen

I have engaged 6 Hhds of RH Sugars on the Barque Thalia, Capt Shand now taking in produce in Kingston and to fill up at Alligator Pond and sail on the 1 Feby.

She is not an A. 1. vessel, but pays the difference if the insurance be not at that rate – The sugar that remained on hand since last crop 55½ Hhds: have been all thoroughly coopered and repacked this week and are reduced to 49½ Hhds – 6 Hhds being taken to refill –

All Sugars have become very slack from remaining over & particularly in such a wet season, but the casks will now weigh considerably more than originally – The remainder of your mark I will endeavour to get room on an early vessel to sail as soon after the 1 Jany as possible, and of which I will give you notice –

I am glad to say there is a favourable appearance for the ensuing crop at Rose Hall, which I trust will nearly reach the amount of the last, but such is not by any means general

I am most respectfully Dear Sirs Your faithful & obed St

E. Clouston

Letter dated St Thomas' Vale, 5 January 1833, from Edward to Messrs Davison, Newman & Co

Gentlemen

St Thomas' Vale, 5th Jan^y 1833
RH

The remainder of the last Crop RH Sugars, seven Hhds, I will endeavour to get room for on an early Vessel but have not yet engaged them - You will of course protect the same accordingly. - The Mill is at work at Rose Hall & 12 Hhds of Sugar made, the quality of which appears good & such as I hope will give satisfaction. I am most respectfully

Dear Sirs
Your faithful & Obedt Servt
E. Clouston

Transcript

St Thomas' Vale, 5 Jan'y 1833

Gentlemen

The remainder of the last Crop RH Sugars, seven Hhds, I will endeavour to get room for on an early vessel but have not yet engaged them - you will of course protect the same accordingly. - The mill is at work at Rose Hall & 12 Hhds of Sugar made, the quality of which appears good & such as I hope will give satisfaction. I am most respectfully

Dear Sirs your faithful & Obedt Servt
E. Clouston

In January 1833, in the annual elections for Parochial Officers, Edward was elected a Churchwarden for St Thomas in the Vale.

London National Archives - Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 19 Jan 1833, page PS 19

Parochial Officers for the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale.

CHURCHWARDENS—Alexander M'Innes and Edward Clouston, Esqrs.

VESTRYMEN—Alexander Gilzean, Edward M'Caw, R. R. Parker, Hugh D. M'Kay, Nicholas Gyles, Henry Lowndes, Donald M'Intosh, Richard Daly, John Rider Brice, and John Aris, Esqas.

See – http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ZtUDAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *The Jamaica Magistrate's and Vestryman's Assistant . . . (by John Lunan), published 1828* – Churchwardens and Vestrymen

Most of the senior men of St Thomas in the Vale were at one time or another elected Parochial Officers, but, before 1833 it appears that Edward was neither a Vestryman nor a Churchwarden.

Below – Churchwardens and Vestrymen, elected for St Thomas in the Vale from 1816 to 1832

1816 – *Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 27 Jan 1815, page PS 26*

Churchwardens – John Mackay and George Marshall, Esqrs.

Vestrymen – Hugh Edwards, Richard Welch, Alex McInnes, George Barriffe, Wm Henry Parker, James Robins, Peter Burnett, Robert Page, Samuel Hyde, and Alex Gilzean, Esqrs.

1817 – *Sat, 11 Jan 1817, page PS 17*

Churchwardens – George Marshall and Francis Graham, Esqrs.

Vestrymen – Richard Welch, Samuel Hyde, Hugh Edwards, Alex McInnes, Wm Henry Parker, Peter Burnett, George Barriffe, Thomas Robins, Alex Gilzean, and John Campbell, Esqrs.

1818 – *Sat, 24 Jan 1818, page PS 18*

Churchwardens – Francis Graham and George William Hamilton, Esqrs.

Vestrymen – Richard Welch, Samuel Hyde, Alex McInnes, Wm H Parker, Hugh Edwards, Alexander Gilzean, John Campbell, Peter Burnett, George Barriffe, and James Burnett, Esqrs.

1819 – *Sat, 16 Jan 1819, page PS 18*

Churchwardens – Geo W Hamilton and Robt Wm Harris, Esqrs.

Vestrymen – Richard Welch, Samuel Hyde, Francis Gordon, Wm H Parker, Hugh Edwards, Alex Gilzean, John Campbell, Peter Burnett, Geo Barriffe, James Burnett, Esqrs.

1820 – *Sat, ... (day not noted) Jan 1820, page ... (not noted)*

Churchwardens – Robert William Harris and George Marshall, Esqrs.

Vestrymen – Richard Welch, James Burnett, Peter Burnett, Francis Gordon, Donald McIntosh, George Barriffe, John Campbell, Alexander McInnes, William Parker, and Alex Gilzean, Esqrs.

1821 – *Sat, 10 Feb 1821, page PS 23*

Churchwardens – George Marshall and Robert Wm Harris, Esqrs.

Vestrymen – Richard Welch, Samuel Hyde, Peter Burnett, Francis Gordon, Donald McIntosh, George Barriffe, John Campbell, Alex McInnes, Alex Gilzean, and John McPherson, Esqrs.

1822 – *Sat, 12 Jan 1822, page PS 19*

Churchwardens – Thomas Rossiter and Alex McInnes, Esqrs.

Vestrymen – Richard Welch, Samuel Hyde, Peter Burnett, Francis Gordon, Donald McIntosh, George Barriffe, John Campbell, Alex Gilzean, John McPherson, and Peter F Garrigues, Esqrs.

1823 – *Sat, 25 Jan 1823, page 6*

Churchwardens – Alex McInnes and Thomas Rossiter

Vestrymen – Richard Welch, Samuel Hyde, Geo Barriffe, Peter F Garrigues, William Lord, Francis Gordon, John Campbell, Alex Gilzean, Peter Burnett, and John McPherson, Esqrs.

1824 – www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1824 Jamaica Almanac – Civil List –

Churchwardens – Thomas Rossiter and Alexander McInnes, Esqrs.

Vestrymen – Samuel Hyde, Peter Burnett, George Barriffe, John Campbell, Alexander Gilzean, John McPherson, Peter F Garrigues, Henry P Bicknell, Adam Steel, and Richard Hunt Sharpe, Esqrs.

1825 – *Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 8 Jan 1825, page PS 19*

Churchwardens – Alex McInnes, and George W Hamilton, Esqrs.

Vestrymen – Samuel Hyde, Peter Burnett, George Barriffe, John Campbell, Alex Gilzean, John McPherson, Peter Garrigues, Adam Steel, Richard H Sharpe, and Hugh D Mackay, Esqrs.

Sat, 20 Aug 1825, page 6

At a meeting of the inhabitants of the parish of St Thomas in the Vale, on the 29th ult George Marshall, Esq was elected Churchwarden in the room of George W Hamilton, Esq and R R Parker, Esq a Vestryman, in the place of A Gilzean, Esq, both gone off the island.

1826 – Vestrymen not found – *Jamaica Archives – Bishop Book, Vol 1 – Consecration of Harewood Chapel*

Churchwardens – George Marshall and George William Hamilton, Esqrs.

1827 – *Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 6 Jan 1827, page PS ... (not noted)*

Churchwardens – G W Hamilton and Alexander McInnes, Esqrs.

Vestrymen – Samuel Hyde, John Campbell, Peter Burnett, John McPherson, Peter Francis Garrigues, Adam Steel, Richard Hunt Sharpe, Hugh Donald Mackay, Richard Ragg Parker and Alexander Gilzean, Esqrs.

1828 – *Sat 19 Jan 1828, page ... (not noted)*

Churchwardens – Alexander McInnes and George William Hamilton, Esqrs.

Vestrymen – Samuel Hyde, John McPherson, Peter Francis Garrigues, Adam Steele, Hugh Donald Mackay, Richard Hunt Sharp, Richard Ragg Parker, James Grant, Alex Gilzean, and Henry Lowndes, Esqrs.

1829 – *Sat (day/month not noted) 1829, page PS 19*

Churchwardens – George Wm Hamilton and Alex McInnes, Esqrs.

Vestrymen – John Macpherson, Peter Francis Garrigues, Richard Hunt Sharpe, Hugh Donald Mackay, Richard Ragg Parker, Alex Gilzean, Henry Lowndes, Donald Mackintosh, Nicholas Gyles, and Robert Dundas Clunie, Esqrs.

1830 – (not found)

1831 – (not found)

1832 – *Sat 14 Jan 1832, page PS, 22*

Churchwardens – George W Hamilton and Alex McInnes, Esqrs.

Vestrymen – Henry Lowndes, Hugh Donald McKay, R R Parker, Alex Gilzean, Nicholas Gyles, Robert Dundas Clunie, Edward McCaw, Richard Hunt Sharpe, John McPherson, and Richard Daly, Esqrs.

My photos, March 2007 – west St Thomas in the Vale and east St John – crop time









In January 1833, thirteen months after the Christmas 1831 Slave Rebellion, the Governor of Jamaica, the Earl of Mulgrave, issued a Royal proclamation ‘putting down’ the Colonial Church Union (see Chapter 19 – Colonial Church Union).

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=UQRAAQAAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *History of the Christian Missions . . . by Rev William Brown, M.D, secretary of the Scottish Missionary Society – 3rd edition published 1864 – Vol I – Propagation of Christianity by the Methodist Missionaries – Art. 6 – Jamaica – page 490-492*

Meanwhile Earl Mulgrave arrived as governor of the island and he early shewed his determination to maintain the cause of religious liberty, and to protect the missionaries in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges. In January 1833, thirteen months from the commencement of the disturbances, His Majesty’s royal proclamation was issued in Jamaica, putting down the lawless and outrageous Colonial Church Union, and declaring that he will maintain within the island the principles of religious toleration, and protect and defend all his subjects in the exercise of the public worship of God, according to their consciences. This proclamation was accompanied by a circular from his Excellency the governor, requiring the prompt obedience and co-operation of the magistrates in enforcing it. But the wild and daring contumacy of the planters was not to be easily and at once put down. A spirit of determined adherence to the great object of the Colonial Union was manifested in several parts of the island. At what was called a numerous and respectable meeting of the Colonial Union, in St Thomas in the Vale, after laying down as an indisputable principle that “Sectarian influence is Colonial ruin,” and passing several resolutions in maintenance of this principle, it was further resolved: “That to carry into effect these resolutions, this meeting do earnestly call on the magistrates and vestry of this parish, and throughout the island generally, to resist every application made by sectarians for licenses to preach to our slaves, or for licensing places of worship, which would only be licensing the strongholds of rebellion and secret dens for extorting the gains of our deluded slaves; that it be recommended that special constables be appointed from among the respectable members of our community, to attend at places where it may be reported that illegal meetings of slaves are held, and where unlicensed sectarians preach, for the purpose of dispersing such meetings; and the meeting will apply their funds, among other purposes, to the prosecution and conviction of such offenders.” But these demonstrations of hostility were met by Lord Mulgrave with great firmness and decision. He early gave a very significant token of his determination to carry into effect the principles of His Majesty’s proclamation, by depriving of their commissions two officers of the St John’s troop of militia, for having signed their names to resolutions published by the Colonial Union, declaring their determination to prevent the “sectarian preachers” from exercising their ministry in that parish. The custos of St Ann’s was also removed from his office, together with nine more of the magistrates; and the principal officers of the militia were publicly cashiered . . .

Above – Colonial Union meeting in St Thomas in the Vale – I have no mention of the name of any member of the Colonial Union in St Thomas in the Vale


On 30 January 1832 Eliza sold her slave William (see Chapter 19) to Robert Gray.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 786, Fol 182 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 7 Oct 1833 – Deed Poll dated 30 January 1832 – Eliza Fox of St Thomas in the Vale, Spinster (1) – to Robert Gray of St Andrew’s (2) – summary

For £34 13s 4d Jamaica currency – Eliza Fox conveys to Robert Gray – male Slave named William, alias William Flemming – signed (her mark X), sealed and delivered by Eliza Fox– Witness James Heighington

5 April 1833 – James Heighington made oath before Samuel Rennalls that he had seen Eliza Fox sign, seal and deliver the Deed Poll

Below – Deed Poll dated 30 January 1832 – Eliza Fox of St Thomas in the Vale, Spinster (1) – to Robert Gray of St Andrew’s (2)

1794 } Jamaica Is. Know all Men by these presents that I Elijia Fore of the parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale and Island
 of Saint Christopher and in consideration of the Sum of thirty four pounds sixteen Shillings and four pence current Money of
 1801 } Jamaica to me in hand paid at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents by Robert Gray of the parish of Saint
 Andrew and Island of Saint Christopher the Receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge have bargained and sold and by these
 1803 } presents do bargain sell and deliver unto the said Robert Gray a certain Santee Male Slave named William alias William
 Fleming To Have and to Hold the said Santee Male Slave named William alias William Fleming unto the said
 Robert Gray his heirs Executors administrators and assigns to his and their only use and behoof forever and I the said Elijia Fore my
 heirs Executors and administrators the said Bargained premises unto the said Robert Gray his heirs Executors administrators &
 assigns from and against all persons shall well warrant and for ever defend by these presents In Witness Whereof I have
 hereunto set my hand and seal and dated at Saint Thomas in the Vale on the thirtieth day of January in the year of our Lord one
 thousand eight hundred and thirty three
 Elijia ^{sen} Fore 

Signed Sealed and Delivered in the presence of James Houghington
Received the day and year first within written of and from the within named Robert Gray the sum of thirty four pounds fifteen
shillings and four pence current Money of His Majesty of America being the full consideration Money within mentioned to be by him
paid home
Witness James Houghington
Elyse Fox
mark

It is remembered that on the twenty fifth day of April 1853 personally appeared before me James Houghsby from the above saying
thence to the execution of the within said will or instrument in writing and made oath that he was present and did see the within named
Olga Fox sign seal and use and for her act and deed deliver the same for the purposes therein contained

Saml. Remmell.

Gentlemen, St Thomas' Vale 1st Feby 1833

The above mentioned 7 Hhds of RH Sugars with 6 Hhds of this years Crop in all 13 Hhds have been engaged by the Ship Thames Captn Rigmaiden expected to sail from the 20th to the 25th of this month. — The Crop will

I trust nearly equal the last. I am Dear Sirs
Your faithful & obedt Servt
E. Clouston

P. S. I suspect that I need scarce say that the Thames loads at & sails from Kingston. E.C.

NB: It may be as well for you to open a policy for 6 Hhds more of the R.H. Sugars on vessel or vessels — The Bill Lading 1st for the 6 Hhds on the Thalia is enclosed E.C.

Transcript

St Thomas' Vale 1 Feby 1833

Gentlemen,

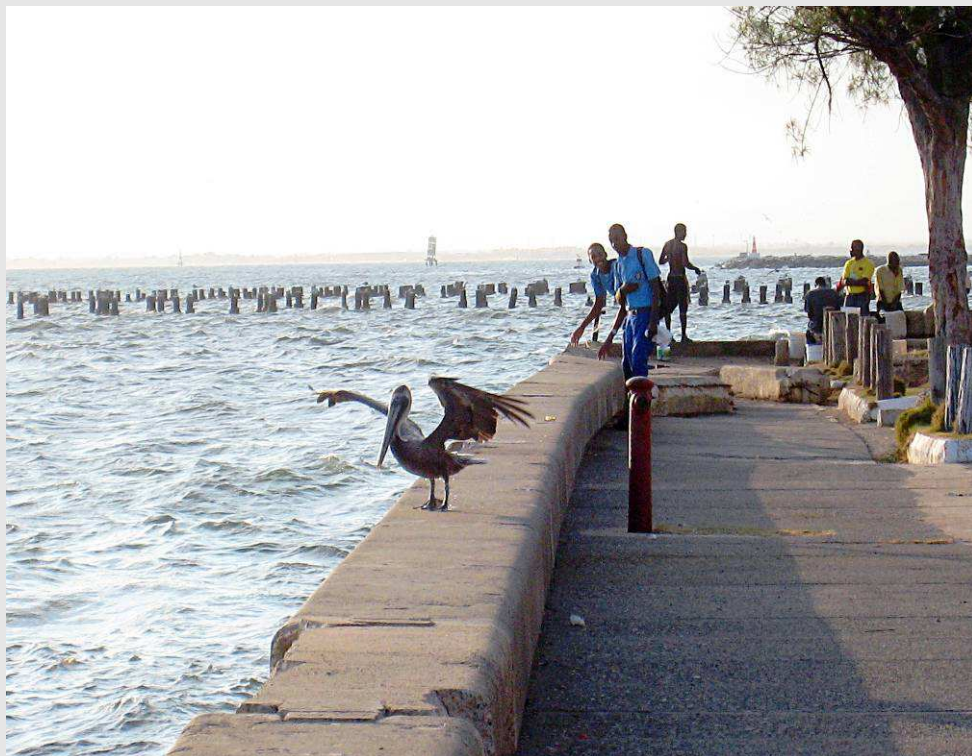
The above mentioned 7 Hhds of RH Sugars with 6 Hhds of this years Crop in all 13 Hhds have been engaged by the Ship Thames Captn Rigmaiden expected to sail from the 20th to the 25th of this month. — The Crop will I trust nearly equal the last. I am Dear Sirs

Your faithful & obedt Servt
E. Clouston

P. S. I suspect that I need scarce say that the Thames loads at & sails from Kingston. E.C.

NB: It may be as well for you to open a policy for 6 Hhds more of the RH Sugars on vessel or vessels. — the Bill Lading .../ for the 6 Hhds on the Thalia is enclosed E.C.

My photos – November 2009 – Kingston water front – looking west



On 26 February 1833 Edward gave notice of his intention to leave Jamaica.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 2 Mar 1833, page PS 22

SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

NAMES of Persons intending to leave the island.

Feb. 25 Augustus Hardin Beaumont, Kingston
 Joseph M'Donnell, ditto
 Jacob J. Sanguinetti, St. Catherine's
 → 26 Edward Clouston, St. Thomas' in the
 Vale
 28 Abraham Rods. Da Costa, Kingston
 James Hopley, St. Ann's
 Solomon Lazarus, and servants William
 Brown and Charlotte Burch, Kingston
 Mar. 1 James M'Fie, ditto.

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ZtUDAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *The Jamaica Magistrate's and Vestryman's Assistant . . . (by John Lunan), published 1828* – page 108-109 – Leaving the Island – extract

. . . Before persons leave the island, they must have a ticket under the hand of the governor, and their names must be put up twenty-one days previously in secretary's office . . .

My photos, March 2007 – Spanish Town, from the entrance to the Jamaica Archives – King's House



September 2008 – Emancipation Square (formerly King’s Square) – King’s House



The Rodney Memorial



March 2007 – Spanish Town



Edward committed two slaves to the St Thomas in the Vale workhouse on 6 April 1833.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat 13 Apr 1833, page Sup 16

ST. THOMAS' IN THE VALE WORKHOUSE, April 10, 1833.

James Bergen, a creole, 5 feet 6 inches, black, slender made, says he belongs to Augulta-Vale estate, St. Mary's, that he came here to see his brother, who had been sent in for punishment; he had a Horse, Saddle, and Bridle, and a ticket, without a signature, and will not acknowledge the person who gave it to him; committed by Edward Clouston, Esq. April 6.

Rachel, a creole, 5 feet 10½ inches, yellow complexion, about fourteen years old, says she formerly belonged to Miss Howell, Spanish-Town, who sold her to a Mr. Plidel, Gordon-Hill, St. John's; committed as above

Jamaica, ss.—The above is a just and true account of the runaways in this Workhouse, except those sent in by their owners and possessors, and two advertised for sale, to the best of my knowledge and belief.

THOMAS EDBURY, Sup.

On 22 April 1833 Edward conveyed four of his slaves to Eliza.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 784, Fol 173 – Entered Island Secretary's Office 25 Apr 1833 – Deed Poll, dated 22 April 1833 – Edward Clouston of St Thomas in the Vale, Esq (1) – to Eliza Fox of St Thomas in the Vale, Spinster (2) – summary

For 10s Jamaica currency (minimum amount of money for a legal contract) – Edward Clouston conveys to Eliza Fox – a negro female Slave named Sarah alias Sarah Smith and her three Children respectively named Robert, Phoebe Ann, and Eliza – signed, sealed and delivered by Edward Clouston – Witness James Heighington

----- (day blank) April 1833 – ----- (blank) the subscribing witness made oath that he had seen Edward Clouston sign, seal, and deliver the Deed Poll

25 April 1833 – James Heighington made oath before Samuel Rennalls that the Deed Poll contained 2 legal sheets and 78 words and figures

22 April 1833
Edward
to
Eliza
ree of Slaves

Jamaica Is Knowall Men by these presents that Edward Clouston of the Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale and Island aforesaid Esquire for and in consideration of the sum of ten shillings current money of Jamaica to me in hand paid at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents by Eliza Fox of the Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale and Island aforesaid Spinster the receipt whereof I do hereby

25th Apr 1833 I acknowledge have bargained and sold and by these presents do bargain sell
 I deliver unto the said Eliza Fox a certain negro female slave named Sarah
 alias Sarah Smith and her three children respectively named Robert Phoebe
 Ann and Eliza To Have and To Hold the said negro female slave named Sarah alias
 Sarah Smith and her three children named Robert Phoebe Ann and Eliza and all their future
 offspring issue and increase unto the said Eliza Fox her heirs executors administrators and assigns
 to their only use and behoof forever And the said Edward Clouston my heirs executors and
 administrators the said bargained premises unto the said Eliza Fox her heirs executors ad-
 ministrators and assigns from and against all Persons shall and well warrant and prove defend
 by these Presents In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & seal and dated at Saint
 Thomas in the Vale on the twenty second day of April in the Year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred
 and thirty three
 Edward Clouston

Signed sealed and delivered in the Presence of James Houghington
 Received the day and year first within written of and from the within named Eliza Fox the
 sum of ten Shillings Current money of Jamaica being the full consideration money within mentioned
 Stobe by her paid to me. Edward Clouston Witness James Houghington

Be it remembered that on the — day of April 1833 personally appeared before me —
 the subscribing witness to the Execution of the within deed before instrument in writing and made
 oath that he was present and did see the within named Edward Clouston sign seal and as and
 for his act and deed deliver the same for the purposes therein contained
 Jamaica Is of the Vale James Houghington do swear that I have counted the words
 figures in the annexed deed of conveyance and that the same contains 7 legal sheets and 78
 words and figures over & no more to the best of my knowledge & belief So help me God.
 Given before me this 25 day of April 1833 Saml Pennells. James Houghington
 Esqr. J.P.

In April 1833 Edward wrote to Davison, Newman & Co on the 17th and on the 27th.

London Guildhall Library – Davison, Newman and Co papers – copy letter dated 17 April 1833 to Messrs
 Davison, Newman & Co

St Thomas Vale April 17, 1833

Gentlemen

In addressing you on the 1 Feby I advised you to open a policy for 6 Hhds RH Sugars by vessel or
 vessels.

You will receive these with 4 more – i.e. 10 Hhds of above mark by the first class Ship Tulloch Castle, Capt Briggs – The additional 4 Hhds you will no doubt protect. That ship is expected to sail towards the end of this month – I will now order 8 Hhds of that mark in the Ship Hymen, Capt Lotherington, expected to sail on or about the 15th 20 ... & which you will no doubt insure

I am most respectfully Dear Sirs Your faithful & obedt St

E. Clouston

Letter dated 27 April 1833

Gentlemen, St Thomas Vale, 27th April 1833

I beg to hand you above duplicate & to say that the Tulloch Castle will sail in 4 or 5 days. I am respectfully - Gentlemen. Your mo. Obedt Servt

E. Clouston

Transcript

St Thomas Vale, 27th April 1833

Gentlemen,

I beg to hand you above duplicate & to say that the Tulloch Castle will sail in 4 or 5 days. I am respectfully. – Gentlemen

Your mo. Obedt Servt

E. Clouston

On 2 May 1833 Edward committed another slave to the St Thomas in the Vale workhouse.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston Jamaica, Sat, 18 May 1833, page Sup 16

ST. THOMAS' IN THE VALE WORKHOUSE, May 8, 1833.

Jane Baily, a creole, 4 feet 10½ inches, marked R on right shoulder, to Mr. Tharp, Three Hill, St. Mary's; committed by John Blair, Esq. April 20

Quashie, a Mungóla, 4 feet 11 inches, says he formerly belonged to Mr. Shaw, Old Harbour, and now to Mr. Silvester, Palmeto Grove, near Hope estate, St. Andrew's; committed by M. W. Loane, Esq. 30

George, a creole boy, 4 feet 10½ inches, to Ramble estate, St. Mary's; committed by Edward Clouston, Esq. May 2

Jamaica, ss. – The above is a just and true account of the runaways in this Workhouse, except those sent by their owners and possessors, and two advertised for sale, to the best of my knowledge and belief.

James Macintosh, Sup.

On 11 May 1823 Edward wrote again to Davison, Newman & Co.

London Guildhall Library – Davison, Newman & Co papers – copy letter dated 11 May 1833

St. Thomas Vale 11 May
1833

Messrs. Davison Newman & Co
Gentlemen

I beg leave to hand you enclosed second Bills lading for the RH Shipments on the Ships Thames & Tulloch Castle and Barque Thalia and have to advise you to protect 4 Hhds Sugar of that mark on the Simon Taylor after the Hymen has taken on board her number

I am respectfully
Gentlemen
Your most obedt
Signed E Clouston

Transcript

St Thomas Vale 11 May 1833

Gentlemen

I beg leave to hand you enclosed second Bills lading for the RH Shipments on the Ships Thames & Tulloch Castle and Barque Thalia and have to advise you to protect 4 Hhds Sugar of that mark on the Simon Taylor after the Hymen has taken on board her number

I am respectfully
Gentlemen
Your most obed st.
Signed E Clouston

Four days later Edward sailed from Port Royal.

Below – the road from St Thomas in the Vale to Kingston.

My photos, November 2011 – Rio Cobre Gorge – driving south to Spanish Town



March 2007 – Spanish Town in a downpour – looking south towards King's House



November 2009 – east of Spanish Town – the Rio Cobre – the Iron Bridge, now a footpath



September 2008 – man walking across the Iron Bridge



November 2009 – road from Spanish town to Kingston



Looking north towards the Liguanea Mountains





Alexander Innes, on his arrival in Jamaica in December 1823, wrote in his *Journal* (see Chapter 12) – I was very much astonished when I landed at seeing them [the Negroes] carry every thing on their heads.

My photos, November 2009 – Kingston





My photos – Jamaica National Gallery – J B Kidd – c.1840 – City of Kingston from the Commercial Rooms – top, looking towards the west – bottom, looking towards the east



PLATE IV.
CITY OF KINGSTON FROM THE COMMERCIAL ROOMS.
LOOKING TOWARDS THE WEST.



PLATE V.
CITY OF KINGSTON FROM THE COMMERCIAL ROOMS.
LOOKING TOWARDS THE EAST.

City of Kingston from the Commercial Rooms – looking towards the south – detail



Edward sailed on 15 May 1833 from Port Royal in the Ship John W Cater for New York.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 18 May 1833, page PS 22

| SAILED FROM PORT-ROYAL SINCE OUR LAST. | | | |
|--|-----|-----------------|--|
| May 12 Brig Gipsej, Campbell | | | |
| Barque Numa, Lieut. ——— | for | Belfast | |
| 13 Sch Sir Lawrence Halsted, Perres | | the Northside | |
| 14 H. M. P. B. Skylark, Lieut. Ladd | | Chagres | |
| H. M. P. B. Duke of York, Lieut. Snell | | Mexico | |
| | | Falmouth, G. R. | |
| 15 Ship Lady Fitzherbert, Ferris | | London | |
| —— John W. Cater, Crane | | New York | |
| Barque Royal Mint Wetherell | | Old Harbour | |
| —— Tasmania, Mennely | | Alligator Pond | |
| Sloop Three Brothers, Soares | | Coro | |
| 16 Sch. Margaret, Watkins | | Maracaibo | |

Below – Edward Cloutson (Clouston)

PASSENGERS SAILED.

In the John W. Cater—Edward Cloutson, John Myers, E. Melhado, J. Nolan, Francis Delrumbe, S. Geoghegan, David Alexander, F. Belinfante, John M Donald, John Wilson, ——— Mills, Samuel Mendes, and B. Burnett, Esqrs; Capt. Belipeut, Mr. Belipeut, Mr. Gilzean, Mr. Moody, Mrs. Lear, and Master Tyrrell and servant.

In the Duke of York packet—Thomas P. Dunn, M.D. Assistant Surgeon of the Naval Hospital, Port Royal.

My photo, September 2008 – on the far end of the Palisadoes – Port Royal



www.brunias.com/wi_jamaica_views.html – J B Kidd – 1838-40 – Port Royal



The John W. Cater was a New York packet.

Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 29 Nov 1833, page not noted – New York Packets – extract

Passage to Cuba and New York, the regular Packet-Ship John W. Cater, John R. Crane, Master.

Herbert Jarrett James of Spanish Town left Jamaica for England in 1837. His son William Rhodes James, in his *Journal*, described the first part of the journey – sailing from Port Royal for New York in the John W. Cater.

<https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/254143> – *Journal of William Rhodes James; Written between 1836 and 1841 in America, Jamaica and Australia – transcribed and edited by Sarah Harrison* – extract

August 4th 1837. New York

... A short time elapsed before we started for Kingston as the dwelling of our kind host occupied a site at the further end of the race course, and took up our quarters protemp: in the lobby adjoining the office of Mr S. Again we quitted and without further stoppage rowed on board. The other passengers were already in the ship, and the breeze springing up, without further delay, the anchor was hoisted, the sails were set and the vessel under weigh moved gently but rapidly through the water to Port Royal. At 4 O'clock the pilot left us and we then considered our voyage begun. The breeze being fair we steered for the leeward passage through the Gulf of Mexico, and with breezes light and variable passed the point of C. Antonio at 10 O'clock am on Monday. On Sunday morning following, July 23rd. we tacked ship and stood direct up the Florida Stream – made 200 miles in 24 hours Latitude 27°51' – Monday – after calm all day between 7 and 8 O'clock pm, sky became very much obscured, thunder and lightning to a terrific degree succeeded, the latter surpassing any spectacle of the kind I have ever witnessed, with heavy rain followed in about ½ an hour – the Captain (Crane) however was on deck but the night being uncommonly dark with the exception of the occasional gleams of light very vividly emitted, did not perceive the approach of the squall till it was very nigh, but happily in time to anticipate it, and no damage in consequence was done. We suffered very much on board from the oppressiveness of the heat, the berths being so very confined and the sky lights kept constantly closed over the cabin, that at night we found it hardly tolerable and the perspiration was excessive. Monday 31st July – at 5 O'clock in the morning took Pilot on board – distance from Sandy Hook 40 miles – expecting of course to land that day all of us with one exception decked ourselves out for the occasion – but to our infinite mortification we discovered about mid-day that with so light a breeze as we had, it would be impossible to reach Staten Island the same day in time enough for the Doctor to come on board – finding ourselves becalmed therefore we dropped anchor at the further extremity of the harbour and lay to all night waiting the springing-up of a breeze. Tuesday morning early we again weighed anchor and by dint of constant tacking with a North wind found ourselves in Quarantine Ground about ½ past 9 o'clock. An Officer of the Customs shortly after made his appearance settled his business with the Captain called over the Ship's Roll, and left his vacant seat to be occupied by the Doctor who boarded us a little after 10 o'clock. No person being allowed to quit the ships till after the Dr. had ascertained the prevailing state of health on board, immediately on his departure the ship's boat was manned with two sailors and the 2nd mate, and closely stowed with half the passengers who were most anxious to put foot on terra firma. The remainder of us waited for its return and after no great trial of our patience joined the rest of our party already on shore. One small Portmanteau, Carpet Bag or other small package was allowed to us to take on shore, and on our landing at the Wharf at Staten Island was generally subjected to inspection at the Warden's Office. Having been opened however to the view of some or other, employed at the Office in an inferior capacity, immediately as we stepped out of the boat, a repetition of the inconvenience was excused us, and we passed the little square Building appropriated for the examinations with no further interruption than that of receiving our permission to proceed. At 12 o'clock the Steam Boat left Staten Island for Whitehall Wharf at the bottom of N.Y. City and in the course of 35 minutes the interval of 6 or 7 miles was accomplished. Most picturesque certainly is the scenery enjoyed about the whole space around while sailing up the harbour to the City. Cast the eye in any direction whatever and a most pleasing prospect meets it – in fact it would be difficult to say to what point of the compass in this beauteous whole the admirer's attention would be most riveted – but I think I know not where the Artist would find a better subject for a panoramic view. By no means the least striking features in the scene are the small Islands floating as it were on the surface of the water with some strong built circular fort of brick, or more massive looking fortifications constructed of large white stones, erected in the centre of them and handsomely set off by the green herbage that surrounds their base – hardly can the approach to any City be more truly picturesque than the one alluded to ...

<http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/150317.html> – W J Bennett – 1833 – View of the New York Quarantine, Staten Island



In New York in 1832 well over 3,000 people died of Cholera out of a population of around 250,000. On the day Edward sailed for New York, the Jamaica Royal Gazette reported that the Cholera had ‘considerably subsided in the City of Havanna’.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 18 May 1833, page PS 18

Accounts have reached this City communicating the pleasing intelligence of the Cholera having considerably subsided in the City of Havanna; how true the next arrival from that place will inform us. We do not wish to produce any excitement in the public mind, but as the probability of that dreadful disease yet reaching this island we think it necessary that the greatest caution should be observed on the Northside of this island in allowing vessels coming from the infected ports of Cuba to anchor there.

<https://graphicarts.princeton.edu/2013/10/21/new-york-from-brooklyn-heights-in-1836/> – W J Bennett – after a painting by J W Hill – published 1837 – New York, from Brooklyn Heights



<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/339856?sortBy=Relevance&ft=J+W+Bennett&offset=0&rpp=100&pos=48> – W J Bennett – published 1834 – South St. from Maiden Lane, New York City



Edward arrived home in 1833 or early 1834 (see Chapter 21) and lived in Britain for the rest of his life.

When Henry and Isabella left Jamaica is unknown. It seems however unlikely that Edward left either of his children in Jamaica when he sailed for New York on 15 May 1833.

Meanwhile in 1833 in Britain the campaign for the immediate abolition of slavery continued.

Knibb, *'the Notorious'; Slaves' Missionary 1803-1845*, by Philip Wright, published 1973 – page 130-131

To assert H.M.'s authority over the fractious planter generals and colonels and what not was one thing, but to devise an acceptable scheme for giving the slaves their freedom was more complicated. It seemed that the Government could hardly avoid introducing an Abolition Bill of some sort in the first session of the reformed Parliament, which assembled in February 1833. 'Reformers' out-numbered 'conservatives' by four to one, and the West India contingent in the House was reduced to nineteen. The slavery issue had been at the forefront of the election campaign, and the Agency Committee [see Chapter 19] claimed that at least 200 of the newly returned members were 'pledged up to the hilt' to vote for immediate abolition, and another 150 or so were pledges to some degree.³⁹ When Mulgrave had seemed unwilling to take a strong line with the planters, the Colonial Office told him that public opinion in England demanded it. 'I need not tell you', Howick wrote to him 'what a powerful party the Dissenters are in this country, and more especially what a large proportion of *our* friends in the House of Commons would be prepared to take up their cause.' . . . Charles Greville in his diary was quite shocked by the rage for emancipation, which seemed to him 'of all political feelings and passions . . . the most extraordinary and remarkable!'⁴⁰

³⁹ *The Times* 7/1/33; B. W. Higman, 'The West India Interest in Parliament', *Historical Studies* xiii (1986), 3; *Tourist* 25/3/33

⁴⁰ Grey Papers, C. 1/206, Howick to Mulgrave, 21/2/33; Buxton, 257; Greville, ii356 (26/1/33)

Buxton, then, had reason to be surprised and dismayed when the speech from the throne on 5 February made no mention of abolition. He immediately gave notice of bringing in a motion on the subject, but was

assured by the Government that they intended introducing a safe and satisfactory measure. There followed a prolonged shuffling of ministerial feet, with further assurances, evasions, postponements. The Agency Committee saw to it that pressure was kept up out of doors. George Stephen organized a deputation from Anti-Slavery Societies all over the British Isles, and the procession of 330 ministers of religion and other grave, black-coated professional persons made an impressive showing as they marched down the Strand from Exeter Hall to present a petition at Downing Street. The females of Great Britain were pressed into the cause, and during the ten days before 14 May, when the Government was at last ready to announce its proposals, a mammoth petition bearing 187,000 feminine signatures came into being. The Ladies' Committee were at it from ten in the morning to nine at night, with tureens of paste and menservants standing by to roll over the enormous cylinders of paper. At the appointed hour, Buxton and three other hon. members staggered into the House with the monster bundle and hoisted it on to the table.⁴¹

⁴¹Buxton, 255, 272-3, 296-7; Stephen, 224

<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:SisterSlave.jpg> – Am I not a woman and a sister



In the House of Commons on 14 May 1833 the Colonial Secretary Edward Stanley (later Earl of Derby) presented the Government's proposals for the Emancipation of Slaves.

<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1833/may/14/ministerial-proposition-for-the> – House of Commons Debate – 14 May 1833 – Ministerial Proposition for the Emancipation of Slaves

The Order of the Day for the House to resolve itself into a Committee to consider the subject of Slavery having been read, the House resolved itself on the Motion of Mr Secretary Stanley, into a Committee.

Mr Secretary Stanley rose, and spoke nearly as follows . . . Sir it is with great regret that I have felt it necessary to detain the House so long; but on a subject of so much difficulty, it was imperative for me to do so. I will now, however, after thanking the House for the patience and attention with which they have been so good as to listen to me, conclude with offering up an ardent prayer, that by the course which they may adopt, weighing commercial advantages light in the balance against justice and religion; that they will achieve the great object of extinguishing slavery, gradually, safely, but at the same time completely; a result the more to be desired, if accomplished by a yielding on one side and the other, which may make both sides forget extreme opinion; and which will exhibit a great and proud example of a deliberative assembly, reconciling conflicting interests, liberating the slave without inflicting hardship on his master, gratifying the liberal and humane spirit of the age without harming even those who stand in its way, and vindicating their high functions by moderately, but with determination, and in a manner honourable to the people of whom they are the representatives, and acting in a manner on this important question, which will afford a sure pledge of a successful termination of the glorious career on which they are about to enter. Sir, I now beg leave to move the following Resolutions: –

1. – “That it is the opinion of this Committee, that immediate and effectual measures be taken for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the colonies, under such provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes, as may combine their welfare with the interests of the proprietors.
2. – “That it is expedient that all children born after the passing of any Act, or who shall be under the age of six years at the time of passing any Act of Parliament for this purpose, be declared free; subject, nevertheless, to such temporary restrictions as may be deemed necessary for their support and maintenance.
3. – That all persons now slaves, be entitled to be registered as apprenticed labourers, and to acquire thereby all rights and privileges of freedom; subject to the restriction of labouring, under conditions, and for a time to be fixed by Parliament, for their present owners.
4. – “That to provide against the risk of loss which proprietors in his Majesty's colonial possessions might sustain by the abolition of slavery, his Majesty be enabled to advance, by way of loan, to be raised from time to time, a sum not exceeding in the whole 15,000,000*l.*, to be repaid in such manner, and at such rate of interest as shall be prescribed by Parliament.
5. – “That his Majesty be enabled to defray any such expense as he may incur in establishing an efficient stipendiary Magistracy in the colonies, and in aiding the Local Legislatures in providing for the religious and moral education of the negro population to be emancipated.”

I am too well aware of the extent and of the importance of these Resolutions to desire to call upon the House to pronounce on them hastily. It was with the greatest regret that his Majesty's Government felt them selves unable to accede to a proposition which was made to them to defer bringing forward their plan on this subject. But, after the publicity which had been given to all the details of the proposed measure, the Government felt that it was important, in justice to themselves and to their plan, to refuse the delay, and to state, through their official organ in that House, the grounds and principles of the proposed measure. Having done so, however, I have no wish whatever to call for a sudden decision of the House upon the subject . . .

In London on 27 May 1833 the Earl of Harewood was again the Chairman at a West India meeting.

British Library Newspapers online – Morning Chronicle, 28 May 1833 – West India Meeting – extracts

A very numerous Meeting took place yesterday, at the City of London Tavern, for the purpose of passing a series of Resolutions respecting the proposed measures of his Majesty's Ministers for the Abolition of Negro Slavery. The room was crowded at an early hour, and by one o'clock (the hour which had been appointed for taking the Chair) upwards of fifteen hundred of the planters, merchants, and others connected with the West Indies had assembled. The following Noblemen and Gentlemen attended the meeting . . . A member of almost every Banking or Commercial House in the City is said to have attended. It was calculated that fully five thousand persons attended in the course of the day.

Sir Alexander Grant moved that the Earl of Harewood should take the Chair.

The Earl of Harewood, having taken the Chair accordingly, opened the business of the Meeting with the following address: – Appearing again before the West Indian body, as Chairman of so respectable and so numerous a Meeting, I think it is due to myself, and I trust it will also be considered due to the West India body, in the present state of the question respecting the abolition of Negro Slavery, to preface the few observations which I have to make on the subject, by the declaration, that by appearing here in the character of a West India Proprietor, I am in no degree desirous of impeding the progress of slave emancipation, provided that progress shall be accompanied with those measures of justice to the planter which every British subject has a right to expect. If there shall at any time be a proceeding of such a description likely to take effect, I shall be no party to any direct measures for delaying that proceeding; nor shall I be a party to any indirect course for producing such a delay.

Having premised so much with respect to my feelings about the emancipation of the negroes, I will detain you with a few remarks; and I shall occupy but a very short time, because I am aware that in an Assembly of this kind, consisting of almost all the commercial men in the city of London, who are either themselves present, or are in some way represented here, it is not necessary for me to offer you any information, since information is more likely to be given by you to me than by me to you. It is a painful

thing, in the situation in which we stand, and looking at the respectability and numbers of this Meeting – it is a painful thing, I say, to see assembled a body like this, meeting as they do here, not for the sole purpose of considering the best means of removing some slight grievance in their affairs, but meeting for the purpose of endeavouring, if possible, to prevent the grossest injustice which is about to be inflicted on them – for the purpose of preventing, in point of fact, the confiscation and spoliation of their property. Why, Gentlemen, I must be allowed – (I beg to say here, that in such a Meeting as this, the last point which I would wish to introduce would be anything in the shape of a political question, but I cannot avoid considering this measure in some respect as coupled with other acts of the Government – it comes from the Government) – and therefore I say, I must be allowed to make some remarks upon the conduct of the Government in the course of my observations – but only in application to this particular question.

I beg, in the first place, to ask, in what situation the very first part of the Ministerial plan of emancipation would put West India property? It would not only depress the value of that property directly, but it would tend to saddle the estates of the planters with a burden which they will not be able to get rid of. In the present state of the laws of this country, I have a right, if my estate is not productive, to dispose of the negroes, and to abandon the estate. By the plan proposed, however unproductive our estates may be, they must be saddled for twelve years with the support of the labourers, who can no longer be employed upon them to advantage. There would, therefore, be a very material change in the value of the property of every individual connected with the West Indies. Now, on the subject of property, I do not know that it is possible to find a single individual who would dispute the question, whether West India property is or is not at present holden by the law of this country. I do not know of any one who denies that, by the present laws, West India property is secured to its present possessors. I do not now speak of the abstract question of the right of one person to hold property in another man; but I am speaking of the laws of this country by which the rights of property in Slaves has been again and again recognised in the decisions of the Courts of Law. I speak of those laws, by which the ownership of Slaves has not only been sanctioned, but by which individuals have even been compelled, against their will, to take such property in Slaves. By the laws of this country, up to the present moment, if I could have the good fortune to find a purchaser of the West India property which belongs to me, I have a legal right to dispose of the negroes upon my estates. I am now to be deprived of that right, and how? It is quite true that a great clamour has been raised in the country about Slavery. Now, I wish the people of this country had been fairly dealt with. I say that the people of this country have not been fairly dealt with.

There is a great body of men – of respectable men, I will allow – men having conscientious motives, who stir up the feelings of the people upon this subject; but the consciences of these men have not prevented them from misleading the understanding of the people, and pursuing what looks like an unfair course in getting up Petitions upon the subject. The Petitions, which we see in such great bodies coming in daily into both Houses of Parliament do not emanate originally from those parts of the country from which they purport to come, and from which they do in fact come, to the Members who present them. They are manufactured at first in London, and sent down with agents, to procure signatures, in every part of England. What else can be expected than that they should receive signatures? If I were in the places from which the Petitions came, and knew no more about the West Indies than what these people know, or what they are told by the agents of the Anti-Slavery Society, I would sign the Petitions myself. How is the question put by this Society? “There is a number of men,” they say, “who have Slaves to perform their work for them, when they could have labourers as easily who could do their work by free labour; but they prefer Slave labour, because it is more to their advantage!” But have the people in those villages and towns, from which the Petitions come, ever been told the real bearing of the question? Do they know anything of the complicated state of West India property? Do they know that the Planters have no means of getting rid of their Slaves? Do they know (if they can suppose that West India Planters have any conscience, which they are told they have not) – do they know, I say, that no conscientious man could proceed to any great extent with measures of emancipation, without running the risk of vitiating the whole community, and of bringing down upon the island in which the experiment might be made, the most alarming destruction of property and life? Can they suppose that the planters ought not to be bound by such considerations as these? But the Petitioners are told that the case is not so. Do you call that the proper way of dealing with men? Have they let the people know that a great part of West India property is fixed by settlements – is vested in annuitants, in mortgagees, in persons who have remainders after the death of the present proprietors? The property of much of the West India Islands is already settled upon persons now unborn, and yet we are called upon to destroy all those rights by a single stroke of the pen; and that not merely in a way which is unjust to private persons, but with the risk of losing to Great Britain

all the benefits that she derives from colonies which hitherto have been considered the right arm of this country, whether we consider their possession as a matter affecting the revenue only, or as one essentially important for the preservation of our naval greatness. All these considerations have been entirely kept out of the sight of the Petitioners; and the planters have been described by them only as persons who prefer to continue men in slavery, rather than have recourse to free labour; therefore I say, the gross injustice has been done to this country by keeping the people in the dark about the real state of our case. I will not insist further upon this point; but will merely re-state what I do not think any man would venture to contradict – that West India property is held by the laws of this country on the same footing as any other property.

I ask this Meeting – I ask the whole of the inhabitants of England to reflect what may be, and what I have no doubt will be the consequence of confiscating and spoliating this property – to do what? – to satisfy a cry raised, I will admit, by conscientious men – for I respect their motives – but still a mere cry of the multitude. What, I say, will the consequences be, if our property is to be thus confiscated and spoliated? That spoliation will stand as an example by which every other species of property may be confiscated like ours, at the will of the Ministers. Why do I say at the will of the Ministers? Because (and I cannot help stating it – but I hope I shall not be considered as doing it invidiously) – because they are acting as they do only in redemption of the indiscreet pledges which they formerly gave. The House of Commons, of which I wish to be understood as speaking with great respect – the House of Commons, I say, is not by any means free from these pledges. I know not what the vote of the House of Commons may be on this subject on any future occasion, nor do I pretend to say what the motives of members were in giving their former vote; but I know that the Slavery question was made a great point at the elections, and I have lived too long to suppose that it has been strictly a matter of conscience – I have lived too long not to think that I can discover a little desire of Parliamentary influence in those who made the Anti-Slavery question so prominent. This is a question different from all others which come before Parliament. Why do I put this question? For this reason – because, taking the situation of the islands into consideration – looking at the state of society – at the agitation which has been excited in the minds of the Slaves in those islands – we cannot doubt but that if they are once told that a measure of emancipation has been determined upon by the House of Commons, the negro population is in such a state, that they will immediately suppose this act to be the act of the King; and, indeed, if such a measure is sanctioned by the House of Commons under present circumstances, what other branch of the legislature is capable of putting a stop to it?

I will not dwell upon the point; but (let me be understood) if the House of Commons agreed to the ministerial measures of emancipation under present circumstances, what other branch of the legislature, I say, will be allowed to stop the progress of that measure? Why do I say that this measure will be the act of the Ministers? Because the circumstances of this country and of the West Indies are of such a nature that if a measure of emancipation is once propounded, stop it who can. I am, therefore, justified in considering that the responsibility of the proceeding rests entirely with the Government. What is the history of that proceeding? There was originally some communication between the Ministers and the West India Body, through the medium of the Deputies from the islands, & a plan was propounded from the consideration of the later. The Lords Howick and Goderich were then in office, and the Deputies were bound for a time to secrecy. The Deputies kept that secrecy. Circumstances afterwards occurred which removed those Noblemen from the Colonial Office. That plan was heard of no more. What happens? The Colonial Office is filled by another. In a short time, and without any communication with the West India body, notwithstanding the declaration of the Colonial Office that nothing would be done without entering previously into communication with that body, a new measure was propounded. Of course it was inserted in the public papers as quickly as it could be printed; and got over, or is in the course of getting over, to the West Indies. The mischief has been done already by merely sending out that plan to the slaves, though I will take upon myself to say that Government is not prepared to stand by that plan (cheers). They may carry the measure. I do not mean to say that they will not carry it; but I am sure they are not capable doing so, unless it is to be done at the risk of all the property vested in the West Indies.

I may next be allowed to say a few words on the subject of compensation, which is now proposed in the shape of a loan. In the first place I might advert to the insufficiency of the sum for the purposes for which it is intended to answer; but I pass that over, and proceed to the next point – the shape in which this compensation is proposed to be given. This compensation is to be of the nature of a loan. I should like to know what could have been in the mind of any person who could propose a compensation in the shape of a loan? There are persons, proprietors of land in the West Indies, who cannot make a profit from their

estates, and it is proposed to compensate them for a new loss to which they are to be subjected, by a loan. What are they to do with the loan? Is the planter to saddle his estate, which is worth nothing now, with an annual interest of perhaps 1,000*l.* in future? If a West India planter can be supposed to have any conscience at all – which I suppose is denied – can he be easily supposed to be willing to accept a loan for which he is conscious that his estate does not afford returns sufficient to pay interest? But suppose that this compensation should be turned into a gift, and suppose the West India planters should be offered a sum of money on condition of their adopting the Government plan – a sum of money to be guaranteed how? By the faith of Parliament, by the honour of the country. Should they come to me with such a tale, “What!” I should say, “is the faith of Parliament to be my guarantee for this new engagement of yours? Is the honour of the country to guarantee this sum of money to me, then? Is that to be my only guarantee at the time when the faith of Parliament is openly sacrificed to my ruin – at the moment when the honour of the country has consented to confiscate my property?”

There are a great many details on the subject of emancipation which I will not now trouble the Meeting with; and I will take up the time no longer than to mention one which I think is of importance. Supposing this compensation, or this loan called compensation, to be granted, the amount is to be determined by the average amount of produce on the island. Now, supposing I have an estate that produces very largely, and my neighbours have estates which produce nothing, am I to be rated at the average of that district? I do not lay any very great stress upon this point, but at the same time I think this ought to be looked to; but I shall proceed no farther with it, because there are many others in this Meeting better able than I to explain these points.

There is but one other thing more to which I wish not to advert, and that is the danger which must arise from the protraction of this question. Since the question has been broached, I am most anxious that it should be speedily brought to an issue. I can conceive nothing more dangerous to West India property – nothing likely to prove more disastrous than the continuance of discussions in the Legislature upon this subject. I lament sincerely that more information has not been sought by the Government from practical men. I believe that the Government would be desirous of receiving it; but there is a something which makes people lean away from us, because they consider us to be in a situation which renders us incapable of giving an unbiased opinion. Why, Gentlemen, if this matter is in progress, it is our duty to assist the Government, to the best of our abilities, in carrying their desirable objects into effect, but not suffer the spoliation of our property. We ought to see whether we cannot devise some means for effecting the emancipation of the slaves with safety to the colonies. Do not, however, let us consider the subject as one fraught with ruin to the Proprietors alone, or to the mortgagees alone, but as one deeply affecting the interests of the country at large. I hope that we shall have the assistance of all who claim the name of Englishmen in supporting our rights. As long as this is a free country – as long as we continue to have any claim to rights under the laws – as long as we consider funded property safe – as long as we have any rights to our estates – as long as we any right in our own houses – I call upon you to resist the spoliation of the West India planters.

The Earl of Harewood: Before I put the Resolution, I wish to say a word or two – first, with regard to what has passed this day, and next with regard to myself. I certainly take a little encouragement in this matter, when I recollect that the last time I met you in this room was on the subject of the Orders in Council. They required that the Crown Colonies should adopt them immediately “without alteration of a letter,” and that the Legislative Colonies should do the same. But, Gentlemen, I lived to see them mitigated in the Crown, and withdrawn from the Legislative Colonies (loud cheers). Therefore, we may still indulge some hope of our claims being listened to.

I must now say a few words on a much more delicate subject. Having taken a great interest in your affairs, my own being wrapped up in them, you may be surprised, perhaps, if you do not find me in my place in the House of Lords when these discussions come on (hear, hear). Gentlemen, it is to me, I can assure you, a subject of great delicacy. If any one thing will make me deviate from the course I should otherwise pursue, it is the appalling situation in which the West India Planters are placed; and now I do not pledge myself on the subject; but if I am not there, do not misunderstand my motives, or think me disregarding of your interests, which I never will be (cheers). It may be a question whether it is not preferable for me to where I might be of utility, to where I am sure I could be of none. This, Gentlemen, is a popular question; and, after what occurred last year, I call upon every man to come to it – fraught, as it is, with great national and individual interests, and to ask himself this question, whether that branch of the British legislature which was then – I must say it – which was then overruled, would not have been as it

ever has hitherto been, of essential service to the rights of property? Now I say that the attempt to overrule has succeeded, are your national interests or your personal wishes – (here the Noble Lord hesitated) – yes, I will say it, for I feel it – I will ask you, whether or not your personal safety is now in a worse condition than it was previous to the circumstance I allude to? – (There was cheering at the conclusion of the Noble Lord's address, but not at all of that general or enthusiastic character which had previously greeted the various speakers.)

The Noble Lord then put the Resolution, which was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr Ferrall, seconded by Mr Keith Douglas, thanks were voted, with hearty cheering, to the Earl of Harewood, for his conduct in the chair, and the meeting immediately separated.

In the House of Lords on 25 June 1833 the Earl of Harewood spoke in a debate on Resolutions passed in the House of Commons for the Abolition of Slavery.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=9bANAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *The Debates in Parliament – Session 1833 – on The Resolutions and Bill for the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies – with a copy of the Act of Parliament, published 1834* – House of Lords – 25 June 1833 – On the Resolutions – page 518 and 549-561 – extracts

The Earl of Ripon. – . . . My Lords, the House of Commons, after much deliberation, and much discussion, carried on for some years, and in every variety of shape, have come to certain resolutions with respect to the state of slavery in his Majesty's colonies in the West Indies, to which resolutions they seek the concurrence of this House . . .

Page 549-561

THE EARL OF HAREWOOD. – I am desirous of troubling your Lordships with a few observations on the resolutions which have been proposed by the Noble Earl; but, before I do so, I feel called upon to remark upon what fell from the Noble Baron [Lord Suffield]. I think it would have been well if the Noble Baron, who is himself, so closely connected with the Anti-Slavery-Society, had, at the present moment, when the minds of the black population of the colonies are excited to such an extent, and at the time when the Noble Baron himself is objecting to that part of the resolution which establishes the system of apprenticeship, abstained from giving utterance to such language as that which he used when he said that the slaves, if they could not get their freedom quietly, were prepared to take it. This is language which on no account should be used. The Noble Lord has likewise stated something with a view to prove that the free negroes are, on all occasions, willing to work; and has referred, in proof of this, to the Reports of this and the other House of Parliament. Now, I defy the Noble Lord to point out a single instance in those Reports in which it is stated that sugar was cultivated by free labour. But I will go further, and challenge the Noble Lord to point out a single instance in which, on that question being put as to free labour, the answer was, that any such labour had been known to the witness under examination. I do not mean to say that free negroes may not engage in other descriptions of labour; but, with regard to sugar cultivation, I defy the Noble Baron to point out one instance.

LORD SUFFIELD. – What says Admiral Fleming ?

THE EARL OF HAREWOOD. – What! Does he say that he saw free negroes working at sugar? Does he say that?

LORD SUFFIELD. – Yes.

THE EARL OF HAREWOOD. – Not in the Report of our House, certainly?

LORD SUFFIELD. – In the evidence before the House of Commons.

THE EARL OF HAREWOOD. – I was not aware of it. If I am in error let it be so; but it was denied in our Committee in every instance. There may be this instance, but I am sure that there is no other. Now, with regard to the resolutions, I beg to say a few words; but before I do so, I must complain of the treatment the West India body has received at the hands of Government. I will venture to assert that there has been no disposition shewn on the part of Government for the protection of their property. I am sorry to remark, that in consequence of the various pledges which have been given at different times on this subject, a mass of loose and crude proceedings have been adopted by his Majesty's Government, and the proposed measure has been agreed upon without reference either to the interests or the safety of the colonies –

without reference to any consideration, but the freedom of the slave; and up to the very moment at which I am addressing your Lordships, the West India body has had no fair and direct communication made to them by the Government about matters which relate so essentially to the preservation or destruction of their property.

With regard to these resolutions, I have to complain that, contemporaneously with the communication of the resolutions to the West India body, they appeared in the common public prints. Now, since that time there has been no distinct communication made to the West India body by the Government, notwithstanding their property in the West Indies – notwithstanding that their lives – notwithstanding that the best interests of the country are all at stake. Up to this moment no distinct mode of proceeding has been adopted for communicating with the West India body. I have had opportunities of knowing the sentiments of this body, as well from my knowledge of individuals, as from the expression of their opinions at public meetings; and I can say, on my own responsibility, that there is no cause whatever for entertaining those suspicions of the West India body, which are indulged in by some Noble Lords. There is a determined desire on their part, in the present state of things, to carry into execution these resolutions, not because they were fairly communicated to them by the Government, but because the Government has thrown out a question to them of the utmost danger among the slave population of the West Indies, and because they feel they must follow them up for their own safety and protection. But I would ask your Lordships, whether it is right to attempt to govern the West Indies in this way – that a law should be passed by the Imperial Parliament interfering with the colonial legislatures, and deeply affecting both life and property in the colonies – that this law should be suspended over the heads of the colonial legislatures as inoperative, – and be, at the same time, accompanied with this threat, “You may enact what the Parliament of England have enacted, but if you do not enact this within a given period, we drop this Act of Parliament on your heads, and a measure will be carried into effect without your concurrence?” It has been said by the Noble Earl opposite, that the details of this scheme are to be left to the legislative bodies in the West Indies. But by this course, what will be the situation in which these legislative assemblies will be placed? That the Imperial Parliament is to pass all the benefits of the measure – that it is to deprive the colonial legislatures of the power of conferring any boon or benefit upon those subject to their control – but that it leaves them at full liberty to enact all the pains and penalties attendant on the plan. Now, I implore your Lordships to take into timely consideration the inconsistency as well as the cruelty, of this project of his Majesty’s Ministers. The West India body are prepared to act up to the spirit of these resolutions, and that being the case, I contend that great responsibility will rest upon the Government, if it persists in its project, after it has been shewn to them how unlikely it is to promote – nay, how likely it is to disturb, the tranquillization of the West Indies. I know that it is impossible that Parliament could leave this question in the state in which it is; why, then, throw this stumbling-block in the way of the colonial assemblies, and, above all when in the settlement of this question, all that can be desired is already conceded to you, without adopting this objectionable course. This is not the time for alluding to the mode of compensation, which is to be adopted with regard to the owners of slaves in the colonies; but I must say this, that there has not been that open dealing on the part of Government with the West Indian body, which their numerous and important interests require. But, I am happy to say, that there is nothing left on their minds, in consequence of that treatment, which will prevent that body co-operating with the Government in these resolutions, provided the mode of dealing with them is left to themselves. I am satisfied that, if the matter be left to them, the colonial assemblies will act in conformity with the principles of these resolutions, and in perfect honesty towards the Government and Parliament. I am convinced that great inconvenience and danger will be avoided by pursuing the course I suggest. I am aware that great prejudice has been excited against the colonists, in consequence of certain circumstances which have recently occurred in the Island of Jamaica. Now, these circumstances have reference to a state of things different from that which exists at present; and, therefore, it is unnecessary to refer to them, in order to judge of the probable conduct of colonial legislatures in future.

EARL GREY. – I do not intend to trouble your Lordships at any length, on this important subject, on the present occasion; but I cannot help submitting to you a few observations, in consequence of what has fallen from the Noble Earl who spoke last . . .

THE EARL OF HAREWOOD. – I beg to observe that I did not go into any details. What I complained of was, that the communication of the nature of the measure to be introduced was not made to the West Indian body at an earlier period.

EARL GREY. – I will not press that part of my argument any further, then. The Noble Earl observed that our present mode of proceeding would be injurious to the character of the legislative assemblies of the

colonies – that it would lower them in the estimation of the slaves, and would place them in difficulties which would increase all the other dangers with which the subject is surrounded. Now, how does the matter really stand? . . .

DUKE OF WELLINGTON. – The Noble Earl has represented me to have said that the colonial legislature had enacted laws in the full spirit of all that had been required of them by the several Orders in Council, and by Parliament . . .

THE EARL of HAREWOOD. – What I complained of was, that although the Government had communicated with the West India body, yet they had not been sufficiently frank in their communications. The West India proprietors were informed that certain enactments were to be made respecting the colonies, but what those enactments were to be, was a matter effectually kept from their knowledge.

The Bill for the Abolition of Slavery had its third reading in the House of Commons on 26 July. It received Royal assent on 28 August 1833 – and by then it had been agreed that the slave owners would receive compensation (not a loan) – a total of £2,000,000, less administration costs.

Meanwhile in Jamaica, Henry Lowndes took over as agent for Rose Hall in St Thomas in the Vale. In his letter dated 8 June 1833 to Davison, Newman & Co, he referred to Edward having sailed on the 15 ultimo – on the 15 May 1833.

London Guildhall Library – Davison, Newman & Co papers

Jamaica 8 June 1833

Dear Sirs

Mr Clouston having sailed on the 15th ult^o
 they to hand you copy of his last. –
 I expect to ship 30 thds sugar R.H. in all for
 this crop. I shall be obliged by your protecting such
 part of it as may remain uninsured to be
 shipped by a ship or ships on or before 1 Aug^t
 at & from Jamaica I am Dear Sirs
 Your very Obedt Serv^t
 H Lowndes

When Edward left Jamaica, he gave powers of attorney to Henry Lowndes and William Holloway Clarke which were registered in 1833 in the Island Secretary's Office.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Index to Grantees, Records of Powers of Attorney, 1819/20 to 1879/82 –
 Index to Grantees – powers of attorney registered by Henry Lowndes

1833 – Lib 246, Fol 38 – to Lowndes, Henry, & al [William Holloway Clarke] – from Edward Clouston

Lib 246, Fol 39 – to Lowndes, Henry, & al – from Edward Clouston

Lib 246, Fol 42 – to Lowndes, Henry, & al – from Edward Clouston

Lib 246, Fol 271 – to Lowndes, Henry, & al – from Edward Clouston

Below – other powers of attorney registered by Henry Lowndes 1819/20 to 1839/40

1824 – *Lib 227, Fol 148* – to Lowndes, Henry, & al – from John Blackburn

1829 – *Lib 239, Fol 184* – to Lowndes, Henry – from Right Hble Lord Carrington, & al

Lib 239, Fol 203 – to Lowndes, Henry – from Margaret Bogle, & al

Lib 239, Fol 206 – to Lowndes, Henry – from Hugh Bogle, & al Trus. & Exors.

1830 – *Lib 241, Fol 79* – to Lowndes, Henry – from Right Hble Lord Carrington, & al

1832-33 – *Lib 245, Fol 189* – to Lowndes, Henry – from Robert D Clunie

1833 – *Lib 246, Fol 38* – to Lowndes, Henry – from Charles Scott

Lib 246, Fol 41 – to Lowndes, Henry, & al – from Millicent Lane

1834-35 – *Lib 248, Fol 152* – to Lowndes, Henry, & al – from Henry E Burnett

Note – above – from Henry E Burnett – & al = Edward Clouston – *Lib 248, Fol 152* – to Clouston, Edward, & al – from Henry E Burnett – I have no information on Henry E Burnett.

1835 – *Lib 249, Fol 131* – to Lowndes, Henry, & al – from William Hervey

Lib 249, Fol 185 – to Lowndes, Henry – from George William Hamilton

1836-37 – *Lib 251, Fol 162* – to Lowndes, Henry, & al – from John Blackburn

Note – *Lib 251, Fol 162* – to Lowndes, Robert Gillies (Henry's brother), & al – from John Blackburn

1839-40 – *Lib 254, Fol 113* – to Lowndes, Henry – from Right Hble Earl of Harewood

After Eliza and Henry Clouston were manumitted in 1827, Eliza had one child – William Burrowes, aged 6 on 28 June 1817 (see Chapter 9) who was still a slave. In 1833 he was 'given up for arrears of Road Tax due by Williamsfield'.

My photo – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 75, Fol 102 – Williamsfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – in the possession of George Cuthbert and Henry Lowndes – crop account for year 1833 – includes



Then on 29 July 1883 the Collecting Constable sold William to Eliza.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 787, Fol 201 – Entered Island Secretary's Office 8 Jan 1834 – Bill of Parcels and Receipt, dated 29 July 1833 – Robert Page, C. C. St Thomas in the Vale (1) – to Eliza Fox (2) – summary

Eliza Fox bought at public sale a mulatto (sic) boy Slave named William Burrowes given up for arrears of Road Tax due by Williamsfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale and Sold to Eliza Fox for £60 – received payment in full – Robt Page, C. C.

19 August 1833 – Robert Page acknowledged before Joseph Gordon that the Bill of Parcels & receipt was all of his hand writing. 6 January 1834 – Peter Blackburn swore before Henry Lowndes that the Bill of Parcels contained 135 words

20 C.C. 1 Jamaica Is.
 - { St Thomas in the Vale }
 Fox { 29th July 1833. Eliza Fox Bought at public sale a mulatto boy
 reeles { Slave named William Burrowes given up for arrears of Road tax due by Williamsfield
 H. 1834 { Estate to the parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale and sold to the said Eliza Fox for £60.
 D) at same time received payment in full of sixty pounds Robt Page, C.C.
 Mem^o. this 19th day of August 1833 personally came before me Robert Page acknowledged
 the above Bill of parcels & receipt of the name of Robt Page C.C. therunto attached to be
 all of his hand writing Joseph Gordon
 I Peter Blackburn do swear that the within Bill of parcels contains one hundred and thirty
 five words to the best of my reckoning & belief Whelpme God P Blackburn
 Sworn before me this 6 January 1834 H Lowndes
 Wm H. S. S.

But why was Eliza's son William given up for taxes? Over the years that Eliza and her family were slaves belonging to Williamsfield, William was, as far as I have seen, the only slave owned by the 1st or 2nd Earls of Harewood who was given up for taxes, and as far as I have seen no slave was sold.

Perhaps before Edward left Jamaica, Eliza wanted William to be manumitted or sold to her, but the Earl of Harewood's attorneys did not have the power to manumit or sell a slave.

Lewis Cuthbert in his evidence at the Bar of the House of Lords in 1792 said that a slave on Williamsfield asked for his daughter to be manumitted, but 'Lord Harewood's attorneys had not the power to manumise Negroes; they wrote to his Lordship, and his Lordship immediately answered the letter with a power of attorney' – see Chapter 3.

If the attorneys of the 2nd Earl of Harewood did not have the power to manumit or sell a slave, and if they had written to the Earl for his consent to manumit or sell William to Eliza, it would have been months before any consent arrived in Jamaica. So perhaps the attorneys decided that a way around any

lack of power to manumit or sell a slave was to give William up for taxes so that Eliza could buy her son from the Collecting Constable. It also seems possible that £60 was the amount due by Williamsfield for road taxes, and when William was given up for taxes the Collecting Constable agreed with the attorneys that he would sell William to Eliza for £60.

When Edward bought Simon Peacan in 1827 at the Collecting Constable's sale in St Thomas in the Vale, the Deed Poll (see Chapter 16) records that Edward was the 'best and highest bidder', but in the Deed Poll, above, recording the sale of William to Eliza, there is no mention of her being the best and highest bidder.

On 29 July 1833 (the day Eliza purchased her son William) William Wilberforce died.

<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections.php> – George Richmond – watercolour 1833 – William Wilberforce



On 20 September 1833 Edward's attorneys conveyed Orkneys, his 10 acres in St Thomas in the East, to William Rae of Kingston who in 1832 purchased Edward's slave Dorothy (see Chapter 19).

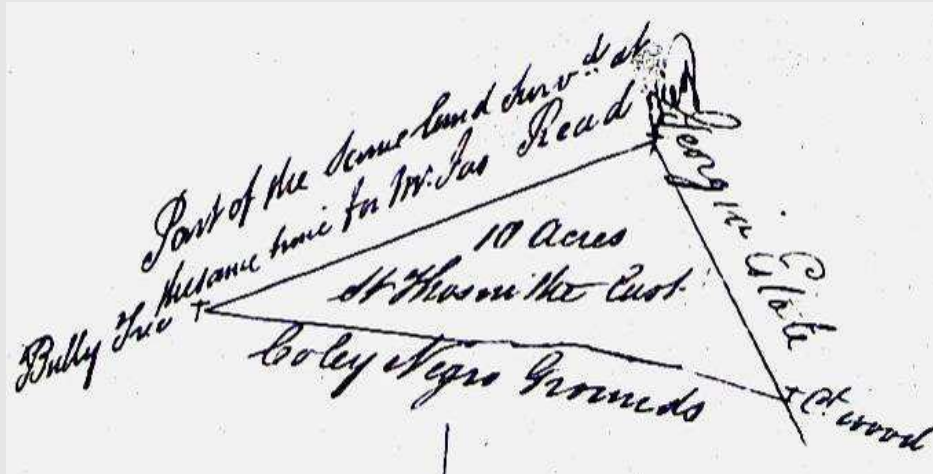
Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 789, Fol 131 – Entered Island Secretary's Office 17 October 1833 – Indenture, dated 20 September 1833 – Edward Clouston of St Thomas in the Vale, Esq by his Attorneys in Jamaica Henry Lowndes and ---- (not filled in) of St Thomas in the Vale (1) – to William Rae of Kingston, Esq (2) – summary

For £40 Jamaica currency – Henry Lowndes and (blank) convey to William Rae – 10 acres of land – part of Nigg plantation – butting and bounding as by the diagram hereunto annexed – signed, sealed and delivered by Henry Lowndes – Witness William Hyslop

20 September 1833 – William Hyslop of Kingston made oath before John Fowles that he saw Edward Clouston's attorney Henry Lowndes sign, seal and deliver the deed

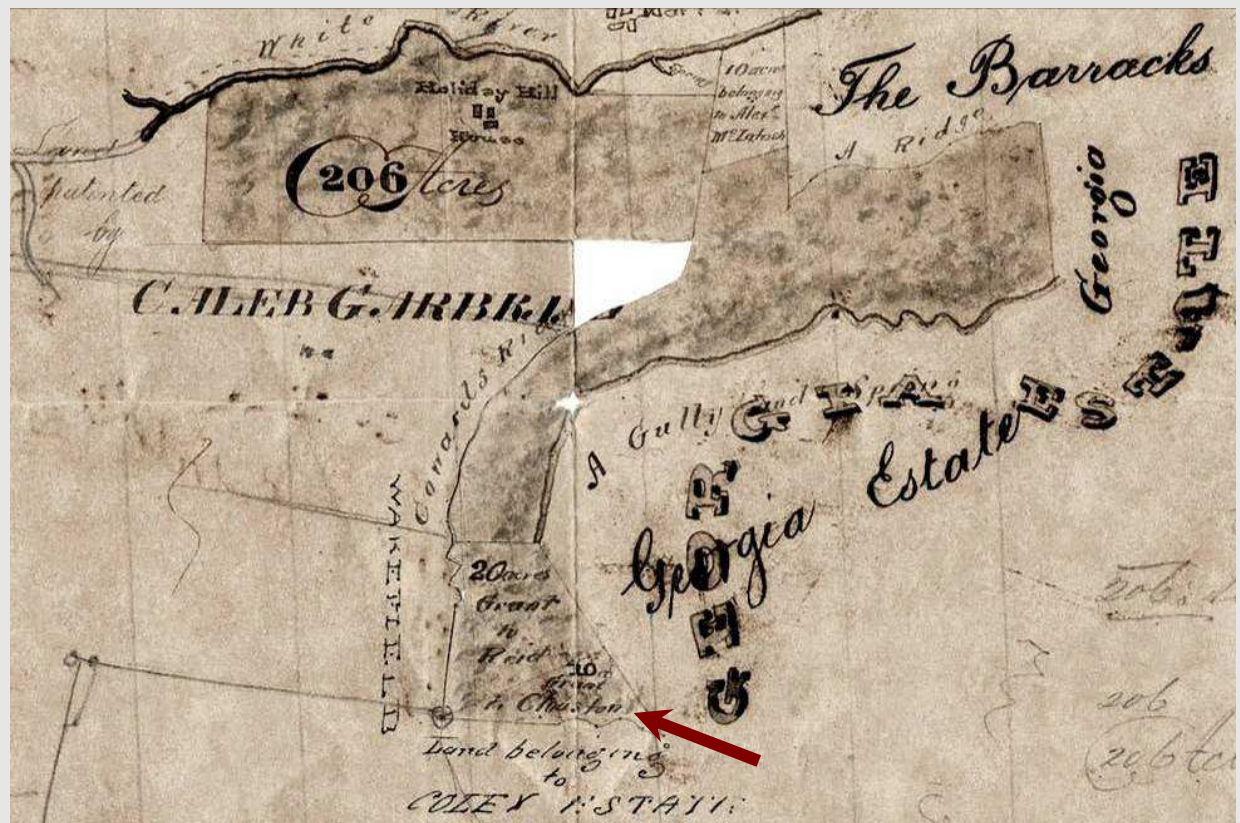
3 October 1833 – Henry Smith of Kingston, Gent, made oath before William Harris that the deed of conveyance contains 6 legal sheets and Words.

Diagram annexed



Jamaica ss Hereby is represented ten acres of land part of Nigg plantation in the parish of Saint Thomas in the East butting and binding as above described and is the diagram to which the annexed deed refers copied from a Survey of P. H. Keeffe in 1809

*Jamaica National Library – Maps & Plans, St. T. 1503 – Plan of Holiday Hill in the Parish of St Thos. in the East, Jamaica – The Property of the Heirs of the late Dr W. F. Grant decd. – 1848 – section – **arrow** points to – 10a (acres) Grant to Clouston*



My photo, November 2009 – Blue Mountain Valley – looking north



The Governor of Jamaica, the Earl of Mugarve, gave his Assent to the Slavery Abolition Bill on 12 December 1833.

www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1845 Jamaica Almanac – Historical and Remarkable Events – 1833

Aug. 19. The delegates from this island (Hon. Richard Barrett and Hon. Abraham Hodgson), with the island agent (William Burge, Esq.) protested against the Abolition Bill, which protest was addressed to the Right Hon. Earl Grey, Prime Minister.

Sept. 1. The Abolition Bill received by the Plover packet.

Oct. 8. The House of Assembly met this day, when the question of emancipation was pressed upon the legislature by the Governor in his opening speech.

Nov. 23. Proclamation of the King in Council issued this day, on the subject of the intended change in the condition of the slave population.

Dec. 12. The Governor's assent given to the Slavery Abolition Bill.

The Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies came into force on 1 August 1834.

Edward's crop account for 1833 includes – By Charles McDonald for 70 Acre of land part of Retirement plantation - £300. Edward's attorneys conveyed the 70 acres to Charles McDonald on 9 October 1834 – see Chapter 21

Edward Clouston's Crop Account for 1833

[illegible]

Jamaica 2 I William H Clarke Attorney for Edward
 St Thomas in the Vale 3 Colston Esquire do sworn that the above is a
 just and true account of the Rents profits produce and proceeds of
 the said Edward Colston Esquire from the 1st day of January to the
 31st day of December 1833 to the best of my knowledge and belief
 Signed
 William H Clarke
 Sworn before me the 12th
 day of March 1834 3 Robt Fairweather
 J.P.

Williamsfield crop accounts for 1833 includes – Wm Burrowes sold for Taxes - £60 (see above) – For hire of Ann Balfour (Bessy's eldest daughter) for 1 year - £16 – and For hire of Elizabeth Milligan (Ann Balfour's daughter) from 21st May to 31st December @ £21 6s 8d - £13 1s 10d

My photo – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 75, Fol 102 – Williamsfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – Entered Island Secretary's Office 25 Mar 1834 – in the possession of George Cuthbert and Henry Lowndes – crop account for year 1833 – sworn on 12 February 1834 by William Allanach before R V Perry Ogilvie

| How disposed of | Sugar | | Rum | |
|--|-------|-----|------|---------|
| | lbs | cwt | gals | barrels |
| Shipped on board the Thames and consigned to Messrs Nelson Adams & Nelson London | 20 | .. | 4 | .. |
| Shipped on board the Planet do do do | 40 | .. | 20 | .. |
| Shipped on board the Fulbelet do do do | 20 | .. | 10 | .. |
| Shipped on board the Woodman do do do | 20 | .. | .. | .. |
| Shipped on board the Duke of Brants do do do | 13 | .. | .. | .. |
| Shipped on board the Henry Davidson do do do | 26 | .. | 12 | .. |
| Shipped on board the Hyman do do do | .. | .. | 8 | .. |

Shipperton board the Simon Taylor do do do 24 . 21 .

| Total Shipment | 163 | 75 | - |
|--------------------------------|------|----|----|
| Unlaid at Wharf | 1 | 1 | 65 |
| Used and reserved | 2 | 4 | . |
| Sold Platfield Plantation | 704 | - | . |
| Sold Howell do | 600 | 1 | . |
| Sold Rd Dairy Exp | 865 | 1 | . |
| Sold A Page Exp | 560 | . | 60 |
| Sold Allen Gilgum Exp | 1110 | . | . |
| Sold Peter Blackburn Exp | " | 1 | . |
| Sold to the Farm Run | " | . | 59 |
| Sold to Mr Rop | " | . | 40 |
| Put up for the Earl of Harwood | " | 1 | . |
| On hand | " | 1 | . |

Deduct for included in 1832

Total Exp for 1833

| | | |
|---------|----|-----|
| 1662909 | 85 | 224 |
| . | 2 | . |
| 1662909 | 83 | 224 |

For 13 head of old stock sold to Goshen pen

| | | | |
|--|----|----|----|
| Mr Burrows sold for taxes by the collecting Constable | 83 | . | . |
| Nightingale Grove for the hire of 119 carpenters for 10 days @ 4/2 | 60 | . | . |
| Hire of Ann Balfour for 1 year | 24 | 15 | 10 |
| Hire of Mary Mills | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| Hire of Elizabeth Melling from 25 May to 31 Dec. £31 6 8 | 18 | 2 | 5 |
| | 18 | 1 | 10 |

| | | | |
|--|------------|----|---|
| State of Elizabeth Bird for 16 weeks to 10th Feb 1834 | 8 | . | . |
| • Carriage of articles between flatford and Angelfield | 25 | . | . |
| • 27 1/2 Cords Wood sold Mr A. L. Ansell from the Pen 20th Feb | 36 | 13 | 4 |
| Shipped of Henry Davidson 9 Tons 7/2 Logwood from the Pen | . | . | . |
| | £ 284 13 5 | | |

Jamaica

St Thomas in the Vale } William Allamach do swear that the above is a just and true account of all the Pen's profits produce and proceeds of Williamsfield Estate for the year ending the 31st of December one thousand eight hundred and thirty three except what has been used in crop and reserved for the Estate use to the best of my knowledge and belief

Subscribed and sworn
William Allamach

Sworn before this 12th day
of February 1834
Attest
N V Perry Esquire

Above – Shipped P Henry Davidson – Logwood from the Pen – appears to be referring to Williamsfield Pen in St Catherine – see below Indenture of lease.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Lib 867, Fol 95 – Entered Island Secretary's Office 26 Oct 1844 – Indenture of Lease, dated 1 August 1844 – Henry (3rd) Earl of Harewood by his Attorney Edward Thompson of Clarendon, Esq (1) – Daniel Power French of St Thomas in the Vale, Esq (2) – summary

For yearly rent of £140 Jamaica currency – the (3rd) Earl of Harewood leases to Daniel Power French – Williamsfield Plantation or Sugar Work, St Thomas in the Vale, containing by estimation 2,794 acres more or less – and parcel of land in St Catherine called Williamsfield Pen, used as a resting place for the Cattle of said Estate in carrying the produce thereof to the wharf, containing 100 acres more or less

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/adv_search/ – Lascelles West Indies – movinghere.org.uk – Account Book – Abstract of the Income and Expenditure for Williamsfield & Nightingale Grove Plantations – Nelson & Adam, London, 30 April 1834 – Crop 1833 – Williamsfield

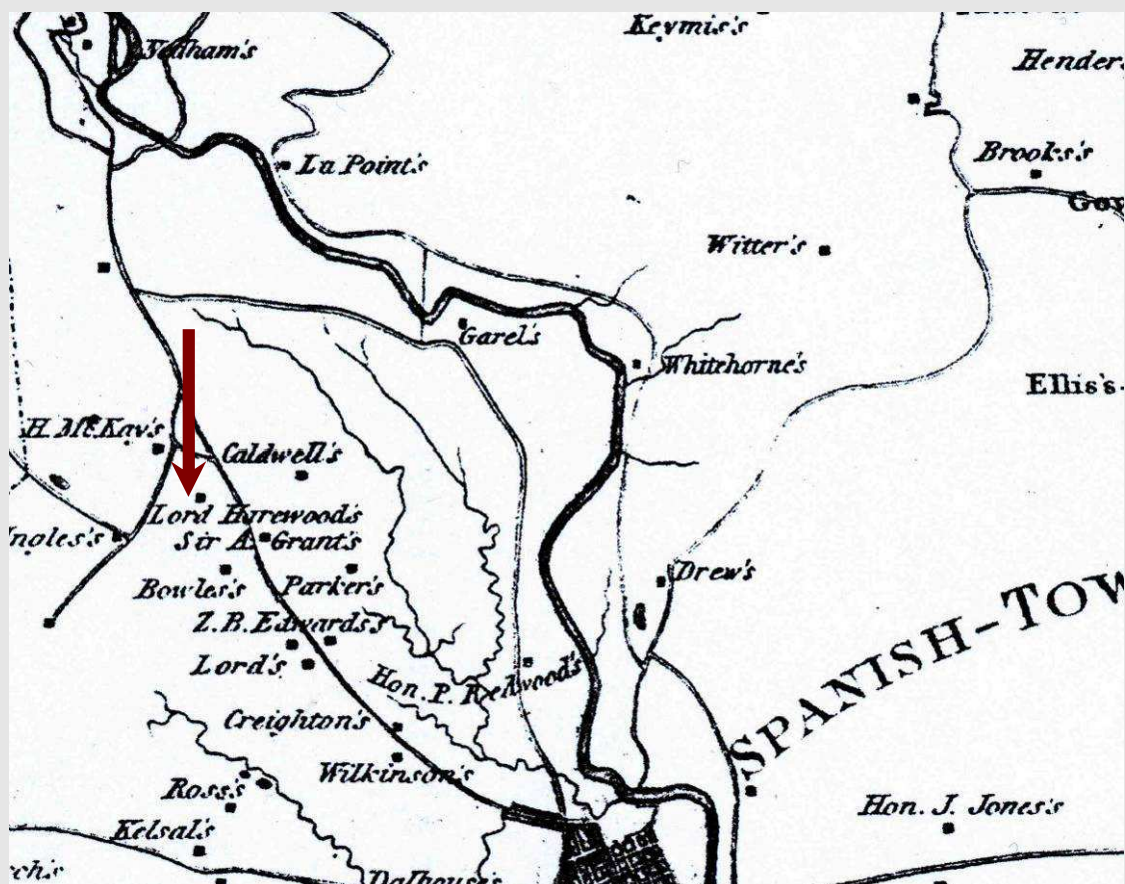
| | |
|---|--------------|
| Proceeds of 163 Hhds of Sugar 75 Puns of Rum and some Logwood - - - - - | 3236 - 4 - 3 |
| Deduct | |

| | | | |
|--|----------------------|--------------|---------------|
| Insurance £97- 15 - 1 | Stores £554 - 10 - 6 | | |
| Commission Postage & Stamps £31 - 3 - 5 | ----- | 683 - 9 - 0 | 2552 - 15 - 3 |
| Pr Accounts of Geo Cuthbert & G W Hamilton dated | 31 Decr 1833 | | |
| Amount of this years Expenses | ----- | 2124 - 3 - 6 | 428 - 11 - 9 |

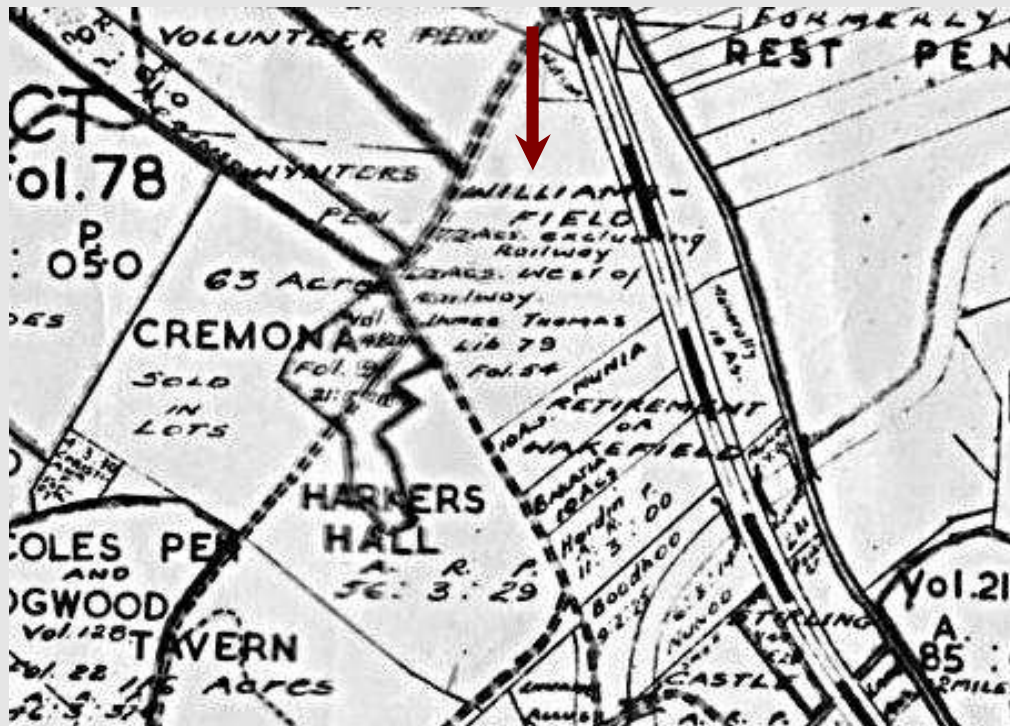
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/adv_search/ – Lascelles West Indies – movinghere.org.uk –
Abstract of the Produce of the Estates and other Property in the West Indies belonging to the Earl of Harewood – Nelson & Adam, London, 30 April 1834 – Crop 1833 - Williamsfield

Williamsfield Estate
 Proceeds of 163 M^{ts} of Sugar 2453.1.
 75. Puro Rum - 748.1.6
 Log Wood - 35.1.0
 deduct £3236.4.3
 Insurances £97.15.1 Stores £554.10.6
 Commission Postage & Stamps £31.3.5 683.9.
Nightingale Grove Estate 2552 153

<http://maps.nls.uk/jamaica/index.html> – *The Three Counties of Jamaica*, by James Robertson, published 1804 – County of Middlesex – Parish of St Catherine – section – bottom, Spanish Town – top left, Nedham's = Crescent Pen – **arrow** points to Lord Harewood's = Williamsfield Pen



Jamaica National Library – Maps & Plans – No. 2 Parish of St Catherine, compiled 1882, revised 1956 – section – **arrow** points to Williamsfield (Pen) – below and west of Williamsfield – Harkers Hall = Lime Tree Garden Pen



www.oldprintshop.com/cgi-bin/gallery.pl?action=detail&inventory_id=70136&itemno= (accessed 2015)
 – J B Kidd – c.1838 – The Bog Walk, St Thomas in the Vale – road through the Rio Cobre Gorge to the shipping wharves on the south coast



Mount Olive and Crescent Pen crop accounts for the year 1833 were sworn by John Munro, the overseer.

My photos – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 75, Fol 139 – Mount Olive Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, and Crescent Pen, St Catherine – Entered Island Secretary's Office 2 Apr 1834 – crop account for the year 1833 – sworn on 8 March 1834 by John Munro, Overseer, before R H Sharp

| Vessels | Masters | Comsignees | Port | Sugar | | | Rum |
|-------------------------|----------|---------------|--------|-------|-----|-----|------|
| | | | | Albs | Pcs | Bls | Phns |
| Shipped on the Demerara | Torrest | Meper Dandson | | 10 | ' | ' | ' |
| " Fullsch Cutte | Buggs | Barkly & Co | London | 50 | 20 | 1 | 18 |
| " My Dandson | Williams | | | 28 | 13 | ' | 13 |
| Total Shipped | | | | 88 | 33 | 1 | 31 |
| Sold to Capt. Buggs | | | | " | " | 2 | ' |
| " Col. Mackenzie Esq | | | | " | " | 1 | ' |
| " A J Lando Esq | | | | " | " | 1 | ' |
| Total Crop | | | | 88 | 33 | 5 | 31 |

| | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|------------|----|----|
| Berkshire Hall Estate for carriage of sugar to West Pen | | | | 16 | ' | ' |
| Bony Bridge plantation ditto of Coffee to Port Henderson | | | | 16 | 5 | ' |
| Maise Plantation ditto of ditto to ditto | | | | 10 | 16 | 8 |
| Hill Side ditto ditto of Rements to ditto | | | | 9 | 15 | 10 |
| Richmond Hill ditto 3 Coffee Trenches c 20 of each | | | | 3 | ' | ' |
| Golden Pen for 13 old fable @ £8. 4/1 ditto £10 | | | | 114 | ' | ' |
| The Parish of St Thomas in the Vale for work done on the public Road | | | | 27 | 15 | 7 |
| | | | | £ 197 12 7 | | |

Jamaica ss I John Munro Overseer on Mount Olive Estate do swear that above is a just and true account of all the Rents profits and proceeds of such Estate and pen in the above mentioned parishes and Island aforesaid under my care between the 1st day of January and the 31st day of December 1833 to the best of my knowledge & belief so help me God

John Munro

Sworn before me the Eighth day of March 1834 R H Sharp

My photo, November 2009 – sugar cane ‘in arrow’



https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=AJULAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s&hl=en – Tom Cringle’s Log, by an anonymous author (Michael Scott), published 1834 (first published as a book in 1833) – page 512

... 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,) ...

CHAPTER 21

1834 to 1835

Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies — Eliza and Edward's Valuators' Returns of Slaves — Apprentices — Special Magistrate's Court, Spanish Town — Richard Robert Madden and *Tom Cringle* — Work done by Williamsfield great gang — Claims for Compensation — Eliza's, Scholar's Cot, and Edward's, Scholar's Cot, and the Earl of Harewood's for slaves on Williamsfield — Edward's attorneys convey Retirement — Edward and Orkney — Robert Fairweather and Apprentices — House of Assembly's Memorial to the King in Council — Crop Accounts, 1834, for Edward, and for Williamsfield — Apprentices on Williamsfield brought before the Special Magistrate, 1834-35 — death of George Cuthbert, 1835 — Counter-Claims for Compensation made by Edward — Compensation Payments to Edward and Eliza, and to the Earl of Harewood for slaves on Williamsfield — Crop Accounts, 1835, for Williamsfield, and for Scholar's Cot

On 14 March 1834 the Earl of Mulgrave, Governor of Jamaica, embarked for England. On 15 March George Cuthbert, President of the Council of Jamaica (one of the attorneys to the Earl of Harewood), was sworn in to administer the Government. Then on 31 March Major General Sir Amos Norcott was sworn in as Lieutenant Governor.

See – www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1845 Jamaica Almanac – Historical and Remarkable Events – 1834

On 4 April 1834 the new Governor, the Marquis of Sligo, arrived in Jamaica.

British Library – Biographical Annals of Jamaica, by Frank Cundall, published 1904 – page not noted

The Governor appointed with the special object of carrying out the scheme of emancipation was the second Marquis of Sligo, who arrived here accompanied by six stipendiary magistrates to administer the Acts.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 24 May 1834, page PS 24 – Proclamation by Lord Sligo – To the Negro Population throughout the Island of Jamaica.

My Friends,

Our good King, who was himself in Jamaica a long time ago, still thinks and talks a great deal of this Island. He has sent me out here to take care of you, and to protect your rights; but he has also ordered me to see justice done to your owners, and to punish those who do wrong. Take my advice, for I am your friend – be sober, honest, and work well when you become Apprentices, for should you behave ill and refuse to work because you are no longer slaves, you will assuredly render yourselves liable to punishment.

The People of England are your friends and fellow subjects – they have shewn themselves such by passing a Bill to make you all Free. Your masters are also your friends, they have proved their kind feeling towards you all by passing in the House of Assembly the same Bill. The way to prove that you are deserving of all this goodness, is by labouring diligently during your Apprenticeship.

You will, on the first of August next, no longer be slaves, but from that day you will be Apprenticed to your former owners for a few years, in order to fit you all for freedom. It will therefore depend entirely upon your own conduct whether your Apprenticeship be short or long, for should you runaway you will be brought back by the Maroons and Police, and have to remain in Apprenticeship longer then those who behave well. You will only be required to work four days and a half in each week, the remaining day and a half in each week will be your own time and you may employ it for your own benefit. Bear in mind everyone is obliged to work – some work with their hands, others with their heads, but no one can live and be considered respectable without some employment. Your lot is to work with your hands, I pray you therefore, do your part faithfully, for if you neglect your duty you will be brought before the Magistrates whom the King has sent out to watch you, and they must act fairly and do justice to all by punishing those who are badly disposed. Do not listen to the advice of bad people, for should any of you refuse to do what the law requires of you, you will bitterly repent it when at the end of the appointed time all your fellow labourers are released from Apprenticeship, you find yourselves condemned to hard labour in the workhouse for a lengthened period, as a punishment for your disobedience.

If you follow my advice, and conduct yourselves well, nothing can prevent your being your own masters, and your wives, and children, at the end of four or six years, according to your respective classes.

I have not time to go about to all properties in this Island and tell you this myself – I have therefore ordered this letter of Advice to be printed, and ordered it to be read to you all, that you may not be deceived and bring yourselves into trouble by bad advice or mistaken notions.

I trust you will be obedient and diligent subjects to our good King, so that he may never have cause to be sorry for all the good he has done for you.

Your friend and well wisher,

Sligo. Governor of Jamaica.

On 14 July 1834 the Marquis of Sligo issued a Proclamation to all runaway slaves.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 19 July 1834, page PS 24

A Proclamation.

By his Excellency the Most Noble Howe Peter, Marquess of Sligo, Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of Saint Patrick, and Member of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Councils in England and Ireland, Captain General and Governor in Chief of this his Majesty's Island of Jamaica, and the Territories thereon depending in America, Chancellor, and Vice-Chancellor of the same.

To All
Runaway Slaves,
Throughout the Island of Jamaica.

Whereas it has been represented to me that several Slaves having runaway, are now absent from their Owners, and are secreted in different parts of this Island, to the great detriment of the community. And it appearing to me expedient to break up all such unlawful associations, I have therefore thought fit to issue this my Proclamation, promising and assuring his Majesty's Most Gracious Pardon to any Runaway Slave who shall have been guilty of no other offence against the Laws except leaving his or her Master or Mistress's service: Provided nevertheless, that such Slave shall surrender him or herself between the

Hours of Sunrise and Sunset, on the first day of August next,

to one of the Special Justices, appointed by his Majesty for the settlement of disputes between Masters and Apprentices, subsequent to the thirty first day of July; and such Special Justice is hereby authorised and required to grant to each Slave, so surrendering, a Certificate, or his Majesty's Most Gracious Pardon, according to this my Proclamation, so far as his or her absconding from his or her owner is concerned: Provided always, That such individual shall return, after having received such certificate, to his or her duties as Apprentices, otherwise such Certificate to be null and void.

All Runaway Slaves are hereby warned and informed, that this is the last opportunity which can be afforded them of coming in upon a General Amnesty; and that all such as do not take advantage of the same, will hereafter be dealt with according to Law.

I do therefore seriously call upon all such Slaves, and admonish and advise them to avail themselves of this opportunity of the extension of his Majesty's Royal Clemency towards them, and thereby to secure to themselves the advantages which the first of August will give to the remainder of the Slave Population of this Island.

I do hereby moreover recommend to all Slave Owners, Managers, and Others,

Not to Punish or bring to Trial

any of the Slaves who shall or may return to their service, on any day previous to the said first day of August next, and that they make known their intention of so doing in the most public manner to the Slaves on the several Estates and Properties.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms, at St Jago de la Vega, the fourteenth day of July, Annoque Domini, 1834.

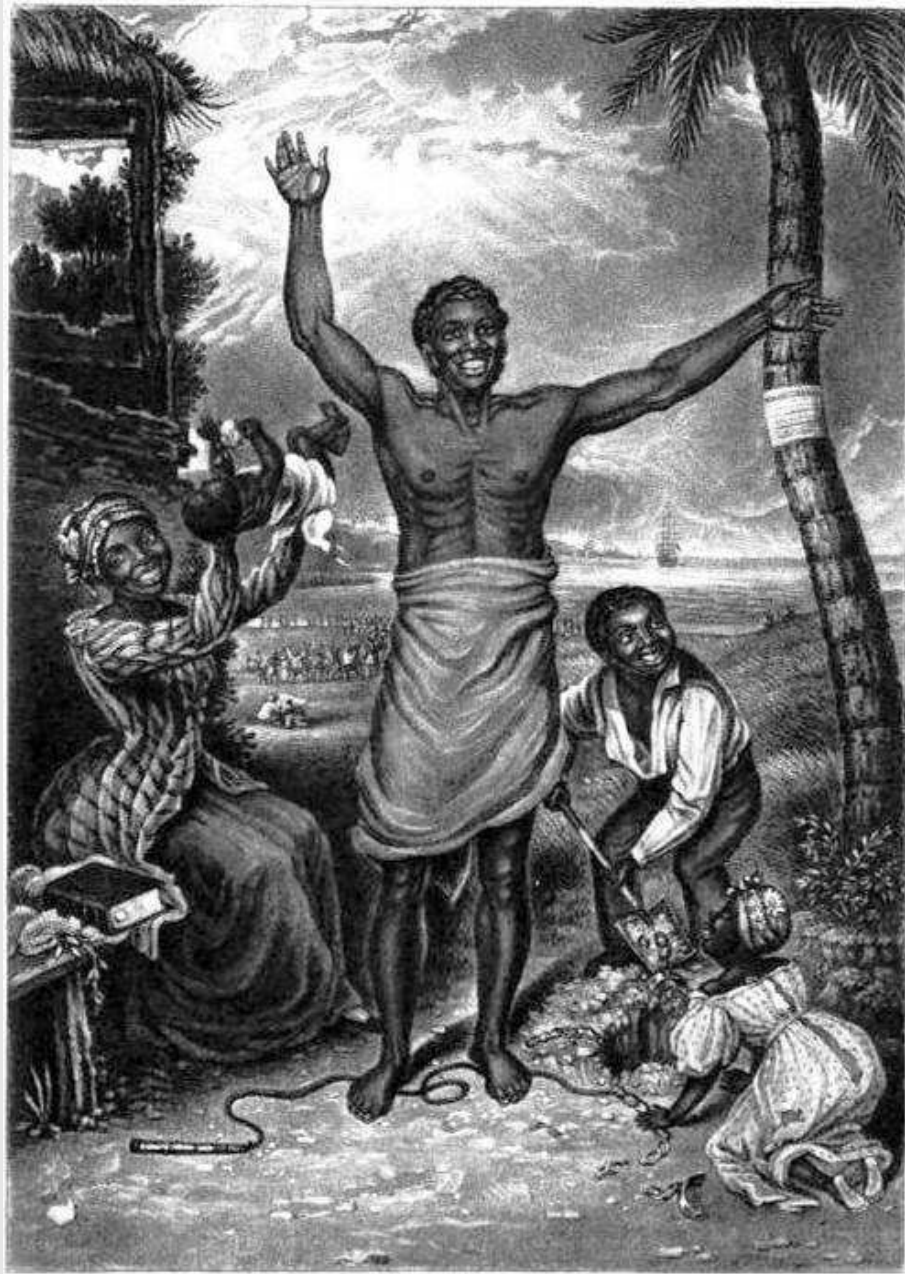
By his Excellency's Command,
Sligo.
C J Doyle, Sec.

www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1845 Jamaica Almanac – Historical and Remarkable Events

1834 – Aug. 1 – The long anticipated and memorable day on which Slavery was abolished throughout the British colonies.

See – www.pdavis.nl/Legis_07.htm – An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies; for promoting the Industry of the manumitted Slaves; and for compensating the Persons hitherto entitled to the Services of such Slaves.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=lcgZYYna4fcC&source=gbp_navlinks_s – *A Twelvemonths Residence in the West Indies during the transition from Slavery to Apprenticeship . . .* by R R Madden, M.D. – in 2 Vols – Vol I – Frontispiece – The 1st of August



On 1 August 1834 former slaves, except children under the age of six, became ‘Apprentices’ who had by law to continue working, with hours slightly reduced, for their former owners.

Eliza’s son William Burrowes (her one slave) and Edward’s 21 slaves were all domiciled in St Thomas in the Vale on Scholar’s Cot – the plantation conveyed to Edward in 1831 – see Chapter 18.

London National Archives – T71/690 – Valuators' Returns, St Thomas in the Vale

Claim No. 25 – Eliza Fox

| | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|-------|---------|---------|--------------------------|
| Name of Estate or Domicile of Slaves. Scholar's Cot | <u>JAMAICA – St Thomas in the Vale</u> <u>RETURN</u> Of the Number of Slaves and Estimated Value thereof, in each Class, in possession of <u>Eliza Fox</u> <u>owner</u> on the 1 st day of August, 1834. | | | | | No. 25. |
| TOTAL NUMBER of SLAVES <u>One</u> | | | | | | |
| DIVISIONS. | No. | CLASSES. | Male. | Female. | Number. | Value in Sterling. |
| Praedial Attached | 1 | Head People | | | | |
| | 2 | Tradesmen | | | | |
| | 3 | Inferior Tradesmen | | | | |
| | 4 | Field Labourers | | | | |
| | 5 | Inferior Field Labourers | | | | |
| Praedial Unattached | 1 | Head People | | | | |
| | 2 | Tradesmen | | | | |
| | 3 | Inferior Tradesmen | | | | |
| | 4 | Field Labourers | | | | |
| | 5 | Inferior Field Labourer | | | | |
| Non- Praedial | 1 | Head Tradesmen | | | | |
| | 2 | Inferior Tradesmen | 1 | | 1 | 45 |
| | 3 | Head People employed on Wharfs, Shipping, or other Avocations | | | | |
| | 4 | Inferior People of the same description | | | | |
| | 5 | Head Domestic Servants | | | | |
| | 6 | Inferior Domestics | | | | |
| Children under Six Years of Age on the 1 st August, 1834 | | | | | | |
| Aged, Diseased, or otherwise Non-effective | | | | | | |
| | | | | | 1 | 45 |
| <p>We, the under signed, being two of the Valuers appointed to Classify and Value the Slaves in the above named Colony, do on our Oaths declare, after due examination and enquiry, that the above Return is a just true, and accurate Classification and Valuation of the Slaves therein mentioned, on the 1st day of August, 1834, according to the best of our knowledge, information, and belief.</p> <p>Dated this first day of October 1834.</p> <p>Sworn this 5th day of Nov 1834 before me, ... Brown</p> <p>Signed Alex Forbes Charles Aysey</p> | | | | | | |

London National Archives – T71/690 – Valuators' Returns, St Thomas in the Vale

Claim No. 298 – Edward Clouston

| Name of Estate Or Domicile of Slaves. | | <u>JAMAICA – St Thomas in the Vale.</u> | | | No. 298. | |
|--|-----|--|-------|---------|----------|--------------------------|
| Scholar's Cot | | <u>RETURN</u> Of the Number of Slaves and Estimated Value thereof, in each Class, in possession of <u>Edward Clouston</u> <u>owner</u> on the 1 st day of August, 1834. | | | | |
| TOTAL NUMBER of SLAVES <u>Twenty one</u> | | | | | | |
| DIVISIONS. | No. | CLASSES. | Male. | Female. | Number. | Value in Sterling. |
| Praedial Attached | 1 | Head People | | | | |
| | 2 | Tradesmen | | | | |
| | 3 | Inferior Tradesmen | | | | |
| | 4 | Field Labourers | 7 | 3 | 10 | 650 |
| | 5 | Inferior Field Labourers | 3 | 2 | 5 | 150 |
| Praedial Unattached | 1 | Head People | | | | |
| | 2 | Tradesmen | | | | |
| | 3 | Inferior Tradesmen | | | | |
| | 4 | Field Labourers | | | | |
| | 5 | Inferior Field Labourer | | | | |
| Non- Praedial | 1 | Head Tradesmen | | | | |
| | 2 | Inferior Tradesmen | | | | |
| | 3 | Head People employed on Wharfs, Shipping, or other Avocations | | | | |
| | 4 | Inferior People of the same description | | | | |
| | 5 | Head Domestic Servants | 2 | 1 | 3 | 200 |
| | 6 | Inferior Domestics | | 1 | 1 | 40 |
| Children under Six Years of Age on the 1 st August, 1834 | | | | 2 | 2 | 25 |
| Aged, Diseased, or otherwise Non-effective | | | | | | |
| | | | | | 21 | 1065 |
| <p>We, the under signed, being two of the Valuers appointed to Classify and Value the Slaves in the above named Colony, do on our Oaths declare, after due examination and enquiry, that the above Return is a just true, and accurate Classification and Valuation of the Slaves therein mentioned, on the 1st day of August, 1834, according to the best of our knowledge, information, and belief.</p> <p>Dated this first day of October 1834.</p> <p>Sworn this 4th day of November 1834 before me, R Smith ...</p> <p>Signed Alex Forbes Charles Aysey</p> | | | | | | |

On 15 August 1834 the Marquis of Sligo issued a Proclamation to the newly made Apprentices.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 25 Oct 1834, page 8

To the Newly Made Apprentices of Jamaica.

The first of August has passed over you, and you are NO LONGER SLAVES. You have been raised by the generosity and humanity of the British nation and of those who had power over you from a state of Slavery to that of Apprenticeship. On yourselves alone it now depends, under the blessing of Divine Providence, whether you pass a happy and short period of apprenticeship, and then become entire masters of your own time, or whether you are continued in consequence of your own misconduct some time longer without that great blessing. If you misbehave, you will see your friends who are around you, and who have conducted themselves faithfully and well, their own masters, and working for the benefit of their own families, while you still be Apprentices, and forced by the law to work for your masters' advantage. I am sure that you will not be so foolish as to postpone, by your own conduct, the enjoyment of perfect freedom.

You, who are what is called Non-Praedial Apprentices, that is House Servants, and such others as will be pointed out by the Special Magistrates, will cease to be Apprentices in four years time, that is on the 1st August, 1838, unless by your own misconduct you delay it longer. You will be released from your apprenticeships two years sooner than the Praedial or Plantation Apprentices, but in return for this advantage you must, while you are Apprentices, give your Master the whole of your time, just as any hired servant does. If you absent yourself from his service, though your Master cannot punish you now himself, as he was empowered to do when you were Slaves, you will be liable to be punished by the order of a Special Magistrate. I advise you therefore to pay the most diligent attention to your duties; serve your Masters with cheerfulness, and with the gratitude which they deserve. By doing so you will in a few short years enjoy every privilege which any other persons in this Island, being British subjects, possess.

You, who are Praedial Apprentices, or those employed on the estates in the cultivation of the soil, or the manufacture of its produce, have six years to serve; but then you have the great advantage of having but a small portion of your time to give to your masters. Your master cannot claim more than forty and an half hours of your time in each week, except in two cases, but then he has a right to divide this forty and an half hours in such reasonable manner as he pleases, between the first five days of the week, beginning with Monday, so however that he does not compel you to work more than nine hours in each day, except in cases of Hurricane, Tempest, Earthquake, Flood, Fire, or other misfortune, the act of God:

The two occasions on which your Master can require more than forty and an half hours in each week, are first – the cases of hurricane, tempest, earthquake, flood, fire, or other misfortune, the act of God, when he may employ you during the emergency. Second – at such period of the year as your master may deem it necessary for the cultivation of the Estate or Plantation. The gathering in of the Crop, or its manufacture, he may call on you to work the four and a half hours additional per week, but then he must repay you that time at a convenient period of the year, and not at the rate of more than three days together at one time.

I recommend to your Masters to settle, that you should work eight hours a-day each Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and eight and a half hours each Friday. The Saturday and Sunday in all cases you will have to yourselves, besides all the hours of rest, which you get each day. There are one hundred and sixty-eight hours in each week, out of which you will give your Masters only forty and a half hours, and have one hundred and twenty seven hours and a half at your disposal. Your Master must give you clothes, provision grounds, and medical attendance if you are sick. I hope that you will give him cheerfully and willingly the very small portion of your time which he is entitled to.

It is provided by law, that you who are Praedial Unattached, or Jobbers, shall still continue to work in the same manner, namely, as jobbers, but you are entitled to the same privileges as those who are settled on an Estate, in point of hours of labour, and to the same supplies of clothing and medicines, besides sufficient provision ground or provisions.

Neither your master, your overseer, your bookkeeper, your driver, nor any other person can strike you, or put you into the stocks, nor can you be punished at all, except by the order of a Special Magistrate. If any person, without such authority, shall raise an hand to you, or put you into the stocks, he will be liable to be severely punished himself. If you behave badly your master or any other special constable may put you into a cell or place of confinement, but not for more than twenty four hours; and if a Special

Magistrate not have visited such estate before twenty four hours shall have expired must release you, but he must bring forward his complaint against you the first time ... a Magistrate does visit the property; .. though you may be released, you will ... be liable to be punished for any misconduct and your master also will be liable to be punished if he shall have improperly confined you.

I am your sincere well-wisher; I have been sent out by our King to see that justice is done to all parties: When you are in the right you will be protected. When in the wrong will be punished. you, as the best way to ensure yourness, to make your masters your first By following their advice you will be likely to act as you ought. Should however, be oppressed by any one, once to a Special Magistrate, and he Redress any wrong you may have sustained.

Before I conclude, I wish to say word to such of you as have been by your masters to be Plantation Con...bles; to have been chosen by them occasion, is strong proof of the good they entertain of you; I hope that you will not betray their confidence, but will your zealous and honest conduct, shew you are worthy of the distinction which you have received. In after life the you will have acquired, will most probably be of the greatest benefit to you.

I am your sincere Friend.

Sligo. Governor of Jamaica.

Above – missing text – edge of the right column is cropped on the photocopy supplied by the London National Archives

In August 1834 Edward D Baines, Special/Stipendiary Magistrate for the parish of St John submitted questions to D O'Reilly, the Attorney General.

London National Archives- Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 13 Sep 1834, page Sup 9

Questions Submitted by Edward D Baynes, Esq Special Magistrate for St John's,
and the opinion of the Attorney-General. – August, 1834.

Question.

No. 1 – Are the Mothers of six children, in cases where several, or all of them, having been under six years of age on the 1st inst are consequently free, to be entirely exempted from work – the estate being thus deprived of the service of the mother, whilst it derives little, and, in the latter instance, no benefit from her offspring.

Opinion.

No. 1 – The mother of six children is to have the same exemption she had under the Slave Law.

(Signed) D O'R.

Question.

No. 2 – Managers are permitted to detain offenders in confinement for the space of 24 hours, where the intermediate attendance of the Special Justice is not to be had; should his presence on the spot be unavoidably delayed, has the manager power to confine an apprentice a second and a third time, in like manner, should he be guilty of other offences?

Answer.

No. 2 – The Manager must take care they are distinct offences – if so, he has such right.

(Signed) D O'R.

Question.

No. 3 – In answer to the question, "What redress can be afforded to those apprentices, whose grounds and the provisions contained therein, are destroyed by their owners cattle trespassing!" I find it stated that persons Wilfully injuring, or causing to be injured, the provision grounds of these apprentices are punishable under the 49th section of the Slavery Abolition Act for "injustices." – What, if the trespass be *accidental*, as in the case of cattle escaping from the pens, and breaking into the negro grounds?

Answer.

No. 3 – In this case of damage, the owner must pay the damage.

(Signed) D O'R.

Question.

N. 4 – It was a custom with Managers to serve out occasionally certain salt provisions to the people under their charge; several of them have signified their intention to me of not issuing any more without due remuneration in labour, or at least as a reward for good conduct. – How am I to deal with complaints from the apprentices on this head.

Answer.

No. 4 – I understand that the giving of salt provisions was not a universal custom, but on this I have doubt. If they were only given in order to reward good service, they cannot be demanded. – But if this were an absolute Necessary portion of provisions, and such as, with the assistance of the grounds, maintained the negro, and without which he could not be fairly maintained, I think they ought to be allowed as heretofore.

(Signed) D O'R.

Question.

No. 5 – His Honour the Attorney-General recommends apprentices to work field-labour, when other more suitable to them is not to be had – should masons or other tradesmen disregard this recommendation, am I to compel?

Answer.

No. 5 – You are always to compel – but taking always care that the putting them to field labour is not done in a spirit of wantonness.

(Signed) D O'R.

Question.

No. 6 – If apprentices are in no instance to be placed in a worse condition than when slaves, are they to be flogged on the back with a cat, a far severer mode of punishment than that formerly subsisting, and I have reason to think, more galling to the apprentice, inasmuch as its effects are more obvious and visible? I put this question, having as yet had no occasion to have recourse to the last, and being therefore still in time to adopt the more legal method, where unfortunately necessary.

Answer.

No. 6 – Flogging by a cat, in my opinion, is much less likely to injure the negro, than flogging with a cart whip.

(Signed) D O'R.

Question.

No. 7 – The apprentices in some instances refuse to keep the usual watches without payment for so doing; I find they perform the labour prescribed by law during the day. What is the most advisable mode of proceeding in this case?

Answer.

No. 7 – If the negroes have in the day worked the time prescribed by law, the masters should make them some allowance for watching.

(Signed) D O'R.

Question.

No. 8 – Doubts have arisen as the quantum of time to be considered reasonable for the cultivation of their grounds by the non praedials. Is the alternate Saturday of the old system sufficient?

Answer.

No. 8 – Four and a half hours in a week, besides alternate Saturdays, should be allowed such apprentices for such purpose.

(Signed) D O'R.

Question.

No. 9 – Can house-servants, whose employment in their domestic services has, from repeated misbehaviour, become unpleasant and objectionable to managers about their persons, be removed, and with the permission of the Special Magistrate, in any case, to the field – the period of their apprenticeship being still of course regulated by the prior classification of non-praedials!

Answer.

No. 9 – House-Servants cannot be removed into the field under the circumstances stated, even with the permission of the Special Magistrate.

(Signed) D O'R.

My photos, March 2007 – St John



On 8 September 1834, a number of Apprentices from St Thomas in the Vale, including some from Mount Olive and Tulloch, were tried at the Special Magistrates' Court in Spanish Town.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 13 Sep 1834, page PS, page 21-22

Special Magistrates' Court, Spanish-Town, Sept 8.

Before the Worshipful Mr Special Justice Finlayson.

Lucy, an apprentice to Wallen's pen, was complained of by Mr Robert Henry, the overseer, for neglecting her work. In her defence, she said she did not consider she ought to work. His Worship ordered her to work next Saturday, for the purpose of making up the time lost.

Three apprentices from Mount Olive were sworn in as estates' constables. His Worship pointed out the duty they had undertaken to perform, and told them that such duty which they had sworn to perform would be exacted from them.

C Sheriff, Esq applied to his Worship for advice under the following circumstances – His boatmen, eight in number, had refused to 3s 4d for their duty, which the law allowed them – it was all he could afford to give, and all he thought they could in reason expect. As they had refused it, he was desirous to ascertain whether boatmen should be considered praedials or non-praedials.

His Worship said he should consider them praedials – he would, however, recommend the master and the apprentices to agree as to the amount to be paid, when Mr Sheriff and the apprentices left the office.

Mrs Miller preferred a complaint against an apprentice for neglecting her work, under an opinion that she was free. It appeared that her deceased master left her free by will to serve her mistress during her widowhood, or for ten years; the woman imagines that she has served two, and that was the only term she was to continue with Mrs Miller. She also refused to be valued. Will ordered to be produced to-morrow.

Mr Henry, from Wallens, then preferred a complaint against an apprentice named Nancy Sandys, for non-payment of her wages, under a Special Magistrates' order.

In defence she complained that she had been sick, and was unable to pay. She offered proof of indisposition, which was certainly apparent; but she failed to prove that she had been sick more than a few days, yet she was backward in payment two months.

His Worship said he thought the matter had better be settled out of doors, when the parties retired – his Worship also ordering her to go to the pen and work, if she could not pay what she had agreed to do.

Rosannah, an apprentice to Miss Clare, for non-payment of wages the defendant offered to pay 20s in court, alleging that was all she could pay. – The young lady refused to take 20s when there were 30s due to her. Ordered either to pay the money or go home.

Thomas Nedham, Thomas Ellis, James Logan, Mary Bogle, and Sarah Walker, apprentices to Mount Olive plantation, were the ringleaders of the gang which came down on Friday last, and were selected by Mr Munro, the overseer, and when they were placed before his Worship, Mr Munro preferred the following complaint: –

That on Tuesday the 2nd of September, the apprentices then at work, and on account of the rain falling, sent for rum, which he sent them about eight o'clock in the morning; as soon as they had got it they left the field and went home, in defiance of the orders and authority of the superintendent. – On the Friday following, without having preferred any complaint, they left the estate and came to town; they had been absent ever since, great part of which time belonged to their masters, and that the work they now did per day was not equal to 1s 3d of what they ought to perform.

As the whole gang had been committed to the house of correction by Mr James Ramsay until this day, his Worshipful Mr Finlayson, thought it a sufficient punishment, and after admonishing the parties then before him, directed them to repair to the estate, and he would in the course of the week visit that quarter, and ascertain what complaints they might then have to prefer.

They then left the office.

Eleanor, to Mount Olive, for running away 12 months and upwards, and not having returned until within a few days ago.

Ordered to pay her master twelve Saturdays' labour.

A negro apprentice name Ann Brown, to Mr Jonathan Brown, St Ann, complained of a man named Wm Small, for firing at her with small shot, and wounding her in the leg. Case referred to the Attorney-General.

About forty negroes, apprentices to Tulloch estate, St Thomas in the Vale, who had left the estate on Saturday last, then introduced themselves to his Worship. A woman named Elsy Francis stepped forward,

and in a most boisterous manner told his Worship that the overseer had taken their Saturdays from them – that they would not work if their heads were to be chopped off, neither for busha or trustee. This learned spokeswoman said that the punishment and the work upon the estate was not to be borne, and she had come down to plead her cause; that she had been to the Governor, and he had instructed her and her fellow apprentices to wait until this morning, and she was only sorry that Mr Morgan, the overseer, was not present so as to enable him to plead his cause, as she was doing – work on Saturdays she would not – return to the estate she would not, and she would have the matter settled before she went away.

During the time the woman was addressing his worships, her manner was of the most intemperate description; she stamped on the floor, and placed herself in such attitudes of defiance, that it was doubtful in the minds of the bystanders whether she was not mad or deliberately rebellious.

His Worship – The day you complained to me when upon the property, I found your complaint groundless, and that you had also lost some hours of labour, which I ordered you to repay, and the time you now complain of being taken from you, is that very time, and I therefore recommend you to return quietly to the property, and behave yourself in a proper and becoming manner. I shall myself be upon the property in a short time, when I will listen to your complaints, and should they be proper I will redress them.

Another lady immediately stepped forward, and declared she would not return to the property, her day she would have, and behaved in a manner very shortly different from the former.

His Worship – So you shall have your days, but you shall not be permitted to rob your master of his time; you must give him a certain number of hours of labour in the week, the law compels you, and you must perform it; your services are required by attendance on your master for your wants and consequent necessities; if you receive the one, which I believe you do, you must perform the other.

The old woman then continued, I will not go home if Master Magistrate does not give me a paper, as I know we shall get “punish.”

His Worship – What punishment do you mean? No person dare flog you even for a fault, or confine you without sufficient reason.

The old lady then said she knew busha could not flog her, but he would make her work too much; without paper she would not stir – they might cut her legs.

His Worship said – Your complaint is one of that description which may be settled upon the estate, and as I have told you that it is my intention to visit it early, you had better go home; I will give you a letter to your overseer. The letter was accordingly written, when the gang under the management of Elsy Francis marched off.

They soon afterwards re-appeared, and as it were, driving the overseer before them.

Mr Morgan stated to his Worship, that out of a very strong and effective gang, there was only 30 turned out this morning; that they seemed altogether disaffected since his Worship’s visit to the property, and the time they complained of being deprived of, was in fact the time his Worship had ordered them to repay, but which they had not done, as they had absented themselves from the estate. There was at this period upwards of 80 absent; but could he have supposed that they would have been the complainants, he would have brought down the bookkeepers and estate’s constables to prove the folly and impropriety of their conduct. I hope, continued Mr Morgan, your Worship will call back some of them, and I will complain of their conduct.

His Worship having consented, James Vidal, Thomas Hind, Adam Spencer, George Palmer, William Warn, Henry Walker, Mary Campbell, Patty Williams, Maria Davis, Letitia Spencer, and the spokeswoman Lady Elsy, ex Francis, were selected as the ringleaders.

The charge preferred was for absenting themselves from their work without cause, on the afternoon of Saturday the 6th inst contrary to the direction of the Special Magistrate, and also for absenting themselves on Monday the 8th inst.

Mr Munro clearly proved the absence of the apprentices from the property, and he also mentioned various acts of insubordination of which they had previously been guilty.

His Worship then questioned each of them individually, when they admitted the charge, but wished, each of them, to throw the blame upon the Governor, who, they stated, had directed them to remain in town; this is, however, known to be false.

His Worship then sentenced each of the men to receive 20 stripes, and the women six days solitary confinement in the house of correction.

After his Worship had passed the sentence, and ordered the others to return home, they one and all declared they would not, “they would be cut up first.” When ordered into custody, and directed to leave

the office, Elsy Francis again commenced her abuse. She went on in such a manner, which utterly beggars description, the noise she created, the violent threats against Mr Morgan which uttered, and also against the attorney G W Hamilton, Esq cannot be described. She set up a shout in imitation of the shell blow on the estate, and was at length removed by the Police to the place of confinement – she then called out, “If one da go, all da go.” when the whole gang simultaneously took up their baskets of provisions and accompanied this rebellious apprentice to the house of correction.

On their way, Mr Hamilton [George William Hamilton] happening to be coming up the street, was grossly abused by the whole gang, particularly by the women, more particularly by the Lady Spokeswoman, who actually shook her fist at him, using at the same time, a few very pretty and very delicate terms, saying “it was bad before, but it was worse now, and if that was the freedom the King had given them, he had better have kept it to himself. Bad enough when Mr Graham was alive, but since you (pointing to Mr Hamilton) have come, devil da catch we.” They continued in this strain until lodged in the house of correction.

This woman, from her conduct during the whole of the day, appears to be a devil incarnate, and some serious notice ought to be taken of her conduct. It may be prudent in some cases to pass over the ebullition of feelings and expressions emanating from a disappointed apprentice, but it would not only be folly, but absolute madness, to pass over with impunity the outrageous and positively rebellious conduct of this woman.

Special/Stipendiary Magistrate Richard Robert Madden, writing from Kingston in August 1834, referred to the author of *Tom Cringle* (Michael Scott), and the character Aaron Bang (George William Hamilton) who was ‘hardly to be recognised in the demure tranquillity of a pains-taking attorney’.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=vUBCK0fHOAkC&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *A Twelvemonth's Residence in the West Indies, during the transition from Slavery to Apprenticeship . . . by R R Madden, M.D. – 2 Vols published 1835 – Vol II – Letter XXIII – Kingston, August 1834 – To Mrs Holland – The Lions of Kingston – extract – page 13-14*

Of persons who have signalized themselves in more peaceable pursuits, the names of very few are associated with colonial recollections. Kingston has been the residence of about half a dozen persons who subsequently distinguished themselves in literature and science: Smollett, Walcott, Lewis, Long, Brown, and Edwards, have been residents of Jamaica at different periods, and some of them sojourners at Kingston. But I ought not to omit, among its literary visitants, the talented author of the “Life of a Sailor;” nor the able author of “Tom Cringle” among its former residents, who has not chosen to divulge his name, and which I shall not presume to do, though it is tolerably well known to this community, and very generally respected by it; but in stating that he is neither an Englishman nor an Irishman, a sailor nor a soldier, I trust I am only lifting a very little corner of the veil of his mystery.*

*If Tom were now to visit Jamaica, it would grieve his kind heart (for that he is a kind-hearted man, every reader of his must be persuaded) to find how few of his heroes, are now in existence, – and how few of those who remain are in the prosperous circumstances in which he left them. The judge who never went to dinner without his ice-saw, has been gathered to his fathers; but “the one-handed Scotchman,” who surmounted the objection to his costume at the door of the ball-room by converting his long trousers into knee-breeches, without the aid of a tailor, is still as vigorous and as genuinely Scotch as ever.

Eschylus Stave still flourishes in Kingston, and time has not impaired his powers of elocution: the gentleman who broke his arm in the exploits after dinner, is sobered down to a quiet convivialist, the best-humoured man that ever was incurably argumentative. Old Steady in the west is just as imperturbable in the serenity of his nature, as the day he was burned out of the ship that was conveying him to Kingston; while the facetious Aaron Bang, at one time the Mercutio, and, at another, the Tristram Shandy of the novel, has merged into an elderly gentleman, the mercurialism of whose character is hardly to be recognised in the demure tranquillity of a pains-taking attorney.

But the hand of time does not travel over the dial of human nature for a period of a dozen years, without affecting the elasticity of the spring which sets its machinery in motion; and that period has elapsed since the buoyant spirits of the planter of St Thomas in the Vale furnished materials for the

description of Aaron Bang, who has been “a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy,” – whose jibes and gambols, and flashes of merriment “were wont to set the table in a roar,” – who becomes estimable for his worth, when he has ceased to be remarkable for his jocularly.

Above – the judge who never went to dinner without his ice-saw used chips of ice to cool his claret.

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=AJULAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Tom Cringle’s Log, by an anonymous author (Michael Scott), published 1834 (first published as a book in 1833) – page 249-250 – dinner in Kingston – extracts

At length, no less a man drove up to the door, than judge ---. When he drew up, his servant, who was sitting behind on a small projection of the ketureen, came round and took a parcel out of the gig, closely wrapped up in a blanket – “Bring that carefully in, Leonidas,” said the judge, who now stumped up the stairs with a small saw in his hand. He received the parcel, and, laying it down carefully in a corner, he placed the saw on it, and then came up and shook hands with Wagtail, and made his bow very gracefully.

“What – can’t you do without your ice and sour claret yet?” said Wagtail.

“Never mind, never mind,” said the judge; and here dinner being announced, we all adjourned to the dining-room, where a very splendid entertainment was set out, to which we all set to, and in the end, as it will appear, did the utmost justice to it.

. . . A cargo of ice had a little before this arrived at Kingston, and at first all the inhabitants who could afford it ices every thing, wine, water, cold meats, fruits, and the Lord knows what all, tea, I believe, amongst other things; (by the way, I have tried this, and it is a luxury of its kind;) but the regular old stagers, who knew what was what, and had a regard for their interiors, soon began to eschew the ice in every way, saving and excepting to cool the water they washed their thin faces and hands in; but the judge had a plateful of chips on the table before him, one of which he every now and then popped into his long thin bell-glass of claret, diluting it, I should have thought, in rather a heathenish manner; but *n’importe*, he worked away, sawing off pieces now and then from the large lump in the blanket . . .

Above – cargo of ice – in April 1813 ice was imported into Jamaica from Halifax, Nova Scotia.

British Library & London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat 17 Apr 1814, page Sup 13

Kingston, April 9, 1813.

A small quantity of Ice having arrived in the schooner Atalanta from Halifax, which will be landed and put into the Ice-House to-day, the Subscribers are under the necessity of ordering their Wharf-Gates in East-Street and George’s Lane to be kept shut during that operation, as nothing else can be attended to on the Wharf this day.

The disposal of it is entrusted to Mr John Comber, to whom alone application must be made.

Hoseason, Banks, & Co.

Kingston, April 9, 1813.

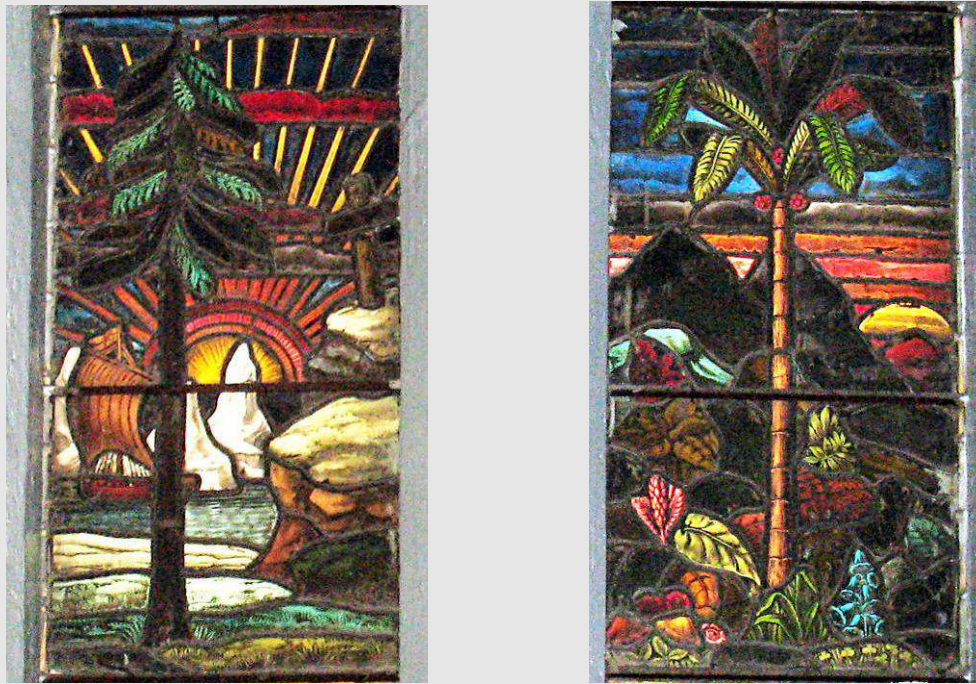
The Subscriber, having been entrusted with the disposal of a small quantity of Ice lately arrived, hopes the he shall be able to land the whole in the course of the present day, in which case he will commence selling to-morrow (Saturday). He regrets that the disappointment to the Owners, from not getting the quantity expected, will put it out of his power, in justice to them, to commence the Sale as he originally intended, at the lowest price ever known for Ice in the West-Indies, with a view to its falling into general use, and enabling all classes of society to purchase.

It is not, however, his intention, though he has not sufficient for one month’s consumption, to commence at a greater price than 15d *per lb* at which (and no less) it will be sold in any quantity, from six in the morning till eight o’clock at night, at the south end of the Ice-House in George’s Lane, by

John Comber.

NB. No Person will be admitted to the Ice-House through the wharf.

My photo, March 2007 – New Kingston – St Andrew's Parish Church – east end window – details



On 19 September 1834, on George Cuthbert's Belvidere estate in St Thomas in the East, apprentices set fire to two trash houses.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 20 Sep 1834, page PS 18

We have just received information that the two trash houses on Belvidere Estate, St Thomas in the East, the property of the Honourable George Cuthbert, on which the gentleman resides, was burnt down between the hours of 2 and 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon, by the apprentices on that property. It is a singular circumstance that this wanton act of arson was perpetrated while the special justice was sitting at that property. Several of the suspected persons were apprehended and lodged in Gaol. Our respectable informant saw a number of persons in red coats, whom he supposed to have been a party of militia sent out for the purpose of securing the incendiaries. It is our hope that the guilty miscreants will be punished to the utmost extremity of the law for their infamous conduct towards their aged master, who had hitherto treated them with uniform kindness, the ungrateful return for which has been an attempt to destroy his estate, and to reduce him to abject poverty. It is now high time for the refractory apprentices to be made to feel the consequences of their illegal acts; – false leniency is the sure forerunner of events lamentable in contemplation, and which should at once deprecated by firmness and decision on the part of our local authorities. The Law must be enforced and obeyed or, as we have said before, the reins of authority may be instantly abandoned.

Since writing the above we have been informed that the fire on Belvidere was happily got under at about 8 o'clock at night; and that the police force and militia guard were stationed on the property during last night. The apprentices attempted to rescue the prisoners but were repulsed.

The cause of this affair is said to be this – the Stipendiary Magistrate had visited the estate on the day above named, and had ordered several of the apprentices who had been guilty of misdemeanour to receive corporal punishment on the estate. It had been stated to Mr Lyon, in the early part of the morning, that the people on the Estate were extremely unruly, in consequence of which he ordered the police force to be on the property, and when the punishment was to be inflicted on the delinquents a body of them prevented the order of the magistrates from being carried into effect. Immediately Mr Lyon had left the property a messenger was sent to him, stating that the apprentices had set fire to the works. – On being informed of this, Mr Lyon applied to another Magistrate at Morant-Bay to turn out the Militia . . .

My photo, November 2011 – Belvidere



Below – work done by Williamsfield great gang from 11 August to 13 October 1834

Harewood West Indies – photocopy supplied 2002 by West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds

Statement of Work done by Williamsfield great gang from 11 Aug to 13th October 1834.

| Names of Canepieces | When Finished | Description of Work | Plant or Ratoon | Hours of work per day | No of hands to the Acre | No of hands to the Acre necessary to do the same labour if working moderately. | Remarks. |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| New Gutter | Aug 15 | Trashing | Plant | 9 | 18 | 15 | Heavy work |
| Woodside | 21 | Turning Trash | 1 st Ratoon | 9 | 12 | 9 | Very light work |
| Mamme Stump | 22 | Ditto | Ditto | 9 | 11 | 9 | Ditto |
| Little Four Corner | Sept 8 | Planting | Plant | 9 | 22 | 12 | Ditto. – No dung to drop |
| Joe Hut | 11 | Trashing | 1 st Ratoon | 9 | 24 | 9 | Ditto |
| Ground Nut | 16 | Ditto | 2 nd ditto | 9 | 23 | 8 | Ditto |
| Garden | 24 | Ditto | 2 nd ditto | 8 | 23 | 9 | Ditto |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------|------------------------|---|------|----|-----------------|
| Cridjoe | 26 | Ditto | 2 nd ditto | 8 | 17 ½ | 9 | Ditto |
| Spring piece | Oct 2 | Ditto | Plant | 8 | 19 | 16 | Heavy work |
| Sink hole | 7 | Ditto | 2 nd Ratoon | 9 | 11 | 8 | Very light work |
| Old Gutter | 13 | Ditto | 1 st ditto | 9 | 9 ½ | 9 | Ditto |

My photo, September 2008 – Williamsfield



The claims for compensation made by slave owners for the loss of their slaves were made in autumn 1834.

Note – the Claims in the National London National Archives are duplicate copies of the claims and include the signature or mark of the person making the claim.

London National Archives – Claims for Compensation – on the back of each claim form

Instructions for giving in Claim.

(a) Specify the character in which the Claim is made, as –

Owner in fee,
Tenant in Tail for Life or
Years,
Mortgagee
Trustee

Receiver,
Guardian.
Sequestrator,

Committee,
Executor,
Administrator,
or otherwise.

- SAMUL. MURPHY, Sec.

Claim No. 25 – Eliza Fox – 1 Slave (her son William Burrowes) – sworn on 25 October 1834 by
Eliza (her mark X)

DUPLICATE.

NAME OF ESTATE,
or
DOMICILE OF SLAVES.

Scholar's Lot

(NAME OF PARISH)

JAMAICA—*Saint Thomas in the Vale*

No. *25*

(N.B.—The Number must correspond with the Number in the Valuator's Return.)

THE CLAIM of *Eliza Fox*

in the Parish of *Saint Thomas in the Vale*

(a) as *owner in fee*

(b) *by*

(c) to the Compensation for *one* Slave in the Possession of the said *Eliza Fox* as on the 1st of August, 1834, duly Registered (except as undermentioned) and described in the Return made thereof, on

(d) the *first* day of *October* 1834.

(e) *Eliza + Fox* mark

(f) NAMES, &c. of CHILDREN included therein, born since the 28th June, 1832.

| Children's Names. | Age. | Mothers' Names. | Children's Names. | Age. | Mothers' Names. | Children's Names. | Age. | Mothers' Names. |
|-------------------|------|-----------------|-------------------|------|-----------------|-------------------|------|-----------------|
| None | | | | | | | | |

(g) *Name of Slaves included in the above Claim acquired between 28th June, 1832, and 1st of August, 1834.*

| Names of Slaves. | How acquired. | By whom registered in 1832. | Briefly state the claimant's title from such person. |
|------------------|--------------------|--|--|
| <i>Wm. Brown</i> | <i>By purchase</i> | <i>The Honble Geo. Cuthbert and Geo. Wm Hamilton Attornies of the Earl of Harewood</i> | <i>recorded lib 787 fol 201</i> |

NUMBER of SLAVES to whom the annexed Certificate relate, who have died or have been passed away by transfer, between the 28th of June, 1832, and the 1st of August, 1834.

(h) Males *None* Females *None* Total *None*

I, *Eliza Fox* of the parish of *St Thomas in the Vale* by whom the above claim is made, do swear that in the above Claim and Specification are set forth, distinctly and truly in every respect, the real Increase by Birth or Acquisition, and Decrease by Death or Transfer, of the Slaves comprised in the Certificate or Certificates of the Registrar of Slaves hereunto annexed. (i)

So help me God.

(k) Sworn before me, this *25th* day of *October* 1834.

Eliza Fox
St Machy & Steer

DUPLICATE. 25

RETURN of SLAVES in the possession The Honorable Geo Cuthbert and Geo Wm Hamilton as Attornies of the Ear of Harewood in the parish of St Thomas in the Vale as of the 28th day of June, 1832.

LIB. 128 FOL. 30

Total number of Slaves, on the 28th June, 1832. Two hundred and forty three

JAMAICA, ss. — I, Thomas Bernard, Island Secretary, and in whose office are enrolled the Return of Slaves under an Act of this Island, entitled "An Act for a more particular return of Slaves, and

enrolment thereof," do hereby certify that the above number of Slaves were returned by the above-named Honorable Geo Cuthbert and Geo Wm Hamilton as Attornies of the Earl of Harewood in the parish of St Thomas in the Vale as of the 28th June, 1832, as appears by the record of such enrolled in my said office, as Secretary of the Island, in pursuance of the above-named Act.

Given under my hand, this 9th day of September 1834.

T J Bernard
Secretary

Note – after Eliza's Claim for her one slave, her son William Burrowes (half brother of Edward's children Henry and Eliza), I have no later mention of William.

My photo – London National Archives – Claims for Compensation – T71/951 – St Thomas in the Vale

Claim No. 298 – Edward Clouston – 21 Slaves – made by his attorneys William Holloway Clarke and Henry Lowndes – sworn on 21 October 1834 by W H Clarke

DUPLICATE.

(NAME OF PARISH)

JAMAICA—*St Thomas in the Vale* No. 298

(M. B.—This Number must correspond with the Number in the Valuator's Return.)

NAME OF ESTATE, OR DOMICILE OF SLAVES.
Scholar's - Ct. -

THE CLAIM of *Edward Clouston* of *Scholar's - Ct. -*
in the Parish of *Saint Thomas in the Vale*

(a) as *Owner in full*
(b) by *William H. Clarke and Henry Lowndes* Attornies
(c) to the Compensation for *Twenty "21" Slaves* in the Possession of the said *William H. Clarke* as on the 1st of August, 1834, duly Registered (except as undermentioned) and described in the Return made thereof, on
(d) the *first* day of *October* 1834.
(e) *W. H. Clarke. Henry Lowndes*

(f)
NAMES, &c. of CHILDREN included therein, born since the 28th June, 1832.

| Children's Names. | Age. | Mothers' Names. | Children's Names. | Age. | Mothers' Names. | Children's Names. | Age. | Mothers' Names. |
|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|------|-----------------|-------------------|------|-----------------|
| <i>Eliza Substant</i> | <i>1.7.34</i> | <i>Sarah</i> | | | | | | |

(g)
 NAMES of SLAVES included in the above Claim acquired between 23rd June, 1832, and 1st of August, 1834.

| Names of Slaves. | How acquired. | By whom registered in 1832. | Briefly state the claimant's title from such person. |
|------------------|---------------|---|--|
| William Bryan | By Purchase | Executors of James Reid | John Denton D. R. Bill of sale under a writ of Constitution recorded lib. 781 fol. 218 |
| James Munro | By purchase | " | |
| Betty Reid | By purchase | " | |
| Harriet Morden | By purchase | " | |
| Samuel Watson | By purchase | John McHenry & Co. as atty. & Major Genl Wm. Redman | Wm. Redman & attys to A. Gilman recorded in a Gazette as atty lib. 752 folio 8 and A. Gilman to Chalmers recorded lib. 782 folio 8 |

NUMBER of SLAVES to whom the annexed Certificate relate, who have died or have been passed away by transfer, between the 23rd of June, 1832, and the 1st of August, 1834.

(h) Males *none* Females *One 1/2* TOTAL *One 1/2*

I, *William H. Clarke* of the parish of *St. Thomas in the Vale* by whom the above claim is made, do swear that in the above Claim and Specification are set forth, distinctly and truly in every respect, the real Increase by Birth or Acquisition, and Decrease by Death or Transfer, of the Slaves comprised in the Certificate or Certificates of the Registrar of Slaves herunto annexed. (i)

So help me God.

W. H. Clarke

(i) Sworn before me, this *30th* day of *October* 1834.

A. Mackay LL

LIB. 56 FOL. 177

DUPLICATE. 298 St Thos ye Vale

| NAME. | COLOR. | AGE. | REMARKS. | INCREASE. | DECREASE. |
|---------------|--------|------|----------|--|-----------|
| William Bryan | Negro | 12 | | Purchased of Mr John Bignial who registered him in this Parish in 1817 | |

JAMAICA, ss. — I, Thomas James Bernard, Island Secretary, and in whose office are enrolled the Returns of Slaves under an Act of this Island, entitled "An Act for a more particular return of Slaves, and the enrolment thereof," do hereby certify that the above-named Slave was registered by James Reid as Owner in the parish of St Thomas in the East in the year 1820, as appears by the record of such return enrolled in my said office, as Secretary of the Island, in pursuance of the above-

mentioned Act, and that the said Slave hath been included in the subsequent returns to the year 1832 inclusive.

Given under my hand, this Ninth day of September 1834.

T J Bernard
Secretary

LIB. 81 FOL. 316 DUPLICATE. 298 St Thos ye Vale

| NAME. | COLOR. | AGE. | REMARKS. | INCREASE. | DECREASE. |
|-------------|--------|------|--|-----------|-----------|
| James Munro | Negro | ~ | Purchase from the Estate of Robert Munro | | |

JAMAICA, ss. – I, Thomas James Bernard, Island Secretary, and in whose office are enrolled the Returns of Slaves under an Act of this Island, entitled “An Act for a more particular return of Slaves, and the enrolment thereof,” do hereby certify that the above- named Slave was registered by James Reid as Owner in the parish of St Thomas in the East in the year 1826, as appears by the record of such return enrolled in my said office, as Secretary of the Island, in pursuance of the above-mentioned Act, and that the said Slave hath been included in the subsequent returns to the year 1832 inclusive.

Given under my hand, this Ninth day of September 1834.

T J Bernard.
Secretary

LIB. 4 FOL. 43 DUPLICATE. 298 St Thos ye Vale

| NAME. | COLOR. | AGE. | REMARKS. | INCREASE. | DECREASE. |
|------------|--------|------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| Bessy Reid | Black | 27 | | | |

JAMAICA, ss. – I, Thomas James Bernard, Island Secretary, and in whose office are enrolled the Returns of Slaves under an Act of this Island, entitled “An Act for a more particular return of Slaves, and the enrolment thereof,” do hereby certify that the above- named Slave was registered by James Reid as Owner in the parish of St Thomas in the East in the year 1817, as appears by the record of such return enrolled in my said office, as Secretary of the Island, in pursuance of the above-mentioned Act, and that the said Slave hath been included in the subsequent returns to the year 1832 inclusive.

Given under my hand, this Ninth day of September 1834.

T J Bernard
Secretary

LIB. 68 FOL. 143 DUPLICATE. 298 St Thos ye Vale

| NAME. | COLOR. | AGE. | REMARKS. | INCREASE. | DECREASE. |
|----------------|--------|------|----------|--|-----------|
| Harriet Morgan | Negro | 24 | | Purchased from Edwd Menzies Exor to his Uncle Archd Menzies deceased registered in Kingston in 1820 | |

JAMAICA, ss. – I, Thomas James Bernard, Island Secretary, and in whose office are enrolled the Returns of Slaves under an Act of this Island, entitled “An Act for a more particular return of Slaves,

and the enrolment thereof,” do hereby certify that the above- named Slave was registered by James Reid as Owner in the parish of St Thomas in the East in the year 1823, as appears by the record of such return enrolled in my said office, as Secretary of the Island, in pursuance of the above-mentioned Act, and that the said Slave hath been included in the subsequent returns to the year 1832 inclusive.

Given under my hand, this Ninth day of September 1834.

T J Bernard
Secretary

LIB. 5 FOL.86 DUPLICATE. 298 St Thos ye Vale

| NAME. | COLOR. | AGE. | REMARKS. | INCREASE. | DECREASE. |
|-----------------|--------|------|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Samuel Beckford | Negro | 11 | Susan Williams his mother | | |

JAMAICA, ss. – I, Thomas James Bernard, Island Secretary, and in whose office are enrolled the Returns of Slaves under an Act of this Island, entitled “An Act for a more particular return of Slaves, and the enrolment thereof,” do hereby certify that the above- named Slave was registered by Francis Graham as Attorney to William Nedham Esquire in the parish of St Thomas in the Vale in the year 1817, as appears by the record of such return enrolled in my said office, as Secretary of the Island, in pursuance of the above-mentioned Act, and that the said Slave hath been included in the subsequent returns to the year 1832 inclusive.

Given under my hand, this Ninth day of September 1834.

T J Bernard
Secretary

DUPLICATE. 298

RETURN of SLAVES in the possession of Edward Clouston as Owner in the parish of St Thomas in the Vale as of the 28th day of June, 1832.

LIB. 128 FOL. 23

Total number of Slaves, on the 28th June, 1832. Sixteen

JAMAICA, ss. – I, Thomas Bernard, Island Secretary, and in whose office are enrolled the Return of Slaves under an Act of this Island, entitled “An Act for a more particular return of Slaves, and enrolment thereof,” do hereby certify that the above number of Slaves were returned by the above-named Edward Clouston as Owner in the parish of St Thomas in the Vale as of the 28th June, 1832, as appears by the record of such enrolled in my said office, as Secretary of the Island, in pursuance of the above-named Act.

Given under my hand, this 9th day of September 1834.

T J Bernard
Secretary

Note – Edward’s Claim for 21 slaves, made by his attorneys, included 4 of the slaves he owned and registered on 28 June 1832 – Sarah alias Sarah Smith and her three Children Robert, Phoebe Ann and Eliza – who were the 4 slaves Edward conveyed to Eliza on 22 April 1833 (see Chapter 20 – Deed Poll Entered in the Island Secretary’s Office on 25 April 1833), but in the Records of Contracts in the Island Record Office I found no record of Eliza conveying the 4 slaves back to Edward.

London National Archives – Claims for Compensation – T71/950 – St Thomas in the Vale

Claim No. 147 – Earl of Harewood – made by his attorneys George Cuthbert and George William Hamilton – sworn on 31 October 1834 by G W Hamilton – includes – Rebecca March, Age 11 months, Mother Dorothy Beckford (formerly Dolly – Bessy's 4th daughter)

NAME OF ESTATE
OR
DOMICILE OF
SLAVES.
Williamsfield
Estate

DUPLICATE.

(NAME OF PARISH)

JAMAICA – St Thomas in the Vale

No. 1

(N.B. – This Number must correspond with the Number in the Valuator's Return.)

THE CLAIM of The Right Honble Earl of Harewood of Williamsfield Estate
in the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale

(See instructions
at the back
hereof to which
the letters a, b, c,
&c. refer.)

- (a) as Owner
- (b) by George Cuthbert and George William Hamilton his Attorneys
- (c) to the Compensation for 232. Two hundred and thirty two Slaves in the Possession of the said George Cuthbert and George William Hamilton as on the 1st of August, 1834, duly Registered (except as undermentioned) and described in the Return made thereof, on
- (d) the first day of October 1834

(e) Geo W Hamilton

Below – **arrow** points to – Rebecca March – Mother Dorothy Beckford (Bessy's 4th daughter)

(f) NAMES, &c. of CHILDREN included therein, born since the 28th June, 1832.

| Children's Names. | Age. | Mothers' Names. | Children's Names. | Age. | Mothers' Names. |
|--------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Whanna Ronald | 3 ^{rs} | Olivia Cooper | William | 5 ^{mos} | Judith Kelly |
| Fortune | 7 ^{mos} | Amelia Frances | Thomas | 1 st | Nancy Lindsay |
| Colin Brown | 1.7 | Johanna Ramsay | | | |
| Thomas Richards | 1.5 | Nancy Richards | | | |
| John Spencer Brown | 1.1 | Olivia Harvey | | | |
| Jane Brown | 1.2 | Louisa Frances | | | |
| William Raymond | 1.2 | Mary Williams | | | |
| Rebecca March | 11 | Dorothy Beckford | | | |
| George Ellis | 10 | Selina Cousins | | | |

(g) Names of Slaves included in the above Claim acquired between 28th June, 1832, and 1st of August, 1834

| Names of Slaves | How acquired | By whom registered in 1832 | Briefly state the claimant's title from such person |
|-----------------|--------------|----------------------------|---|
| — | — | — | — |

Number of Slaves to whom the annexed Certificate relate, who have died or have been passed away by transfer, between the 28th of June, 1832, and the 1st of August, 1834.

NAMES of SLAVES included in the above Claim between 28th June, 1832, and 1st of August, 1834.

(h) Males *12. Twelve* Females *10. Ten* Total *22. Twenty two*

I, *George William Hamilton* of the parish of *Saint Thomas in the Vale* by whom the above claim is made, do swear that in the above Claim and Specification are set forth, distinctly and truly in every respect, the real Increase by Birth or Acquisition, and Decrease by Death or Transfer, of the Slaves comprised in the Certificate or Certificates of the Registrar of Slaves hereunto annexed. (i)

So help me God, *Geo W Hamilton*

(k) Sworn before me, this *31st* day of *October* 1834.

James Shenton

DUPLICATE. *147*

RETURN of SLAVES in the possession of *The Honorable Geo Cuthbert and Geo W Hamilton Esqs* as *attornies of the Earl of Harewood* in the parish of *St Thomas in the Vale* as of the 28th day of June, 1832.

LIB. *128* FOL. *30*

Total number of Slaves, on the 28th June, 1832. *Two hundred and Forty three*

JAMAICA, ss. – I, Thomas Bernard, Island Secretary, and in whose office are enrolled the Return of Slaves under an Act of this Island, entitled “An Act for a more particular return of Slaves, and enrolment thereof,” do hereby certify that the above number of Slaves were returned by the above-named *The Honorable Geo Cuthbert and Geo Hamilton Esqs attorneys of the Earl of Harewood* in the parish of *St Thomas in the Vale* as of the 28th June, 1832, as appears by the record of such enrolled in my said office, as Secretary of the Island, in pursuance of the above-named Act.

Given under my hand, this *30th* day of *August* 1834.

T J Bernard Secretary.

Above – 12 males and 10 females belonging to Williamsfield died between 28 June 1832 and 1 August 1834.

As none of these 22 slaves were named, it is not possible to know if Bessy and/or any of her children or grandchildren who were slaves on Williamsfield on 28 June 1832 had died by 1 August 1834.

Below – from the Slave Registers, 1817-1832, Bessy and her children and grandchildren who were alive on 28 June 1832, plus Eliza and Edward's daughter Isabella, and Dorothy's daughter Rebecca March born in 1833 (see above)

| Bessy and her Family | Age on 28 June 1832 |
|---|------------------------|
| Bessy (no mention of Christian Name) - - - - - | 63 |
| Ann Balfour - - - - - | 41 |
| Eliza Fox - - - - - | 39 |
| Eleanor March (formerly Myrtilla) - - - - - | 35 |
| Dorothy Beckford (formerly Dolly) - - - - - | 32 |
| Lawrence (no mention of Christian name – nor children) - - - - - | 29 |
| Jamaica (no mention of Christian name – nor children) - - - - - | 23 |
| William Burrowes (no mention of children) – Eliza’s son - - - - - | 21 |
| Elizabeth Milligan – Ann’s daughter - - - - - | 21 |
| Julian Milligan – Ann’s daughter - - - - - | 14 |
| Syke (no mention of Christian name) – Eleanor’s daughter - - - - - | 13 |
| Lewis (no mention of Christian name) – Dorothy’s son - - - - - | 11 |
| Nancy (no mention of Christian name) – Ann’s daughter - - - - - | 11 |
| Henry Clouston – Eliza and Edward’s son - - - - - | 9 |
| Adam (no mention of Christian name) – Dorothy’s son - - - - - | 8 |
| Cudjoe (no mention of Christian name) – Dorothy’s son - - - - - | 6 |
| Isabella Clouston – Eliza and Edward’s daughter – (age from Annie E J Thin’s <i>Birthday Scripture Text Book</i>) - - - - - | 4 |
| Anthony Pinnock – Dorothy’s son - - - - - | 2 |
| Rebecca March, 11 months on 1 August 1834 – Dorothy’s daughter | |

On 9 October 1834 Edward’s attorneys conveyed 70 acres of Retirement (formerly Roman Hill) Plantation to Charles McDonald – see Chapter 20 – Edward’s 1833 crop account.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 811, Fol 68 – Entered Island Secretary’s Office 13 Apr 1837 – Indenture, dated 9 October 1834 – Diagram annexed

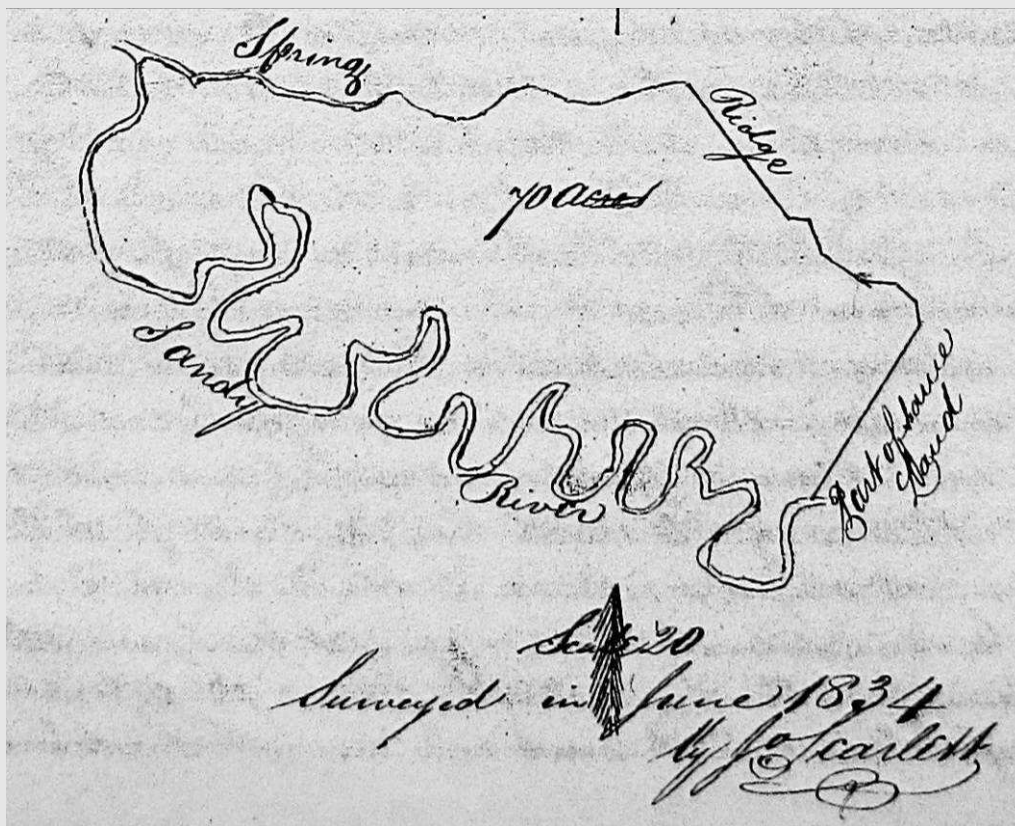
Edward Clouston of St Thomas in the Vale, Esq, by his Attorneys in Jamaica Henry Lowndes and William Holloway Clarke of St Thomas in the Vale (1) – and Charles McDonald of St Thomas in the Vale, Esq (2) – summary

For £300 Jamaica currency Henry Lowndes and William H Clarke convey to Charles McDonald – 70 acres more or less in St Thomas in the Vale – butting and bounding as per diagram annexed – signed, sealed and delivered by H Lowndes and W H Clarke – Witness George Rees

9 February 1836 – George Rees made oath before A Asher that he was present and saw Henry Lowndes and William Holloway Clarke signed their names and affix the seal of Edward Clouston to the Indenture

13 April 1837 – George G Grant swore before F McCullough that the Conveyance contained six legal sheets and ninety one words over

Diagram Annexed



Above – southeast of 70 Acres – Part of same Land = part of Retirement

When Retirement was conveyed to Edward on 29 May 1828 the plantation contained 96 acres (see Chapter 16). Searching the *Indexes to Records of Contracts* in the Island Record Office I found no record conveying the remaining 26 acres of Retirement owned by Edward.

Jamaica National Library – Maps & Plans – No. 1 Parish of St Catherine, compiled in 1882 by Thomas Harrison, Govt. Surveyor, revised in 1956 – section – Roman Hall (formerly Edward's Retirement Plantation) – **arrow** points to 70 Acres Charles McDonald



Meanwhile Edward had settled back in Britain. In Orkney Rev Peter Learmonth, who married Margaret Clouston (Edward's youngest sister), was the minister of Stromness, and Edward's youngest brother, Rev Charles Clouston, was the minister of Sandwick,

My photos, October 2001 – West Mainland, Orkney – middle right, Rev Charles' Sandwick Manse



On 11 January 1834, Edward was in possession of the property left to him by his father.

Orkney Library & Archives – Records of Orkney Sasines – Abridgements – photocopy supplied 2001 by Robin Clouston, Northern Ireland

(137) Jan. 18. 1834.
EDWARD CLOUSTON, lately residing in the Island of Jamaica, at present in, *Seised*, Jan. 11. 1834,—in the 3 Penny land and 2 parts of a half Penny land in the Town of BUNBISTER, 2 Penny and half Penny land in Corston called Kingshouse, House and lands of Scouan with the $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of a Farthing land in the town of Nether Corston, and the Quoy above Corston commonly called the Quoy of the Hill, par. Harray ;—1 Merk land in the town of Beaquoy, par. Birsay ;—on Disp. by William Clouston, Minister of the Gospel of Stromness and Sandwick, Mar. 5. 1831. P. R. 28. 87.

Above – Disp by William Clouston – Mar 5 1831 – *Letter, dated 7 June 1988, from Alison Fraser, Archivist, Orkney Library and Archives, to Robin Clouston, Northern Ireland* – extract

The Register of Deeds of Orkney Sheriff Court (ref. SC11/51/3) contains a disposition by the Revd William Clouston in favour of Edward Clouston and his other children: “I do hereby give, grant, alienate and dispoine to and in favour of Edward Clouston, at present residing in the Island of Jamaica, my eldest son, and the heirs of his body heritably and irredeemably, whom failing, to my sons Thomas Clouston Merchant in Dublin, Robert Clouston late of Sierra Leone at present in Edinburgh and the

Reverend Charles Clouston at present living in family with me and my assistant, and to my Daughters Anne Clouston at present living in family with me, Jane Clouston, otherwise Stewart, spouse of William Stewart Merchant in Leith and Margaret Clouston at present living in family with me, equally amongst them . . ." Dated 5 March 1831.

On 14 October 1834 Edward's first cousin, Edward Clouston (of Smoogro), late Writer, Stromness, mortgaged some of his property to Edward.

Orkney Library & Archives – Records of Orkney Sasines – Abridgements – photocopy supplied 2001 by Robin Clouston, Northern Ireland

(173) Dec. 1. 1834.
EDWARD CLOUSTON of Kingshouse, late of Jamaica, *Seised*, Oct. 14. 1834,—in a Piece of Kail ground, south half of the ground below the common Road opposite to the said Kail ground, south half of 2 Riggs of arable land, being part of the ground commonly called the Old Quoy with the Houses and Buildings thereon, Piece of ground formerly occupied as a Kail Yard with the Piece of ground on the east thereof, and back House thereon (now ruinous) on the west side of the Street of STROMNESS, Tenement of land and Dwelling House with the Pier below and Shore eastward from the same, and Piece of ground westward from the Street and Houses thereon, Quoy or Park, being part of a Quoy of land called Louttits or Northquoy, all in or about the north end of the Burgh of Stromness, par. Stromness;—in security of £250; —on Bond and Disp. by Edward Clouston, late Writer, Stromness, now residing in the Island of Westray, Oct. 9. 1834. P. R. 28. 207.

Loch of Harray



In Jamaica on 6 November 1834 Robert Fairweather of the parish of St Mary was one of the men examined by a Committee of the House of Assembly ‘appointed to enquire into the new system of labour’.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 22 Nov 1834, page Sup 11-12 – extracts

House of Assembly, Jamaica, Friday Oct 31, 1834.

Examinations on Oath, taken before a committee of the House of Assembly appointed to enquire into the workings of the new system of labour and to report to the House what regulations are necessary to enforce the industry of the manumitted slaves, and what rate of wages would be equitable between the apprentices and their masters for extra time of labour.

6th November.

Mr Fairweather sworn.

- Q. Are you concerned in the management of landed property, and to what extent?
 A. Yes, to a pretty large extent in St Mary’s, St George’s, St Ann, St Thomas in the Vale, and Clarendon.
 Q. What number of apprenticed labourers under your management?
 A. Upward of three thousand.
 Q. From the experience you have had of the new system of labour established under the abolition act, how is it succeeding?
 A. Very badly.
 Q. To what cause or causes do you attribute its failure?
 A. From there being a great insufficiency in number of special magistrates, and the laws not being properly put in force by many of them, and a most undue interference by the sectarians and their leaders.
 Q. What reasons have you for believing that there has been such undue interference on the part of the sectarians?
 A. I have reason to suspect the Baptists of this undue interference on account of what the overseer of Gray’s Inn mentioned to me, that the negroes on that property had agreed to work the five days of nine hours for their usual allowances, which was offered them, and to which they had agreed. A few days afterwards when it was to be ratified by the stipendiary, they said they could not enter into any such arrangement, that on Sunday they had been at the Baptist chapel at Anotto-Bay, and they were told by other negroes there, that if they worked extra time, and took allowance for it, that slavery would never be at an end, and that after they were dead, their souls would be kept in eternal slavery.
 Q. Do you consider that there has been any unwillingness on the part of the managers of estates to enter fairly upon the new system?
 A. Decidedly not.
 Q. Do you know of the managers or proprietors of estates having, directly or indirectly, thrown any obstacles in the way of the special magistrates in the due performance of their duties under the law?
 A. I certainly do not.
 Q. Are the apprentices now performing what you consider to be a fair and reasonable portion of labour during the limited time required by law?
 A. No, not more than half generally.
 Q. Are they obedient to the authority of the managers placed over them, and conducting themselves with due subordination?
 A. There is a kind of passive resistance, and in many instances, they are becoming insolent and insubordinate.
 Q. Have you found the apprentices disposed to work for hire during their own time?
 A. Partly so on some properties, and on others not.
 Q. Has sugar been made upon any estate under your charge since 1st August?
 A. Yes, on several.
 Q. What arrangements have you been able to make to keep the mills going, and for what number of hours out of the twenty-four?
 A. I have made arrangements for keeping the mill about twelve hours of each of the five days with the people there, and in the boiling-house; those in the latter, to continue on for six hours more, if there is liquor sufficient, and for so doing, those in the mill-house, for their extra time, I give 3s 4d on each Saturday morning to all the hands, and to the weakly or young hands 1s 8d, and to the people about the

boiling-house, say the able hands, 3s 4d, and the weakly or young ones 1s 8d, and to those in the bottling-house an extra allowance at the rate of 5d for three hours, for further extra time at night. Still I do not consider this time sufficient, and that we would require, for getting off the crop in proper time, to have, by the changing of spells at least eighteen hours out of the twenty-four for five days, beginning at four o'clock in the morning for first spell, taking it up from that time and working their nine hours also.

- Q. Taking the average of the estates under your management, what has been your weekly work by this mode of working, compared to what you formerly made?
- A. As near half as possible.
- Q. At that rate, how is your crop to be taken off, and the field cultivation continued?
- A. The crop on the ground may be taken off but the field cultivation cannot be continued in a proper manner.
- Q. What number of hours out of the twenty-four do you consider it necessary that a sugar factory should be kept in continuous operation to enable the crop to be taken off?
- A. I have already stated I consider eighteen out of the twenty-four.
- Q. Do you, from your experience and knowledge of the negroes, believe that they will be induced voluntarily to give that number of hours labour for such a rate of wages as you can afford to pay them?
- A. I very much fear they will not.
- Q. What would you consider to be a fair and equitable rate of wages to be paid to the apprenticed labourers for extra labour in their own time?
- A. I have already stated at the rate of 5d for three hours.
- Q. Do you consider it possible to carry on the manufacture of sugar under existing circumstances?
- A. I do not.
- Q. Looking at the present state of the country, what regulations do you consider to be necessary to secure
- A. I think the assembly ought to use every effort, power, and privilege, to get the governor to insist upon the stipendiary magistrates putting the laws in full execution; for, if something more is not immediately done in that way than many of them have shewn an inclination to perform, to prevent crime, I much fear the country will be ruined, and the cultivation of it at a stand, without immediate measures do not emanate from the executive, to convince the apprentices that the laws will be strictly enforced, and those punished severely who may infringe upon them, for, at late, the governor's passiveness in punishing crime, I fear, has occasioned similar proceedings from many of the stipendiary magistrates, and our people, where such has taken place, care very little about us, or the welfare of the properties; and, on the contrary, where the stipendiary have done their duty, matters have gone on pretty well, considering the very great change; and, if such is not properly attended to immediately, I much fear our people will make a stand to labour for us after Christmas.

Robert Fairweather.

On 18 December 1834 a Memorial to the King in Council was passed by the Assembly of Jamaica.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 14 Mar 1835, page PS 18

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

The Humble Address, Representation, and Petition of the Assembly of Jamaica.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the Assembly of Jamaica, approach your Majesty with sentiments of loyalty and attachment to your Royal Person, in the humble trust, that our Representation will obtain consideration in your Royal breast.

Since our last Session the abolition of Slavery in this island has taken place.

We passed that Law without pledging ourselves for its success – without assuming any of its responsibility; for, in the face of the nation, and before your gracious Majesty, we entered our solemn protest against the measure as precipitate, and at the same time we claimed subsequent remuneration should the experiment fail.

The act of the British Parliament, which was intended to come into operation on the 1st of August, whether we consented or not, left it neither to our discretion, nor to our local experience, to adopt such

prudential measures towards the working of this “frightful experiment,” as might have rendered it less dangerous, or less fearful.

It has been admitted by the late Governor, that we never expressed any desire to perpetuate slavery, provided Compensation could be secured, and that however praiseworthy those motives of interference were on the part of the Mother Country, we should have just reason to complain, had the attempt been made to advance the national character at our exclusive expense.

At the closing of that eventful Session, your Majesty’s Representative, the Earl of Mulgrave, declared to us “his firm belief, that in all future difficulties, our ready recognition of the natural right of our fellow men would meet its best reward in the revived diffusion of national sympathy, and the cheerfully continued expression of British protection.”

Under this expectation, and with a lively sense of the justice of our claims, we with the more confidence, submit our petition to your royal consideration.

We humbly state that the Abolition Act having come into full force, and having received our anxious co-operation, so far from proving safe or satisfactory, as we are led to believe, is fearfully realizing those alarms which we stated to your Majesty in our humble Address and Memorial in the year 1833.

The negroes, so far from shewing gratitude for their manumission, or rendering a cheerful performance of the diminished labour required of them, even during the limited legal hours, have manifested a sullen disposition, and too plainly indicate that their minds are unsettled – fearful disturbances have broken out, and although no blood has been shed, their increasing insubordination and impatience of restraint, evidently show that both life and property will be endangered unless they are restrained by timely and remedial measures. We therefore humbly implore your Majesty to furnish us without delay with a sufficient military force to preserve public tranquillity, and to ensure a due observance of the laws, whereby the emancipated slaves may be made sensible, that “although the domestic authority of the master no longer exists, another power of control has been substituted, sufficient to maintain order and enforce the performance of their duties.”

We beg to represent, that while one portion of our property has been thus depreciated, no measures have been adopted to secure, still less to improve, the value of the remainder. That although many millions of annual taxes have been taken off from domestic and foreign production, for the relief of our fellow countrymen at home, no adequate measures have yet been adopted on our behalf, and the excessive duties upon our staple articles of produce, imposed during the war, have been only partially reduced, although the increase took place under the solemn Parliamentary pledge, that the additional duties should be removed so soon as peace should be restored.

We declare that the continuance of the Foreign Slave Trade, nay, it’s acknowledged increase, in defiance of treaties, becomes an incalculable grievance.

Thus surrounded with increasing difficulties, we humbly venture to point out some mode, which if adopted, will afford relief, and might yet restore this important Colony to comparative prosperity.

We ask, that the import in the United Kingdom of Foreign Sugars and Coffee, the production of slave labour, be prohibited for home consumption.

We ask, that the protective duties on East India Sugar should be continued, until this island is released from all commercial restrictions, not imposed on the Eastern dependencies, and until the relative price of labour is equalized, either by natural causes or legislative enactments.

We pray, that a large reduction of the duty on Sugar be made, and that the duties be imposed on an ad valorem scale, and collected from the purchaser, and that the duty on Rum be reduced.

We pray, that loans of money may be advanced to Proprietors of Estates, on security of those mortgages and claims which will be redeemed by the appropriation of the Compensation Money, and we humbly represent, unless individual credit is upheld, to meet the difficulties of an expensive and untried system, public and private credit will be affected, and irretrievable injury may be inflicted.

We pray, that the surplus revenue arising from the Post Office duties in this island may be placed at our disposal, in aid of the general revenue to the island.

We pray, that your Majesty will be pleased to grant your Royal Letters Patent, directing briefs to be issued throughout England and Wales in aid of the Church Establishment, and for building additional Chapels in this island.

We humbly represent, that previous to the introduction of the Abolition Bill into the House of Commons, a Committee of that Honourable House was appointed to consider the measures most expedient to be adopted for the extinction of Slavery throughout the British dominions, at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the Colonies – who in their report state, that “with some

few exceptions, the inquiry had been confined to the island of Jamaica, and the important question of what was due to the fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property, as connected with Emancipation, had not been investigated by the committee.”

We therefore humbly pray, that a question of such vital importance to our interests may be duly investigated before your Majesty in Council, and that we may be permitted by Counsel to urge our Claims.

Finally, we pray, that your Majesty in Council will graciously be pleased to take this Petition into favourable consideration.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c &c

Richard Barrett, Speaker

Passed the Assembly, this 18th Dec 1834.

Towards the end of 1834 St Thomas in the Vale was separated from the Precinct of St Catherine.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 8 Nov 1834, page Sup 14

Proceedings in the House of Assembly . . . Friday, November 7 – extract

Mr Lowndes brought up the report of the committee on the petition from St Thomas in the Vale recommending that a bill be brought in for the purpose of separating that parish from the precinct of St Catherine. The same committee ordered to prepare a bill accordingly.

On 26 December 1834 Alexander McInnes was appointed Custos for St Thomas in the Vale

Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 27 Dec 1834, page PS 17

Governor's Secretary's Office, King's House, Dec 26, 1834.

Civil Appointments.

Dec. 19 – Hon Alexander McInnes to be Custos of the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale, vice Bernard resigned.

Hon Alexander McInnes to be Chief Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the parish of St Thomas in the Vale.

Henry Lowndes, Peter Francis Garrigues, Charles Anderson, Robert Page, William Lord, Edward Trueman Guy, and Asher Asher, Esquires, to be Assistant Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for the parish of St Thomas in the Vale.

Above – Bernard = Thomas James Bernard, the Custos for the Precinct of St Catherine before St Thomas in the Vale was separated from the Precinct. .

Edward's crop account for 1834 includes – digging cane holes for Mount Olive and for Williamsfield.

My photos – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 76, Fol 136 – Edward Clouston – Entered Island Secretary's Office 25 Mar 1835 – crop account for year 1834 – sworn on 11 March 1835 by John Maghee before R H Sharp –

*An account of all the Rents profits produce and
proceeds of Negroes belonging to Edward Clouston
Esq in the parish of St Thomas in the Vale for year
ending 31st December 1834*

| Spring plant payable in 1834 | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|---------------|--|
| By New Hall Est for prop ⁿ of Bone hole | do | 11 | 10 | 1/2 | |
| " Shenton Estate for do | do | 9 | 15 | 0 | |
| " Hoghole Est for do | do | 7 | 7 | 2 1/2 | |
| " Mount Olive for do | do | 6 | 11 | 3 | |
| Tullock Estate for do | do | 2 | 18 | 2 38 3 | |
| Day labour payable in 1834 | | | | | |
| By Tullock Estate for proportion of | | 15 | 3 | 1/2 | |
| " Harkers Hall Est for do | | 4 | 9 | 7 | |
| " Hoghole Estate for do | | 11 | 9 | 2 | |
| " Mount Olive for do | | 2 | 4 | 2 45 16 0 1/2 | |

| Fall plant payable in 1835 | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|----|----|--------------------|--|
| By Hoghole Estate for proportion of | | 5 | 4 | 5 1/2 | |
| " Shenton Estate for do | | 5 | 18 | 1 1/2 | |
| " New Hall Est for do | | 15 | 11 | 0 1/2 | |
| " Tullock Est for do | | 11 | 4 | 11 1/2 | |
| " Mount Olive for do | | 21 | 9 | 5 | |
| " Harkers Hall Est for do | | 1 | 13 | 1 1/2 | |
| " Knolls Est for do | | 14 | 12 | 2 1/4 | |
| " Prospect Est for do | | 8 | 13 | 5 1/2 | |
| " Hyde Est for do | | 12 | 11 | 0 1/2 96 18 11 1/2 | |
| Day labour payable in 1835 | | | | | |
| By Harkers Hall for proportion | | 15 | 7 | 1/2 | |

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|----|---|-----|----|-------|
| " Done hall Est do | 3 | 4 | 7 | | | |
| " Williamsfield Est do | " | " | " | | | |
| " W. H. Clarke Esq for do | 2 | 15 | 5 | 25 | 15 | 7 1/4 |
| | | | | 204 | 13 | 7 1/4 |

Samanicap. I. Bro Mayher do swear that
 within above is set forth a just and true account of
 all the Rents profits produce and proceeds of Negroes
 belonging to Edward Clouston Esquire in the parish of
 aforesaid for the year ending the 31st day of December
 next amount eight hundred and thirty four to the best
 of my knowledge and belief
 Sworn upon oath this 11th
 day of March 1835 R H Sharp John Mayher
 before R H Sharp

Williamsfield crop account for 1834 includes – To hire of Ann Balfour from 1st Jany to the 8th May @ £16 P annum - £5 6s 8d – and her daughter – Elizabeth Milligan for 12 mths - £21 6s 8d

My photos – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 76, Fol 171 – Williamsfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – Entered Island Secretary's Office 25 Mar 1835 – in the possession of Geo Cuthbert and Geo Wm Hamilton as attorneys – crop account for year 1834 – sworn on 7 March 1835 by William Allanach before R H Sharp

| How disposed of | Sugar | | Rum | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|-----|-----|--------|
| | Hhds | lbs | Pms | Sakers |
| Shipped on board the Tuckoch Castle | 40 | " | 15 | " |
| " " Thames | 20 | " | " | " |
| " " Planet | 30 | " | 20 | " |
| " " Hyoman | 4 | " | 2 | " |
| " " Duke of Pronte | 15 | " | " | " |
| " " Henry Davidson | 35 | " | 14 | " |
| " " Tuckoch Castle | 32 | " | 18 | " |

| | | | | |
|------------------------------|---|------|---|-----|
| Sold to Stapewick plantation | " | 000 | " | 120 |
| Pen Pen Limestone Gravel | " | " | " | 117 |
| Geo W Hamilton Esq | " | 2404 | " | " |
| - Lord Esq | " | 300 | " | " |
| Wallens Pen | " | 200 | " | " |
| Mount Pleasant Estate | " | 217 | " | " |
| Golden River | " | 200 | " | " |

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|----|--------------|
| " Hull fold | " | 250 | " | 80 |
| " M. T. Burton | " | 280 | " | " |
| " Richard Daly Esq | " | 685 | " | 57 |
| " Robert Page Esq | " | 500 | " | 60 |
| " M. T. Mynor | " | 375 | " | " |
| " M. T. Hop | " | " | " | 89 |
| One Pouchon of last years Runn included in the Total | 176 | 594 | 69 | 523 |
| → To hire of Anne Balfour furnished from the 8th May to the 31st June | | | | 3 £ 5. 12. 4 |
| → " of Elizabeth Milligan for 12 mos | | | | 21. 6. 8 |
| " of Elizabeth Reid for 19 weeks @ 7/6 per week | | | | 9. 10. |
| " of 312 traders men to Maitland at 1/4 per man | | | | 52. 0. 0 |

Jamaica I, Mr. Alexander Allanach do swear that the above is a just and true account of all the Runn's profits produce and proceeds of Williams's Estate for the year ending 31st December next and eight hundred and thirty four excepting what has been used in crop and reserved for the use of the Estate to the best of my knowledge and belief

done before me this 7th day of March 1835
 R. A. Sharp
 To help me God
 William Allanach

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 Harewood – Nelson & Adam, London, 30 April 1835 – Crop 1834 – Williamsfield

Williamsfield Estate
Proceeds of 176 Hds of Sugar 2 - 3276.7.9
69 Punch' Rum - 724.9.10
Recovered of the Underwriters - 42.3.3
deduct 3276.7.9
Insurances £95.7.6, Stores £408.2 -
Commission Postage and Stamps £31.19.2 535.8.8
2740 19 1

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/adv_search/ – Lascelles West Indies – movinghere.org.uk – Account Book – Abstract of the Income and Expenditure for Williamsfield & Nightingale Grove Plantations – Nelson & Adam, London, 30 April 1835 – Crop 1834 – Williamsfield

| | | | |
|---|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| Proceeds of 176 Hhds of Sugar75 & 69 Puns of Rum | 3276 - 7 - 9 | | |
| Deduct | | | |
| Insurance £95- 7 - 6 Stores £408 - 2 - 0 Commission | | | |
| Postage and Stamps £31 - 19 - 2 ----- | 535 - 8 - 8 | 2740 - 19 - 1 | |
| Pr Accounts of Geo Cuthbert & G W Hamilton dated | 31 Decr 1834 | | |
| Amount of this years Expenses ----- | ----- | 1442 - 1 - 7 | 1298 - 17 - 6 |

My photos, March 2007 – Williamsfield – St Saviour’s Churchyard – Nutmeg



March 2007 – Williamsfield



Pamela Woodburn outside her house below the site of the old Williamsfield Great House



March 2007 – Mr Grant, St Saviour's keyboard player, showing me an Ackee, the National fruit of Jamaica



September 2008 – Sharon, shopkeeper at Williamsfield Bridge, showing me the Mace around a Nutmeg



On 9 March 1835 the first Court of Quarter Sessions was held in St Thomas in the Vale.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat 14 Mar 1835, page Sup 13

St Thomas in the Vale.

A Court of Quarter Sessions was held last Monday at Rodney-Hall, Custos McInnes, Presiding Judge; and Anderson and Lord, Assistants.

The Grand Jury was sworn in.

N Gyles, Esq, Foreman.

| | |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| Wm Ross | William Duncan |
| Robert Roach | John O'Meally |
| George Rees | Alex Allanack |
| John McDermott | W H Hackie |
| Alex Anderson | John Grant – and |
| Wm Worger | Caleb Wheeler, Esqrs. |

His Hon then addressed them: –

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

This is the first time a Court of Quarter Sessions was ever held in our newly constituted parish. I congratulate you that, notwithstanding the great change in our society – a change unparalleled in history – there are no crimes on the Calendar of any magnitude: the only two are for petty larceny. You will please to retire and the Bills shall be sent to you immediately.

The one for stealing coffee at Belgar – True Bill; and the other for stealing a few old clothes – True Bill.

The Foreman then made the following address: –

May it please your Honour, We the Grand Jury of the parish of St Thomas in the Vale, this being the first time of our holding a Court of Quarter Sessions in our newly constituted parish, beg leave most respectfully to congratulate you upon assuming the responsible and important situation of Custos of the parish, and to assure you, that we have every confidence in your ability, talent, and zeal; and that your Honour will discharge its duties with firmness, wisdom, and impartiality. Our anxious care and indefatigable exertion has been directed to promote the well-working of the new system, being sensible that the existence of ourselves and families depends upon its success; and we beg to assure your Honour our example shall not be wanting to promote the industry and moral improvement of our apprentices.

To which his Honour made the following

Mr Foreman and Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

I thank you for your address, and for the confidence you express in my performance of the responsible duties which have devolved upon me. That you approve of my appointment, is most gratifying to my feelings. Your great respectability, and long residence in the Parish, makes you competent judges of my character. – I have no doubt but that your influence in society will be exerted to repress crime, and promote harmony and good feeling among those you preside over. My best energies will be always the welfare and prosperity of our parish. Gentlemen, we thank you for your attendance, and you are now discharged.

The Grand Jury, at their own expense, provided an elegant second-breakfast, in honour of the day, for which Mr Macintosh deserved great credit. The Hon the Custos and his associates, Colin McKenzie, Esq and many other gentlemen, honoured the Grand Jury with their company. Mr Gyles acted as President, and Mr Roach as Vice. The afternoon passed away in the most cordial manner; the kindest feeling pervaded the company. A number of loyal and patriotic toasts were drank, and, for the time, forgot the evils impending over their heads.

When about to drink his Excellency the Governor's health, the President rose and requested, as a particular favour to himself, that every gentleman would fill a bumper to the toast he was about to give. In loyalty to my Sovereign and respect for legitimate authority, I will yield to no one. His Excellency the Marquis of Sligo has attempted to construe the Slave Law to punish me; he has endeavoured to interfere with the sacred rights of private property, and he has used the prerogative of the Crown to my prejudice; but, gentlemen, to show that I surpass him in true Christian charity, as much as he is superior to us in rank and fortune, I beg that you will drink his good health with all the honours.

The President next proposed the health of our much esteemed and worthy Custos. He observed, his Honour was present, and we would not offend his delicacy by any eulogium upon his many virtues and dignified character. They were well known to every gentleman in company, as to himself; and all he would do was to drink his good health, and long may he live to enjoy his honours and to preside over us. – Drank with thundering applause.

The Custos then rose, nearly overpowered by his feelings, and said, – If anything could add to his gratification that day, it was the kind feeling manifested towards him in drinking his health, by such a respectable company – respectable for their talent and long standing in the parish. – Gentlemen, said the Major General, although our parish is but small, few parishes can produce such good fellows – certainly none surpass it. – The manner you have drank my health excites the kindest feelings of my heart, and will be among the proudest recollections of my life. – Accept my best thanks.

The Custos requested to be allowed to give a toast. He proposed the health of the Grand Jury of Saint Thomas in the Vale – a Jury, he said, for respectability and integrity of character was not always to be seen. I shall ever feel proud to associate with them; and from long residence in the Parish, there is scarcely an individual in it that I am not personally acquainted with and can bear testimony to their moral worth. Surrounded with such, united among ourselves, I can have no doubt of the successful performance of my important duties. Your co-operation I calculate upon – I know I shall have it, and having it, my task will be easy. The mutual kind feeling prevailing this day, I trust will ever pervade our future meetings, and I sincerely wish you long life, happiness, and prosperity.

The foreman, on behalf of his brother Jurors, in a very appropriate and neat little speech, returned thanks, and proposed the health of the gentlemen who had honoured them with their company, which being drank,

Captain Briggs rose and said, – Gentlemen we sincerely thank you for your kind attention this day. I was in hopes that some gentlemen more competent would have done this; I hope I shall soon have the pleasure of meeting again. – You are certainly a parcel of d—n good fellows. (Hurrah! Hurrah; for the lads of the Vale.)

Mr Vice [? Vice] rose, and proposed the health of the Magistracy of the Parish.

His Honour returned thanks, and said, he was proud to be at the head of a body of gentlemen inferior to none in the Island, whose intelligence, undeviating integrity and independence of character, was the pride of their parishioners. He would venture to assert, they will ever merit their approbation, by doing every thing in their power to promote the peace and prosperity of the parish.

A few more toasts, the company separated highly delighted with their entertainments.

No business came before the Court of Common Pleas. – DESPATCH.

In 1835 some ‘agriculturalists’ were emigrating from Britain to Jamaica.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette Kingston Sat 14 Mar 1835, page PS 19

Three hundred emigrants were to leave England for this country on the day after the packet sailed – they are all agriculturalists. On the subject of immigration, we would observe that it is necessary that persons desirous of employing the immigrants, should have houses and lands prepared for their reception, or else discontent will altogether frustrate the scheme.

Sat, 4 Apr 1835, page PS 21

Police Office, Montego-Bay, March 27.

Three Immigrants from the County Kent, named John Elliot, William Harris, and Thomas Screens, were brought before their worships to give an account of themselves. They stated they were part of the imported labourers located on Barrett-Hall, and in the service of the honourable Richard Barrett; – that they had been brought to the Colony under a delusion as to the nature of their labour, which they had been led to suppose would be similar to that of European husbandmen, both as to implements and the articles under cultivation; that they had signed no articles, executed no agreement, – and, dissatisfied with their service, had been told by Mr Barrett that they were at liberty to quit it. The particular hardships of which they complained were, that they were obliged to work from six in the morning till past six in the evening; – that they had then to resort to their cottages which were distant from their place of labour, and far from

comfortable to them; that, exhausted with their day's toil they had still to continue to work in the evening in fetching water and cooking their victuals; that their supply of food consisted only of a pint of flour each, and about 4lbs pork for four labourers per diem; that they had no soap allowed them and were obliged to pay for their washing; that their salary was 5*l.* per annum; – that their condition was one of more privation than that of the English labourer; that they were desirous, at all hazards, of returning home, and that, for that reason, they had come to town to endeavour to procure a passage out of the Colony, if not direct to England. As they had sufficient money with them for subsistence for a time, there was of course no charge of vagrancy established; they were however advised to return to Barrett-Hall. – (*Cornwall Chronicle*)

Below – Apprentices on Williamsfield brought before the Special/Stipendiary Magistrate, between 12 August 1834 and 28 April 1835.

Harewood West Indies – photocopy supplied 2003 by West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds

List of Cases brought before the Special Magistrate on Williamsfield Estate.

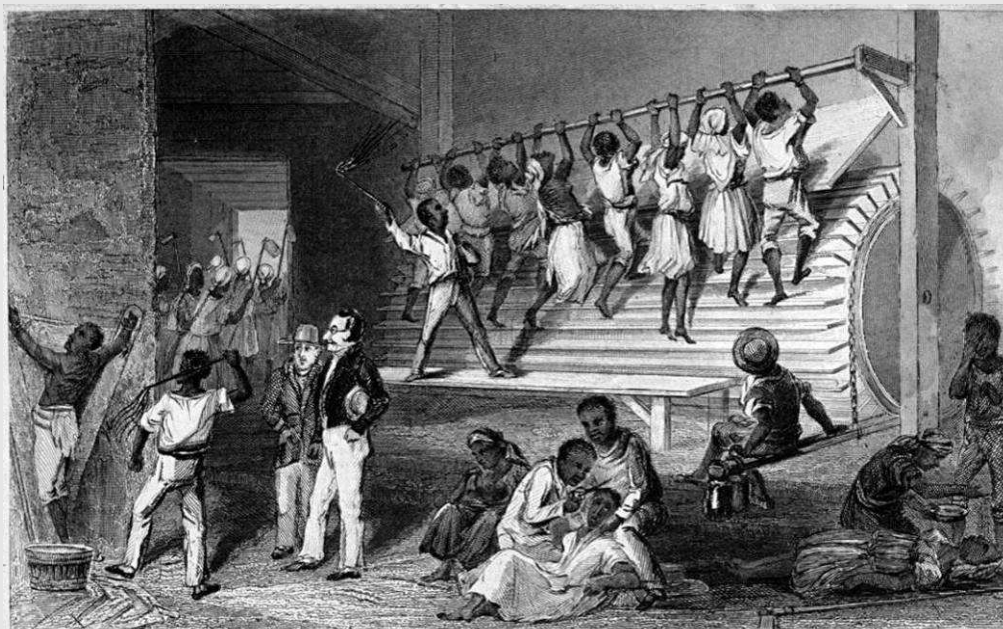
| No. | 1834 | |
|--------|----------------------|---|
| 1 | Augt. 12 | Charles Ellis – for allowing a Mule to be strangled through neglect. There being no positive evidence, he was admonished by Mr Finlayson on his visit to the Estate. 18 th September. |
| 2 | | Sally Bonner – for pretending to be sick and losing 5 hours labour. She went to the Hospital and remained for 5 hours without taking medicine and then returned to her work without being seen by the Doctor. Proved by the Hospital Attendant. Admonished by Mr Finlayson on 18 th September. |
| 3 4 | Augt. 22 Augt. 26 | Sarah Harding – for losing 1 day's labour – and – Sally Burton – for absenting herself for 4 months. They claim to be exempt from labour in consequence of being old and invalided. Pardoned by Mr Finlayson. 18 th Sept. The Doctor gives as his opinion that they are perfectly capable of doing light work. |
| 5 6 | Sept. 3 | Janet Brown – for pretending to be sick and losing 1½ day's labour. Same as No 2. Admonished by Mr Finlayson on 18 th Sept. Sarah Harding – same as No 3. |
| 7 8 | Sept. 5 | Letitia Cuthbert – and – Diana Pinnock – for fighting put into Confinement for half a day by the Constable. Admonished by Mr Finlayson on 18 th Sept. |
| 9 | Sept. 8 | Sarah Harding – Same as No 6 Referred by Mr Finlayson 18 th Sept to the Doctor who gave his opinion as before. |
| 10 | Sept. 15 | A Number of Canes cut by the second gang when cleaning Long & Sampson pieces. Proved by the Overseer. They were admonished by Mr Finlayson. 18 th Sept. |
| 11 | | Robert Henry – for allowing the Hogs to stray into Cane pieces and destroying Number of Canes. Ordered by Mr Finlayson to lose 4 days of his own time. 18 th Sept. |
| 12 | | William Gordon – Carpenter – for neglect of work having only sawn the ends off four small timbers all day. Proved by William Francis, Constable – & Mr Bookkeeper. Ordered to repay one day's labour by Mr Finlayson. 18 th Sept. |
| 13 | | After the Negroes were drawn from work they came in a body to the Overseer's house (females in particular) and were very insolent at the shell not being blown as they wished it – they were dispersed by the Constable after some trouble. – The most |

| | | |
|----------------|----------|---|
| | | violent were Eliza Clarke, Just... Brown and Jane Graham. – Proved by the Overseer, Bookkeepers & Constable. Sentenced to 3 days labour in the Workhouse by Mr Finlayson. 18 th Sept. |
| 14 | Sept. 16 | Robert Henry – for allowing Hogs to trespass on Canes. Ordered by Mr Finlayson to repay 4 days of his own time. – 18 th Sept. |
| 15 | | Lavinia Lewis – for refusing to work after hearing Mount Olive at 4 o'clock in the evening. Mount Olive working 8 hours a day from 8 till 4 – and Williamsfield 9 hours – getting every second Friday and dinner time. – Proved by Mr Moody the Bookkeeper. Admonished by Mr Finlayson. 18 th Sept. |
| 16 17 | Sept. 18 | Billy Whitelane – and James Graham – for allowing Cattle to break out of Pen and injure Cane pieces. Proved by the Constable William Francis. Taken before Mr Finlayson at Hamshire – 19 th Sept & sentenced to repay 4 days labour. |
| 18 | Sept. 23 | Tradesmen refused when ordered by the Constables William Francis & James Edwards to remove two sick people from their houses to the Hospital. – Proved by the Constables. Ordered to repay one day each by Mr Finlayson on 1 st October when he visited. |
| 19 20 | Nov. 18 | Diana Clarke – and Diana Pinnock – for pretending to be sick and losing one day's labour. – Proved by Hospital Attendant. Sentenced to repay one days labour each by Mr Finlayson when he visited. |
| 21 | Nov. 19 | George Davis, John Hanes, Thomas Harewood & George Cuthbert – for cutting Canes on Short piece. – Proved by Watchman John Hemming Cuthbert. Sentenced by Mr Finlayson to receive 8 Stripes each on Estate, when he visited. |
| | 1835 | |
| 22 23 | Jany. 15 | John Hemming Cuthbert – and Robert McDonald – Watchmen – for absence without leave since Christmas, and a quantity of canes lost in consequence. Proved by the Overseer who requested they might not be punished in consequence of being old. Admonished by Mr Finlayson when he visited. |
| 24 | Jany. 16 | Alexander Wine – for absence since 7 th inst. – Proved by the Overseer. Sentenced to four days labour in the Workhouse, and to repay the Estate 4 days by Mr Finlayson when he visited. |
| 25 | Jany. 20 | John Byndloss Stable Boy – for allowing Horses and Mules to stray into Cane pieces and destroy young Canes. – Proved by Overseer. Ordered by Mr Finlayson to work two days of his own time, when he visited. |
| 26 | Jany. 21 | John Henry – for refusing to cut wood for the Still house. – Proved by the Overseer and acknowledged by himself. Ordered by Mr Finlayson, when he visited, to work four Saturdays. |
| 27 28 | Feby. 8 | Robert Edwards – and Thomas Page – Watchmen – Proved by Overseer and John Graham – Watchman. Ordered by Mr Finlayson when he visited to receive – Robt Edwards 10 Stripes, and Thomas Page 6 Stripes. |
| 29 | Feby. 9 | William Ellis – second Boiler – for spoiling two pans of liquor, and not keeping the Tache supplied. – Proved by the Bookkeeper Mr Matice & Mr Moody and by his own confession. Ordered by Mr Finlayson to receive 15 Stripes in the Workhouse. |
| 30 31 32 | Feby. 10 | Gracey Jackson – Ann Taylor – and Mary Graham – for turning out late to work. – Proved by Mr H..... the Bookkeeper and Joseph Pinnock. – Constable. Ordered by Mr Finlayson to work two Saturdays each. |
| 33 | Feby. 20 | Janet Brown – for refusing Constable's orders to turn trash, and collaring him. Proved |

| | | |
|---|----------|--|
| | | by Constable Lewis Morrison. Ordered by Mr Finlayson when he visited to the Tread Mill for 4 days and to forfeit 4 Saturdays. |
| 34 | Feby 24 | Jane Cuthbert, Sarah Byndloss and Eliza Clarke – Mill feeders – for choaking the Mill with Trash so as to compel it to be stopped and nearly breaking it being second offence. – Proved by Constable William Gordon. Sent for Mr Finlayson who sentenced Eliza Clarke to 6 days hard labour in the Workhouse, and to pay the Estate 6 Saturdays. – The others admonished. |
| 35 | Mar. 13 | George Bonner and Thomas Reid – Cattleman & Boy – for making a fire to cook in a Cane piece then cutting hay and leaving it, by which means the trash caught fire, and the Cane would have been destroyed, but for the timely assistance of the gang. – Proved by their own confession. George Bonner ordered by Mr Jones when he visited to 6 weeks labour in the Workhouse and treadmill, and to repay the Estate the time. Thos Reid switched on Estate. |
| 36 | Mar. 25 | Richard T..... & Thos Harvey – for refusing to assist the Cooper to truss a hhd. Proved by Thomas Matice head cooper. Ordered by Mr Jones to work one day of their own time for the Estate. |
| 37 | Mar. 31 | James Morison – head Boiler – for injuring Produce by using extra quantity of temper lime contrary to orders. – Proved by Mr Mat... and Mr Moody – Bookkeepers – and for stealing Sugar. Proved by Peter Graham. In consequence of being old and sickly sentenced by Mr Jones to 2 weeks solitary confinement. |
| 38 | Apr. 4 | Robt Clayton, Thomas Harvey & Sarah Winter accuse Thomas Mattice & William Francis of practicing Obea, because Thomas Mattice works for the Estate in his own time for hire. Sentenced by Mr Jones to 24 hours confinement in their own time for preferring charge they could not substantiate. |
| 39 | Apr. 15 | John Harvey – Waggon Boy – for leaving Waggon in the Road to the Barquadier with Produce. – Proved by head Waggon. This case tried at Rodney Hall. |
| 40 | Apr. 28 | George Wellington, Sarah Harding & Sally Burton – for pretending to be unable to work from sickness. – The Doctor states that they require no medicines and perfectly able to perform the work required of them. Sentenced by Mr Jones to 3 days solitary confinement and threatened to be sent to the Treadmill for a repetition of such conduct. |
| Cases pardoned or otherwise arranged by the Overseer or Attorney. | | |
| | 1834 | |
| | Sept. 25 | Ann Francis – for absence from the second gang for seven weeks. Pardoned by Overseer – she being pregnant. |
| | Nov. 14 | Kitty Taylor – losing four hours & stealing Corn. Pardoned by Ditto, being elderly. |
| | Nov. 15 | Mary Ann Harvey – neglect of work. Ditto Ditto |
| | 1835 | |
| | Jany. 8 | The whole mill gang – for leaving the Mill without washing it. Promised to make it up |
| | Jany. 14 | The whole gang for turning out an Hour late. Ditto |
| | Mar. 13 | Eleanor March [Bessy's 3 rd daughter] – for leaving the Cock of Water pipe open, whereby the pans & Coppers were overflowed & from 7 to 900 gallons liquor lost. – |

| | | |
|--|----------|--|
| | | Supposed accidental on her part. |
| | | Not included in the List |
| | 1834 | |
| | Sept. 18 | Lewis Morris – For Indolence & neglect of Duty. Case dismissed. John Fraser – Insolence – admonished. Sarah Ellington – Absence 10 days – ditto. Lavinia Lewis – Saying she would not work. Admonished. |
| | Octr. 1 | Wm Gordon – Neglect & improper performance of work. To forfeit one day. Thomas Mathews – Refused to obey orders. One day each & 3 others |
| | Octr. 23 | Charles Grant – Neglect of Duty. Forfeit one day |
| | 1835 | |
| | Jany. 23 | Sarah Lindsay – Not Working Admonished Sarah Harding – ditto ditto |
| | Feby. 20 | Janet Brown – Disobedience & abusing Cattle. Hard labour on Tread Mill 4 days. |

<http://slaveryimages.org/search.html> – 1837 – Treadmill, Jamaica



AN INTERIOR VIEW OF A JAMAICA HOUSE OF CORRECTION.

The earliest mention I have of a treadmill in Jamaica is in May 1834.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 24 May 1834, page PS 23

May 24, 1834.

To the Vestries of the different Parishes in this Island.

The Subscriber offers For Sale, at his Foundry,

A Treadmill,

Of the most substantial Construction and sound Workmanship, and on the principle that is in general use in Prisons and Houses of Correction in England.

The Above Treadmill

Is calculated to keep in Work upwards of Twenty Prisoners, whose labour may be applied to the Grinding of Corn, Pumping of Water, or any other purpose where power is required. The Shaft and principal parts of the Treadmill being constructed of Iron, it cannot be affected by the climate, and not

Swag or Warp, which, from its length, a wooden shaft is very liable to, thereby causing great irregularity to the motion of the Wheel, which may be very injurious to the fair operation of the Machine.

For further particulars in the above advertisement, please apply at the Foundry, where any information will be given, and the Treadmill might be seen in operation:

William James.

On 24 May 1835 George Cuthbert (one of the attorneys of the Earl of Harewood) died at Belvidere, his estate in St Thomas in the East.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 30 May 1835, page PS 24 – Died

At Belvidere, in St Thomas in the East, on Monday last, the Hon George Cuthbert, President of the Council of this Island. Mr Cuthbert was in perfect health in the morning, having gone down to Morant Bay, from whence he returned home and died suddenly of apoplexy about 1 o'clock PM. He was for many years President of the Council, and on two occasions, for short periods, administered the Government of this Island with credit to himself, and satisfaction to the public.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Wills, Old Series – Lib 115, Fol 207 – George Cuthbert, Will – Entered Island Secretary's Office 17 June 1835 – George Cuthbert's housekeeper Catherine Auchterlony, and his four reputed children were the beneficiaries

My photo, November 2009 – Belvidere



On 9 July 1835, following the death of George Cuthbert, the Marquis of Sligo wrote to the Earl of Harewood recommending two men to be his attorney with George William Hamilton.

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/adv_search/ – *Lascelles West Indies – movinghere.org.uk* – Lord Sligo's letter dated Highgate (Jamaica) 9 July 1835 – extracts

Private

My Dear Lord Harewood,

As your attorney, poor Cuthbert, is dead & Mr Hamilton alone remains in the management of your properties here, you may wish to have a second concerned in it. Having peculiar means of knowing the management of all the principal attornies in the Island, in consequence of the weekly reports I receive from the special Magistrates, and seeing there from the importance of good management, in fact I can safely that the entire success, or the total failure of the new system, depends entirely on the person in charge of an Estate; I have taken the liberty of naming two persons to you, as being the most likely to suit you. Either of them are equally fit, in case you should wish to give one of them a joint power with Mr Hamilton, he is Mr James Wilton James who has the management of a good number of Estates & has been certainly the most successful manager under the new system in the Island. Mr Thomas James Bernard has been equally successful for the smaller number he has had to manage. He manages only seven properties belonging to Mr Dawkins. Mr James lives in Clarendon about 40 miles off, Mr Bernard lives in Spanish Town only about 12 miles from your Estate of Williamsfield and I would rather prefer naming him than James for that reason . . . I have not one word to say against Mr Hamilton, who is a most popular man here, I could almost like to see remain in the active management of them; I name these two, James, & Bernard, because they have both not only got off their crops this year earlier & in larger quantities than last year, but they have their preparations for next year far more forward than any other in the Island. I hope you will forgive my intruding on you

Much good could be done at home by the proprietors if so disposed, were they to write out to their attornies here to say that nothing would be more unpleasant to them than to see the systematic opposition given to every Government which is sent out here, and to hope that they could promote the success of the new system in this Island. The dread of displeasing those who employ them would prevent many of them acting in the same systematic manner they do now, in opposition to the Government.

I have sent home some very satisfactory reports by this & the last packet upon the present & future state of this Island . . .

On 22 September 1835 the Earl of Harewood wrote to the Marquis of Sligo, replying to his 9 July 1835 letter, and enclosing the List of Cases brought before the Special Magistrate on Williamsfield Estate – see list above.

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/adv_search/ – *Lascelles Indies – specific website – movinghere.org.uk* – copy letter, dated Harewood House, 22 September 1835, from the Earl of Harewood to the Marquis of Sligo

Private

My dear Lord

I lost no time after the receipt of your first letter in making the necessary enquiries relative to the conduct of the overseer of the Williamsfield estate in Instituting frivolous proceedings against the Negroes. I enclose a return of the cases, and the decisions upon them. The instructions sent out by my orders to my agents both in Jamaica and Barbados previous to as well as since the passing of the emancipation law were positive as to giving every assistance in their power to the new system, and every attention to the Negroes with a view not only to prepare them for the change, but, to act towards them with perfect fairness, by explaining to them without reserve the provisions of the new Law, and by treating them in every respect in a manner conformable with their alter'd condition, so as to establish their confidence and prepare them for the results of that law.

I have caused enquiry to be made repeatedly since that period as to the attention given to these instructions; the representations made to me in reply have been satisfactory upon the point. You may be assured that had it been otherwise I should have immediately interfered; because either as regards principle or policy I would not countenance resistance to the system or to the Authorities. I did not take any steps as requested in consequence of your letter of the 25 of March; I was visited by a heavy domestic calamity in April which obliged me to go into Scotland where I was detained a considerable time; I allude to the death of Mr Hope who married one of my Daughters; and who died about six weeks after their

marriage; I am much obliged to you for pointing out two persons, either of whom were eligible to act with Mr Hamilton in the management of my affairs; but I understand that immediately upon the death of Mr Cuthbert, the vacancy was filled up by Mr Hamilton; –

Believe me My dear Lord Yours faithfully

Harewood

Above – vacancy filled up by Mr Hamilton – refers to Henry Lowndes (in 1832 already acting as an attorney to the Earl of Harewood – see Chapter 19), replacing George Cuthbert as an attorney to the Earl of Harewood.

The Marquis of Sligo in his 27 December 1835 letter, below, referred to William Allanach, the overseer of Williamsfield, and to George William Hamilton.

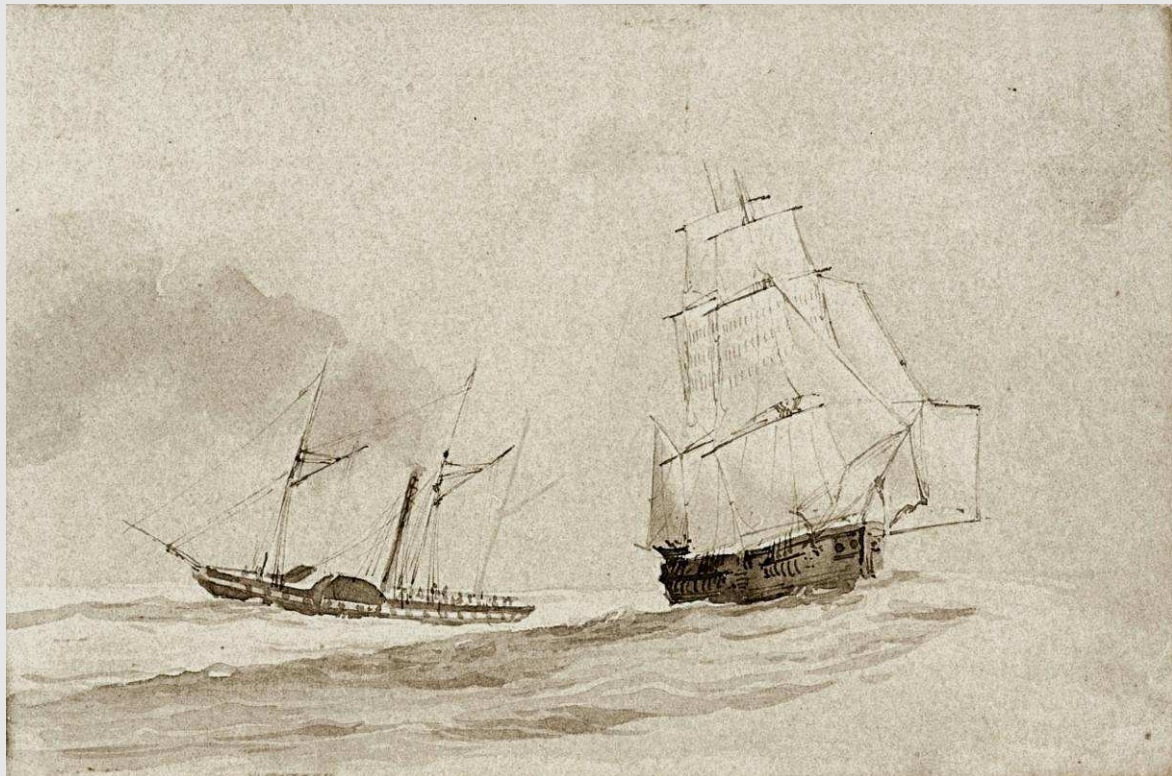
Harewood West Indies – photocopy supplied 2003 by West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, 2002 – letter, dated Highgate (Jamaica), 27 December 1835, from Lord Sligo to Lord Harewood – extract

My respect for you alone induced me to trouble you respecting Mr Allanach, & if you are satisfied I have no right to be otherwise; I spoke to Cuthbert about him, & he told me he did not like him at all but that he did not chose to interfere with Mr Hamilton, who has had the active management of your affairs . . . I do not however indeed mean to insinuate one word against Mr Hamilton who is I fancy as good a man as almost any old planter may be, tho not a man [illegible] place confidence in for the [illegible] of judgment.

I fancy he is a very [illegible] man; & I know that he's a most popular, jovial companion, one whom I am always glad to see in my house.

Meanwhile, in London on 1 August 1835, Edward gave his address as 'Orkney'.

<http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/124389.html> – Owen Stanley – June 1836 – Parting company with the paddle steamer Rhadamanthus off the Orkneys



My photos, October 2001 – Orkney, West Mainland – Ring of Brodgar – behind right, Loch of Harray



Looking east – left, Loch of Harray – right Loch of Stenness – in the distance far right, Clouston



On 1 August 1835 in London Edward, address Orkney, N.B. (North Britain).late of Jamaica, made two Counter Claims for Compensation – one in respect of St Thomas in the Vale Claim no. 163 – slaves domiciled on Coolshade Plantation – and the other in respect of St Thomas in the Vale Claim no. 63 – slaves domiciled on Richmond Hill Plantation

My photos – London National Archives – Claims for Compensation – Jamaica – Counter Claims – T71/1178 – St Thomas in the Vale – Claim No. 162 – Counter Claim of Edward Clouston – summary

Domicile of Slaves: Cool Shade Plantation – Counter-Claim, dated 1 August 1835, of Edward Clouston in respect of certain Slaves – in the possession of Millicent Lane, James Lane, and William Williamson in right of his Wife, as owner – Particulars of Counter-Claim – James Lane's letter of 24 July 1835 agreeing to an admission of a Counter Claim to the amount of £150 with interest from that date the same being annexed to this – signed E Clouston

| | | | |
|---|---|--|---|
| Name of Estate, or Domicile of Slaves. | } | Name of Colony. | N ^o 163 (Same Number as Claim or Return) |
| <i>Cool shade plantation</i> | | <i>Jamaica</i> <i>St. Thom. in the Vale</i> | |

No. 116

THE COUNTER-CLAIM

of *Edward Clouston*

in respect of certain Slaves registered in the said Colony, and in the possession of *Millicent Lane, James Lane, and William Williamson in right of his wife, as owner* and described in the Return thereof.

Dated the *first* day of *August* 1835

[PARTICULARS OF COUNTER-CLAIM.]

James Lane's letter of 24 July 1835 agreeing to an admission of a counter claim to the amount of one hundred and fifty pounds with interest from that date the same being annexed to this

E. Clouston

Annexed

London 24 July 1835

Sir

I hereby agree to a counter-claim by you to the Amount of One Hundred & fifty Pounds with Interest at the rate of 5 per Cent to be reckoned from this date, against my one third of the Compensation Money to be awarded for the Negroes of Coolshade Estate, Jamaica the same being in the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale & given in as the property of "Millicent Lane, Wm Williamson in right of wife & of James Lane" –

James Lane

To Edward Clouston Esq

St Thomas in the Vale – Counter-Claim no. 163 – Cool Shade – continued – Schedule to Counter Claim

| Name and Address of Party preferring Counter-claim. | Description of Estate, Right, Title, or Interest of Counter-claimant, with a reference to Documents in support thereof. | Amount due on Mortgage, Judgment, or other Lien, or Incumbrance, in Sterling Money. |
|---|---|---|
| Edward Clouston Bridget N. S. late of Jamaica | James James Letter hereunto attached | one hundred and fifty pounds with interest |

| Description of Slaves, being the object of Counter-claim. | Number of Slaves. | Estimated Value of Slaves in Sterling, comprized in Counter-claim. |
|---|-------------------|--|
| PRÆDIAL ATTACHED. | | |
| 1. Head People. | 4 | £ 320 |
| 2. Tradesmen | - | - |
| 3. Inferior Tradesmen | - | - |
| 4. Field Labourers | 58 | 3480 |
| 5. Inferior Field Labourers | 37 | 925 |
| PRÆDIAL UNATTACHED. | | |
| 1. Head People. | | |
| 2. Tradesmen | | |
| 3. Inferior Tradesmen | | |
| 4. Field Labourers | | |
| 5. Inferior Field Labourers | | |
| NON-PRÆDIAL. | | |
| 1. Head Tradesmen | | |
| 2. Inferior Tradesmen | | |
| 3. Head People employed on Wharfs, Shipping, or other Avocations | 1 | 50 |
| 4. Inferior People of the same description | - | - |
| 5. Head Domestic Servants | 3 | 180 |
| 6. Inferior Domestics | 2 | 50 |
| Children under Six Years of Age, on the 1st day of August 1834 | 10 | 125 |
| Aged, Diseased, or other wise Non-effective. | | |

In his 1 August 1835 Counter Claim in respect of slaves in the possession of John McPherson, below, Edward was 'now going to the Continent'.

My photos – London National Archives – Jamaica Claims for Compensation – Counter Claims – T71/1178 – St Thomas in the Vale – Claim No. 62 – Counter Claim of Edward Clouston – summary

Domicile of Slaves: Richmond Hill Plantation – Counter-Claim, dated 1 August 1835, of Edward Clouston in respect of certain Slaves – in the possession of John McPherson, Receiver – Particulars of Counter-Claim – for a judgement obtained at Spanish Town in 1822 against the estate of Edward Sword [see Chapter 12] who was joint owner with John McPherson for upwards of £220 with interest – only a small sum having been since paid on account – the amount due to be shewn by the Documents he will obtain from Jamaica, but he has none to point out the amount here – signed E Clouston – Name and Address of Party preferring Counter-claim: Edward Clouston, Orkney N.B., late of Jamaica, now going to the Continent – Agent Henry Pinckard, 78 Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury

| | | | |
|---|---|--|---|
| Name of Estate, or Domicile of Slaves. | } | Name of Colony. | No. 62 (Same Number as Claim or Return) |
| <i>Richmond Hill Plantation</i> | | <i>Jamaica St Thomas in the Vale</i> | |

THE COUNTER-CLAIM

of *Edward Clouston*

in respect of certain Slaves registered in the said Colony, and in the
possession of *John McPherson, Receiver*

and described in the Return thereof.

Dated the *first* day of *August* 1835

[PARTICULARS OF COUNTER-CLAIM.]

*For a judgement obtained at Spanish Town in 1822
against the estate of Edward Sword who was joint
owner with John McPherson for upwards of 220 £
with interest – only a small sum having been since
paid on account – The amount due to be shewn
by the documents he will obtain from Jamaica, but
he has none to point out the amount here*

E. Clouston

St Thomas in the Vale – Claim no. 62 – Richmond Hill – Counter-Claim – continued

| Name and Address of Party preferring Counter-claim. | Description of Estate, Right, Title, or Interest of Counter-claimant, with a reference to Documents in support thereof. | Amount due on Mortgage, Judgment, or other Lien, or Incumbrance, in Sterling Money. |
|---|--|---|
| <p> <i>Edward Clouston</i> <i>Orkney, N.B.</i> <i>late of Jamaica</i> <i>now going to the Continent</i> <i>Agent, Henry Pinckard</i> <i>78 Great Russell Street.</i> <i>Blommsbury</i> </p> | <p> <i>Docket of Judgement</i> <i>obtained at Spanish Town</i> <i>against estate of Edward</i> <i>Imoid who was joint owner</i> <i>with John M. Phelan</i> <i>in 1822 with intro since</i> <i>which document will</i> <i>now be sent for</i> </p> | <p> <i>As may appear by docket of</i> <i>Judgement when received from</i> <i>Jamaica</i> </p> |


St Thomas in the Vale – Claim no. 62 – Richmond Hill – Counter-Claim – continued

COUNTER-CLAIM.

{ N^o. 62
(Same Number as the Claim
or Return.)

| Description of Slaves, being the object of Counter-claim. | Number of Slaves. | Estimated Value of Slaves in Sterling, comprized in Counter-claim. |
|---|-------------------|--|
| PRÆDIAL ATTACHED. | | |
| 1. Head People. | 3 | £ 210 |
| 2. Tradesmen | 7 | 490 |
| 3. Inferior Tradesmen | 3 | 120 |
| 4. Field Labourers | 18 | 1080 |
| 5. Inferior Field Labourers | 21 | 525 |
| PRÆDIAL UNATTACHED. | | |
| 1. Head People. | | |
| 2. Tradesmen | | |
| 3. Inferior Tradesmen | | |
| 4. Field Labourers | | |
| 5. Inferior Field Labourers | | |
| NON-PRÆDIAL. | | |
| 1. Head Tradesmen | | |
| 2. Inferior Tradesmen | | |
| 3. Head People employed on Wharfs, Shipping, or other Avocations | | |
| 4. Inferior People of the same description | | |
| 5. Head Domestic Servants | 1 | 60 |
| 6. Inferior Domestics | 5 | 200 |
| Children. under Six Years of Age, on the 1st day of August 1834 | 6 | 75 |
| Aged, Diseased, or otherwise Non-effective. | 2 | 20 |

St Thomas in the Vale – Claim no. 62 – Counter-Claim – continued



| Name of Parish. | No. of Claim. |
|--|--|
| Jamaica. <i>Saint Thomas</i> <i>in the Vale - }</i> | } <i>62</i> |

NOTICE OF COUNTER-CLAIM.

TAKE NOTICE that a Counter-claim was filed on the
first day of *August 1835* at the Office
 of the Commissioners of Compensation, in Great George Street,
 Westminster, in opposition to the above Claim, on the part
 of *Edward Clouston*
 of *Orkney, North Britain & lately of the*
Parish of Saint-Thomas in the Vale, Jamaica

E. Clouston

To *John M. McPherson Esquire*
The Claimant
in the above Claim.
as Receiver of Richmond Hill
Plantation

St Thomas in the Vale – Claim no. 62 – Edward's Counter Claim – documents in the London National Archives include – Notice of Counter Claim served on John McPherson (or Macpherson) on 17 November 1835

Jamaica ss

Saint Thomas in the Vale No. 62

Richard Ragg Parker of the parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale in the county of Middlesex and Island of Jamaica planter being duly sworn maketh Oath and saith that he this deponent did on the sixteenth day of

November instant personally serve John McPherson in the annexed Original Notice named with the said Notice by delivering unto and leaving with him a true copy thereof at the same time shewing unto him the said Original Notice

Sworn before me this 17th
day of November 1835
[signature illegible]

So help me God
R R Parker

Also included in Edward's Counter Claim – Exemplification (true copy) of the Judgement obtained by Edward in the Jamaica Grand Court, June 1822 (see Chapter 12), and Affidavit sworn on 3 January 1837 by David Finlayson.

Below – average value of a slave in Jamaica on 1 August 1834, as appraised by the Sworn Valuers, and the amount of compensation awarded.

Guildhall Library, London – Parliamentary Papers – House of Commons 1837-38, Vol. 48 – Return to an Order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 20 March 1838 – page 346

A STATEMENT of the AVERAGE VALUE (in Sterling Money) of a SLAVE as appraised by the Sworn Valuers, and of the COMPENSATION awarded for such Slave of each Class of the several Divisions of Prædial Attached, of Prædial Unattached, and of Non-prædial, in each of the Colonies where Compensation has been granted.

JAMAICA.

| DIVISIONS. | CLASSES. | Average Value of a Slave as appraised by the Sworn Valuers. | | | Compensation per Slave. | | |
|--------------------|---|--|----|-----------------|----------------------------|----|------------------|
| | | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
| Prædial attached | Head people - - - - | 78 | 4 | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 31 | - | 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| | Tradesmen - - - - | 78 | 17 | 8 | 31 | 5 | 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| | Inferior tradesmen - - - | 52 | 2 | 11 | 20 | 13 | 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| | Field labourers - - - - | 67 | 1 | 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 26 | 12 | 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| | Inferior field labourers - - | 32 | 5 | 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 12 | 16 | 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Prædial unattached | Head people - - - - | 78 | 4 | 10 | 31 | - | 10 |
| | Tradesmen - - - - | 79 | 11 | - | 31 | 11 | 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| | Inferior tradesmen - - - | 52 | 13 | 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 20 | 17 | 11 |
| | Field labourers - - - - | 66 | 19 | 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 26 | 11 | 6 |
| | Inferior field labourers - - | 33 | 6 | 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 13 | 4 | 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Non-prædial | Head tradesmen - - - - | 78 | - | 7 | 30 | 19 | 2 |
| | Inferior tradesmen - - - | 51 | 17 | - | 20 | 11 | 5 |
| | Head people employed on wharfs, shipping, or other avocations. | 76 | 6 | 1 | 30 | 5 | 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| | Inferior people of the same descrip- tion. | 57 | 3 | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 22 | 13 | 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| | Head domestics - - - - | 73 | 9 | 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 29 | 3 | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| | Inferior domestics - - - | 49 | 5 | 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 19 | 10 | 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| | Children under six years of age on 1st August 1834. | 13 | 1 | - $\frac{1}{4}$ | 5 | 9 | 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| | Aged, diseased, or otherwise non- effective. | 10 | 18 | 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 4 | 6 | 8 |

Below – Earl of Harewood's valuation of slaves on Williamsfield

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/adv_search/ – Lascelles West Indies – movinghere.org.uk – undated document headed – St Thomas in the Vale – Claim No. 147

| Williamsfield Plantation. No 147. Parish of St Thomas in the Vale | | | | |
|---|------------|----|------------|--------------------------|
| Head People | 15 | 31 | 6 1/2 | 465. 8. 6 1/2 |
| Tradesmen | 5 | 31 | 5. 11 1/2 | 156. 9. 8 1/4 |
| Inferior Tradesmen | 3 | 20 | 13. 9 1/2 | 62. 1. 3 1/4 |
| Field Labourers | 78 | 26 | 12. 2 1/2 | 2075. 13. 10 1/2 |
| Inferior field Labourers | 77 | 12 | 16. 2 1/2 | 986. 9. 7 1/2 |
| Head People employed on Wharfs | | | | |
| Shipping or other vocations | 1 | 30 | 5. 5 1/2 | 30. 5. 5 1/2 |
| Inferior People of the same description | 1 | 22 | 13. 8 1/2 | 22. 13. 8 1/2 |
| Head Domestic Servants | 4 | 20 | 3. 1 1/2 | 116. 12. 6 |
| Inferior Domestic | 9 | 10 | 10. 10 1/2 | 175. 17. 8 1/2 |
| Children under 6 years of Age on | | | | |
| 1 st August 1834 | 23 | 5 | 9. 10 1/2 | 126. 7. 7 1/2 |
| Aged, Disabled, or otherwise nonproductive | 15 | 4 | 6. 8 | 65. |
| | <u>231</u> | | | <u>£4282. 10. 11 1/2</u> |

The 1837/38 House of Commons book, below, records that the Earl of Harewood was awarded £4,286 19s 3d in compensation for 232 slaves in St Thomas in the Vale

Guildhall Library, London – Parliamentary Papers – House of Commons 1837-8, Vol. 48 – page 8 – Sums of Money awarded for Slavery Compensation on Uncontested Claims – Parish of St Thomas in the Vale – extracts

28 Sept 1835 – Claim no. 25 – Eliza Fox – 1 slave – £20 11s 5d

26 Oct 1835 – Claim no. 147 – The Earl of Harewood – 232 slaves – £4,286 19s 3d

23 Nov 1835 – Claim no. 298 – Edward Clouston – 21 slaves – £448 3s 5d

By early December 1835 Edward had returned from the Continent and at the National Debt Office on 7 December the Treasury Warrant for his compensation money was issued to him.

My photos – London National Archives – Payments on Account of West India Compensation – NDO 4/5 –

No. 5 Jamaica: St James, St Mary, St Thomas in the East, St Thomas in the Vale, 1 Jan 1835-31 Dec 1837

Double page headed – Jamaica – St Thomas in Vale – Payments on account of West India Compensation, per Act 3 & 4 Wm. IV. c. 73

Below – Double page, left – Edward Clouston – Compensation No. 298 – Known to me Alex Cowie – No. of Draft 232 – Signature E Clouston – Date of Issue 7 December 1835

| Compensation Number. | No. of Draft. | Signature. | Date of Issue. | Claimant. |
|----------------------|---------------|------------------------------|----------------|--|
| 296 | 231 | Alex. T. Gray Grant | 30/11/35 | Si Alexander Gray Grant But |
| 298 | 232 | E. Clouston | 7/12/35 | Edward Clouston |
| 299 | 233 | Rowl ^d . Mitchell | 11/12/35 | Robert Symptom Rowland Mitchell, and Samuel Mitchell |

Double page, right – Edward Clouston – Date of Treasury Warrant 23 November 1835 – Principal £448 3s 5d – Interest £16 16s 5d – Total £464 19s 10d – No. of Draft 232

| Date of Treasury Warrant. | Principal. | Interest. | TOTAL. |
|---------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| 12.6.1808 8 | 67 17 9 | 1876 5 9 | 231 |
| 6. 1448 3 5 | 16 16 5 | 464 19 10 | 232 |
| 27.7.55.19.41.5 | 3839 9 9 | 144 3 | 3983 12 9 |
| 27.7.55.19.41.5 | 3839 9 9 | 144 3 | 3983 12 9 |
| 27.7.55.19.41.5 | 3839 9 9 | 144 3 | 3983 12 9 |

Eliza's Treasury Warrant was issued at the National Debt Office on 11 January 1836 to Andrew Colville (a relation of John Blackburn), formerly Andrew Wedderburn, a London merchant. He and John Blackburn, see below Claimant column, appear to have been acting as commission agents for a number of slave owners' who were resident in Jamaica.

Double page, left – Eliza Fox – Compensation No. 25 – No. of Draft 18 – Signature A Colville – Date of Issue 11 January 1836 – Claimant Eliza Fox, Scholars Cot

| Compensation Number. | No. of Draft. | Signature. | Date of Issue. | Claimant. |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------|----------------|---------------------------------|
| 24 | 17 | Mr. Simon | 10/1/36 | John Blackburn, Thelme's Estate |
| 25 | 18 | A. Colville | 11/1/36 | Eliza Fox, Scholars Cot |
| 27 | 19 | A. Colville | 7/2/36 | Henry Lowndes, Wallens Estate |

Double page, right – Eliza Fox – Date of Treasury Warrant 28 September 1835 – Principal £20 11s 5d – Interest 12s 11d – Total £21 4s 4d – No. of Draft 18

| Date of Treasury Warrant. | Principal. | Interest. | TOTAL. |
|---------------------------|------------|-----------|---------|
| " 1.5.1053 19 8 | 340 14 7 | 108 7 1 | 14 3 17 |
| " 2.1.20 11 5 | 12 11 | 21 4 4 | 18 |
| " 2.6.30 19 2 | 19 4 | 31 18 6 | 19 |

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=GDxfAAAAcAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *A History of London: illustrated by Views in London and Westminster, engraved by John Woods ... published 1838* – Westminster Hospital and Abbey Church



Back in Jamaica Williamsfield crop account for the year 1835 was sworn by William Allanach.

My photos – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 77, Fol 226 – Williamsfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – Entered Island Secretary's Office 24 Mar 1836 – in the possession of George William Hamilton as attorney to the Earl of Harewood – crop account for year 1835 – sworn on 12 March 1836 by William Allanach before Peter Blackburn

| How disposed of | Sugar | | Rum | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|------|-----|------|
| | Hhd | lb | Hhd | Gals |
| Shipped on Board the Jullsch Castle | 30 | " | 11 | " |
| do do Fleet | 30 | " | 15 | " |
| do do Simon Taylor | 19 | " | " | " |
| do do Henry Davidson | 30 | " | 11 | " |
| do do Thomas | 9 | " | 7 | " |
| do do Jullsch Castle | 3 | " | 1 | " |
| Sold in Kingston | 1 | " | 3 | " |
| do Robt. Page Esq's | " | 850 | " | 170 |
| do Hill Side Plantation | " | 170 | " | 65 |
| do Hopewell Plantation | " | " | " | 120 |
| Total | 122 | 1020 | 46 | 355 |
| Sold to William Allanach | 2 | " | " | " |
| | 124 | 1020 | 46 | 355 |

To the of 203 Indentment to N Grove for one day @ 4/2 = 43. 5. 10
 To do of 11 do to Hyde Estate do @ 4/2 = 12. 14. 3
 " sold to N Grove 100 W. Stock @ £ 10 = 100. 0. 0
 " do to Rural Plantation 13. 80. @ £ 5 = 65. 0. 0
 " do to N Grove 2 Side Poles = 10. 13. 4
 " do to N Grove one New Wain = 45. 0. 0
 " do to N Grove one New Wain = 45. 0. 0
 earnings of sundries to Conshade = 18. 2. 6
 do of coffee from Hopewell to Farm = 10. 0. 0
£ 263. 15. 10.

Witnessed

W^m Allanach do Sworn that the above is a just and true account of all the Receipts Income & proceeds of Williamsfield Estate for the Year ending 31 December one thousand eight hundred and thirty five. Excepting what has been used in the and reserved for the use of the estate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

So help me God
~~*Wm H Clarke*~~

Sworn before me this
12th day of March 1836 }

P. H. Sharp

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
Harewood – Nelson & Adam, London, 30 April 1836 – Crop 1835 – Williamsfield

Williamsfield Estate
Proceeds of 121 Hhds of Sugar 2274.76
43 Puncheons of Rum 531.4.4
(Deduct 2805.18.10)
Insurances £69.3. Stores £367
Commission Postage & Stamps £24.7.5
450.11. 2355.7.10

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/adv_search/ – Lascelles West Indies – movinghere.org.uk –
Account Book – Abstract of the Income and Expenditure for Williamsfield & Nightingale Grove
Plantations – Nelson & Adam, London, 30 April 1836 – Crop 1835 – Williamsfield

| | | | |
|---|----------------|---------------|---------------|
| Proceeds of 121 Hhds of Sugar 75 & 43 Puns of Rum | 2805 - 18 - 10 | | |
| Deduct | | | |
| Insurance £69 - 3 - 0 Stores £367 - 0 - 7 | | | |
| Commission Postage and Stamps £24 - 7 - 5 ----- | 450 - 11 - 0 | 2355 - 7 - 10 | |
| Pr Accounts of Geo Cuthbert & G W Hamilton dated | 31 Decr 1835 | | |
| Amount of this years Expenses ----- | ----- | 1331 - 17 - 6 | 1023 - 10 - 4 |

Edward's crop account for 1835, sworn by William H Clarke, was headed – Scholars Cot – Cloustons.

My photos – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 77, Fol 179 – Scholar's Cot, St Thomas
in the Vale, Cloustons – Entered Island Secretary's Office 24 Mar 1836 – crop account for year 1835 –
sworn on 19 March 1836 by William Holloway Clarke, Attorney, before Peter F Garrigues

at Scholars cot
Decr 31 24 March
1836
Cloustons

| | | | | |
|--|---------------|--------|----|-------|
| By Fulloch Estate for proportion of cane holes dug | \$ | " | 14 | 11 |
| " Bunnick Estate for proportion of cane holes dug | 21 | 2 | 1 | |
| " Rhodes Estate for proportion of cane holes dug | 9 | 11 | 4 | |
| " Bybush Estate for proportion of cane holes dug | 3h. 15. 3/4 | | | |
| Day Labour | 2. 18. 4 | 39 | 13 | 7 1/2 |
| New Hall Estate for proportion of cane holes dug | | 28 | 5 | 3 3/4 |
| Shedden Estate for proportion of cane holes dug | | 11 | 8 | 1 1/2 |
| Monk Place Estate for proportion of cane holes dug | | 17 | 19 | 5 1/4 |
| Trussock Estate for proportion of cane holes dug | 13. 0. 10 3/4 | | | |
| Day Labour | 4. 1. 3. | 17 | 2 | 1 3/4 |
| Hyde Estate for proportion of cane holes dug | 8. 6. 1 1/2 | | | |
| Day Labour | 5. 1. 3. | 13 | 12 | 3 1/2 |
| Hay Hole Estate for proportion of cane holes dug | | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Gluckens Hall Estate for proportion of Day Labour | | 2 | 18 | 4 |
| John Scarlett for Day Labour | | 7 | 11 | 0 1/2 |
| William H Clarke for Day Labour | 9. 13. 9 | | | |
| for hire of Susan Marshall | 8. — | | | |
| for Cash recd for hire of Henry | 18. — | | | |
| for Cash recd for hire of Beekford | 19. 11. 8 | 55 | 5 | 5 |
| " Bay Horse sold at Public Sale | | 34 | " | " |
| | | \$ 262 | 7 | 3 3/4 |

Jamaica S. }
 St Thomas in the Vale }

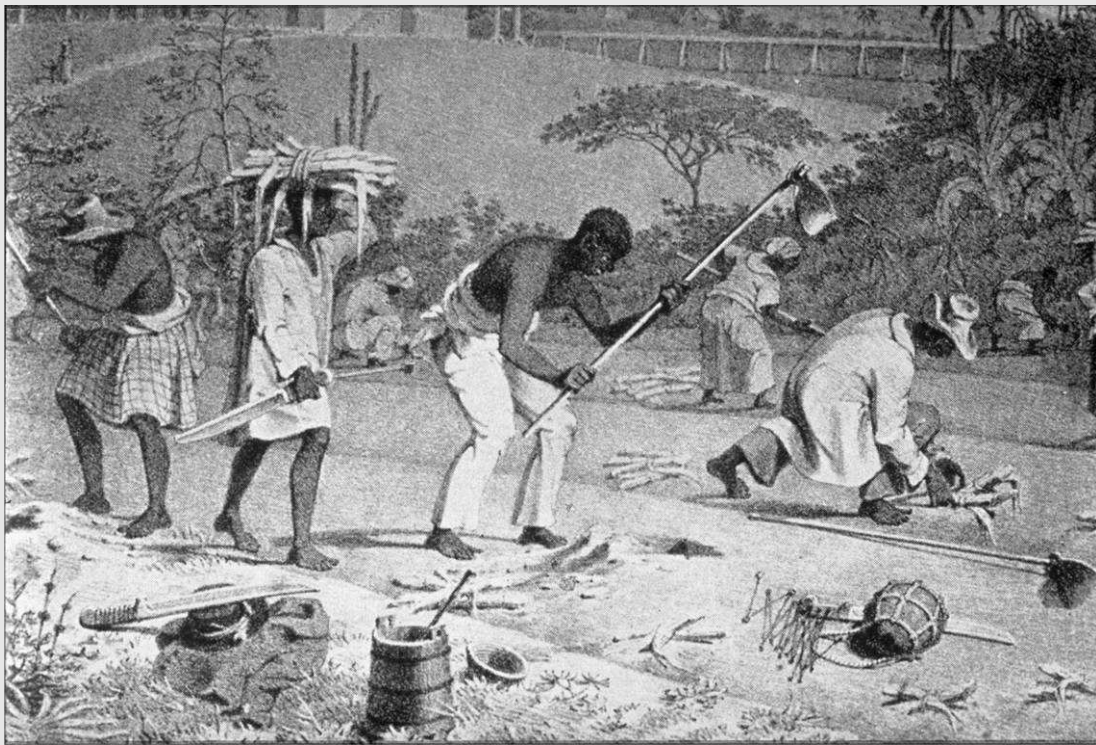
William H Moray Clarke attorney for Edward Clouston Esquire

Do Certify that the above is a just and true account of all the Rents, Profits, Produce & proceeds of the above said Plantation under my care and direction from 1st day

of January to 31 day of December 1835
Shelburne God
William H. Clarke
From before this
19th day of March 1835
Peter P. Hughes Jr.
Edw. P. H. H.

Most of Edward's crop account for 1835, above, was again for digging cane holes in preparation for planting sugar canes.

<http://slaveryimages.org/search.html> – Richard Bridgens – *West India Scenery . . . from sketches taken during a voyage to and residence of seven years in . . . Trinidad, published 1836* – plate 8 – Planting the Sugar Cane



CHAPTER 22

1836 to 1837

Edward in London — Edward subscriber to the Kent Railway Company — Edward, Edinburgh — death of Eliza in Jamaica — Earl of Harewood and the British Colonial Company and the Jamaica Company — death of Alexander McInnes — Dr A L Palmer and St Thomas in the Vale — one of Edward's apprentices purchases his Apprenticeship — Crop Accounts, 1836, for Edward and for Williamsfield — London and Birmingham Railway Company, 1837 — death of Colin Mackenzie — Crop Accounts, 1837, for Williamsfield, and for Edward

In London on 8 February 1836 Edward signed a document at Great Russell Street, and on 14 June 1836 his address was given as 31 Keppel Street.

<http://maps.nls.uk/view/102345964> – Ordnance Survey – Middlesex – surveyed 1868-1873 – published 1880-1882 – Sheet XVII – section – **arrows** – top points to Keppel Street – bottom points to Great Russell Street



At Great Russell Street on 8 February 1836 Edward withdrew his Counter Claim lodged against Claim No. 163 – the claim made by the heirs of James Seton Lane (see Chapter 21).

My photo – London National Archives – Claims for Compensation – T71/917 – St Thomas in the Vale – Claim No. 163 – slaves domiciled on Coolshade Plantation – documents include

St Thomas Vale 163
London 8th February 1836

Jamaica S. Tho. in the Vale No 3 -

*Mellicent Lane in her own right William
 Williamson in right of wife on behalf
 of James Lane an Absentee as Heirs and
 Heirs of James Seton Lane deceased.*

*I hereby withdraw my Counterclaim lodged
 against the above claim No 163 in the Parish
 of S. Tho. in the Vale in the Island of
 Jamaica. —*

*The hand writing of E. Clouston
 admitted & hereby before me
 Witness 26th Dec 1836* *E Clouston*

Henry Pennington
Great Russell Street 1836
8th February 1836.

*To the Commiss^{rs} of
 Compensation Great George St.
 Westminster*

Transcript

St Thos Vale 163London 8th February 1836

Jamaica St. Thos. In the Vale No. 163 –

Millicent Lane in her own right, William Williamson in right of Wife & on behalf of James Lane an Absentee as Heirs and Devisees of James Seton Lane deceased. –

I hereby withdraw my Counterclaim lodged against the above claim No. 163 in the Parish of St. Thos. in the Vale in the Island of Jamaica. –

E Clouston

The hand writing of E Clouston
admitted by himself before me
Feb 8, 1836

Witness

Henry Pinckard
Great Russell Street Bly [Bloomsbury]
8th February 1836

To the Commissrs. of
Compensation Great George St
Westminster

Note – on 1 August 1835 Henry Pinckard was of 78 Great Russell Street – see Chapter 21 – Edward's Counter Claim against Claim No. 62 – slaves in the possession of John Macpherson.

On 14 June 1836 Edward, 31 Keppel Street, Russell Square (see map above) was listed as one of the subscribers to the Kent Railway Company.

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=4VsSAAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Parliamentary Papers – Accounts and Papers – Session 21 January - 7 July 1837 – Railway Subscription Contracts – Deposited in the Private Bill Office of the House of Commons, Session 1837 – Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be Printed, 7 March 1837 – Form of Contract – Kent Railway – extracts

This Indenture, made the 14th day of June 1836, between . . . Witnesses, That the several persons parties hereto do hereby respectively acknowledge and declare that they have subscribed the several sums set opposite to their respective names for the purpose of making and establishing a Railway, to be called the Kent Railway, commencing in the parish of St. Alphage Greenwich or Saint Paul Deptford, in the county of Kent, by a junction with the London and Greenwich Railway, and terminating at or near Ramsgate, Sandwich, Deal or Dover, in the said county of Kent . . .

No. 25 – Kent Railway – List of Subscribers – page ii includes – Edward Clouston – 31 Keppel-street, Russel-square, Middlesex – Amount of Subscription – £500

| CHRISTIAN and SURNAME. | PLACE of ABODE. | Profession or Calling. | Amount of Subscription. |
|---------------------------|---|------------------------|-------------------------|
| William Algernon Peirce - | 15, Elder-street, Spital-square, Middlesex | gentleman - - - | £ 500 |
| Charles Hitch - | Lord Chamberlain's Office, Westminster - | messenger - - - | 250 |
| Edward Clouston - | 31, Keppel-street, Russel-square, Middlesex | esquire - - - | 500 |
| Charles Vane Clark - | 5, Angel-court, Throgmorton street, London | gentleman - - - | 7,000 |
| Edward Madgwick - | 27, St. John's lane, Clerkenwell, Middlesex | ironmonger - - - | 1,000 |
| Alfred Bayley - | Stock Exchange, London - - - | stockbroker - - - | 14,400 |
| Moses Almosnino - | 6, Bury-street, St. Mary Axe, London - | merchant - - - | 1,000 |
| Herman Christoph Roe - | Virginia Coffee-house, Cornhill, London - | waiter - - - | 200 |

A third mention I have of Edward in 1836 gives his address as 'Edinburgh'.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=NdgHAAAAQAAJ&source=gbv_navlinks_s – *The General Grievances and Oppressions of the Isles of Orkney and Shetland*, by James Mackenzie, first edition mid 1700s, reprinted and published 1836 – page v – Notice of this Work – includes

This reprint is at the joint charge of the following persons, each receiving five copies :—

Thos. Balfour, younger of Elwick, Esq. M. P.
 Henry Baxter of Idvies, Esq.
 Henry Cheyne, Esq. W. S.
 Edward Clouston, Esq. Edinburgh.
 Alex. G. Groat of Newhall, Esq.
 Robt. Heddle of Melsetter, Esq.
 Jas. A. Maconochie, Esq. Sheriff of Orkney.
 Robt. Omond, Esq. M. D.
 Jas. R. Pollexfen, younger of Cairston, Esq.
 Chas. Spence, Esq. Solicitor.
 Thos. S. Traill, Esq. M. D. Professor of Medical Jurisprudence.

Page vii – List of Subscribers – At Edinburgh – includes – Jas. McCook, Esq. W. S. [Writer to the Signet] – see Chapter 18 – James McCook – power of attorney to Edward – and – Chapter 23.

In Jamaica in 1836 Eliza was living on Scholar's Cot – her abode until her death at the end of February 1836. Below is the record of her burial found by Merv and his cousin Robin Clouston – see Chapter 1.

Latter Day Saints Family History Centre, London – microfilm no. 1291731 – St Thomas in the Vale Parish Register – Burials in the Parish of St Thomas in the Vale – page 129 – 1836 – includes

No. 4 – Eliza Fox – Age 46 – Abode Scholars Cot – buried on 28 February in Chapel Yard by Robert Steer, I. C. [Island Curate – priest in charge of Harewood Chapel]

| No. | Name & Description | Age | Abode | By |
|-----|---------------------|-----|------------------|----|
| 3 | Margaretta, Janique | 10 | Convent | St |
| 4 | Eliza Fox | 46 | Scholar's Cot | St |
| 5 | Mary Hamilton | 19 | Shouton, St John | St |
| 6 | Michael, Hiatt | 24 | St. Oliver | St |

Continued below

| When | Where | By whom the burial & ceremony was performed |
|--------------------------------|------------------|--|
| March 29 th 1836 | Mount St. Thomas | Robert Steer |
| Oct 28 th 1836 | Chapel | Robert Steer |
| Oct 28 th 1836 | Chapel | Robert Steer |
| March 20 th 1836 | Mount St. Thomas | Robert Steer |

Above – died aged 46 – if Eliza’s age was correctly recorded in the 1817 Williamsfield registration of slaves – aged 24 on 28 June 1817 (see Chapter 9) – at the time of her death in February 1836 Eliza was aged 44 or 45 (not 46).

After 1 August 1834 ‘Colour’ was not recorded in the St Thomas in the Vale parish register.

Eliza was buried in Harewood Chapel Yard – the only Church of England chapel yard in St Thomas in the Vale in 1836 – see Chapter 15 – Consecration of Harewood Chapel and Burial Ground, 4 July 1826.

My photos – St Saviour’s – built on the site of Harewood Chapel

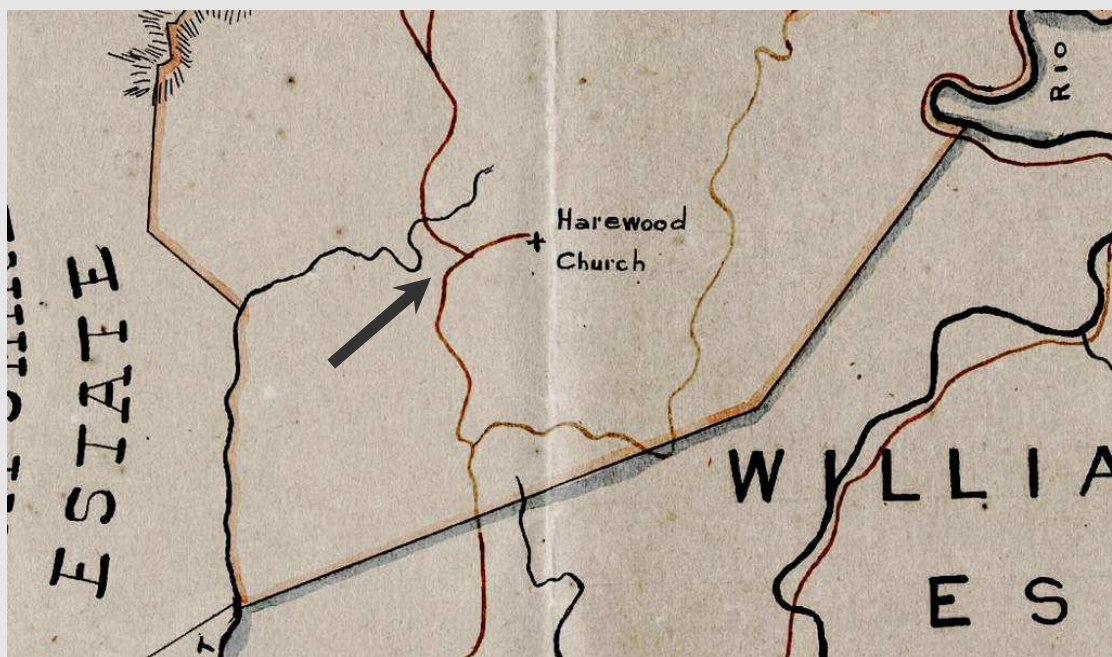


From the road to St Saviour's – looking southeast across Williamsfield



Today the road to St Saviour's is the road which approaches the church from the east, but in the time of Edward and Eliza, Harewood Chapel was approached from the west – the road through Sandy Gut, passing the old sugar works – now Harewood All Age School.

*Jamaica National Library – St C 537 – Plan of Williamsfield and Sandy Gut – prepared from previous surveys by Thomas Harrison, August 1875 – section – **arrow** points to site of Sandy Gut sugar works*



My photos, Looking back down the track from St Saviour's to Harewood All Age School



At the top of the track – below St Saviour's



Below the steps up to St Saviour's west end – in yellow, Rev Claudette Johnson, priest in charge of St Saviour's (retired 2015)



St Saviour's west end – Vestry and West Door – the main entrance



Passage between the Vestry and the Church – right, the West Door



St Saviour's





From the West Door looking through to the Vestry



If there was a tombstone in memory of Eliza, it disappeared long ago. The earliest tombstone we saw dates from the 1850s, and most of the tombstones date from the 20th century.

My photos – St Saviour's churchyard – north facing side – top, looking west – bottom, looking east



Beside the path up to the west end



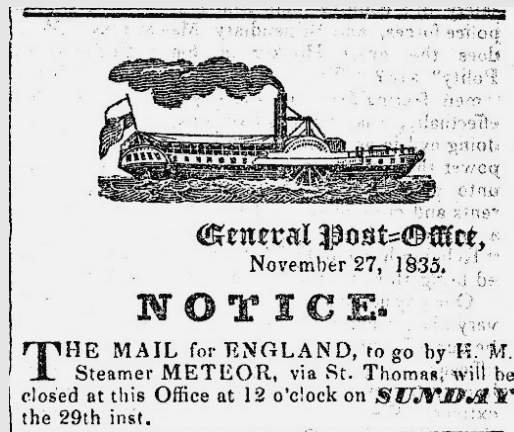
I searched Wills in the Island Record Office, but found no Will made by Eliza.

In April 1836 Henry Lowndes sailed in the Steamship Meteor from Port Royal for the Island of St Thomas.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 23 April 1836, page PS 24 – Passengers Sailed – include – In H.M. Steamer Meteor, Lieut Smith, for St Thomas . . . Henry Lowndes . . .

27 November 1835 is the earliest mention I have of a Steamship sailing to or from Jamaica.

Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 28 Nov 1835, page PS 21



When Henry Lowndes sailed in April 1836 he was on his way to Britain – later in 1836 he was in Glasgow – *Guildhall Library, London – Davison, Newman & Co papers*

In London in 1836 the Earl of Harewood was a member of the Provisional Committee of the newly formed British Colonial Company, and the Chairman at a meeting of the newly formed Jamaica Company.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 27 Aug 1836, page 6

Prospectus.
British Colonial Company.
For the Purchase of Sugar Estates to Improve the Culture
thereof and raise the Character of the Negro Population.
Capital £1,000,000, in Shares of £100 each.

Provisional Committee.

| | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Earl Harewood | Robert Gordon, Esq M P |
| Viscount St Vincent | Benjamin Greene, Esq |
| Viscount Combermere | Samuel Hoare, Esq |
| Lord Seaforth | John Innes, Esq M P |
| J H Albouy, Esq | Andrew Johnston, Esq M P |
| Andrew Archdeckne, Esq | W H Irby, Esq |
| David Bailie, Esq | William Miles, Esq M P |
| Col Hugh D Bailie, M P | William Miller, Esq |
| Charles Bean, Esq | William Murray, Esq |
| Foster Clarke, Esq | Thomas Yard, Esq |

Bankers.

Messrs Barnett, Hoare, & Co, 62, *Lombard Street*,
Solicitors, Messrs Freshfield & Sons *New Bank Buildings*.
Honorary Secretary, John Innes, 27, *Mincing Lane*.

Application for Shares may be made through any of the above Parties . . .

Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat 30 Jul 1836, page Sup 9 – Jamaica Company – extracts

At a Meeting of the Noblemen and Gentlemen hereunder named, held at Morley's Hotel, Trafalgar Square, London, on Saturday, the 11th May, 1836, the annexed Prospectus was agreed to be adopted, and to be submitted to Lord Glenelg [Secretary of State for the Colonies], by the Earl of Harewood and Lord Seaford.

Present:

| | |
|-----|---|
| The | Earl of Harewood in the Chair Viscount St Vincent Lord Seaford Sir Alexander Grant, Bart Sir Lewis Grant N Malcolm, Esq William Miller, Esq of Jamaica William Burge, Esq Agent for Jamaica Horace Twiss, Esq M P James Swaby, Esq Robert Sutton, jun Esq |
|-----|---|

J Elliot, Secretary.

Jamaica Company

Capital £1,000,000 in 20,000 Shares of £50 each.

The essential change produced by the emancipation of the Negroes, throughout the whole state of the West Indian population and property, has naturally drawn the attention of those who are interested in the large and important colony of Jamaica, to the means by which the value of the estates may be upheld, its yet uncultivated districts made productive, and its people employed and improved under a new and more wholesome condition of society. These objects, it is believed, may be realized by a judicious application of capital and of free labour, to the general improvement of the island, and especially to the cultivation of those virgin lands of the interior, where the productive powers of the earth are in all their natural freshness and vigour, and where the climate is adapted to Europeans as well as to Indian or African constitutions. Such a plan has this obvious advantage, that it may be effectually exempted from the operation of all those unfavourable causes, which of late years have been depressing the settlements of the West Indies.

The capitalists here associated propose to distribute their operations into three principal branches.

First – They will divide certain districts of their land into manageable allotments, for each of which they will provide a cottage and suitable buildings. These farms situate on the upland country, and under a climate as favourable to health as any part of Europe, they will let at moderate rents, payable either in money or in produce. They will advance passage for immigrants, and supply the settlers, whether European or natives, with suitable assistance towards the cultivation of their allotments.

The Legislature of Jamaica, aware how materially the welfare of the island will be promoted by the settlement of towns among the rural districts, have already voted considerable grants for their foundation. Their advancement will be a leading object with this company, whose lands and whose tenantry must derive the most important benefit from such a vicinage. European artisans and tradesmen of such crafts as can be useful in the early stages of settlement, will therefore be invited and assisted to place themselves in these towns, and employment and encouragement will there be assiduously extended to the black people without distinction of caste.

It will be the anxious desire of the company, that every such location be the abode of a Christian Minister, of a Schoolmaster, and of a Medical Practitioner. By such arrangements, the danger some have apprehended, that at the expiration of the current term of apprenticeship, the negroes may betake themselves to the wilds, and relapse into an idle and savage life, will be effectively obviated without forcible remedies or expensive precautions, for the proposed settlements will not only afford an example and an invitation to the industry of the native people, but likewise furnish a chain of stations extended very widely over the country, and occupied by a population immediately available for the maintenance of public tranquillity.

Secondly – The company will take advantage of the fertile soils, and fine climate of the uplands, to establish plantations of the most profitable descriptions of colonial produce, by the agency of free labour,

Europeans as well as native. In the upland country under a temperature not ordinarily exceeding that of a European summer, the labour of white men may become extensively available, and its results when compared with those of compulsory labour, are expected to compensate very fully the rate of their wages and any original expence of their passage and establishment. The introduction of such cultivators, judiciously arranged, will provide an important security against any dearth of native, while on the other hand, if there should be found among the negroes the disposition to work for wages, as some anticipate from the apprenticeship now in progress, the example and intermixture of the European cultivators will be the likeliest of all means to advance that laudable spirit, by exciting the emulation of the negroes and stimulating them to general improvement, social, moral, and religious.

The third source of estimated advantage is from the consignment of the proceeds and rents of the lands cultivated by the company and their tenants. For the purpose of the present outline, it is sufficient on this head to observe that the company will be enabled to act as their own consignees, and thus realize for themselves the entire profit of the commissions and other charges incidental to consignment. . . .

In Jamaica on 1 September 1836 the Marquis of Sligo, Governor of Jamaica, sailed for England, and on 2 September 1836 Sir Lionel Smith was sworn in as Lieutenant Governor – *1845 Jamaica Almanac – Historical and Remarkable Events – 1836* – www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm

British Library – Annals of Jamaica, by Frank Cundall, published 1904 – (page not noted)

Sir Lionel Smith left the government of the Windward and Leeward Islands where he was unpopular by reason of his sympathy with the coloured population to take up that of Jamaica in 1836 where he was no more popular . . .

www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/carviews/k/022zzzmaps19b12u00012i00.html – *Daguerian Excursions in Jamaica, lithographs by Adolphe Duperly – 1840 – King's House, Spanish Town*



London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 9 Aug 1834, page Sup 15

Kingston, July 30, 1834.

Lithography,

Mr Duperly, grateful for the support he has received, announces his intention of issuing from his Lithographic Press a Collection of the most Picturesque Views, in the Island, and also Drawing of the

most remarkable Occurrences. They will be published in Six Numbers, uniform, each number to contain four Drawings, and each subject accompanied with Notes below . . .

On 9 September 1836 Alexander McInnes (Churchwarden elected with Edward in January 1833 – see Chapter 20) died in Spanish Town.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 17 Sep 1836, page 4 – Died

In Spanish Town on Friday 9th inst. the Hon Alexander McInnes, Custos Rotulorum of the parish of St Thomas in the Vale and a Major General in the Militia. He was in his 65th year of his age, 44 of which he spent in this Island.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Wills, Old Series, Lib 117, Fol 90 – Entered Island Secretary's Office 5 Dec 1836 – Will, dated 28 February 1836, of Alexander McInnes of St Thomas in the Vale – summary/extracts

I bequeath in Trust and as Executors for 4 years after my death in my property Rosa (or Rasa/Raza) Mount in St Thomas in the Vale etc – to Malcolm MacLeod of St Catherine Esq, Charles Anderson late of Riverhead Estate, St Thomas in the Vale, and now of St Andrews, Esq, and Colin Mackenzie of St Catherine Esq, his present residence in Spanish Town – for the Benefit and support of my Reputed Sons George and John MacInnes Sons of Sarah MacCatty a free Woman of Colour now in my Service – I bequeath to Sarah MacCatty the apprenticed term of two apprentices Bessy MacInnes and her Husband Samuel Rodgers. Should Sarah died before the apprentice term is out the Services of the apprentices will go to her herein named Daughters jointly

To my 6 Reputed Daughters of Sarah MacCatty – Margaret Elizabeth, Jean, Mary Ann, Sarah and Helene MacInnes the term of Service of 7 apprentices – Viz Margaret MacInnes with those her children apprentices, Jessy MacInnes with those her children apprentices, Robert Sutherland, Richard MacInnes, Celia MacInnes, George MacInnes her son, and Alexander Wilson – to hold jointly for the Survivors of them

To my Reputed Son Alexander MacInnes Son of the aforesaid Sarah – my property Dee Side – with £1,000 – to be placed on Interest till he becomes 21 years which will be in the year 1841 – said Interest to be applied for his benefit – should more be required for furthering his Education – must be supplied from the proceeds of Rasa Mount

To my aforesaid Daughters two thirds of the Furniture and other Household Utensils in Rasa (Raza) Mount House with the organ therein and the same proportion of Utensils in the Cook Room, Wash House and Store – to be selected by Sarah MacCatty – and she to have the use benefit and control of Rasa Mount House and stores of whatever description for the Benefit of Herself and her herein named Daughters with the aid of provisions necessary with Pasturage for her Stock until she and her Daughters can be completely with House in good repair comfortably established at Barmaddy

To my aforesaid Daughters – an annuity of £40 each – to be paid from the proceeds of Rasa Mount or from Interest of Money arising there from by produce by Compensation fund or otherwise – it is particularly my wish that the Education of my Daughters be attended Regularly to and of the money arising to them from the said annuities to be sufficient to pay all Expenses further aid must be given them from Rasa Mount or funds arising there from but with due economy

I bequeath further to Sarah MacCatty my chaise and harness, saddle and horses – with all my wearing apparel and Military accoutrements Excepting as hereinafter bequeathed, for the benefit of herself and her herein named Daughters

The Sabre presented to me by the Non Commissioned officers and privates of St Thos in the Vale Troop of Horse I bequeath to my Nephew Thomas MacKenzie Esq of Ord in Ross Shire –to my surviving Sisters

£25 Sterling each – to Alexander MacInnes Marshall, my God Son oldest Son of James Marshall of Kingston the amount of such notes of his Fathers as I may be in possession of at my death with £100 Currency in addition to be placed at Interest for his benefit till 21 years of age – etc, etc, etc

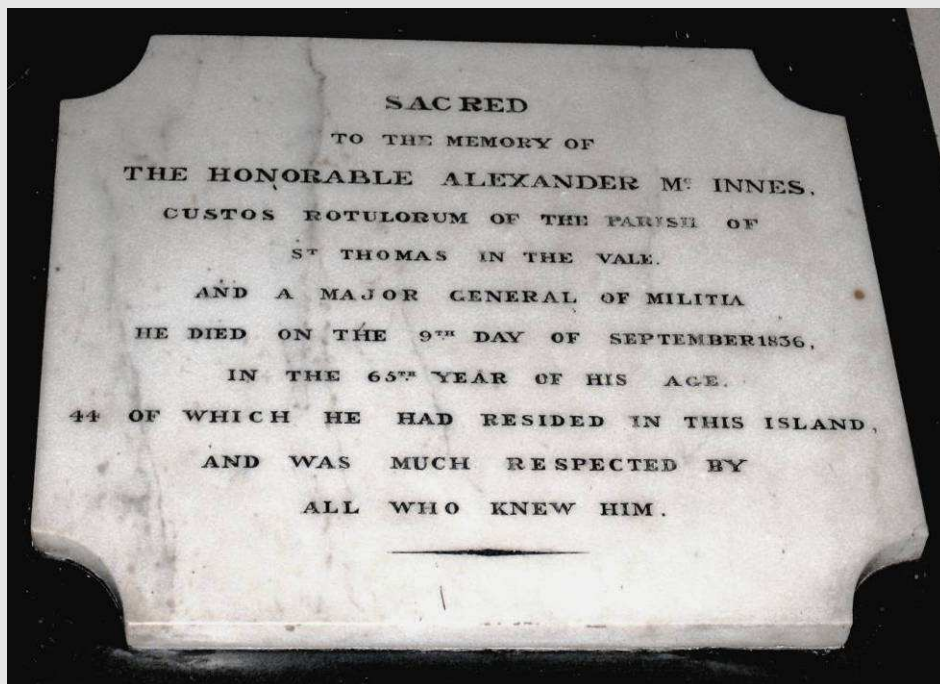
I further bequeath to Sarah MacCatty all my Bottled Liquors, Wine, Porter or otherwise and all such Liquors or Spirits as may be in Casks – for her own and for the use of herself and her herein named Children – should my Son Alexander die without Lawful Issue Dee Side will become the property of my Sons George and John and should the 3 Brothers die without Lawful Issue Rosa Mount will go to and belong to my Nephew Alexander MacInnes Son of my Brother the late George MacInnes of Aberdeen, Scotland – etc, etc, etc

See – Chapter 12 and 13 – *Journal of Alexander Innes of Loanhead* – Alexander McInnes of Raza Mount.

Raza Mount, 322 acres in the north of St Thomas in the Vale, was conveyed to Alexander McInnes on 1 January 1817 by Alexander Macleod of Scotland (of Muiravonside – formerly of Jamaica – see Chapter 9) – *Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts – Lib 663, Fol 98*

See Chapter 8 – David Finlay's 10 May 1816 letter – Alexander Macleod of Muiravonside

My photo, September 2008 – Spanish Town Cathedral – memorial to Alexander Innes



The Sabre, Malcolm Macleod referred to in his Will, was presented to him in 1817

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 12 Apr 1817, page PS 19

We understand that the Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates of the St Thomas in the Vale Troop of Horse have subscribed, and paid into the hands of a Gentleman of this town, the sum of One Hundred Pounds sterling, for the purpose of purchasing an elegant sword for their Captain, Alexander McInnes, Esq of Dee-Side [and Raza Mount], as a testimonial of their high sense of his active and vigilant service.

In Michael Scott's second novel, *Cruise of the Midge*, it appears that Alexander McInnes was the model for the character 'Captain Mc —'.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=VQYGAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *The Cruise of the Midge*, by the author of *Tom Cringle's Log*, published 1836 – page 384

We arrived at Bogwalk tavern for dinner, where we found a grand party of the officers of the regiment of foot militia, and also of the troop. The general commanding the district had reviewed them that morning, and was to have dined with them, but for some reason or another he had to return to Spanish Town immediately after the review. It was a formidable thing meeting so many red coats and gay laced blue jackets; and, of course, I was much gratified to learn, that the brown company fired remarkably well – how steadily the grenadiers passed in review – and how soldier-like Captain Mc —, who commanded the light horse, had given the word of command. “How thoroughly your horse is broke now, Mac.,” said a tall man, with a nose like a powder-horn – “steady as a rock, and such courage!”

“Courage!” rejoined Captain Mac., “he would charge up to the mouth of a cannon.”

On 10 September 1836, Sir Lionel Smith's Secretary replied to a 30 August 1836 Memorial from inhabitants of St Thomas in the Vale who were complaining of mal-administration of the Abolition Law by Special/Stipendiary Magistrates James Harris and Dr Archibald Leighton Palmer.

Lord Sligo appointed Dr Archibald Leighton Palmer a Special Magistrate for St Thomas in the Vale on 10 July 1836 – *Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat 30 Jul 1836, page PS 23*.

Dr A L Palmer was a Special Magistrate in Jamaica before 1836 but was suspended from office by Lord Sligo in 1835. Below – Dr A L Palmer's account of his suspension in 1835 and his reinstatement.

British Library – Official Correspondence, relative to the Removal from the Special Magistracy of A L Palmer, late Special Justice in Jamaica (by Dr A L Palmer), published 1837 – page 3 – extract

In June, 1835, I was suspended from office by the Marquis of Sligo, on the ground of its being derogatory to my character as a gentleman, degrading to the office of Special Magistrate, and injurious to the interests of public justice.

From Lord Sligo's decision I appealed to the Home Government: the judgment was reversed, and his Lordship was directed to reinstate me in office, and pay up the arrears of stipend from the date of my suspension. Lord Sligo, under the pressure of irritated feelings, I presume, immediately tendered his own resignation; but (as I have understood from one of his personal friends), within a month afterwards he either, directly or indirectly, recalled that resignation, expressing himself perfectly satisfied with my bearing towards him subsequent to my reinstatement, and that he had no doubt that perfect harmony would subsist in future between us. It appears, however, that Lord Glenelg decided on accepting the resignation, not having, I presume, received Lord Sligo's second letter at the time of coming to such decision. His Lordship was succeeded by Sir Lionel Smith in September. For the last few months of Lord Sligo's administration, not the remotest feeling of unpleasantness occurred between us; he not only acquiesced, but encouraged me in the measures I felt it necessary to adopt, to arrest the brutal tyranny and lawless outrage of the planters in my district.

These measures, calmly and gently though they were conducted, nevertheless gave rise to the most intense excitement throughout the whole planting community. In the midst of this excitement, Sir Lionel Smith assumed the reins of government. He sent for me a day or two after his arrival: I explained to him the precise position of the parties, – the nature of the measures I was adopting for securing conformity to the requirements of the Abolition Act, and finally suggested that as the Planters had preferred charges against me, of having disturbed the previous *quietude* of the parish, that he would issue a Commission of Enquiry to investigate into the grounds of their complaints, and ascertain what was the present, and what had been the previous condition of the district in relation to the administration of the law.

Below – 10 September 1836 letter from Sir Lionel Smith's secretary to George William Hamilton.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 1 Oct 1836, page 9-10

The Parish of St Thomas in the Vale.
King's-House, 10th Sept 1836.

To G W Hamilton, Esq.

Sir – With reference to a memorial addressed to the Lieutenant Governor, and signed by yourself and other inhabitants of the parish of St Thomas in the Vale, complaining of the mal-administration of justice between master and apprentice in that parish, I have his Excellency's command to acquaint you that he has determined upon issuing a commission, for the purpose of investigating and reporting upon such matters of complaint as may be brought forward, and his Excellency requests you will be pleased to acquaint the other memorialists accordingly.

The Commission will meet at Rodney-Hall on Friday the 23rd instant when his Excellency trusts that the complaining parties will be prepared to afford every information which the commission may call for in the course of their proceedings.

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) C H Darling, Governor's Sec.

At Rodney-Hall, on the 30th day of August, in pursuance of the requisition addressed, on the 13th August, by the Magistrates, &c of the parish of St Thomas in the Vale, to call a meeting of the parishioners to consider the rebellious state of the parish, promoted by the mal-administration of the Abolition Law by Stipendiary magistrates Harris and Palmer.

George Wm Hamilton, Esq in the Chair.

It was unanimously resolved,

1st. That the partial, arbitrary, and oppressive conduct of Archibald L Palmer and James Harris, Special Magistrates, appointed over this district, renders it imperative in us to seek protection from the Executive, who alone can redress our grievances and wrongs, by ordering their immediate removal from the parish.

2nd. That a memorial be prepared to his Excellency Sir Lionel Smith, stating the nature of our grievances and complaints, and that the same be presented in the most acceptable manner by his Honor the Custos, George William Hamilton, Esq, one of our representatives, Hugh Donald McKay, Peter Francis Garrigues, and William Lord Garrigues.

3rd. That a committee be appointed to prepare such memorial, to consist of George Wm Hamilton, Wm Lord, and Peter F Garrigues, Richard Ragg Parker, and Alex Joseph Lindo, Esqrs expressing an opinion of, and complaints against, the above named special magistrates, and that the same be presented to his Excellency the Governor, agreeably the second resolution.

The meeting then adjourned for an hour, and the committee appointed to prepare a memorial, returned with the following, which, being read, was unanimously adopted as follows:

To his Excellency Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, Knight Commander of the most hon Military Order of the Bath, Col of the 78th Highland Regt of Foot, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief in and over this his Majesty's Island of Jamaica, and other the territories thereon depending in America, Chancellor and Vice Admiral of the same.

The humble Memorial of the undersigned Inhabitants of the parish of St Thomas in the Vale,

Sheweth,

That it is with deep regret your memorialists are compelled to intrude their grievances upon your Excellency's assumption of the Government of the Island; but the partial, oppressive, and arbitrary conduct of Archibald L Palmer and James Harris, Special Justices over this district, towards your memorialists, renders it imperative on your memorialists to seek that redress and protection from your Excellency, which have been denied to your memorialists by your Excellency's predecessor.

That the parish of St Thomas in the Vale was one of the very few parishes in this island in which the new system, under the abolition act, worked with any thing like benefit or satisfaction to the proprietors or planters, when it was first put into operation, under the administration of Special Justices Clinch, Finlayson, Baynes, and Jones.

That so long as they administered the law, the apprentices were obedient to their masters' commands, attentive and assiduous to their avocations, and gave every promise of peace and happiness.

That since the removal of the above named magistrates, and the appointment of Messrs Palmer and Harris, the labourers have become the reverse of what they formerly were, disobedient to orders, inattentive to labour, and at variance with those in authority over them.

That such a change is alone to be attributed to the conduct of Messrs Palmer and Harris, who instead of administering the law with fairness and justness between master and apprentice, make it an invariable rule to lean with partiality towards the apprentices, treating the complaints of the masters and employers with contempt, either by dismissing them as unworthy of their attention, or inflicting such punishment upon the offenders, as only tends to encourage them in their disobedient and improper conduct towards their masters.

That your Memorialists have annexed to this their Memorial a few of the many cases which have been adjudicated by the above Special Magistrates, authenticated upon oath, in proof of the above charges, to which they crave your Excellency's attention, and that they may be taken as a part of this memorial.

That the injudicious conduct of these Special Magistrates has had the most pernicious effect upon the labouring population of this parish.

That little or no work is performed by them, the cultivation of the estates and plantations is in a most backward and ruinous state, and the apprentices almost in a state of rebellion; and that unless some immediate redress is afforded to your Memorialists, and quiet and order restored to the parish, the worst consequences must necessarily ensue.

That your Memorialists respectfully lay this their grievances before your Excellency, and humbly pray that your Excellency will remove Messrs Palmer and Harris from the commission as Special Magistrates, or that your Excellency will afford your Memorialists such other redress and protection against their arbitrary and illegal conduct as to your Excellency shall seem meet under the circumstances of the case.

And your Memorialists shall ever pray &c.

In St Thomas in the Vale on 23 September 1836 the Special Commission for investigating complaints of maladministration of justice between master and apprentice was opened at Rodney Hall.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 8 Oct 1836, page PS 18-20 – Proceedings under the Special Commission in St Thomas in the Vale.

On Friday morning, the 23rd September, 1836, the Special Commission, issued under the seal of his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, for the purpose of fully investigating and reporting to him all such matters and things connected with the administration of justice, as between master and apprentice, in that parish, was opened at Rodney Hall. The requisition of the Parishioners to the Custos, to call a meeting of the Parishioners, to express their opinions on the mal-administration of Justices Palmer and Harris, were read; as was also the memorial of the Magistrates and Parishioners to his Excellency, soliciting him to inquire into the allegations set forth in the said Memorial. The Special Commission was addressed to James Geddes and Charles Stewart, Esqrs Local Magistrates of the parish of St Mary's, and to Special Justices Marlton and Walsh, also of the parish of St Mary's. At ten o'clock Mr Geddes, took the chair, when Mr Hill as Secretary to the Commission, referred to the various affidavits annexed to the memorial, as establishing the charges against Messrs Palmer and Harris. Mr Hill then informed the Commissioners that he had his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor's commands to them that they were required to report their opinions on the evidence that would be adduced in the course of this investigation, and to lay the same before him for his consideration and final judgement. Mr Hill stated, that he was further commanded to say, that no part of the proceedings were to be published until the same were laid before him, under pain of his Excellency's highest displeasure.

The Memorial stated that the mal-administration of Justice by Special Justices Harris and Palmer, had produced the most alarming consequences to the parish and placed it in a state nearly amounting to open rebellion; and that all control had ceased over the apprentices; and that the greatest evils were anticipated.

Mr Hylton then informed the Commissioners that he was engaged professionally by the parish, and that all they required was fair and impartial justice, and a full inquiry into the conduct pursued towards them by the aforesaid Special Justices.

1st Charge.

William Duncan, Esq sworn deposed, I am overseer of Tulloch estate, in this parish, and complain against Special Justice Harris under the following circumstances: a free man named Abraham Gordon Anthony, was found on the estate in the negro houses, and he was described to be a vagrant and an improper character, I had him apprehended and he was brought to this Court-House, before the Local Magistrates, who convicted him of acts of vagrancy, and committed him to the penal gang for the space of thirty days; and on the expiration of the thirty days he again returned to the estate, bringing with him a

permission signed and written by Mr Harris, authorising him to remain on the property as long as he thought proper, under the alleged plea that he was the reputed husband of an apprentice belonging to the estate, named Elizabeth Brown, and in defiance of the orders given by the proprietor and myself. Witness stated, that in consequence of that man being on the estate, the people have become discontented, and that the head constable had actually threatened to leave the estate, as Anthony was intruding himself in the negro houses, and had seduced the constable's wife. Witness stated, the people on the property had informed him, that on a previous occasion, before the commencement of the apprenticeship system, he was apprehended on the property, for riotous and disorderly conduct, and on that occasion, he was so violent as to render it necessary to tie him in a cart, for the purpose of conveying him to the Peace Office in Spanish-Town; and he was then sent to the House of Correction, in that time as a vagrant, for one month; witness would probably have allowed him to remain on the estate, had his character not been so very bad and had the negroes not been aware of it. At the time he was convicted, in this Court House, Mr Harris was present, and consequently could not plead ignorance as to his knowledge of his bad character. The conviction on the 20th Febr'y. 1836, was then given in evidence; witness stated, that the improper conduct of Mr Harris, in authorising Anthony to continue on the property has produced serious ill effects.

When Anthony returned to the estate, with Mr Harris's letter, his demeanour towards witness, evinced disrespect and exultation, and this kind of conduct he has ever since pursued; deponent has been Overseer of Tulloch Estate, since the 11th September 1834.

Peter Welch, head Constable on Tulloch Estate sworn; knows Abraham Gordon Anthony, he is a very bad man; knows that Mr Harris was in the Court House, when Anthony was tried; Anthony is on the Estate; never saw him work any other grounds but those belonging to his wife; witness was ordered some time ago to turn him off the Estate, but he said he would stop where he was, and would stay with his wife; he was working his wife's ground, when witness told him to go off the Estate; when busha was from home, Anthony was brought before the book-keeper, but he would not give any orders about his quitting the Estate, saying "I will not interfere as Anthony is a free man." Next morning Anthony went to busha, who desired him to leave the Estate, but he would not do so, and became very violent, and two other Constables, belonging to the Estate, named Smith and McLellan, put him off by force, but he returned shortly after with a note from Mr Harris; witness knows Anthony is a troublesome man, and was in Spanish-Town, workhouse for rioting on Tulloch Estate; witness has heard that Anthony is married to Elizabeth Brown, he is so bad he seduced my wife, and seduced Charles McDonald's wife; can't say if Mr Harris knew that fact.

Dr Palmer stated, that he was present when Mr Harris gave Anthony permission to stay on the Estate, and that the same was given in consequence of complaint being made by the reputed wife, that she was deprived of her connubial rights by her husband being forbidden off the Estate, and that the letter was written without any knowledge of his bad character. Mr Hylton objected to the above evidence, being put into the minutes as Dr Palmer was interested in the inquiry.

Second Charge.

Mr Duncan next charge Mr Harris with mal-administration of the abolition law, as respected Tulloch Estate, thereby causing the apprentices to be in a state, bordering on rebellion, and to refuse to obey orders. Here Dr Palmer wished to produce Mr Harris's own notes in exculpation, and stated as the Commissioners were not bred up to the law, he could not lose sight of his 23 years practice to know what was, and what was not legal evidence. The chairman observed that the Commissioners were of an opinion that neither Mr Hylton or Mr Hill had any right to address the board. They had no objection to Mr Hylton giving his professional aid to the witness, but would not permit him to address them, nor suffer any thing like special pleading, as there would never be an end to this investigation. The notes of Mr Harris, which were attempted to be put in evidence were then withdrawn, and Mr Duncan proceeded. I had occasion to bring an apprentice before Mr Harris, named Robert Welsh, for absence from work, nine working days; Welsh came to me in the morning, saying he was sick; Mr McDermott saw him, and knowing him to be a skulker, and not sick, ordered him to work; instead of which he was skulking about the carpenter's shop, and refused to do any sort of work; when brought before Mr Harris, he, instead of ordering him to make good the lost time, said, the man is sick, and ordered him to go to the hot house; witness told Mr Harris that the Doctor had seen him and declared that he was not sick but skulking, but he would pay no attention to the complainant; Welsh then went to the hot house, where he remained for one day; the hot house Doctor stating, that there was nothing the matter with him. This conduct on the part of Mr Harris set a bad example to the estate people; and nine day's labour of an able hand was lost.

Peter Welch, head constable sworn – Stated, that Robert Welsh always neglected his work; the nine days he did not work, he was skulking about the carpenters shop, and when witness ordered him to the field, he said he was sick, but witness did not think he was sick; witness saw him several times during the nine days boil his pot; all this witness swore before Mr Harris.

The hot house Doctor sworn – Proved that Mr Harris was aware that Robert was a skulker; witness knows that he says he is sick when he is not so; when the complaint was made to Mr Harris, for the nine day's labour lost to the estate, all he said was about telling Mr Harris that he was not sick, but he would not listen to him; Robert was sick one day out of the nine, and witness gave him some medicine; when Mr Harris wants the hot house book it is always produced; he did not call for it that day; witness was not sworn when he gave his evidence, before Mr Harris.

Dr McDermott sworn – Described the general conduct of Welsh to be indolent and troublesome; pretending to be sick when perfectly well; had he thought him sick he certainly would not have ordered him to the field.

Mr Duncan re-called – Has no recollection of ever refusing to admit Welsh in the hot house; nor did he apply to witness for such admission, during the nine days complained of, but is certain that he did no work for the Estate during that period; did not produce the hot house book to Mr Harris, as he had lately refused to receive it in evidence, but insists on the Doctor's giving their evidence before him on oath.

Third Charge.

Mr Duncan then stated, that he had again to charge Mr Harris with supineness and want of determination to enforce his own sentences and for refusing to adjudicate a complaint proffered by Mr Duncan against seven apprentices, belonging to Tulloch, who were brought before him, charged for non compliance with the sentence awarded against them, by Mr Special Justice Harris, to make good a certain number of Saturday's for the time due to the Estate in consequence of their delinquencies, on which occasion he, Mr Harris, did not enforce his former sentence, or in any manner adjudicate the case, and by such want of energy on the part of the Special Justice, he is mocked at by the people, and has lost all manner of control over them. There were ten apprentices on the Estate, who were ordered to make good on Saturdays's their lost time, and, in consequence of their refusal to do so, his cattle suffered materially on Saturday, and Sunday night for want of grass, he Mr Duncan depending on those ten delinquents to supply the grass for the cattle in the pen, and having no other of the Estate people at home, on Saturday, at the time he complained he had 263 head of cattle in the pen, which were suffering for want of grass. Mr Harris was on the Estate, and must have both heard and seen the insubordinate conduct of the apprentices, without in any manner attempting to suppress it.

This closed Mr Duncan's charges against Mr Harris, he being absent, an opportunity will be offered to him to give explanation thereto.

Fourth Charge – Mr Gyles's Case.

Nicholas Gyles, Proprietor of Recess, in this parish, being sworn, deposed as follows; I charge Dr Palmer and Mr Harris with having acted towards me with mal-administration of the Abolition Law, and also with great injustice in the matter of complaint made by me against an apprentice named Thomas Scott, for refusing to work out his lost time as ordered by Special Justice Harris on the 23rd of March last; and for which refusal he was again brought before Justice Palmer, and Harris on the 30th of July; for then annulling the original sentence, which was 14 days to the penal gang, in the House of Correction, and to make good 21 alternate Saturdays, of which he had only made good three; the offence of which he was convicted was for refusing to obey orders to work, he being a sawyer; Mr Gyles stated that he complained against the Specials for having substituted 2 hours labour extra, on the 4 first day in alternate weeks, to make an equivalent of the 21 Saturdays, and which was a complete nullity as the delinquent was a sawyer, and could not work by candle light. Mr Harris refused to give witness any reason for altering the former sentence awarded by himself, and he Mr G told them that their acts of injustice were so glaring that he would apply to a Court of Justice for redress, as he could not by any means get 8 hours labour from any of his people, how could he expect 10 hours labour. "When I made the complaint to Justices Palmer and Harris, and was waiting for their decision, to my great surprise I saw Dr Palmer put the bible in Scott's hand, and inquire of him if he had been locked up, and for what length of time, to which he answered, – from 5 o'clock last night, until 7 o'clock this morning, and that he had had nothing to eat during that time. The Specials, without allowing me to enter into an explanation, said, "We fine you, sir 4/." I then stated, that my reason for locking him up was for the purpose of making the charge against him, which I had made, for not making good his lost time – and that Friday evening was the only time I could secure him,

as he then came into the yard to the grindstone. I did not think it necessary to give him food: any of the people, or the constable might have done so if they thought proper. Question by Dr Palmer – Was any other person examined besides Scott? Answer – Yes, there was; it was the constable who contradicted Scott as to the duration of time he was locked up; the fine of four pounds has been paid under a warrant of Dr Palmer to destrain for the amount. Witness requested that the memorial to his Excellency the Lieut Governor should be referred to, and he had no doubt that he would shew the commissioners that the conduct of Palmer and Harris was oppressive, partial and tyrannical. Some objection was offered as to reference to the memorial, when, the Chairman observed that they could not be confined to the strict line of evidence, but must travel a little out to arrive at all the matters of fact charged against Messrs Palmer and Harris, and on reference to the memorials, it appeared, that Mr Harris had publicly said, “I at one time leaned more towards the planter than the apprentices, but I intend to turn a second Dr Palmer, and even a second Buxton, and will make all the planters sick of the apprenticeship system. – Adjourned.

My photos – Jamaica National Gallery – Sketches of Character, drawn from life and lithographed by Isaac Mendes Belisario – part three, published by A Duperly 1838 – Milkwoman



Proceedings under the Special Commission in St Thomas in the Vale – continued

Saturday, 24th September.

At 10 o'clock the proceedings resumed. The Commissioners called on Dr Palmer to state his reason for annulling the original sentence connected with Thomas Scott, and also his reasons for inflicting the fine of four pounds against Mr Gyles. Dr Palmer stated that he decided on the alteration of the sentence, from the extreme difficulty of carrying the same into effect, as Saturdays were the only days on which Mr G's people could reach their grounds. This Mr Gyles most emphatically denied, and said that none of the people's grounds were situated at more than at most 15 minutes walk from their houses, and from the spot where Scott was working, to his ground, was not more than five minutes walk, at most. Mr Hylton observed, that Dr Palmer has assumed more authority than would be by law allowed to any magistrate, not excepting the Chief Justice, who could not alter or annul their sentence when once solemnly pronounced in open Court, but it remained for a higher authority to do so.

Dr Palmer explained his motive for fining Mr G four pounds having locked up Scott from the preceding night until the following morning, without giving him food and in wet clothes.

Mr Gyles in continuation – I now charge Mr Harris with another case of perversion of Justice, which occurred on Recess Plantation. – On the 10th of August last, I had occasion to complain to Justice Harris of a female apprentice named Eliza Byfield, for having taken days due to her husband, and for disobedience of orders, on which occasion Messrs Harris and Palmer awarded her on conviction two days solitary confinement, by which means I was deprived of her services during that period. The disobedience of orders of which she was convicted was for refusing to go to her work when ordered to do so by the Plantation Constable. She was absent from the property from the 5th of August to the 10th, on which day I brought her before the Special Justices Harris and Palmer, and by the nature of the sentence he Mr G was punished by two days further loss of labour – If such punishments are persisted in they will tend to my ruin. I had every reason to suppose that Messrs Harris and Palmer had preconcerted their sentence previous to their having been called on to adjudicate the matter, from the circumstances of the accused, Eliza Byfield having been down to Dr Palmer's residence, and what Mr G complained of was, that instead of her having been confined for two days, she ought to have been ordered to have made good the 5 days she was absent, as provided for in the 44th clause of the abolition law.

To this complaint Dr Palmer replied, that he was induced to order her to solitary confinement for 48 hours for the benefit of Mr Gyles, as he could have confined her for a longer period if he had thought proper.

The next complaint against Messrs Palmer and Harris, made by him to the Special Justice, against Thomas Scott, and William Grant, for insufficiency of labour, for the space of 14 days successively, and the Special Justices awarded extra labour for two days only, instead of seven days, thereby setting a bad example to the other apprentices on the property; Scott and Grant are sawyers, and could saw 40 feet per day, and they during the 14 days complained of only cut 20 feet per day, which was proved on oath before the Special Justices, by the Carpenter on the property.

Lachlan Mercer, the carpenter, was sworn; recollects giving evidence before Messrs Palmer and Harris, against Scott and Grant, for having cut only 20 feet of wood, instead of 40 feet per day, which they promised to saw. The charge against them was for insufficiency of labour for the last 18 months, but the Specials would not listen to the charge for a greater period than 14 days, although witness wished to extend the time to the whole period; and the Justices ordered them to work two hours extra, for the first four days, in two weeks; which is equivalent to two entire days, this Mr G considered was extreme maladministration of Justice, and shewed great bias on the minds of the Special Justices Harris and Palmer.

Dr Palmer put before the Commissioners a written explanation as to the lenience of his sentence against Scott and Grant, arose as it appeared in the defence, that it was not actually proved that the men were employed during the whole period of 14 days in sawing, but were employed a great portion of these days in putting sticks on the pit.

Mr Mercer was recalled, who proved that those men had nothing whatever to do with pitting of wood during the 14 days, to which the enquiry was limited; there are three pits, and on each there were timbers, and in the 14 days they did not complete one stick; on one pit there was a stick of inmarind, and on the others there was blood wood; witness always sharpens the saws for the sawyers; he measures and lines out their days work. Mr Gyles then called the following witness to prove malice on the part of Special Justice Harris.

Robert Allen, Esq sworn: some time in July last, was in company with Mr Harris on Stirling Castle Estate, in this parish, with Mr McIntosh, Mr Kinkead, and Mr McDermont, who heard Harris say that he had hitherto leaned more to the Planter, than to the Apprentice, but he intended now to turn a second Dr Palmer or second Buxton; witness did not at the time, think him serious, but his subsequent conduct has proved he was in earnest, as he has since fulfilled his threats, to the ruin of the parish for ever.

Mr McIntosh sworn; confirmed what the former witness had stated, with the addition that Mr Harris said, I formerly leaned towards the Planters, but since Mr Gyles's business in the Grand Court I will now turn a second Dr Palmer, or a second Buxton; he subsequently requested the gentlemen present, not to allow his expression to go beyond their present company; His subsequent conduct towards the Planters has fully borne out his threats, as he has made such a breach between master and apprentice, as can never be mended; witness thought Mr Harris quite serious when he made the expressions, the request of keeping the words among themselves followed the expressions, the conduct of Mr Harris is very different now, to what it was before, he used the expressions; witness said that at first Mr Harris acted very well, but now his conduct is the reverse of doing well, and has been so ever since he used the threat.

James Kinkead, Esq sworn – Proved the words as described by the last witness to which Mr Allen replied, Then, Sir, you have and hitherto done your duty if you have leaned more towards the Planter than the Apprentice. Mr Harris then requested that his words might not go further; witness believed Mr Harris was quite serious at the time he used the expressions; witness has reason to know that the negroes go to Mr Harris' residence in great numbers, and that they do not give more than half the labour they did formerly.

Caleb Wheeler, Esq sworn – Remembers sitting on his sofa, on Mickleton Plantation Great House, in company with Mr Harris on the 5th of July last, and in the course of conversation on the local Magistrates' objecting to associate themselves with the Special Magistrates, Mr H said – WE, meaning Dr Palmer and himself, will make you (meaning the Planters) SICK of the Apprenticeship system; this Mr H said in a very serious manner; witness has noticed great and serious alterations in Mr Harris' conduct since that day.

Mr Gyles then called Robert Page, Esq who having been sworn deposed, that he had a serious charge to prefer against Dr Palmer, as by his conduct great insubordination has been exhibited on his estate since Dr Palmer has been in the parish; but in consequence of Colonel Page's recent return to the island, (having arrived in the Packet on Tuesday last,) and not being prepared with his witnesses at this moment, the consideration of his charge against Dr Palmer was postponed to a future day.

Mr Gyles here stated he had several other cases of serious grievances to bring forward against Messrs Palmer and Harris, but would not bring them forward at the present, not wishing unnecessarily to detain the other complainants, or waste the time of the Commissioners.

Below – Fifth Charge includes a complaint made by William Allanach, overseer of Williamsfield.

Fifth Charge – The Mickleton Case.

For improper conduct on the part of Mr Harris, in having had carnal knowledge of a female apprentice, on that property, thereby encouraging her in insolence towards the manager, and in setting a bad and dangerous example to the other apprentices on the property, also for gross partiality in attempting to screen the said female from punishment; and improper interference with the regulation of the House of Correction.

This matter was also ordered to lay over for a future day in consequence of the absence of Mr Harris.

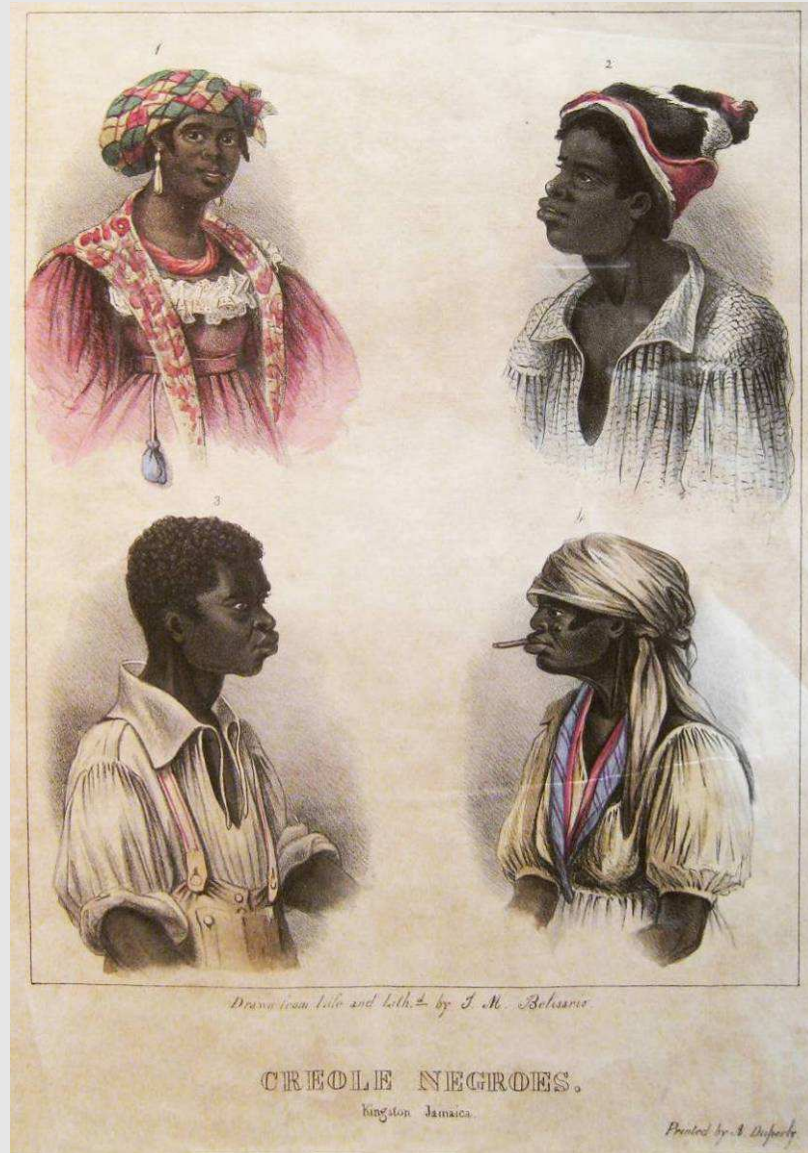
William Allanach, Esq then proffered his charge against Dr Palmer, for having ordered the apprentices on Williamsfield estate to take the 1st of August, or take another day in lieu thereof, thereby improperly interfering with the management of the estate, which produced serious insubordination and tumult among the apprentices, and a loss of labour of 138 effective field labourers; this complaint was admitted by Dr Palmer; he having acted under a misconstruction of the act in aid.

Sixth Charge.

The Reverend Mr Burton informed the Commissioners, that in consequence of Dr Palmer having improperly sanctioned his people to take the 1st of August as a holiday, which complainant would not allow them to take, and the improper interference of Dr Palmer, they have become so rebellious and insubordinate that he dreads the most serious consequences as to the safety of his family, and himself, this complaint was also admitted to be correct, the Rev Gentleman stated to the Commissioners, that he did not

value the days, but as he had pledged his word to them, that the 1st of August was not a holiday, and Dr Palmer having told them otherwise, the people are of opinion that he wilfully told them an untruth, and are behaving with disrespect towards him and his family.

Jamaica National Gallery – Sketches of Character, drawn from life and lithographed by Isaac Mendes Belisario – part three, published by A Duperly 1838 – Creole Negroes



Proceedings under the Special Commission in St Thomas in the Vale – continued

Seventh Charge.

Another 1st of August Case.

Mr Walger, attorney to Boosey Ridge Estate, complained of Dr Palmer having sanctioned the apprentices to take the 4th of August instead of the 1st of August on which day they were worked; that for their absence on the 4th they were taken before Dr Palmer for trial, when he dismissed the case, saying in the presence of the apprentices, that as they were worked on a holiday, namely, the first of August, they were entitled to another day. On the first of August, the people turned out, as usual, and made no complaint of any claim for that day; Mr Walgar asked Dr Palmer if any of his people had been to complain of his having taken the 1st of August as they had never complained to him, Dr Palmer declined giving witness any reply; since which time the whole of the apprentices on the estate are in a complete state of

insubordination, and he has lost all manner of authority or control over them they positively refuse to alter any orders since given by him, through the Estate Constables, all which insubordination witness attributes to the improper interference of Dr Palmer with the apprentices on Boosey Ridge.

A Magistrate of the parish here informed the Commissioners that there was a vast concourse of apprentices at this moment outside of the Court-House, and as their conduct appeared to be riotous, and disorderly, he begged the Commissioners would as Special Justices endeavour to suppress the same, the police men then in attendance were ordered to keep their eyes on them.

Mr Walger in continuation stated that he was certain that the insubordination among the apprentices, arose not from any alterations as to working hours, but out of the conduct of Dr Palmer, who has been present when the apprentices have acted in the most insolent and rebellious manner, without his using any means to suppress it.

Mr Hill said, that was a matter now before the Attorney General and formed no part of the present Commissioners duty to inquire into, as it was a question as to the right of removing the apprentices from one property to another.

Dr Palmer was about giving some explanation but was stopped by the Commissioners. Mr Marlton stating that he was of opinion that any matter or thing now pending before a higher tribunal, was not a subject to be entertained by the present board.

Mr Walger pressed to be heard, and he was permitted to proceed. He then stated that the apprentices purchased from Golden Grove, and working on Rio Magno, became insubordinate and rebellious. – Witness appealed to Dr Palmer to know how he was to suppress the tumult who replied – Pooh! pooh! attribute it to their ignorance, and used no means to enforce either obedience or order among the refractory apprentices. The people were repeatedly calling Dr Palmer by name, and recommending him to leave Buckra House, and have nothing to say to them, as they would tie him as they had tied us; and we will see you safe away off the property; a number of complaints had been proffered by witness against those people for neglect of duty, loss of time, and insubordination, but Dr Palmer invariably refused to adjudicate, saying he had doubts as to the validity or legality of their being removed from one property to another, stating “If I have been in error before, I shall continue to act as hereafter.” The removal of the apprentices was not further than two miles from Golden Grove to Rio Magno. Thinks that the conduct of Dr Palmer tended more to encourage the people in acting riotously, than in suppressing it, as he used none of those prompt means within his power to put the same in any manner down; witness thinks that no such tumult would have taken place had Dr Palmer not been present; is of opinion, that his presence encouraged them in insubordination. – He has left them in that state without ever returning to make any inquiry into the state of the property, and all the Rio Magno people now openly bid defiance to witness’ orders, and are in a state bordering on rebellion.

Dr Palmer informed the Commissioners that he was not prepared to answer this charge, but would do so on a future day. – *Herald*.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 15 Oct 1836, page 1-6

Proceedings under the Special Commission in St Thomas in the Vale.

Tuesday, 27th September.

At 10 o’clock, the Commissioners assembled, and shortly after proceeded to business.

The power of the Commissioners was explained by a letter of yesterday’s date, from his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor to the Commissioners, and by which it appeared that they have the discretion of admitting all evidence brought forward, and allowing the professional aid of Mr Hylton on the part of the parish, but not permitting him to plead. The Governor also signified his pleasure, that the Court should consider themselves as a Court of Inquiry. Mr Hill to be confined to the duties of Secretary to the Commissioners.

Dr Palmer laid before the Commissioners the Attorney General’s opinion on the case of the Rio Magno apprentices, who were removed from Golden Grove; but the opinion of counsel relative to the legality or illegality of their removal from one property to another was not made public. Dr Palmer started in answer to the charge for not adjudicating the case of the insolence and insubordination of the people towards Mr Walger, that it was in consequence of his having doubts as to the people legally belonging to Rio Magno or not, and that he would name a day when he would fully explain his conduct, as far as those people were concerned.

After some time lost in argument between Mr Hylton and Dr Palmer, the opinion of the Attorney General was read, and by which no interdiction was laid on the Special Justice to adjudicate all matters of complaints made against them. It states that the distance of Golden Grove to Rio Magno being so very short, and the apprentices having their grounds at present on the former property, while houses and grounds are being prepared for them at Rio Magno, he thinks that Dr Palmer ought to have adjudicated the case.

Eighth Charge – The Palm Case.

Mr Bernard McDonnel, bookkeeper on the Farm [Palm] estate, appeared on behalf of Alexander Anderson, Esq, the proprietor, to make a complaint against Mr Harris, for having countenanced in subordinate and rebellious conduct in the Palm apprentices, without in any way attempting to put it down. The number of apprentices in that state of rebellion amounted to between 70 and 80: witness deposed, that on the evening of the 10th of August he was in his room, about half past five, pm and hearing a violent noise went out and heard the apprentices yelling out that they were murdering the Special Magistrate up at Mr Gyles's property; witness waited until he saw one of the estates' constables running with a cutlass in his hands towards Mr Gyles's, hallowing out, "now for it – we have now got the damned white livered rascals and we will do for them." The name of the constable Henry Flowers; witness is of opinion that when he made use of the expressions he alluded to the overseer on the Palm and himself, and as the man had previously been trustworthy, and as the overseer of the Palm was up at Mr Gyles's, he thought the constable, and about 40 or 50 other negroes with him, all armed with cutlasses, intended to have gone up to Mr Gyles; shortly after he met Messrs Palmer and Harris, with about 70 or 80 apprentices, men and women armed; one who was walking within a few yards of the Specials roared out "I wish we had got up to Mr Gyles's before you, meaning the magistrates, went away, we would have made mince meat of them," meaning the white men on Mr Gyles's property. The man named Patrick Gale, and another named Jemmy Anderson, then said, "Hi brother they would not be any thing like a handful for us." Palmer and Harris were with them, and they all appeared as if they were guarding the magistrates; all these people belonged to the Palm, and when they came near the works, the magistrates separated without in any manner noticing this insubordinate and rebellious conduct. One of the other bookkeepers came up with a gentleman, when the people commenced making use of the most dreadful language towards them all. A constable named Russell, on being asked what right he, as a constable, had for carrying the people armed up to Recess, he replied, there were only three or four of them – they would soon smash them up. Russell conducted himself in an open rebellious manner.

To a question by the board – Understood by their saying we would make mince meat of them, that they meant Mr and Mrs Gyles, Mr Anderson, and the white carpenter on Recess, and particularly from Russell, saying there were only three or four, we would soon mash them up; is certain they did not mean to apply their observations to the Special Magistrates.

The distance between the Palm Estate and Recess is about three quarters of a mile. Believes his overseer went to Recess by invitation from Mr Gyles, as a protection to himself and family, as the people on Recess were in open rebellion, and they would not be safe. Palmer and Harris went on the property, and it was a fortunate circumstance, that the overseer Mr Rees were there, as there was open rebellion on Recess plantation; witness saw when Dr Palmer and Mr Harris went up to Recess; thinks it was after shell turn out on that day; Recess is on an eminence, and the Palm is immediately below, and a witness could hear the Recess people hollow out to the Palm people which caused them to arm themselves, and act as they did. The shell had been blown to turn in a half hour before, and they assembled about the works instead of going to their houses, as usual, and appeared to be waiting for a signal from the Recess people. The Constable, Gale, was formerly the most confidential man on the Estate, but since Palmer and Harris has visited the quarter, he is now the most rebellious, and when ordered one day last week, by the overseer to his duty, he firmly refused to obey, and said he had as much right to go to the Governor as any other apprentice. On 10th August all their cutlasses appeared to have been newly ground and sharpened. The work they were employed on that day required nothing more than hoes; knows that the row on that day at Recess took place in consequence of Palmer and Harris wanting to intrude on Mr Gyles's coffee store, when M G would not permit; witness noticed among the mob, several women brushing the flies off the Magistrates horses; witness will swear that the Magistrates appeared to aid the rebellion; Dr Palmer on the road toward Treadway's estate in a low voice, spoke to Russell, and ordered him to go to Mr Gyles, and say, that he Dr Palmer would be there the next morning at 10 o'clock; witness is certain that from the great sway Dr Palmer, particularly has over the apprentices, that one word from him would have immediately quelled them; witness came into the parish in April last, and found the apprentices very obedient to the

overseers and book-keepers, but since Dr Palmer has been in the quarter, they are set at defiance, and none of their orders obeyed; knows that when Mr Harris was alone, the people did more work in one week than they do now in two, and is certain that since Dr Palmer has acted with him he is now as bad as the other, and is a complete tool of Dr Palmer, and thus the parish has been thrown into the greatest confusion. On the evening in question, the people repeatedly nodded their heads at witness, and said, "Oh! oh! you have not got Special Justice Jones now, and you cannot do with us as you did then," This was heard by Palmer and Harris. The following morning the constables and all the people turned out with cutlasses, a circumstance they never did before or since; their cutlasses were unusually sharp on that day, and they were extremely rude and impertinent towards witness; don't know that any of them were absent on the 11th of August.

The Commissioners wished to have some of the apprentices from Palm, named, to be sent for, to give evidence.

Witness in continuation – Heard Mr Gyles's say to the Palm apprentices, when they were insubordinate, that they were great fools for being led astray by the specials, as when they were removed from the parish the apprentices would be punished for their acts; that if Dr Palmer did not administer the abolition law correctly, he would serve him as he had served Harris and Jones, and that Palmer and Harris deserved a halter, and if he got a judgement against them, he would not abate one shilling of damages; this was said after the 10th of August.

Dr Palmer will enter his defence to-morrow, and call his evidence.

Jamaica National Gallery – Sketches of Character, drawn from life and lithographed by Isaac Mendes Belisario – part three, published by A Duperly 1838 – Lovey



Proceedings under the Special Commission in St Thomas in the Vale – continued

Ninth Charge.

Alexander Anderson, Esq of the Palm Estate, then complained of mal-administration of justice, and illegally altering a sentence pronounced against an apprentice, named Rebecca Wiltshire, by Mr Harris altering the said sentence from 7 alternate Saturdays and substituting 2 hours on each day, for 7 weeks, thereby creating insubordination and discontent among the apprentices; the work on the estate was carried on under the 8 hour system, but since the present Governor's Proclamation, he has been worked on the 9 hour system; witness intended to have given them every other Friday, but in defiance of his positive orders, they have refused to work at all on Fridays; and in fact they will only do as they are ordered by Dr Palmer, who interferes with the management of the estate; never could exact the two hours labour from the delinquent since the alteration of the original sentence, as the constables refused to attend for two hours extra, to see the delinquents work up the time. The offence of which she, Rebecca Wiltshire was found guilty, was absence and insolence to the Bookkeeper and Constable; the alteration of the sentence took place since Dr Palmer has been in the parish, namely, the 27th July last; Mr Hylton suggested, as his opinion, that no magistrate is justified in altering a sentence; Witness told Mr Harris that he attributes the bad conduct of his people to him, as he had informed the Palm people, that do what they would they had no right to fear the Overseer or Bookkeeper, as they could not do anything to them, and in consequence of which the apprentices on Palm Estate treat his orders with contempt; witness cannot assign any motive on the part of Mr Harris for using such expressions, as no complaint was ever made by his people against witness, except taking away their hoes when they refused to dig cane holes for him and when they refused to work on Friday witness considered he was amply justified in doing so by law, as the hoes were the property of the Estate; never took them away but once. Dr Palmer told the people on Palm that if they required two hours in their masters time to grind their hoes they might take that time as it was Estate work; in consequence of which they were ordered to bring their hoes to witness after work, and he would have them ground. This Dr Palmer admitted to be correct; witness added, Mr Harris said in his Court, while adjudicating a case, that the time had passed when Overseers could lacerate their skins; this witness thought uncalled for, particularly when many apprentices were present; did not consider the people suffered any injury by taking away their hoes since each of them had more than one hoe; since the Governor came to the parish they grind their hoes in their own time.

Tenth Charge.

Alexander Anderson, Esq again complained of Mr Harris having ordered a skulker to go to the hot-house, and in defiance of Dr Euart's positive orders to go to the field, as he was not sick; Mr Harris still kept him in the Hospital, and he will not permit him to work in any manner for the Estate, thereby setting a bad example to the other apprentices encouraging them to skulk from their duty under pretence of sickness. Mr Harris declined to give an explanation for having acted in this manner.

Eleventh Charge.

Alex Anderson, Esq again complained of Messrs Palmer and Harris, for not ordering punishment against an apprentice named Henry Flowers, who was absent from the estate 3 days without leave, although the charge was made to the Specials; the said Henry Flowers was charged with having refused to carry shingles to the Carpenter, and for 3 days absence; the charge was fully proven against him on oath; but Dr Palmer refused to pass any sentence upon him, to which circumstance witness attributes Flower's subsequent bad conduct as described on the 10th of August, and that he was emboldened to acts of insubordination, by having been thus screened from punishment by Dr Palmer's not ordering him to make good the lost time.

Question by Dr Palmer – Did you make absence a part of your charge? Answer – Certainly! and it was proved by the oath of myself and another witness who proved the absence for Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday; Flowers was ordered to carry shingles as he refused to do any other estate's work. – He was displaced from his former situation of confidence for improper conduct on the estate, and shewing bad examples to the other apprentices, by saying, at one time, "I will not leave the house until Mr Harris leaves the property," and will keep Busha in order, at the same time shaking a stick at him, in the presence of Mr Harris.

Dr Palmer wished to produce notes of evidence, which Mr Hylton objected to as they were not legal evidence, unless read supported by other testimony. They were, however, read by Dr Palmer, but were not

put on the minutes. Dr Palmer wished to show that no charge of absence for three days was brought before him – to contradict this Mr Anderson called Mr McDonald, the Bookkeeper, Swears that he was present when Mr Anderson charged Henry Flowers with three days loss of labour and disobedience of orders. That formed the charge, and Dr Palmer would pass no sentence on Flowers; witness will swear that the notes ready by Dr Palmer are garbled, and do not contain half of the evidence that was brought forward when the charge was made against Flowers. Here Dr Palmer quitted the table, apparently annoyed by the witness's remarks; It however subsequently turned out that Dr Palmer had retired to try a runaway from Charlemont, who had been absent since August 1834, and he was adjudged to make good the period of his absence after the expiration of the apprenticeship term. Adjourned at 5 o'clock.

Jamaica National Gallery – Sketches of Character, drawn from life and lithographed by Isaac Mendes Belisario – part three, published by A Duperly 1838 – Water-Jar Sellers



Proceedings under the Special Commission in St Thomas in the Vale – continued

Wednesday, September 28.

At 10 o'clock the Commissioners met, but did not proceed to business until after 12 o'clock, in consequence of the absence of Mr Hill.

Twelfth Charge.

Charles Gordon, Esq of Berwick Estate, complained against Justices Harris and Palmer for mal-administration of justice, on the 29th August, in a matter of complaint against certain of the apprentices attached to Berwick for insubordination and insufficiency of labour on the estate. Witness brought forward the great gang on the foregoing charge, on four different occasions, when the charge was proven to the extent of 160 days labour which the estate had been defrauded of on two occasions on the evidence of Mr Munroe and Mr Johnstone, two neighbouring overseers. Another charge was brought against the Rio Magno people who were working with the estates gang, all of whom were effective people; the work on fourteen acts it was found deficient of the labour of twenty-five persons, and on complaint the Specials would not entertain the charge at all, but dismissed it without ordering them to make good the lost time. For the previous 160 apprentice's labour lost, the Magistrates merely ordered about forty to work two hours extra for four days, being equal to one day for 40, instead of 160 people's labour proved to have been lost, thereby losing the labour of 120 people for two days. – When they were ordered to perform this extra task, they asked the Magistrates if they were to work in the rain, to which they replied No! Seek shelter out of the rain. Some of them said that Busha would not allow them to do so. To which the Magistrates said can your busha tie your feet in the field, which witness considered very uncalled for, and it has since produced great insubordination among the apprentices, who sets his authority at defiance, and many of them will not leave their houses in the slightest drizzle of rain since this language was held to them.

Mr Harris addressed the people and told them they were cheated out of their time if Busha charged them with the time it took them from quitting their houses to reach the field – and Dr Palmer called on one of the constables to prove it. The Constable, acting as their spokesman, said that he complained that the time was only computed from the time they reached the field and not from the time they left their houses. To which Mr Harris replied, that their labour commenced, and was to be considered as such, from the time they left their houses until they returned to their respective houses. The people were then working on the eight hour system. The Rio Magno and Berwick comprise one estate, and has been so since 1824 or 1825. Dr Palmer further informed them that they were entitled to one hour for each three miles they had to walk to the field, or twenty minutes for each mile; since which the people will not quit their houses until the last shell blows, at which time they previously commenced their work in the field.

Question by the Commissioner – Had you applied to the Magistrates to get the overseers to examine the people's labour.

Answer – Yes, I did! and Dr Palmer approved of them and had them in attendance to give evidence on the occasion. Those gentlemen rode through the fields before the work, during the work, and examined the quality of the work when finished, and paid particular attention to it. Previous to Mr Harris and Dr Palmer coming into the parish the people were regularly in the field ready to commence work at the second shell, and witness is certain that the alteration of their conduct is to be attributed to Dr Palmer and Mr Harris; the people on Berwick estate told Special Justice Cooper that they wanted none of his law, they would all come down to Rodney Hall and have Dr Palmer's law, and the people at this moment are in a turbulent and disorderly state. Witness stated that the labour in those fields complained of for insufficiency of labour was of the ordinary description of field work, moulding and cleaning and by no means foul. Mr Cooper, on Wednesday last, threatened the people with his displeasure in the event of their refusing to obey his lawful directions, and read the law to them. This was when he substituted the nine hour system for the eight, under the governor's directions, and told them they must be ready at sunrise and be at work at the second shell blow. The people have made only four hogsheads a week lately, and formerly they made one week six and another week seven, and at least averaged six a week before Harris and Palmer visited the estate; witness produced to Mr Cooper the agreement entered into by the people with Special Justice Jones, by which they agreed to work from four in the morning until 8 o'clock in the evening in spells, on giving them their usual indulgences, namely two hogsheads of fish, three barrels of flour, and a tierce of rice, to be distributed among them, with herrings every fortnight, and an extra supply of clothing over the Vestry allowance, which agreement they have broken, and will not grind more than five pans; as soon as that is done they draw off. Mr Cooper has insisted on the fulfilment of their engagement, but they are so very insubordinate that they pay no attention to his orders. They will not turn out to put the mill about before broad day light; the cattle are neglected and the estate is in great disorder. This morning they were worse than ever, bidding witness defiance, laughing and hissing at him and the bookkeepers, telling them they had better leave the estate softly as they would no longer obey

orders given them by him and bookkeepers, as they, the white people, can be of no further use to the estate – they told Mr Cooper that they would not be governed by a brown Magistrate.

Question by Dr Palmer – On what terms have you been with the people?

Answer – I have as well as others had great cause of complaint, and particularly of late, and especially during the last two months; and I was never told by the magistrates that my complaints were ill-grounded. I have not brought forward one half the complaint entered on the black book. I never look for complaints, but I conceive it my duty to see the Estate's work properly performed by the people. I never threatened to break the Constable and get him flogged; has told him that he might have done so for the offences he had committed, but never threatened to do so; and never attended to any evidence he gave to the Special Justices Palmer and Harris; his allowance of rum and sugar was stopped for connivance at bad work, disobedience of orders, and neglect of duty, and I informed him of those reasons for stopping his allowances; he being head Constable, I expected better conduct from him, than the others. Dr Palmer told the people that for any distance above a mile, the people had to go to the field, they must include the time in their working hours. The Estate did not allow water carriers as the property abounded in ponds, and the people never required any.

Dr Palmer put in, as usual, the minutes, taken by himself, when he dismissed the charge of insufficiency of work. Mr Hylton requested that the objection he now urged against the reception of that evidence be taken down.

Mr Hill and Mr Walsh urged its reception. Mr Hylton requested that this objection be taken down in writing, to which the Commissioners agreed, with the exception of Mr Walsh.

Mr Hylton then wrote his objections, to the effect, that Dr Palmer or any other person had no legal right to use his own notes in exculpation of his own acts, in which, opinion Mr Special Justice coincided. It was ultimately agreed that Mr Hylton's objection was good, Mr Walsh dissenting.

Mr Hilton [sic] then called the attention of the Commissioners to a most wanton act of oppression, as practised this day by Dr Palmer towards Mr Gyles. The parish having deemed it necessary to place a policeman on Recess for the protection of Mrs Gyles and child during the necessary absence of Mr Gyles at the court and he Dr Palmer being aware of the necessity of the policeman being on the property, he had without any cause, and with full knowledge of those facts ordered the withdrawal of the said policeman without any pretence whatever.

The Commissioners decided that they had power in this instance over Dr Palmer.

Dr Palmer then charged the policeman with having gone into the room of a woman who was sick and with bringing her down to the house.

The Policeman explained his conduct. He said that Recess plantation was in a state of insubordination, and that he was only fulfilling the orders he received from his superior officers, to keep the people in order.

Dr Palmer then served Mr Gyles with a warrant calling on him to appear at Rodney Hall, on Saturday next between the hours of 10 and 12 o'clock, to answer certain charges that will be then preferred against him by three of his apprentices, named Eliza Gyles, Charles Brown and another for wrong and injury done to their property on Monday last.

Adjourned at 5 o'clock.

September 30th.

The whole of this day has been occupied in the examination of witness as to the rebellious state of the apprentices in this parish, and confirming the allegations set forth in the charges made against Special Justices Harris and Palmer, and laid before his Excellency the Lieut- Governor – nothing of new feature of complaint transpired.

Saturday. Oct 1st.

This day the Commissioners were occupied as yesterday during which the hon G W Hamilton, Colonel Page, and many other respectable parishioners gave evidence. They stated, that the apprentices in this parish are in that state of insubordination, that in their opinion, the most serious consequences as to the lives and properties of the parishioners are to be apprehended, which they attributed to the misrule and partial administration of the abolition law, by Special Justices Harris and Palmer. Testimony was also adduced in support of the charge against Mr Harris, of having had illicit intercourse with the female apprentices at Mickleton. The imm..... Stipe did not attend, or we think his pale visage would have changed colour at the detail. He would not, however, waste his blushes on the air of Rodney Hall, and there can be little doubt it must be most agreeable, or at any rate less embarrassing to waste "them on the desert air." This cause, therefore, remains open for his defence at four o'clock.

Mr Hylton informed the board the parishioners felt quite satisfied that they had adduced sufficient proof to establish all the charges that had been brought forward, and they would therefore, not trouble the Commissioners with any fresh cases. So ended the proceedings of this day.

Monday, Oct 3.

This morning Dr Palmer commenced. He had summoned 62 apprentices to give evidence on his behalf. This step has been considered by the proprietors of the apprentices as intended to put them to great inconvenience and loss of labour. During the time they were under examination, prevarication and many inconsistencies occurred so much, as to attract the Commissioner's notice, and draw from them severe animadversions. Mr Hylton, the able advocate for the parish was absent on professional duty in Spanish Town; Mr Walsh exhibited a similar disposition to that he has manifested from the opening of the Commission; Special Justice Marlton continued firm and impartial. Adjourned at half past 5 o'clock.

Jamaica National Gallery – Sketches of Character, drawn from life and lithographed by Isaac Mendes Belisario – part three, published by A Duperly 1838 – Chimneysweeper



Proceedings under the Special Commission in St Thomas in the Vale – continued

Tuesday, Oct 4.

The Commissioners and Mr Hylton took their seats at 10 o'clock, but in consequence of the absence of Dr Palmer and Mr Hill, they did not proceed to business until 11. Mr Special Justice Rickett took his seat under the authority of his Excellency, as secretary to the Commission, Mr Hill being engaged on duty.

Mr Hylton complained on the part of the parish, of the great waste of public time, occasioned by Dr Palmer keeping the board waiting for him.

Previous to the examination of witnesses, Mr Hylton requested that the minutes of the evidence taken on the preceding day should be read, which being done, Mr Hylton objected to their being considered as part of the evidence, they being illegal, and of a nature that could not be received under the Commission. Dr Palmer in great anger, said that unless he was allowed to put in such evidence as he thought proper, he would retire and appeal to the Colonial Office, and that he considered that the parish wished to stifle enquiry. Mr Hylton said the witnesses whom Dr Palmer had called upon were as criminal as himself, and were parties concerned; and called upon the Special to bring forward evidence to show cause or give reasons, why or by what authority he altered his former sentences, and to disprove the charge of mal-administration of justice.

Mr Walsh coincided with Dr Palmer.

Mr Hylton called for the reading of the commission, by which he contended that the Commission were precluded from receiving evidence from parties who have themselves been favoured and screened from Justice after the commission of serious offences; and as a matter of course they would give such evidence as would benefit the Specials.

The Chairman intimated his determination to allow the Dr full scope as far as he could do so legally, but he would confine him to produce only such evidence as the Commissioners, by virtue of the powers in the Commission, were entitled to receive.

Dr Palmer then called Patrick Gale, an apprentice to Palm Estate.

Mr Hylton inquired for what purpose he called that man, he being one of those who stands charged with rebellious conduct on the evening of 10th August, when the apprentices threatened to make mince meat of the white people on Mr Gyles' property.

Mr Walsh said that he was desirous of hearing all the witnesses Dr Palmer wished to bring forward, and at the same time allow Mr Hylton's objections to be recorded.

The Chairman said he would allow the witness to be sworn, but would confine him to facts only.

Patrick Gale, an apprentice to Palm Estate, sworn – I come here to say what I go to Mr Gyles' for.

Question by Mr Geddes. – How do you know that you come for that purpose?

Answer – Because I never did any other bad action.

Question by Dr Palmer. – State to the gentleman what occurred on Recess, the evening the Palm people went up to Recess?

Answer – I was in my garden, I had my cutlass with me pointing some yam sticks; had on no shirt or hat; a little boy called out, cousin, there is murder on Recess; I immediately run out, locked my door, and ran up the road with my cutlass in my hand; I heard great bawling, and heard them say, they are murdering the magistrate; ran up to Mr Gyles's place; some Palm people ran before; and some behind; met some police coming down; I stood on one side and spoke to them; Dr Palmer then came up, and said to me, down with your arms, sir! on which I turned my cutlass point, and kept close to Dr Palmer's horse-tail; I saw Palm estate bookkeeper with a rule in his hand; he was riding a mule; bookkeeper said if any of the people attempted to RISE, he would knock down 20 black – with one blow, like black birds; Dr Palmer told the people to be still and quiet; I followed Dr Palmer to the cross roads; he told me to tell Mr Gyles, he could not come up to Recess the next day, and the Doctor then rode off; after I saw the magistrate safe, I went home.

Question by Dr Palmer. – How many of the Palm people had cutlasses that day in their hands?

Answer. – Can't remember – but I had one.

Question by Mr Walsh. – Had any other person with you a cutlass in his hand?

Answer. – I can't remember anything about it.

Question by Dr Palmer. – Were you present when Mr Gyles spoke to Mr Anderson about the magistrates?

Answer. – Yes I was! He asked at what time he drew off his people; heard Mr G say, "tell the magistrate it will not be two weeks before he will have a rope round his neck," and told him to repeat the same to the people of Recess, and say that none of the people in St Mary's or any where else, had the 1st of August, except where Dr Palmer gave it them; I then went away and heard no more.

Question by Dr Palmer. – Do you know the reason the people's hoes were taken from them?

Answer. – Yes, because we go to Byndloss to dig cane holes.

Question by Dr Palmer. – What is the reason the people will not work on the Estate in their own time?

Answer. – Because Busha is stingy to pay us.

Question by Dr Palmer. – Had you any dispute with Busha?

Answer. – Yes! but it was afterwards, refused to work on the property, and went where I pleased to get more money.

Question by Dr Palmer. – Did you tell Busha so?

Answer. – Yes, I did.

Question by Dr Palmer. – How many hoes had you when the hoes were taken from the people?

Answer. – I had one of the estate's and two of my own.

Question by Dr Palmer. – Was any of the people kept from their ground for want of hoes?

Answer. – Can't say, many of the people have two hoes.

Question by Mr Walsh. – At the time Mr Gyles spoke about the rope for the magistrate's neck was it before the row or after?

Answer. – It was before; though Mr Gyles was in earnest, as he was vexed and ground his teeth.

Cross-examined by Mr Hylton. – Did you bring Jemmy Anderson, McLean, Brown, and James McLean?

Answer. – Yes they are here.

Question by Mr Hylton. – were they with you the evening of the 10th of August?

Answer. – Yes I remember it now, I did not remember it before; don't know if they had cutlasses.

Question. – What were you doing when Dr Palmer told you to put down your cutlass?

Answer. – Nothing. I had the point to the ground.

Question. – How many hoe sticks had you?

Answer. – Three sticks. I had as many hoes.

Question. – Did the Overseer employ you to dig cane holes during shell blow?

Answer. – Yes, I applied to him and he paid 5d for every ten holes dug; sometimes he gives us rum and sugar.

Thomas McLean, sworn – I am an apprentice on Palm Estate: remembers the evening the Palm people heard the magistrate was about to be murdered on Recess; on that occasion saw some people belonging to Palm take their cutlasses and run up to Recess; witness followed them, and on his way up met the magistrate, who inquired where the people were going to, and they (the people) said we heard they were going to murder you massa magistrate; they said yes, they wanted to raise upon us, and Dr Palmer's servant shewed a spot on his hat, and said, this is the place where Mr Gyles intended to have struck Dr Palmer's head; Mr Harris then said, yes, they have raised upon us, and we are lucky to have got away from them; the Palm people said we are coming up to your assistance; witness did not hear any one say we will mince them up; never heard the people abuse Mr McDonald, the bookkeeper, in the field, except when he troubles them; means when he orders them to do any thing; means by when he troubles them when he goes through the rows where they are at work and picks their mouths; means by picking there mouths finding fault with them; sometimes he will take away a water cocoanut from them; don't know of any instance of bookkeeper finding fault without cause; never quarrels with witness; only quarrels with women when they neglect their rows; sometimes he calls them back to make good their work; sometimes they will come back sometimes they will not. (Here some warm discussion took place between Mr Hylton and the Secretary of the Commissioners in consequence of the latter gentleman not putting down the words of witnesses, to which he replied, that he was not bound to put down the precise words but their import, and added that he was no Secretary to Mr Hylton, but to the Commissioners.) Witness heard bookkeeper once call a woman named Cecelia a b---, for throwing her hoe on busha's steps, and she called him in return a son of a b---; busha never uses such expressions, only bookkeeper; never heard him but once use the word to any of the women; witness has not spoken to any of the people about the row at Mr Gyles since the evening it took place.

Dr Palmer put a question to the witness about the state of his grounds, when he was interrupted by Mr Hylton, who asked for what purpose such questions were put, as they could not possibly form any part of the duties laid down in the Commission which was simply to inquire into the manner that the abolition law was carried into effect by Messrs Palmer and Harris, and the object of Dr Palmer in putting irrelative questions was, for the purpose of harassing parishioners, and detaining the apprentices at Rodney Hall, to the great injury of their properties. Mr H again pressed on the Commissioners to refer to the words of the

Commission, which being done, the worthy chairman asked Dr P what line of defence he wished to adopt as he could not permit him to go into matters, unconnected with the subject for which they were then assembled; in those opinions Mr Stewart and Mr Marlton coincided. Mr Walsh observed that for his part he wished Dr Palmer to have the full power to call such witnesses, and put such questions to them, as he thought proper, as Dr P was the best judge as to thedency of the questions. The chairman again observed, he was anxious as any of the gentlemen at that board to ... Dr Palmer every fair opportunity of exculpating himself ... he would confine him in the charge against him, and the ex.... to which they were entertained. He could not on any account permit him to go into the circumstances, which has reference to a period, antecedent to Dr Palmer and Harris being appointed to the parish. Mr Walsh again signified his dissent to the chairman's opinion. Dr Palmer replied by saying "I care little as to the determination the Commissioners may arrive at, as I will appeal to the Colonial office." Mr Hylton pointed out to the Commissioners the great evil that would result if Dr P was permitted to continue that line of defence by examining witnesses on matters unconnected with the present investigation, as he Mr H would be compelled to call witnesses in rebutter, and the Lord only knows when the Commissioners would conclude their labours. Mr H then proposed to the doctor to allow the matter to rest where it is, and to dissolve the commission, and urged him to take into consideration the length of time it has already occupied their attention, and the great inconvenience to which it put many of the parishioners, who were compelled to be in attendance there, and whose business, as jurors and otherwise, required them to be in the Grand Court. He urged the necessity, at all events, of an adjournment until the Grand Court should terminate. – The chairman, Mr Stewart, and Mr Marlton, signified their willingness to comply, but Mr Walsh stoutly objected, and observed, that he would daily sit there and hold the Court alone; when, after a long, desultory, and uninteresting argument, it was agreed to adjourn. Mr Hylton shewed the Commissioners the Despatch newspaper, and called their attention good humouredly to the report therein, of the proceedings at Rodney Hall, as also to the editorial in that paper of Saturday last. Mr H stated that it was any thing but a report, the Commissioners looked at it, and the matter ended in a laugh. It being half past four o'clock, the further inquiry and Dr Palmer's defence, were postponed until the Monday after the conclusion to the sitting of the present Grand Court, when the Commissioners will resume their labours at Rodney Hall at 10 o'clock A M. – *Constitutional Advocate*.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 15 Oct 1836, page PS 17 – The State of the Island – extract

... As the Special Justices are a paid body; as that body was formed for a specific purpose, and it was not the intention of Government to lose one single inch of her Colonial possessions, it is the imperative duty of all, who hold Special Commissions to fall in with the views of the people, who have given so much money for the annihilation of a system they regarded with regret, and for the substitution of one, which they considered more congenial, more reconcilable with the British character. If, therefore, the British people be generous; if the Government consider that one fractional part of an inch of British territory should not be abandoned, it becomes the duty of those specially set apart for the work to duly regard the intentions of the Government, which has made so liberal a provision for the services they are called upon to perform. We do not mean to assert that the Special Magistrates have neglected or omitted their duty, but we do say, there are exceptions to the general body. We would not allude either to Dr Palmer or Mr Harris, because we feel assured that Sir Lionel Smith, will not only suspend them, but represent their conduct in a manner as to induce the Government to see the Marquis of Sligo was not wrong in suspending the former person from the Special Commission. That the Marquis of Sligo was misinformed on several topics we readily admit, but that he was a friend of the colony we will maintain – were he otherwise, he would have allowed Dr Palmer to do just what he pleased without interrogation or without censure. The Marquis dismissed the offender, but the latter by his clerical attainments, not only nullified the charges brought against him, but in consequence of his sophistry obtained the re-appointment unfortunately repugnant to the peace and tranquillity of St Thomas in the Vale. As regards poor Harris, he was but a tool, and such we pardon him, though he should no longer bear the symbols of office, viz the red cuff and collar.

Below – extracts from Dr A L Palmer's 'account of the transactions which led to his 'removal from the office of Special Justice in Jamaica' towards the end of 1836.

British Library – Official Correspondence, relative to the Removal from the Special Magistracy of A L Palmer, late Special Justice in Jamaica (by Dr A L Palmer), published 1837 – page 3-14 – extracts

It has been earnestly suggested to me by several of my friends, that I ought, in justice to myself, and to the cause with which I have become identified, to lay before the public some detailed account of the peculiar transactions which led to and accompanied my removal from the office of Special Justice in Jamaica.

No II.

Jamaica, The King's House, October 24, 1836.

Sir, – The Commission appointed to investigate and report on certain complaints of the proprietors in Saint-Thomas-in-the-Vale, having closed their proceedings, it is made to appear to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, that your perverse conduct in the administration of the law, between master and apprentice, has been the cause of great insubordination in that district, and has retarded its due cultivation.

2. His Excellency, under a sense of duty to the greatest interests committed to his charge, is thus compelled to the resolution, that your continuation in the commission of a Special Magistrate is utterly incompatible with the tranquillity of the Island, and the well working of the apprenticeship system, as established by its laws: and he is therefore under the necessity of suspending you, in the King's name, from active duty, till his Majesty's pleasure is made known.

3. In order to allay the excitement still prevailing among the apprentices in Saint-Thomas-in-the-Vale, his Excellency is desirous you should remove your residence from that parish to Kingston, where he will order that you shall receive your salary as a magistrate whose conduct is under reference to superior authority.

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your humble servant, C H Darling.

Dr Palmer.

No III.

Kingston, Nov 20, 1836.

Sir, – After mature deliberation on the peculiar posture of my affairs, I have come to the conclusion, that it is absolutely necessary that I should proceed in person to the Colonial Office, for the purpose of bringing my case, in all its bearings, under the immediate cognizance of his Majesty's Government.

This step I conceive the more necessary, as several questions, involving the primary principles of the Abolition Act, have arisen, and in some measure been made dependant on the decision of my individual case.

I am, therefore, to solicit from his Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor, leave of absence from the Island, for the space of four or five months.

As my absence, strictly speaking, is on duty, and as His Excellency had already decided that I should remain on pay, although suspended from actual service in the Island, until His Majesty's pleasure should be made known, I am desirous of ascertaining if my interests in this respect will be affected by my temporary absence, on the specific errand above-mentioned: – in fact, whether His Excellency will feel himself authorised in continuing the payment of my stipend during such absence, or rather, until the final decision of the Secretary of State be communicated to his Excellency.

I have the honour, &c &c (Signed) A L Palmer.

C H Darling, Esq

No IV.

The King's House, November 21, 1836.

Sir, – I am desired by the Lieutenant-Governor, to acquaint you, in reply to your letter of yesterday's date, that it would be contrary to the practice of the service to permit you to proceed to England, retaining your salary as a Special Magistrate; nor will His Excellency recognise you as still on the list of Magistrates, on any other condition than those in my letter of the 24th October last.

I am, Sir, Your obedient servant, C H Darling, *Secretary.*

Dr A L Palmer.

No V.

Kingston, 23rd November, 1836.

Sir, – I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 21st November (No 271), intimating that His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, considers it would be contrary to the rules of the service to permit me to remain on salary, in the event of my proceeding to England – and at the same time, virtually withholding the leave of absence, for which I had specifically made application.

Under all the circumstances of my case however, notwithstanding the inconvenience, disadvantage, and even hazard, to my personal interests, which may attend my pursuing the course I originally proposed, after being denied the usual official sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor, I still feel bound to persevere in that course, and must leave it to the judgement of His Excellency to adopt what steps may be considered necessary in consequence of my absence – at the same time, letting it be distinctly understood, that I leave my post here, for the specific purpose of proceeding in person to the Colonial Office, in order to afford the fullest explanation of my conduct in the administration of the Abolition Law, which has been so seriously impugned by His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor.

I must, however, request that the necessary order may be lodged as early as convenient, with the Deputy-Commissary-General, for the payment of the arrears of stipend, from the 1st of October, up to the present time.

I have the honour, &c &c &c (Signed) A L Palmer, *Special Justice*.

C H Darling, Esq.

No VI.

The King's House, 25th November, 1836.

Sir, – I have laid before the Lieutenant-Governor your letter of the 23rd inst, and am directed to acquaint you in reply, that as you have announced your intention of proceeding to England in defiance of the Lieutenant-Governor's refusal to grant you leave of absence; and in violation of the condition upon which you were to receive pay while under suspension, namely, a removal of residence from St Thomas-in-the-Vale to Kingston, His Excellency must consider you as having forfeited that indulgence; – and you will now understand, that your pay as a Special Magistrate ceased from the 24th ultimo the date of your suspension.

2. The pay due to you, from the commencement of the quarter up to the 24th ult cannot be issued until the 31st of December, unless you resign all pretensions to holding the Special Commission, when it will of course, be issued to you, as in all other cases of resignation or dismissal.

I am Sir, Your obedient servant, C H Darling, *Secretary*.

Dr Palmer

On 20 January 1837, after arriving in England, Dr A L Palmer wrote to Lord Glenelg, Secretary of State for the Colonies. Sir George Grey replied on 8 February saying that on 16 January a despatch had been sent to the Governor of Jamaica, in which Lord Glenelg had confirmed Dr Palmer's suspension from the office of Special Magistrate.

In 1836 the Earl of Harewood received a proposal from James Swaby to purchase Williamsfield and Nightingale Grove in St Dorothy – the Earl of Harewood's two estates in Jamaica.

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/adv_search/ – *Lascelles West Indies – movinghere.org.uk* – letter, dated Harewood House, 5 November 1836, from the Earl of Harewood to James Swaby.

Sir

I am now enabled to give you a decided reply to your proposal to purchase my Estates in Jamaica. In consequence of your application to me to sell Nightingale Grove in particular; I mentioned that I would request Mr Hamilton to value the two Estates, Williamsfield, and Nightingale Grove; and as you expressed yourself quite satisfied with that reference, I send you the valuation of each Estate, as received from Mr Hamilton, and which you will consider the price required; and also that immediate payment is to be made in money. The valuation includes every thing belonging to the Estates, and I ought to mention that the value of the Apprentices is calculated upon four years.

For Williamsfield, £33,704. 0. 0. Currency or £24,074. 5. 8. Sterling.

For Nightingale Grove, £15,326 0. 0. Currency or £10,947. 2. 10. Sterling.

If you chose to purchase the two Estates at Mr Hamilton's valuation, and upon the condition stated, or Nightingale Grove separately, I shall be ready to treat with you.

I have the honor to be Sir Your Obedient Servt. Harewood

James Swaby purchased Nightingale Grove, but not Williamsfield.

My photo – Jamaica National Gallery – Isaac Mendez Belisario – c. 1840 – Cocoa Walk, ? St Dorothy – detail



In November 1836 Edward's apprentice Henry Paterson was one of three apprentices in St Thomas in the Vale who purchased his apprenticeship – purchased his freedom.

www.jstor.org/stable/40652579?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents – *The Apprenticeship Period in Jamaica, 1834-1838*, by D G Hall, published 1953 – extract

The price which the apprentice had to pay [to purchase his/her apprenticeship] was determined by two Stipendiary Magistrates and one local Justice of the Peace, the three sitting together. The process of valuation was as follows: the evidence of interested parties was given on their estimates of the annual value to the estate of the labour of the apprentice concerned. The Magistrates and the Justices then, in view of the evidence, decided upon what they thought was a fair estimate of the annual value. One third of this amount was deducted for possible contingencies, such as the loss of labour through death or ill-health, and the remainder was multiplied by the number of years still due to be served by the apprentice. The trouble was that the magistrates and justices could seldom agree on what was a fair estimate of the apprentice's annual work, and there were no set rule by which a figure should be reached . . .

Below – http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=9FESAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *Parliamentary Papers – Accounts and Papers – Slavery – Session 15 November 1837 to 16 August 1838 – published 1838* – Return of Valuations from the 1st of November 1836 to the 31st of July 1837 inclusive – page 94 – St Thomas in the Vale

Arrow points to 1836 – 11 Nov – Henry Paterson – Master, Edward Clouston – Sum Paid £63

| DATE of Valuation. | N A M E of the Apprentice. | Sex, Class, and Trade of the Apprentice. | Name of the Estate, or of the Master. | Sum Paid. | Sum Unpaid. | Remarks, if uncompleted. |
|---|----------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---|
| PARISH OF ST. THOMAS-IN-THE-VALE, WINDWARD DISTRICT: | | | | | | |
| 1836: | | | | | | |
| 11 Nov. | Henry Paterson | male, pr. un. | Edward Clouston | 63 - - | ← | |
| 25 — | Robert Shand | m., n-p., bothousem. | Bybrook estate | - - - | 40 - - | |
| 3 Dec. | Mary Ann Birkett | female, pr. ap. | Alex. Hunter | - - - | 46 15 - | |
| 1837: | | | | | | |
| 17 Feb. | Alex. McDonald | male, pr. ap., carp' | Hoghole | - - - | 59 - - | |
| — | Ayeh. Sutherland | male, non-pr. | ditto | 20 - - | | |
| 11 March | Alexander Green | male, pr. ap. | Bybrook | 51 - - | | |
| 21 April | James Reid | male, pr. un. | John Munro | - - - | - - - | - - Associate justices insisting on too high a sum. |
| — | William Dobney | male, pr. ap., carp' | Springfield | 50 - - | | |
| — | Sarah Dobney | female, non-pr. | ditto | 16 13 4 | | |
| — | Frances James | ditto | Mount Mathews | 16 13 4 | | |
| — | Rosa Richards | ditto | Mount Industry | - - - | - - - | - - Refused to deduct one-third. |
| 19 May | Phillis Francis | female, pr. ap. | Mount Concord | 53 5 9 | | |
| TOTAL - £. | | | | 270 12 5 | 145 15 - | R. S. Cooper, Sp. Magistrate. |

Edward's crop account for the year 1836 includes – By Robt H Walsh for Hire of Henry Patterson - £23 – and – By the purchase of Henry Pattersons apprenticeship - £63

My photo – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 79, Fol 129 – Edward Clouston, St Thomas in the Vale – Entered Island Secretary's Office 25 Mar 1837 – crop account for year 1836 – sworn on 8 March 1837 by William Holloway Clarke, Attorney, before Charles H McDermott

| | | | | |
|--|---|-----|----|---|
| By civil shade for proportion of cane holes day & day Labour | £ | 201 | 5 | 6 |
| By the Rec ^d John Clarke for day Labour | | 10 | 4 | 3 |
| By Colin McHenry for day Labour | | 9 | 18 | 9 |
| By W. H. Clarke for day Labour £6.2.6 | | | | |
| “ for the hire of Susan | | 16 | 2 | 0 |
| By Robt H Walsh for hire of Henry Patterson | ← | 22 | “ | “ |
| By R. Martin for hire of Thomas Marshall | | 15 | 13 | 4 |
| By the hire of Thomas Marshall Percy Ann Marshall | | 7 | 15 | “ |

By the Sale of Lamb Smith
 By the Sale of Lamb Beckford
 By the purchase of Henry Patterson's apprenticeship
 By 1st Shingles Sold

| | | |
|-------|----|-----|
| 1 | 15 | . |
| 9 | 10 | . |
| 20 | . | . |
| 63 | . | . |
| 3 | | |
| <hr/> | | |
| £ | 87 | 9.8 |

Jamaica A. C.
 I Tho. J. Vale

I William Hollman Black attorney for Edward
 Johnston Esquire do swear that the above is a just and true account of
 all the Rents Profits and proceeds of the said Estate under my care and
 direction from 31 day of December 1835 to the 31 day of December 1836
 So help me God
 William H. Clarke

Shown before us
 8th day of March 1837
 Charles A. M. Dermott

In 1836 Williamsfield sugar crop continued to decline.

My photos – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 79, Fol 44 – Williamsfield Estate, St
 Thomas in the Vale – Entered Island Secretary's Office 20 Mar 1837 – in the possession of Geo Wm
 Hamilton, Attorney – crop account for year 1836 – sworn on 28 February 1837 by William Allanach
 before Peter Blackburn

| Disposal | | Sugar | | Sticks | |
|-------------------------------------|--|-------|----|--------|-------|
| | | Mos | bs | Pw. | ball? |
| Shipped on Board the Gallagh Castle | | 30 | . | 20 | |
| " " Planet | | 50 | . | 15 | |
| " " Duke of Bronte | | 10 | " | . | |
| " " Johnston | | " | " | 5 | |
| " " Simon Taylor | | 11 | " | " | |
| Total Shipments | | 111 | " | 40 | |
| Sold in Kingston | | 7 | " | " | |

| | | | |
|--|-------|------|-----|
| " Robert Fage Esq. | 750 | " | 117 |
| " Newport & Stillwell Plantations | 1775 | " | 102 |
| " Hopewell " | 700 | " | 100 |
| " Healthfull Hill " | " | " | 51 |
| " D Shoreliff Esq. | 300 | " | 100 |
| " John Seale Esq. | 200 | " | 40 |
| " Rich ^d H. Sharpe Esq. | " | " | 56 |
| " Hammonds Esq. | " | " | 40 |
| " Peter Blackburn Esq. | " | " | 75 |
| " R M White Esq. | 150 | " | " |
| " Nick ^d Daly Esq. | 100 | " | " |
| " Am Grant Esq. | 50 | " | " |
| | 1075 | 4025 | 40 |
| | | | 151 |
| 1836 | | | |
| May 3 ^d sold to Ward or Park per R. H. Old Stock @ 25.00 | 75.00 | -0 | |
| Aug ^r 16 By Henry Button purchased the Remainder of the stock - 25.00 | 25.00 | 0.00 | |

| | | |
|---|-----------------|------|
| " sold to Singer Hall & head of old Stock @ 25.00 | 50.00 | 0.00 |
| " T. C. 294 Hrs. 139 lbs & 159 lbs Copper | 11.17.6 | |
| | <u>169.17.6</u> | |
| <p>Samuel H.</p> <p>I W^m Munnick do swear that the above is a just & true account of all the Rents profits produce & proceeds of Williamsfield Estate for the year ending 31 December one thousand eight hundred and thirty six, excepting what has been used in exp^s and reserved for the use of the Estate to the best of my knowledge and belief.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">So help me God</p> <p style="text-align: right;">William Munnick</p> <p>Sworn before me this 25th day of Feb^y 1837.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">J. Blackburn</p> | | |

My photos, March 2007 – Williamsfield – site of the old slave village



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
 Harewood – Nelson & Adam, London, 30 April 1837 – Crop 1836 – Jamaica – Williamsfield – and
 Nightingale Grove – the last of the Earl of Harewood's crop accounts for Nightingale Grove

1837
 London 30 April

Abstract of the Produce of the Estates in
 the West Indies belonging to the Earl of
 Harewood
 Belonging to the late Partnership of
 Lascelles & Maxwell

Williamsfield Estate

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Proceeds of 101 M ^{ts} of Sugar | 2309.18.1 |
| 40 Tunch ^{ts} of Rum | 623.12.3 |
| deduct | 2933.10.4 |
| Insurances £77.15 „ Stores £188.10.1 | |
| Commission Postage & Stamps £24.6.1 | 283.17.7 |
| | 2649.12.9 |

Nightingale Grove Estate

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Proceeds of 36 M ^{ts} of Sugar | 914.13.10 |
| 12 Tunch ^{ts} of Rum | 197.8.9 |
| deduct | 1112.2.7 |
| Insurances £28.1.5 „ Stores £69.2.7 | |
| Commission Postage & Stamps £11.18.4 | |
| Years Rent of Crews Penn 1125 | 234.2.4 |
| deduct | 878.0.3 |
| | 3527.13.0 |
| Attornies Bills | 15.0.0 |
| Commission thereon to a Power of Attorney | 135.6.1 |
| | 573.5.6 |
| | 2014.7.6 |

My photos, December 2009 – Williamsfield





On 1 July 1837 Edward Coulston (? Clouston) owned shares in the London and Birmingham Railway Company.

<http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk/> – *Parliamentary Papers* – Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee on the London and Birmingham Bill – Ordered, by the House of Commons to be printed, 2 May 1839

Appendix, No. 32 – A List of the Proprietors of the £100 Shares of the Company on the 1st of July 1837, and the Number of £25 Shares which were allotted to them respectively, under the Powers of the Act of the First of Victoria – page 105 includes – Clouston, Charles – Coulston, Edward – Coulston, Robert

| NAME. | RESIDENCE. | DESCRIPTION. | £. 100. | £. 25. |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------|---------|--------|
| Chance, Henry - | Lincoln's-inn - | barrister - | 10 | 10 |
| Chance, William - | Birmingham - | esquire - | 10 | 10 |
| Chapman, John - | Whitby - | ditto - | 50 | 50 |
| Charlton, Robert - | Bristol - | gentleman - | 10 | 10 |
| Chesworth, Mary - | Liverpool - | spinster - | 2 | 2 |
| Chichester, William - | Ledbury - | esquire - | 6 | 6 |
| Chiles, George - | Pembroke - | gentleman - | 5 | 5 |
| Chippendall, John - | Manchester - | calico-printer - | 100 | 100 |
| Chorley, Phoebe - | Liverpool - | spinster - | 10 | 10 |
| Chorley, Susannah H. - | Ditto - | ditto - | 4 | 4 |
| Christian, Thomas - | Ditto - | surgeon - | 8 | 8 |
| Churchill, Joseph - | Nottingham - | gentleman - | 5 | 5 |
| Clarke, John - | Keyworth - | ditto - | 1 | 1 |
| Clay, Castell William - | Liverpool - | ditto - | 6 | 6 |
| Clegg, Charles - | Manchester - | timber merchant - | 2 | 2 |
| Clegg, Samuel Joseph - | Liverpool - | merchant - | 10 | 10 |
| Clibborn, Barclay - | Clonmel - | millar - | 5 | 5 |
| Clibbon, John Barclay - | Ditto - | ditto - | 5 | 5 |
| Clint, John - | Liverpool - | merchant - | 10 | 10 |
| Close, John Forbes - | Morn Rectory, Kilkall - | clerk - | 5 | 5 |
| Clough, Robert - | Liverpool - | excise officer - | 5 | 5 |
| Clough, Robert - | Manchester - | ironmonger - | 10 | 10 |
| Clowes, Mary, and Rachel Young. | Liverpool - | - - - - | 5 | 5 |
| Clouston, Charles - | Sandwich, Stromness - | clerk - | 5 | 5 |
| Coulston, Edward - | Jamaica - | esquire - | 2 | 2 |
| Coulston, Robert - | Chester - | ditto - | 57 | 57 |
| Cobb, Timothy Rhodes - | Banbury - | esquire - | 10 | 10 |
| Cockshott, James - | Liverpool - | merchant - | 40 | 40 |
| Cockshott, Eliz., wife of J. Cockshott, Livl, merchant. | - - - - | - - - - | 20 | 20 |
| Coglan, Thomas - | Liverpool - | broker - | 40 | 40 |
| Colclough, Cæsar - | Wexford - | esquire - | 10 | 10 |
| Collett, William Rickford - | St. James's-street - | ditto - | 10 | 10 |
| Colquitt, Susan - | Greenbank, Liverpool - | spinster - | 1 | 1 |

Above – ‘Clouston, Charles, Sandwich, Stromness, clerk’ was undoubtedly Edward’s brother, Rev Charles Clouston. I think it is possible that ‘Coulston, Robert’ was Edward’s brother Robert Clouston who is known to have invested in the railways – and I think that ‘Coulston, Edward, Jamaica’ was probably Edward, and, if I am correct, it appears that he bought shares in the London and Birmingham Railway Company before he left Jamaica in 1833.

The Act – “An Act for making a Railway from London to Birmingham” – authorising the London and Birmingham Railway Company to build the railway, was passed by Parliament in 1833.

King William IV (Duke of Clarence when he presented St Thomas in the Vale Troop of Horse with a banner – see Chapter 17), died on 20 June 1837. Official intelligence of his death arrived in Jamaica on 9 August.

www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – *1845 Jamaica Almanac – Historical and Remarkable Events – 1837*

Aug. 9 – The Steamer City of Kingston arrived, bringing official intelligence of the death of his Most Gracious Majesty William the Fourth, which event took place on the 20th of June, and the proclamation of the Princess Alexandrina Victoria as Queen on the 21st.

Aug. 11 – The ceremony of proclaiming her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria took place in Spanish-Town.

Aug. 29 – The House of Assembly was dissolved this day in consequence of the demise of the King, and a new House commenced on the 24th Oct.

Colin Mackenzie (co-attorney with Edward to Major General William Nedham and Aeneas Barkly – see Chapter 20) died in Jamaica on 1 December 1837 aged 35.

www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/b/barcor2.htm – *Annotations to Lawrence-Archer's Monumental Inscriptions of the British West Indies, by Frank Cundall and Noel B Livingstone – Spanish Town Cathedral Churchyard – No. 225*

Sacred to the Memory of Colin Mackenzie, Esquire, of Mountgerald [see map below], Ross Shire, North Britain, and of Spanish Town in this Island, who departed this life on the 1st December 1837 aged 35 years. The honourable conduct the kind disposition and the amiable manners which distinguished this gentleman through life endeared him to many friends in this Island who have erected this monument as a testimony of their regard and esteem.

www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/wills.htm – Colin Mackenzie of Mount Gerald, North Britain, and Spanish Town, Jamaica – Will, dated 13 May 1835, and Codicil, dated ... May 1835 – probate granted in Jamaica 7 July 1838 – and in London 16 January 1841 – extracts/summary

Executors – Bartholomew Abbot Williams, Alexander Geddes, Gilbert Shaw, Archibald Dick, and Simon Fraser Mackenzie (Colin's brother) – to lay out £200 Jamaica currency in erecting a comfortable house on that part or parcel of land purchased for Mary Ann Love from Hampshire, St Thomas in the Vale, or any other situation more agreeable to her – Executors to furnish such house in a decent and comfortable manner with such portions of my furniture as they shall deem proper

I bequeath to Mary Ann Love for her support and that of her children the amount which shall or may be paid or accrue due to me as for compensation money for the five following apprentices named . . . I also bequeath to Mary Ann Love all my wearing apparel and house linen of every description together with that part of my crockery and glassware purchased from Mr Tongue and also my two mules now at Goshen Pen in St Ann in addition to the stock she already has in her possession – it is my particular wish that none of my reputed children be sent to Scotland unless urged by my family but that after being educated in a manner suited to their mother's means it is my desire that they be placed with some decent Tradesmen to learn a trade where they may obtain their own livelihood.

To my friend Gilbert Shaw of Clarendon planter my silver watch – Executors – to distribute my books – among my particular friends viz Bartholomew Abbot Williams, Alexander Mc....., George William Hamilton, John Henderson, Alexander Geddes, Henry Nedham, Anthony Dempster, and the said Gilbert Shaw

To my brother Simon now in India – locket containing my beloved Mother's hair together with the diamond ring and amethyst seal with the most earnest request and entreaty that he may do all in his power Mount Gerald so that it may be handed down for many generations in the present family being one of the objects nearest my heart as it was also that of my beloved parents

To my most esteemed friend James Steele of London Esq I leave my Scotch snuff box of tartan pattern and only regret my inability to testify more substantially my regard for him – all the remainder of my trinkets I desire to be sent to my dear sister Sally to be distributed as marks of my regard and esteem among my sisters including herself and my brother and my much esteemed brother in law Archibald Dick

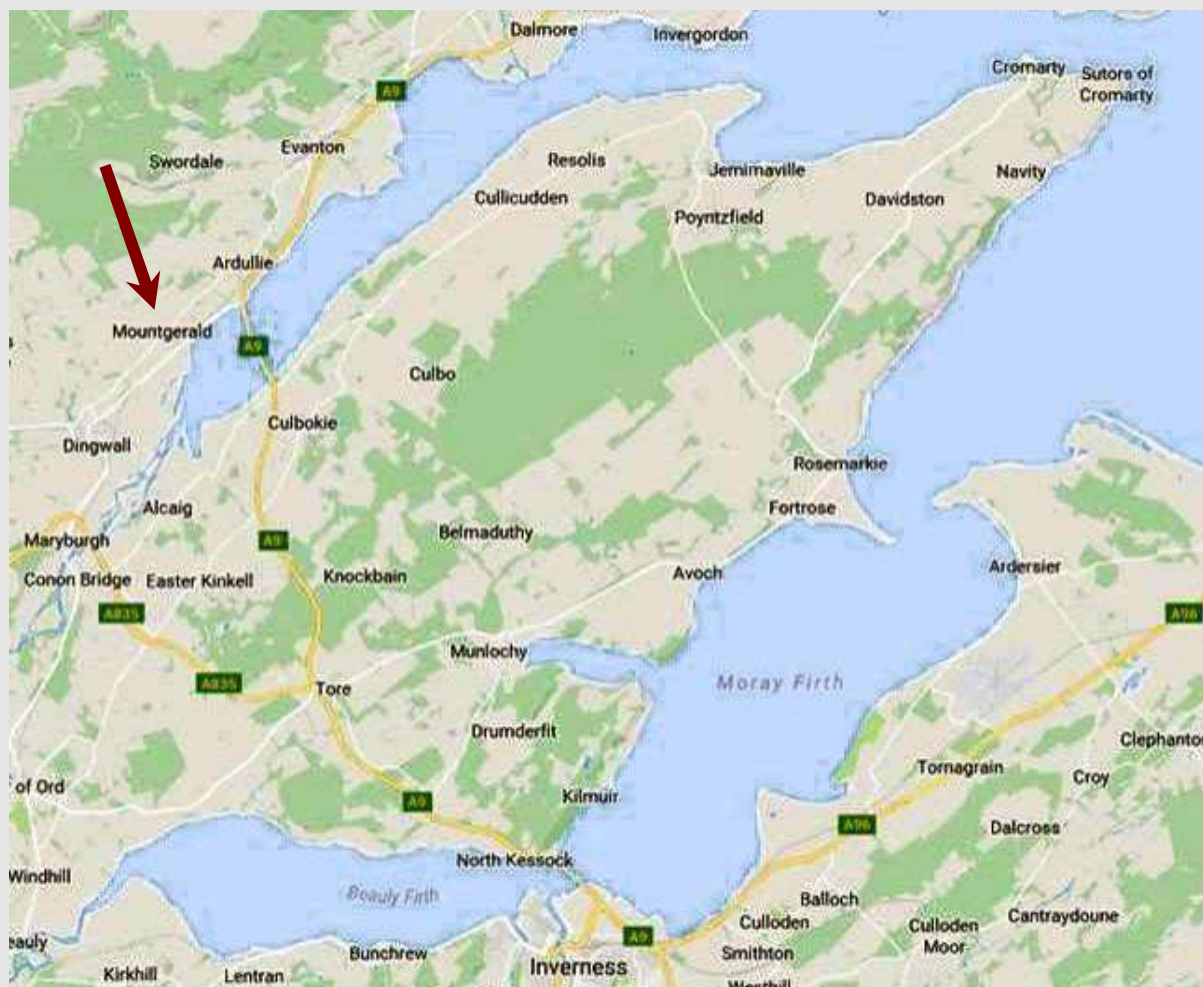
Rest, Residue and Remainder – remit to Archibald Dick to be divided equally amongst my sisters Sally and Jamima and my brother Simon – in particular I recommend to their kind consideration my faithful servant John Chisholm and my nurse – to the poor of the parishes of Kiltarn and Dingwall I bequeath £20 Sterling each and also the life sum towards promotion of the success of the Tain Academy but I declare that sum will depend on the state of my affairs which however at present I consider fully to meet them.

I am particularly desirous that my friends Messrs Davidsons, Barkly and Co should have some proof of my gratitude for all the favours which they have conferred on me I therefore take this occasion of assuring them that I have duly appreciated them and never lost sight of their interests intentionally

Witnesses – A Dempster, James Heighington, George G Grant

Codicil – I bequeath to my nephew and namesake Colin Dick son the late David Dick Esq

Google Maps – arrow points to Mountgerald, northwest of the Black Isle peninsula, northeast Scotland



Aeneas Barkly of Davidsons, Barkly and Co (mentioned above by Colin Mackenzie in his Will) died on 17 August 1836.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat 22 Oct 1836, page PS 24 – Died

Suddenly in London, on 17 August last, Aeneas Barkly, Esq of the firm of Davidsons, Barkly, & Co – extensively connected with this Island.

Aeneas Barkly's son Sir Henry Barkly was Governor of Jamaica from 1853 to 1856 – see – https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Barkly – his wife Elizabeth Helen, nee Timins was Lady Barkly who painted a view of Kingston and Port Royal – (now in the Jamaica National Gallery – see Chapter 9).

The Williamsfield crop account for the year 1837 was sworn by William Stephens.

My photos – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 80, Fol 199 – Williamsfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – Entered Island Secretary's Office 23 Mar 1838 – crop account for year 1837 – sworn on 21 March 1838 by William Stephens before Peter Blackburn

On Account of all the rents profits produce and proceeds of Williamsfield Estate in the Parish of St. Thomas in the Vale the property of the Right Honorable Lascelles Earl of Harewood for the year ending the 31st day of December One Thousand Eight hundred and Thirty seven

| <i>£</i> | <i>hs</i> | <i>ds</i> | <i>qs</i> |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| <i>Shipped on the Ship Thomas</i> | <i>30</i> | <i>10</i> | <i>1</i> |
| <i>" do Amity Hall</i> | <i>40</i> | <i>15</i> | <i>1</i> |
| <i>" do Henry Darden</i> | <i>40</i> | <i>18</i> | <i>1</i> |
| <i>" do Ida</i> | <i>16</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>1</i> |
| <i>do to Linger Hall plantation</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>100</i> | <i>"</i> |
| <i>" to Keywell Plantation</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>378</i> | <i>"</i> |

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| <i>do to Newport Lodge</i> | <i>350</i> | <i>350</i> | <i>1</i> |
| <i>" to Hillside plantation</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>40</i> |
| <i>" to West G. East</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>150</i> | <i>1</i> |
| <i>" to H. H. Harps</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>375</i> | <i>40</i> |

| | | | | |
|--|-----|------|----|-----|
| 1 to Mr. P. H. White | 1 | 100 | 1 | 1 |
| 1 to Samuel Hamman | 1 | 50 | 1 | 60 |
| 1 to Mr. H. Clarke | 1 | 1 | 1 | 40 |
| 1 to Mr. Taylor | 1 | 1 | 1 | 54 |
| 1 to Mr. Linnells | 1 | 1 | 1 | 40 |
| Sold in Kingston | 1 | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| Used & reserved for Estates use | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| | 128 | 2303 | 57 | 485 |
| Sold to Kendall plantation 1 Cow & 6 Old Steers | | | 40 | 1 |
| 1 to Blackman 3 Old Steers & Heifer & 6 7 | | | 25 | 1 |
| 1 to Mr. Llanach 8 head old Cattle for | | | 48 | 1 |
| <p> I am aware William Stephens do swear that in the above is set forth a just and true Account of all the rents profits produce and proceeds of Williamsfield Estate in the Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale the property of the Rt Hon. Lancelles Earl of Harewood for the year ending 21st day of December One thousand Eight hundred and thirty seven to help me God Wm Stephens sworn before me this 20th March 1838 J. P. Blackburn J. P. </p> | | | | |

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
 Harewood – Nelson & Adam, London, 30 April 1838 – Crop 1837 – Williamsfield

| | | | |
|---|------|----|----|
| Williamsfield Estate | | | |
| Proceeds of 110 M ^{rs} of Sugar | 2229 | 11 | 10 |
| 43. M ^{rs} Rum | 143 | 14 | 8 |
| Recovered of Underwriters | 143 | 5 | 7 |
| deduct | 3016 | 12 | 1 |
| Insurances 143. 8. 7 Stores 1244. 10. 11 | | | |
| M ^{rs} Bills for the Expenses of this Estate | | | |
| 1800. Commission postage & Stamps 136 4. 1 | 1174 | 3 | 7 |
| | 1842 | 8 | 6 |

Williamsfield



My photos, March 2007 – Williamsfield



Henry Lowndes had returned to Jamaica by 24 March 1838 – the day he swore Edward's crop account for the year 1837.

My photo – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 80, Fol 205 – Edward Clouston, St Thomas in the Vale – Entered Island Secretary's Office 24 Mar 1838 – crop account for year 1837 – sworn on 24 March 1838 by Henry Lowndes, one of the Attorneys, before Robert Fairweather

Account of the proceeds of the real Estate of Edward Clouston Esq in the Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale for 1837

Here due by claim before for one year *H.W.C.C.*

Memorandum this 24 day of March 1838 personally appeared before me Robert Fairweather one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas Henry Lowndes one of the Attorneys for Edward Clouston Esq. and upon the Holy Evangelists made oath that the Account above written is a true and just account of all the rents profits produce and proceeds of the real Estate of Edward Clouston in the Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale under his Care and direction as such Attorney in the year 1837 and ending 31st December last past *H. Lowndes*

sworn before me this 24th day of March 1838 Robt. Fairweather

Searching *Records of Crop Accounts* in Jamaica Archives, Edward's crop account for 1837 was the last of his crop accounts, and his 1835 Scholar's Cot crop account (see Chapter 21) was the only crop account for Scholar's Cot.

In *Records of Contracts* in the Jamaica Record Office, I found no conveyance of Scholar's Cot after it was conveyed to Edward in 1831 (see Chapter 18). Perhaps Edward gave Scholar's Cot to Eliza, but no conveyance to her was registered in the Island Secretary's Office, or perhaps no deed of conveyance was executed.

James Beckford Wildman in his evidence before the 1832 House of Commons' committee on the Extinction of Slavery said that it was 'a constant habit where white men have been living with a woman in this way, when they go home to give them a house or property of that kind'.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=pVoSAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – Report from the Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions: with Minutes of Evidence – ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 11 August 1832 – published 1833 – James Beckford Wildman, Esq's evidence – extracts

7743. Your estate is in the island of Jamaica? – Yes.

7744. Does it consist of one or more estates? – Three, Pepine, Salt Savannah, and Low Ground.

7745. You have visited those properties? – I have.
 7746. When did you last visit them? – I went out last in 1826, and was there two years and a half; I was out in 1825 also. I have been home about three years.
8134. Are you acquainted with the people of colour at all? – Yes.
 8135. Are they augmenting their wealth? – I think they are.
 8136. To a considerable extent? – to a considerable extent.
 8137. Do they acquire that wealth principally by their own exertions? – I should think not principally, more from legacies and gifts.
 8138. Do they acquire it more from legacies and gifts than the white people acquire it? Yes, I think they do, because it is a constant habit where men have been living with a woman in this way, when they go home to give them a house or property of that kind; a very large proportion of the property in the island is, I conceive, getting into the hands of people of colour from that cause.

My photos – Jamaica National Gallery – artist – dates – not noted



Robert Fairweather (see above Edward's 1837 crop account), Custos of St Mary's and a member of the House of Assembly, in his Will left three legacies of £50 each, and the rest of his property he left equally divided between his six Quadroon children and their mother, his Mulatto housekeeper.

www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/wills.htm – Will dated 25 August 1827 of Robert Fairweather, planter of St Mary's, Jamaica – probate granted, in Jamaica 20 August 1843, in London 12 March 1844 – extracts/summary

To my brother Geo. Fairweather and to each of my two sisters viz Elizabeth Fairweather and Jean Fairweather £50 sterling each to be paid in that part of Great Britain called Scotland – to my cousin Margaret Fairweather the daughter of Joan Fairweather of Arbroath in Scotland £50 sterling

Rest Residue and Remainder of my estate and property real and personal of whatever nation or fund or in any part of the world that I may be entitled to at the time of my death or afterwards including lands slaves houses etc. etc. etc. and everything also I leave to my reputed Quadroon children viz John, Robert, Ann, Alexander, Catherine, and William Fairweather, and my good housekeeper Catherine Allan their mother to be equally divided amongst them . . .

CHAPTER 23

1838 to 1847

In Edinburgh Edward marries Julia Gordon McLaren, nee Thin, 1838 — George William Hamilton marries in Jamaica — end of Apprenticeship — Crop Accounts for Williamsfield — summary Crop Accounts for Williamsfield and Mount Olive, 1817-1844 — Jamaica after 1838 — Henry apprenticed to George Traill, 1838 — Edward, Julia and Isabella in London, 1841 — George William Hamilton in London — death of the 2nd Earl of Harewood, 1841 — Edward in Edinburgh, 1843-1845 — Henry's Seaman's Register Ticket, 1845 — Edward subscriber to Newcastle and Berwick Railway Company — Railway Mania — Edward in Edinburgh, 1846-1847 — Henry Lowndes marries in Edinburgh, 1846 — Rev W G Burton dies in Jamaica, 1847

On 30 April 1838 (just over two years after Eliza died) Edward married Julia Gordon McLaren, nee Thin (see Chapter 1). At the time of their marriage they were both living in Edinburgh New Town at 27 Howe Street.

Google Maps – Street View – arrow points to dark blue door – 27 Howe Street



My photo, March 2013 – from the junction of Northumberland Street and Howe Street – looking north to St Stephen's Church – arrow points to 27 Howe Street (dark blue door hidden by bus shelter)



<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Church Registers – Marriages – Edinburgh – 1838 – Clouston – Banns proclaimed in St Stephen's Parish Church on 23 April – married on 30 April

Edinburgh 23rd April 1838.
(Proclaimed 22nd April 1838.)
Clouston Edward Clouston Esquire, late of Jamaica, residing
N^o 27 Horse Street, St Stephen's Parish, and M^{rs} Julia Gordon
Thin or M^{rs} Soren, residing same place and parish, daughter
of the late John Thin, Builder, and Widow of M^{rs} Henry
Surgon, have been three times proclaimed in order to
Marriage in the Parish Church of St Stephen's, and no
objections have been offered.
Married at Edinburgh 30th April 1838 by the Rev^d Dr David
Ritchie, one of the Ministers of St Andrew's Parish.

Above – by Revd Dr David Ritchie, one of the Ministers of St Andrew's Parish

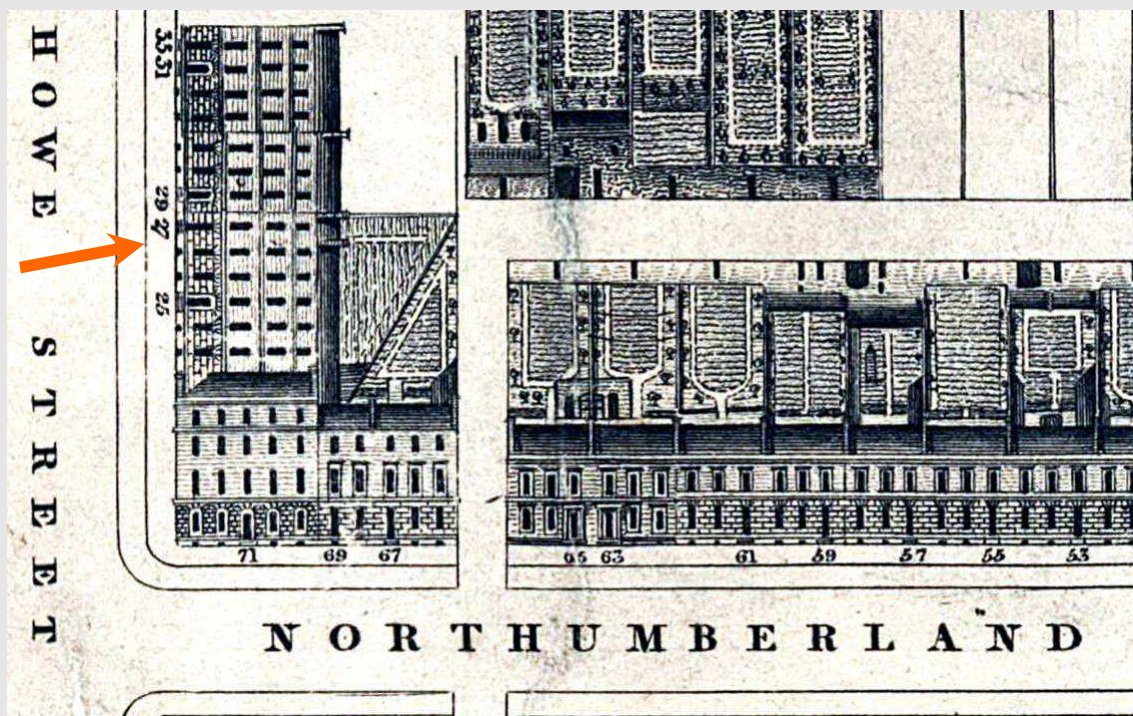
<https://art.nationalgalleries.org/search/artist/john-syme> – Thomas Hodgetts, after John Syme – no date –
Rev David Ritchie, Professor of Logic, Edinburgh University (a Minister of St Andrew's Parish)



<https://archive.org/details/modernathensdis00shepgoog> – *Modern Athens . . . or Edinburgh in the 19th Century*, by Thomas H Shepherd, published 1829 – St Stephen's Church, from Howe Street



<http://maps.nls.uk/towns/detail.cfm?id=418> – Robert Kirkwood – *Edinburgh New Town* – 1819 – section – **arrow** points to No. 27 Howe Street – where Edward and Julia were living in April 1838



Howe Street, like most of Edinburgh Old Town and New Town, is a street of tenement buildings with each one containing several 'houses' as they were called. But whether Edward and Julia were living in the same 'house' before they were married is not known. If they were, it seems possible that Isabella,

Edward and Eliza's daughter, was living with her father, and he had engaged Julia as a companion for Isabella.

In 1838 Edinburgh Directories there is no mention of Edward or Julia at No. 27 Howe Street or anywhere else in Edinburgh

<http://digital.nls.uk/directories/> – Edinburgh Directories, 1837-38 and 1838-39 – 27 Howe Street

Gray's Annual Directory, 1837-1838, printed 1837 – page 223

27 Howe Street – John Usher, esq. W.S – Mrs Boyle – And. Henderson, coach-hirer – Mrs William Stewart – Jas. Wilson, slater & glazier

Post Office Annual Directory and Calendar, 1837-38, printed 1837 – page 197-8 – and 1838-39, printed 1838 – page 202

27 Howe Street – And. Henderson, coach-hirer – John Usher, esq. W.S. – Mrs Rae – Mrs William Stewart – Mrs Boyle – James Wilson, slater (area) – [basement]

27 Howe Street – And. Henderson, coach-hirer – John Usher, esq. W.S. – Mrs William Stewart – Mrs Boyle – James Wilson, slater (area)

Edward and Julia were married at 4 Forth Street, Edinburgh New Town.

British Library – Newspapers online – Caledonian Mercury, Sat 5 May 1838 – Married

At 4, Forth Street, Edinburgh, on the 30th ultimo, EDWARD CLOUSTON, Esq. late of Jamaica, to Mrs M'LAREN, relict of Mr M'Laren, surgeon, and daughter of the late Mr Thin, architect.

<http://digital.nls.uk/directories/> – Edinburgh Directories, 1837-38 and 1838-39 – 4 Forth Street

Gray's Annual Directory, 1837-1838, printed 1837 – page 201

4 Forth Street – Mrs Mosman, sen. of Auchtyfardle

Post Office Annual Directory and Calendar, 1838-39, printed 1838 – page 188

4 Forth Street – James McCook, esq. W.S.

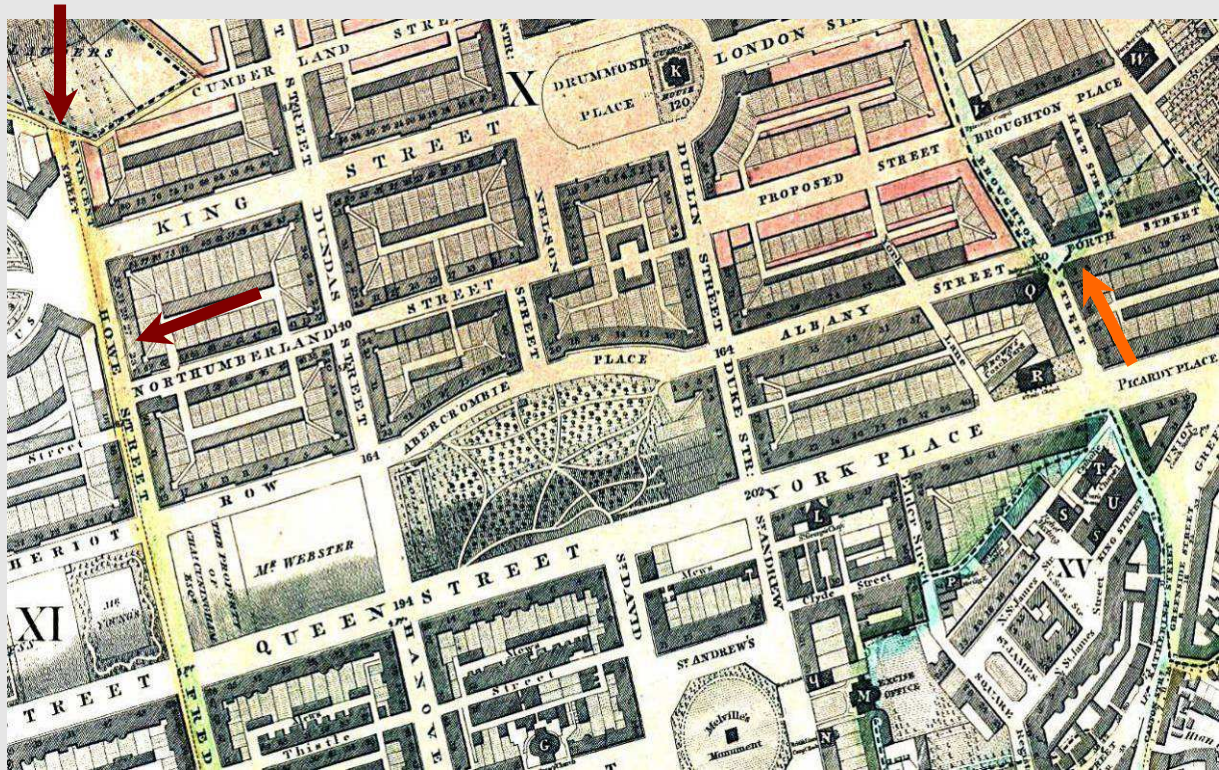
James McCook – W.S. (Writer to the Signet = lawyer conducting cases in the Court of Sessions) – was perhaps James McCook who gave a power of attorney to Edward in Jamaica (see Chapter 18 – and see Chapter 22)

Edward's brother Rev Charles Clouston and their cousin Edward Clouston of Smoogro both had connections with James McCook.

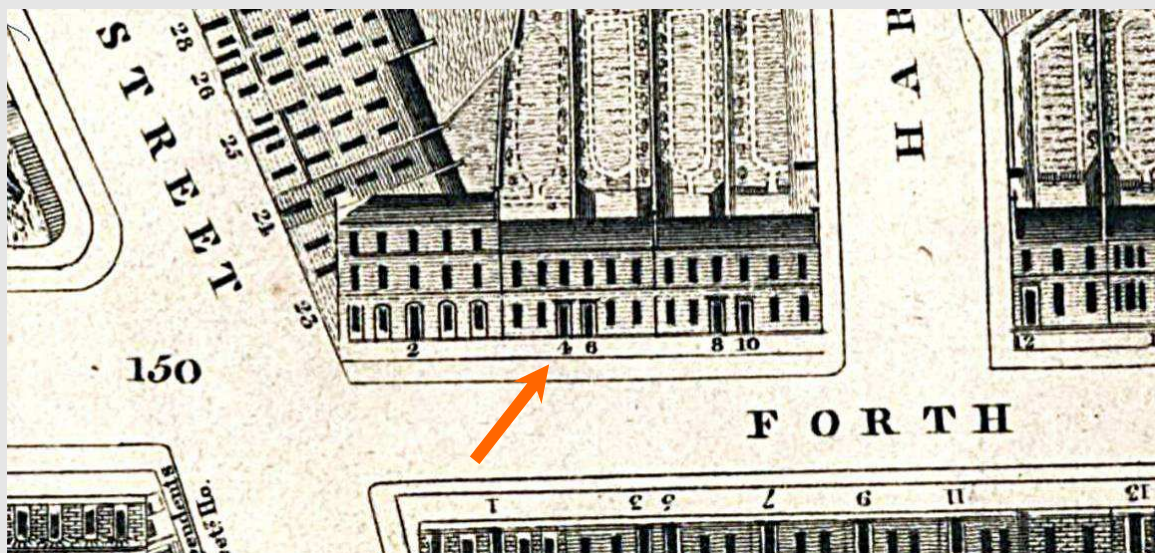
Orkney Library & Archives – Records of Orkney Sasines – Abridgements – photocopy supplied 2001 by Robin Clouston, Northern Ireland – No. 256 – extracts

Edward Clouston [of Smoogro], late Writer of Stromness, now residing in the Island of Westray, Seised, Apr. 8. 15. 1826 . . . on Disp. by James McCook, W.S., and the Rev. Charles Clouston residing at the Manse of Stromness, Sept. 26. Oct. 11. 1825 . . .

<http://maps.nls.uk/towns/rec/820> – James Kirkwood – City of Edinburgh, 1821 – section – red **arrows** – top points to St Stephen's Parish Church (built after 1821) – bottom points to 27 How Street – orange **arrow** points to Forth Street



<http://maps.nls.uk/towns/detail.cfm?id=418> – Robert Kirkwood – Plan & elevation of the New Town of Edinburgh – 1819 – section – **arrow** points to No. 4 Forth Street



Edward (born 7 October 1787 – see Chapter 4) was more than thirty one years older than Julia, and when they married he was fifty and she was nineteen.

Julia – Julia Gordon Thin (1818 to 1889) – was the only surviving daughter of John Thin (1764/65-1827), an Edinburgh builder and architect, and the only daughter by his second wife Marion, nee Thompson.

<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Church Registers – Births & Baptisms –
Edinburgh – 1819 – Julia Gordon born 3 June 1818 – baptized 22 November 1819

Edinburgh 22 November 1819

John Thin Builder & Marion Thomson MS Southside Parish A Daughter
Born 3 June 1818 & Julia Gordon Bapt by Mr John Robertson

Julia married her first husband Archibald Robertson McLaren in Edinburgh on 27 November 1834 –
Banns & Marriages – Edinburgh 1834

Archibald Robertson McLaren, Surgeon Residing in No. 3, Princes Street, and Julia
Gordon Thin, Residing at the Anchor's Head, Burrowsloch, both in this Parish, Daughters
of the late John Thin, Builder in Edinburgh, have been three times proclaimed in order to
Marriage, in the Parish Church of St. Paul's, and no Objections have been Offered.
Married on the Twenty seventh day of November current, by the Reverend John
Macalister, Minister of the Gaelic Chapel of Ease Edinburgh

Archibald died aged 32 of Rheumatic Fever and was buried on 13 November 1835 in New Burial
Ground (Calton Hill) close within the door of Mr John Thin's tomb – Burials – Edinburgh 1835

| | | | |
|--------------|---|-----|-----------------|
| 13. McLaren. | Archibald Robertson | | |
| | Surgeon, from No. 7, Hopbush Street | | |
| | is buried in the New Ground, close within | | |
| | the door of Mr John Thin's tomb | 32. | Rheumatic Fever |

Calton Hill New Burial Ground – John Thin's tombstone

Sacred
To the Memory of
John Thin,
Builder and Architect, Edinburgh,
Who Died 10th January 1827,
Aged 62.
Also
Marion Thomson,
His Spouse,
Who Died 21st May 1833,
Aged 44.
And their Children,

John Henry, Died 15th Sep. 1824, Aged 14.
 Charles Davidson, Died 13th Sep. 1824, Aged 8.
 William Edward, Died 6th November 1828, Aged 6.
 George Elias, Died 6th August 1821, Aged 18.
 David Hunter, Drowned on a Voyage from
 Pernambuco to London,
 On 18th January 1841, Aged 24.
 Erected by
 The only surviving son Robert
 December 1848.

Above – only surviving son Robert = Robert Thin who married Edward and Eliza's daughter Isabella in 1849 – see Chapter 1.

In his Will John Thin left an equal share of his Estate between his children by his second wife Marion – see – <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – *Wills*. Although at the time of his death John Thin owed money to various creditors, I imagine that his daughter Julia and son Robert were not left penniless.

My photos, March 2013 – properties in Edinburgh built and owned by John Thin – in order built

Edinburgh Old Town – corner – (opposite the College/University) – 67 South Bridge Street east side/1 Drummond Street, north side



Edinburgh New Town – left, 5 Howe Street, east side – right, adjoining No. 5 – 1 Howe Street, east side/19 Herriot Row, north side



Edinburgh New Town – right, 61 Great King Street south side – left, 36 London Street, north side/1 Mansfield Place, west side

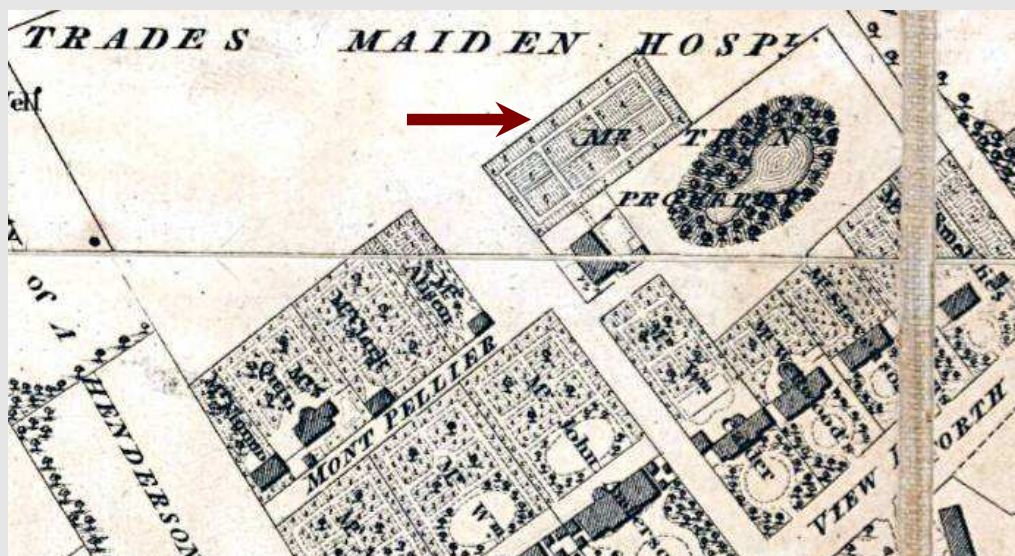


Edinburgh West End – 1, 2, and 3 Athol Crescent, southeast side



At the time of his death and for some years before, John Thin lived at Viewforth House – a house he built and owned on the northwest side of Bruntsfield Links in south Edinburgh.

<http://maps.nls.uk/joins/416.html> – City of Edinburgh and its environs, Robert Kirkwood & Son, 1817 – **arrow** points to Mr Thin's Property = Viewforth House and grounds

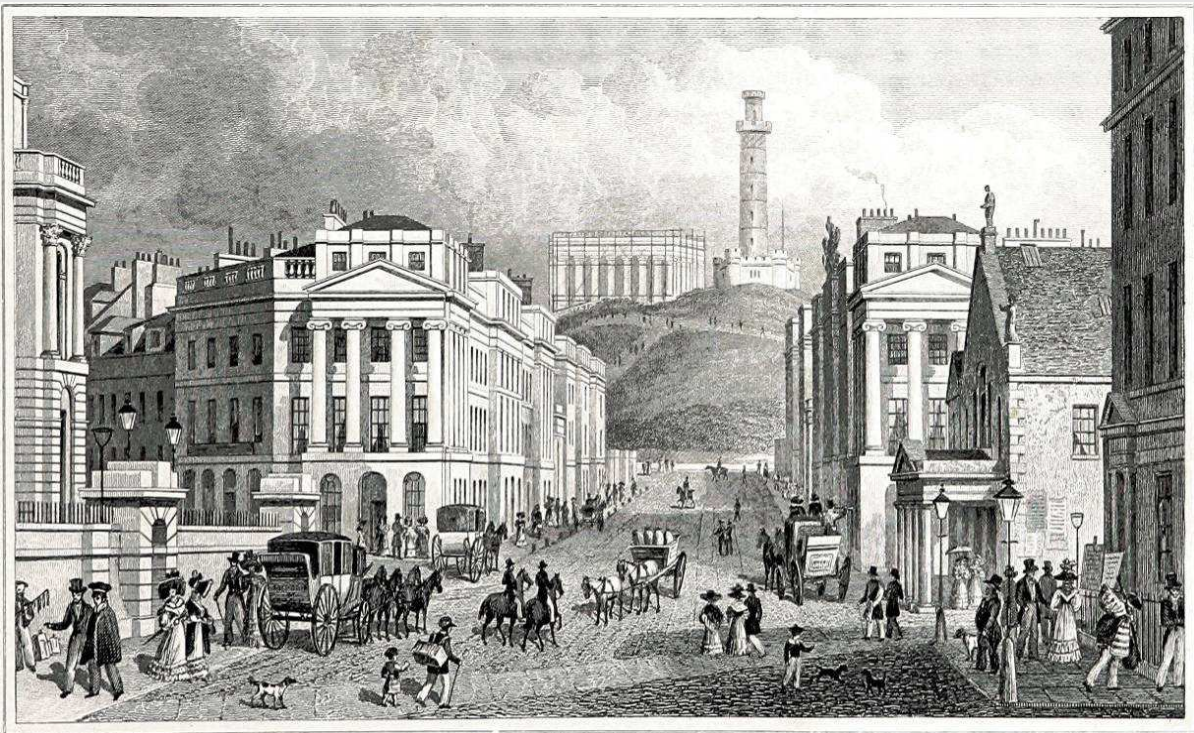


See – <https://sites.google.com/site/joerocksresearchpages/home> – Edinburgh Dean of Guild – search – John Thin

<https://archive.org/details/modernathensdis00shepgoog> – *Modern Athens . . . or Edinburgh in the 19th Century*, by Thomas H Shepherd, published 1829 – Edinburgh from the Calton Hill



Waterloo Place, the National & Nelson's Monuments, Calton Hill, &c. Edinburgh



In Jamaica on 31 March 1838 George William Hamilton married Martha Bryce (his housekeeper – see Chapter 17) – and three days later, their daughter Helen married Dr John Ewart of St Thomas in the Vale.

Latter Day Saints Family History Centre, London – Microfilm 1291727 – Jamaica – St Catherine's Parish Register – Marriages – 1838 – Nos. 18 and 19

George William Hamilton, and
Martha Bryce, both of this Parish were married by Licence on the 31th day of March
in the Year 1838 by W. G. Burton Officiating Minister
John Ewart, of the Parish of St. Thos in the Vale, and
Helen Hamilton of this Parish were married by Licence on the 3rd day of April in the
Year 1838 by W. G. Burton Officiating Minister

Transcript

No. 18 – George William Hamilton, and
Martha Bryce, both of this Parish were married by License on the 31st day of March in the Year
1838 by W. G. Burton Officiating Minister

No. 19 – John Ewart, of the Parish of St Thos in the Vale, and
Helen Hamilton of this Parish were married by License on the 3rd day of April in the Year 1838
by W. G. Burton Officiating Minister

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica, Sat, 7 Apr 1838 – page not noted

Married – On the 3rd Inst, at Elrick House, St Catherine, by the Rev W G P Burton, Rector of St Thomas
in the Vale, John Ewart, Esq, Mullock, St Thomas in the Vale, to Helen, only daughter of the
Hon George William Hamilton.

As far as I found, no announcement of G W Hamilton's marriage to Martha Bryce was published in the
Jamaica Royal Gazette, or anywhere else.

George William Hamilton in his Will (see Chapter 24) referred to his daughter Helen as the daughter of
his wife Martha, nee Bryce.

On 29 May 1838, Henry Lowndes was promoted to be a Major in the St Thomas in the Vale Militia.

London National Archives – Royal Gazette, Kingston, Jamaica – June 1838 – (day and page not noted)

Militia Promotions

St Thomas in the Vale

May 28 – Major Peter Francis Garrigues to be Lieutenant Colonel *vice* McKay, left the Island without
leave.

May 29 – Captain Henry Lowndes to be Major *vice* Garrigues.

Below – summary of events leading up to the ending of apprenticeship and full freedom for all in Jamaica.

www.jstor.org/stable/40652579?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents – *The Apprenticeship Period in Jamaica, 1834-1838*, by D G Hall, published 1953 – extracts

The prime fault of the apprenticeship system was that it attempted an impossible compromise between slavery and freedom. It involved the continuation of many features of slavery such as forced labour, the distribution of ‘indulgences’ and allowances, and the restricted mobility of the work force; and it tried to mix with these such incompatible ingredients as labour for wages, and competition between employers and labour. It was hardly to be expected that the apprentice would work industriously during his compulsory hours as he would when working in his free time for money. Wage agreements between masters and apprentices were made difficult because some indulgencies were a legal right, and some were not; as a result apprentices often demanded as a right what the master withheld as a wage. Nor could disputes be fought out by outright refusals to do any labour, because the apprentice was compelled to give his 40½ hours per week; or by the threat of dismissal, for the apprentice was fixed to the estate. In short, the coercive power of the master, the essential force of slavery, had been removed; and the full freedom to bargain, the essential force of free labour, had not been substituted. The efforts of the Stipendiary Magistrates, the unskilled interpreters of a vague law, though often brave, could hardly have solved the difficulties inherent in the system.

In November 1836, the newly arrived Governor, Sir Lionel Smith, enumerated some of the problems which he thought should be settled by Laws to supplement the Emancipation Act.

“The most material is a *positive Law* for the 9 hours system of labour still disputed. The grant of Fish (called by the Negroes there salt) and other allowances to be fixed by Law – and a Law for more time, for the mothers of Children and the better care of Children when their parents are working in the field. God only knows whether I shall be able to accomplish these desirable objects.”

The Assembly, in fact, proved adamant, until in the following year a disturbing incident occurred. In that year, 1837, Messrs Sturge, Harvey, and Lloyd came to Jamaica. Joseph Sturge carried a letter from Sir George Grey at the Colonial Office, asking the Governor to afford him every facility in his mission, which was to ascertain for certain anti-Slavery bodies in Britain what were the real effects of emancipation in the West Indies. He did not, apparently, take much advantage of the Governor’s willingness to assist him, for Sir Lionel Smith, himself branded by the planters as a partisan of the apprentices, complained that Sturge

“ . . . put himself in the hands of violent disaffected people of colour, or in those Partisan Magistrates – and the very sight of the Society he sought was sufficient to excite the Negro population to discontent, and to the belief that ‘Joseph’ was a great ‘Buckra’ come to terminate their apprenticeship.”

The behaviour of Sturge and his associates did, it seems, affect both planters and apprentices. It excited the latter to the belief that the apprenticeship would soon be over; and it led the planters to wonder if the British Government was considering such a move. In October the Assembly decided, of its own accord, to debate the subject, and a motion was carried that it was

“ . . . highly inexpedient to entertain any measure having for its object the abbreviation of the period of Apprenticeship as fixed by the Abolition Act.”

Most important, perhaps, was that about a third of the members had been willing to vote for an amendment to the motion, saying that the final termination of the apprenticeship in August 1838, would be considered if some form of compensation were granted by Britain. The desire to continue the apprenticeship was due less to complete satisfaction with its working than to fear of what might follow. It had at least been ascertained that as long as the apprenticeship continued the majority of the estates could function, and could even make some profit. That in itself seemed to be something to be secured.

Apart from Sturge’s visit, however, there were other happenings which influenced the behaviour of the Assembly. One was the growing fear that if they did not soon comply with requests for an Act in Aid of the Emancipation Law the British Government might pass one for them, or worse, might go so far as the end the apprenticeship. The other was the information of the firm way in which the British Government had handled the House of Assembly of Lower Canada after the 1837 rebellion. In March 1838, Sir Lionel

Smith reported that the Jamaica Assembly had at last passed an Act in Aid, which he thought was satisfactory. It allowed praedial apprentices time in which to go to their places of work, without infringement on their free hours; and it fixed valuation prices from that time forward at sums ranging from £15 to £7, according to the field gang to which the applying apprentice belonged. Headmen and tradesmen or skilled workers, however, were still to be valued by the old system. Other improvements included the compulsory provision of medical attendance on estates of 60 or more apprentices; and the bettering of some of the conditions of field labour, such as the obligatory appointment of cooks and water-carriers for the gangs.

The deed had come too late. The Jamaica Act was quickly followed by a British Act to Amend the Act for the Abolition of Slavery, to become law on 11th April, 1838. It contained some hard blows for the Assembly. All allowances legally or customarily given for a period of 3 years before 1833 were not to be granted as of right to the apprentices, and in cases of dispute the Governor was authorised to settle the issue; the Stipendiary Magistrates were given the right of entry to all parts of estates, and those obstructing them would be liable to prosecution; the administration of prisons and workhouses was regulated, and *all* flogging was abolished; the apprentices were to be classified so that there should be a minimum of dispute on the 1st August, 1838, when the non-*praedial*s were due to receive full freedom; and further regulations removed other apprentice disabilities and restrictions.

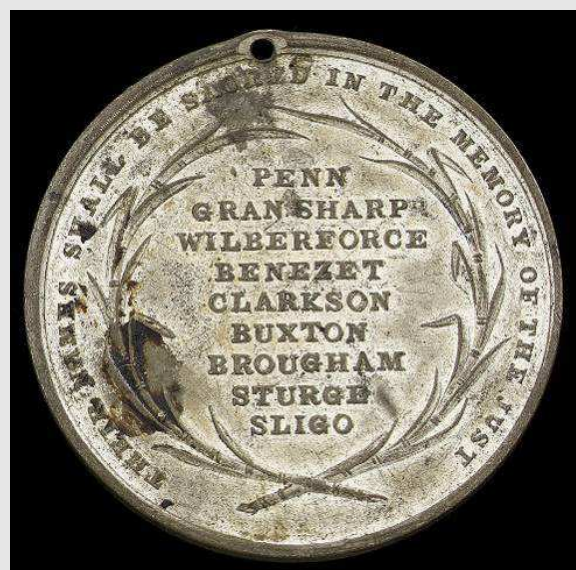
In May, accounts from the other West Indian Colonies indicated that Barbados, Nevis, Montserrat, and Tortola, had all passed Acts of general emancipation, releasing *all* apprentices on 1st August, 1838; and it seemed that the legislatures of St Kitts, Grenada, St Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, and St Lucia intended to follow suit. The Packet from England also brought news that several proprietors in Britain had sent out orders to their Attornies to give general freedom to all their apprentices on the 1st August.

The Jamaica Assembly could do nothing to stem the tide, and when the Governor asked them to consider general freedom on the 1st of August, and this without compensation, they answered:

“The apprenticeship was forced on the acceptance of the House, as one of the precautionary measures to be adopted in the transition from slavery to freedom, and was a portion of our compensation; while therefore we discuss the propriety of its abolition we neither assume the responsibility nor exonerate the public faith.”

The discussion was short, and within a couple of days an Act was passed ending the entire apprenticeship on the 1st of August, 1838. It cannot be said that the Jamaica Assembly was quite happy to see it go.

<http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/255120.html> – 1838 – Medal commemorating ‘Emancipation Aug 1 1838’



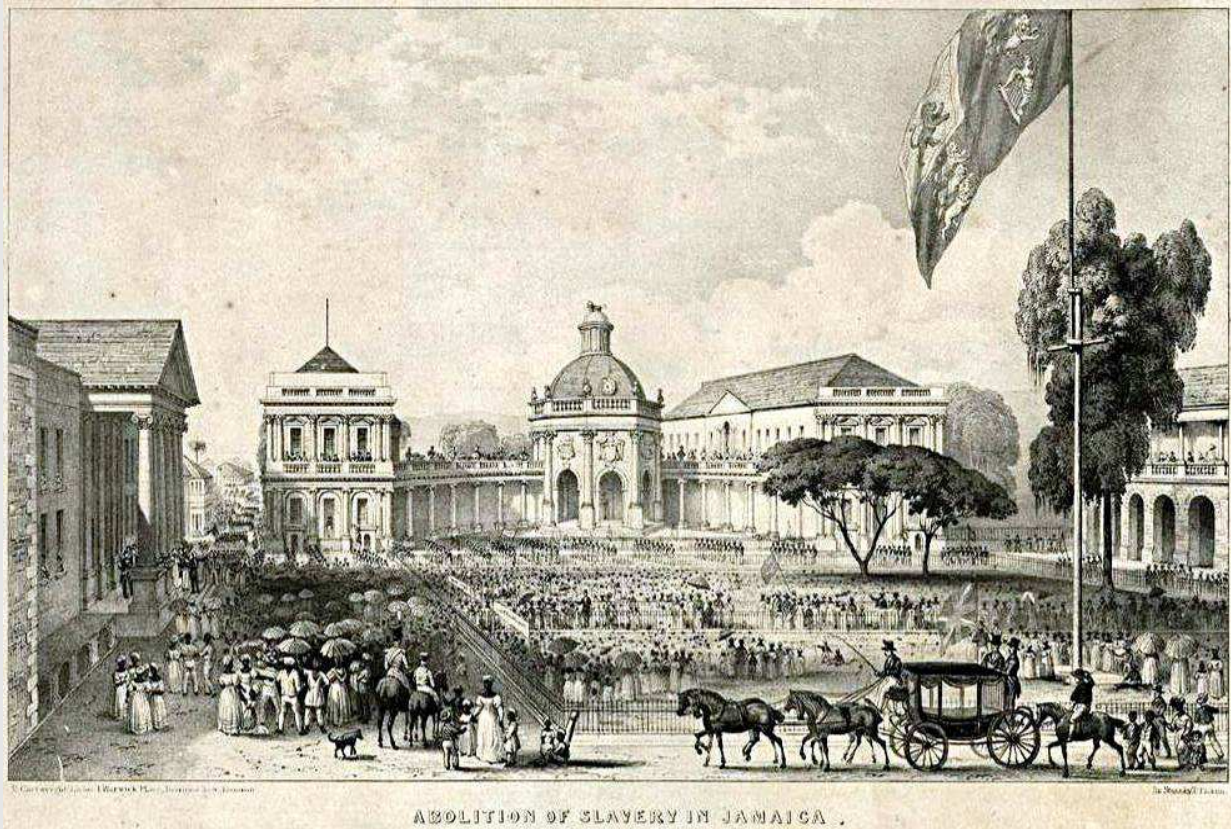
www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm – 1845 Jamaica Almanac – Historical and Remarkable Events – 1838

Aug. 1. – The apprenticeship system abolished, and the blessings of unrestricted freedom conferred on the slave population of the island. The day was observed with all the solemnity of a fast, and sermons, suitable to the great change, preached in every place of divine worship.

Aug. 2 & 3. – These days were enjoyed throughout the island by the new made freemen as holidays.

The city of Kingston was partially illuminated; two beaves [sic] were roasted on the race-course, and a transparency, descriptive of the great change in the social system of the country, erected on the same place. These festivities terminated peaceably, and with every demonstration of gratitude by the late apprentices for the inestimable boon conceded to them, and without the occurrence of the slightest accident.

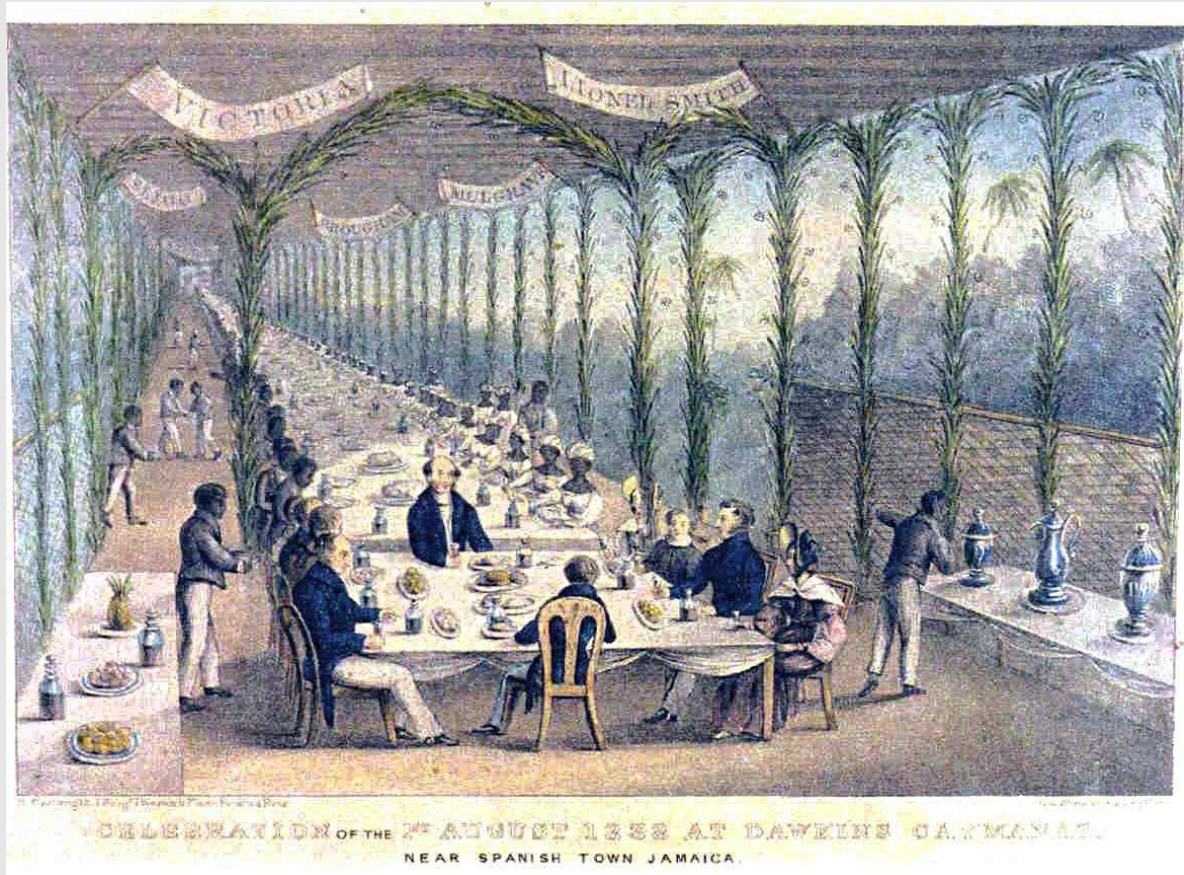
www.will-robson.com/keyword/Emancipation/ – ‘Abolition of Slavery in Jamaica’



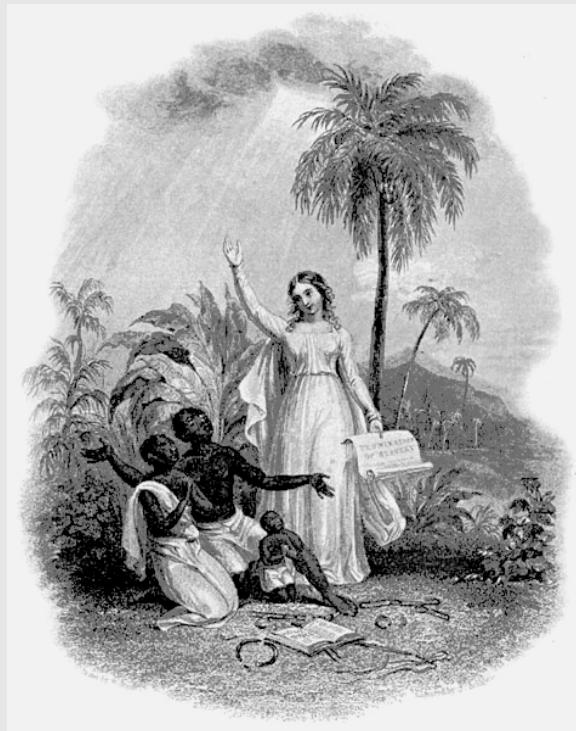
Description below the print

Procession of the Baptist Church and Congregation in Spanish Town under the Pastoral care of the Revd J M Phillippo with about 2000 Children of their Schools and their Teachers, to the Government House on the 1st August 1838 – when they were received by His Excellency the Governor Sir Lionel Smith who after addressing them read to them the Proclamation of Freedom, amidst the hearty rejoicing of not less than 8000 persons, the majority of whom had previously attended Divine Worship, and who subsequently retired to their respective homes peaceful and happy – The Governor – the Revd J M Phillippo and the Bishop are seen standing in front of the Portico there representing the happy Union of Civil and Religious feeling on this joyful occasion.

Yale Center for British Art – web press release (site not noted) – Exhibition 2007 – *Art & Emancipation in Jamaica* – ‘Celebrations of the 1st August 1838 at Dawkins Caymanas near Spanish Town Jamaica’



<http://www.brh.org.uk/gallery/slavery.html> – 1838 – ‘Grateful slaves receive the “gift” of emancipation from Britannia’



On 23 August 1838 George William Hamilton wrote to J W Nelson (the Earl of Harewood's London agent) – 'Nothing can possibly be worse than the state of Williamsfield'.

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/adv_search/ – *Lascelles West Indies* – movinghere.org.uk –
Copies of 2 letters from George William Hamilton to John Wood Nelson

Tulloch 23 Augt 1838

My dear Sir,

Prefixed you will please receive copy of my last respects & I am since in possession of your esteemed favor of 1 July. I regret to say that the people have not yet turned out to work except in one solitary case or two, & even thou it is altogether unsteady and uncertain. They shew no disposition whatever to do any work, nor will they enter into any terms. There is something at the bottom; they seem to cling together, & their mode of acting is alike from one end of the Island to the other. Altho I have made repeated attempts, I have not been able to make arrangements with the people at Williamsfield, & in the hope that they will soon see the impropriety of their conduct, & return to their work, I have hitherto forborne to serve them with notices to quit, but we shall have to come to this if they much longer persist. Many have already done so, but I would rather avoid it if possible. Nothing can possibly be worse than the state of Williamsfield, & the properties in the neighbourhood. The Crop on the ground is already ruined, & no preparation made for that of 1840. Matters cannot remain so much longer. Of course I shall attend to his Lordships instructions when the people will afford me an opportunity. I shall address you again shortly & hope to be able to give you better accounts. Kind regards.

Yours faithfully Signed G W Hamilton

Tulloch 7 Sept 1838

My dear Sir

It is with regret I have to inform you that no improvement has taken place at Williamsfield; indeed if possible the conduct of the people has become worse; for altho high wages were paid for watching the Cattle they have allowed them to stray; in truth it nearly approaches to their having driven them into the Cane pieces; & upon the properties of our Neighbours the destruction has been dreadful; which, added to our previous misfortunes render me perfectly miserable regarding the prospect of the property. The Crop on the ground is lost; the proceeds cannot pay nearly the contingencies, & as yet we have not had a single Cultivator in the field. On a few Estates however they are turning out in small numbers; & I am still much disposed to think a change will ere long take place. The Governor is to be in this Parish tomorrow to address the people. His Excellency seems to be a little more open to whom he has to deal, & he does not now harangue them in the Mamby Pamby style he was wont to do. I shall add a few lines if any thing particular occurs. I hope he may be able to settle their minds. I have just heard that one or two Villains have been taken up instilling disobedience into the minds of the people; if such is the case I hope their punishment may be exemplary. Kind regards.

Yours very faithfully Signed G W Hamilton

The result of the Governors visit will not be known until too late for this.

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/adv_search/ – *Lascelles West Indies* – movinghere.org.uk –
letter dated 10 October (1838) from G W Hamilton – extract

... The people generally are working, but the rate of hire at present given cannot be continued on the best Estates with the present quantum of labour, we now pay in this parish 1/8 Currency per day free of charge for Houses & grounds until 1st Novr after which it is understood the people are to pay rent which would reduce the pay to about 1/- per day and few Estates will be able to pay even this, the first year must be a dead loss, and time will shew whether we shall be able to recover ourselves ...

My photos, September 2008 – Williamsfield



Williamsfield crop account for the year 1838 was sworn by William Stephens.

My photos – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 82, Fol 170 – Williamsfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – Entered Island Secretary's Office 25 Mar 1839 – crop account for year 1838 – sworn on 13 March 1839 by William Stephens before Peter Blackburn – 68 Hogshead Sugar

| Shipments | | By | Value | By | Value |
|----------------------------------|--|----|-------|----|-------|
| Shipped to Thomas Barclay London | | 24 | " | " | " |
| ditto " James Castle. Sings. do | | 8 | " | " | " |
| " " Henry Davidson Roper do | | 22 | " | 10 | " |
| " " Rapid | | 13 | 2 | 18 | " |
| Sold in Kingston | | 1 | " | " | " |
| Total | | 68 | 2 | 28 | " |

| | | | | | |
|--|------|---|-----|-----|---|
| 1838 | Cash | | | | |
| July 18 Sold to Mr Wm Hager 21 old cultivation | 190 | " | | | |
| 27 do do do ditto at 9s | 36 | " | 226 | 0 | 0 |
| Nov 18 do Mr Robert Knuck 4 do at 9s | 36 | 0 | 36 | 0 | 0 |
| Apprenticeship of Cuthbertson | | | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| Jamaica do | | | 7 | 302 | 0 |

I William Stephens do swear that the above is a just and true statement of all the Rents, Profits, Produce and Proceeds of Williamsfield Estate in the Parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale for the year ending 31st day

of December 1838. Subscribed and sworn to
 Sworn before me this
 13th day of March 1839
 J. Blackburn

My photos, December 2009 – Williamsfield



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
Harewood – Nelson & Adam, London, 30 April 1839 – Crop 1838

| | | | | | |
|--|------------------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--|
| <i>Williamsfield Estate</i> | | | | | |
| <i>Insurances £85.15.2</i> | <i>Attornies Bills £2100</i> | | | | |
| <i>Commission postage & stamps £37.5 9</i> | | <i>2223</i> | <i>0</i> | <i>11</i> | |
| <i>Deduct</i> | | | | | |
| <i>Proceeds of 68 M^{ts} Sugar</i> | <i>1082</i> | <i>0</i> | <i>11</i> | | |
| <i>28 land^r Rum</i> | <i>494</i> | <i>13</i> | <i>4</i> | | |
| <i>Recovered of the Underwriters</i> | <i>147</i> | <i>12</i> | <i>11</i> | | |
| | | <i>1724</i> | <i>7</i> | <i>2</i> | |
| <i>Balance due from the Estate</i> | <i>£</i> | <i>498</i> | <i>13</i> | <i>9</i> | |
| <i>to Nelson & Adam</i> | | | | | |

George William Hamilton left Jamaica in late 1839 or early 1840 and retired back to Britain – see below – 1841 census – Conduit Street

My photo, December 2009 – Williamsfield – road to Mount Industry



Williamsfield crop account for 1839 records no more than 25 hogsheads and 7 tierces Sugar, and 10 puncheons Rum

My photo – Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts, Lib 83, Fol 137 – Williamsfield Estate, St Thomas in the Vale – Entered Island Secretary's Office 27 Mar 1840 – crop account for year 1839 – sworn on 23 March 1840 by Thomas Rickman before Peter Blackburn,

| | Sugar | | Rum | |
|---|--------|---------|-----------|--|
| | Other | Tierces | Puncheons | |
| Shipped to Thomas Capt Barclay for London | 8 | " | " | |
| Ditto to Sulloch Castle Briggs for Do | 17 | 7 | 10 | |
| | 25 | 7 | 10 | |
| Sold to John Ewart 10 head Old Cattle for | \$ 100 | 0 | 0 | |
| Sold to Wellens Pen 9 head Ditto for | 96 | 0 | 0 | |
| Sold 1 Old Steer for | 12 | 0 | 0 | |
| Rent received from 31 July to 31 december | " | " | " | |

Jamaica I, Thomas Rickman do swear that the above is a true and true account of the gross Rents produce and proceeds of Williamsfield Estate for the Year ending 31st december 1839 to the best of my knowledge and Belief

Sworn before me this 23rd day of March 1840

P. Blackburn

To keep me True
Thomas Rickman

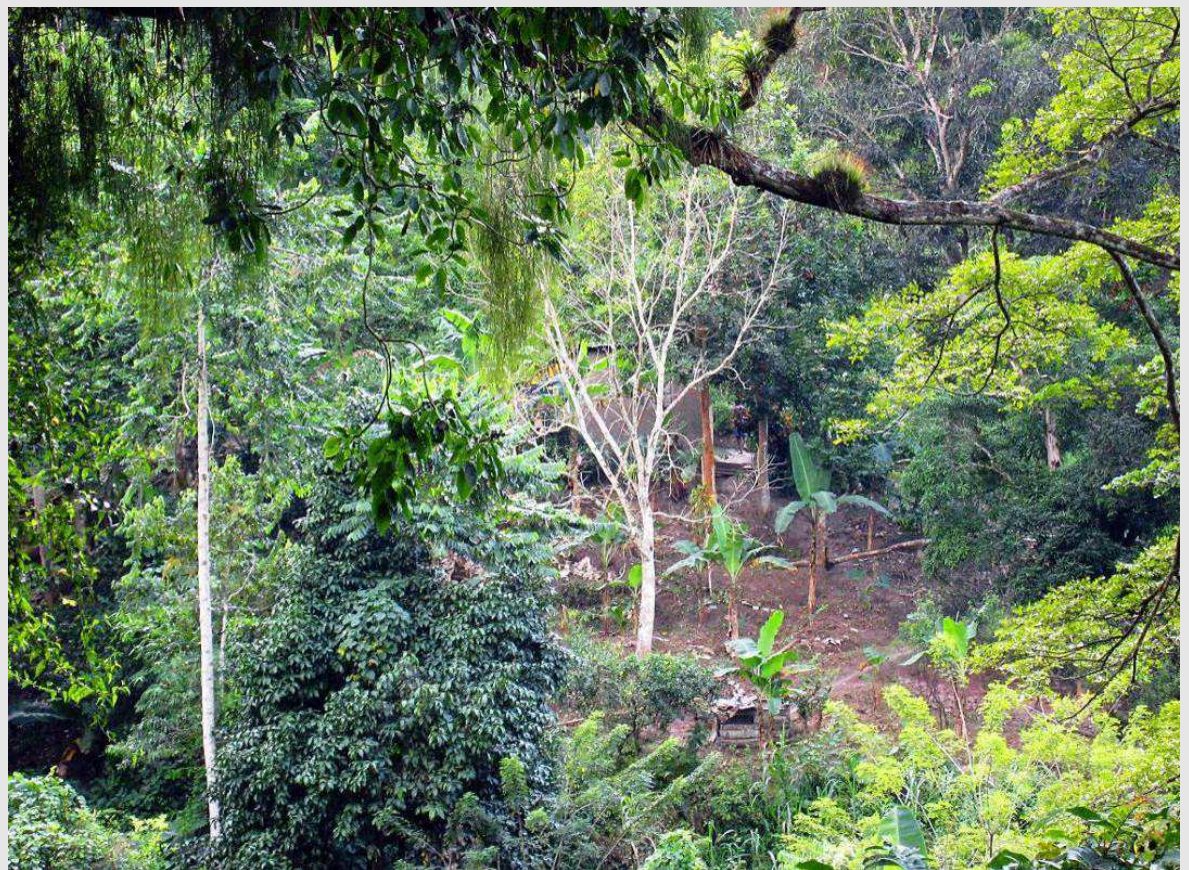
My photo, December 2009 – Williamsfield – road to Mount Industry



Jamaica Archives – Records of Crop Accounts – Williamsfield and Mount Olive crop accounts for years 1817 to 1844 * = years Edward was overseer of Williamsfield, and overseer/attorney of Mount Olive

| Year | Williamsfield | Hhds | | Year | Mount Olive | Hhds |
|-------|------------------------|-------|--|---|------------------------|------|
| 1817 | <i>Lib 52, Fol 35</i> | 162 ½ | | 1817 | <i>Lib 52, Fol 50</i> | 96 |
| *1818 | <i>Lib 53, Fol 77</i> | 214 | | 1818 | <i>Lib 53, 84Fol</i> | 140 |
| *1819 | <i>Lib 54, Fol 94</i> | 296 | | 1819 | <i>Lib 54, Fol 119</i> | 104 |
| *1820 | <i>Lib 55, Fol 218</i> | 310 | | 1820 | <i>Lib 55, Fol 36</i> | 129 |
| *1821 | <i>Lib 57, Fol 133</i> | 330 | | 1821 | <i>Lib 56, Fol 179</i> | 114 |
| *1822 | <i>Lib 58, Fol 87</i> | 328 ½ | | 1822 | <i>Lib 58, Fol 199</i> | 96 |
| *1823 | <i>Lib 60, Fol 107</i> | 285 | | 1823 | <i>Lib 60, Fol 122</i> | 71 |
| 1824 | <i>Lib 61, Fol 209</i> | 348 ½ | | *1824 | <i>Lib 62, Fol 38</i> | 97 |
| 1825 | <i>Lib 62, Fol 183</i> | 297 | | *1825 | <i>Lib 63, Fol 154</i> | 127 |
| 1826 | <i>Lib 64, Fol 157</i> | 300 | | *1826 | <i>Lib 64, Fol 42</i> | 151 |
| 1827 | <i>Lib 65, Fol 177</i> | 192 ½ | | *1827 | <i>Lib 65, Fol 232</i> | 126 |
| 1828 | <i>Lib 67, Fol 158</i> | 191 | | *1828 | <i>Lib 67, Fol 30</i> | 146 |
| 1829 | <i>Lib 69, Fol 89</i> | 142 | | *1829 | <i>Lib 69, Fol 74</i> | 147 |
| 1830 | <i>Lib 70, Fol 93</i> | 199 | | *1830 | <i>Lib 70, Fol 132</i> | 132 |
| 1831 | <i>Lib 72, Fol 1</i> | 209 | | *1831 | <i>Lib 72, 44Fol</i> | 136 |
| 1832 | <i>Lib 73, Fol 164</i> | 216 | | *1832 | <i>Lib 73, Fol 112</i> | 124 |
| 1833 | <i>Lib 75, Fol 102</i> | 166 | | *1833 | <i>Lib 75, Fol 139</i> | 88 |
| 1834 | <i>Lib 76, Fol 171</i> | 176 | | 1834 | <i>Lib 76, Fol 101</i> | 104 |
| 1835 | <i>Lib 77, Fol 226</i> | 124 | | 1835 | <i>Lib 77, Fol 201</i> | 77 |
| 1836 | <i>Lib 79, Fol 44</i> | 108 | | 1836 | <i>Lib 79, Fol 54</i> | 68 |
| 1837 | <i>Lib 80, Fol 199</i> | 128 | | 1837 | <i>Lib 80, Fol 65</i> | 67 |
| 1838 | <i>Lib 82, Fol 170</i> | 68 | | 1838 | <i>Lib 82, Fol 170</i> | 11 |
| 1839 | <i>Lib 83, Fol 137</i> | 25 | | 1839 | <i>Lib 83, Fol 169</i> | 4 |
| 1840 | <i>Lib 84, Fol 129</i> | 33 | | 1840 | <i>Lib 84, Fol 195</i> | 16 |
| 1841 | <i>Lib 85, Fol 208</i> | 37 | | 1841 | <i>Lib 86, Fol 71</i> | 39 |
| 1842 | <i>Lib 88, Fol 87</i> | 60 | | 1842 | <i>Lib 89, Fol 141</i> | 26 |
| 1843 | <i>Lib 88, Fol 87</i> | 14 | | Note – Mount Olive crop account for year 1842 was sworn in March 1845 | | |
| 1844 | <i>Lib 89, Fol 116</i> | 45 | | | | |

My photos, December 2009 – Williamsfield



In 1844 (three years after the death of the 2nd Earl of Harewood) the 3rd of Earl of Harewood ordered Williamsfield to lie fallow.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=7kMDAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *The Monthly Review from May to August 1844* – page 393

... The Earl of Harewood has publicly stated that he has latterly been *losing twelve hundred a year* by his estate in Jamaica, and that in consequence of this state of things he has ordered the estate to lie fallow! ...

On 22 October 1844 the 3rd Earl of Harewood leased Williamsfield estate and Williamsfield pen in St Catherine to Daniel Power French.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Contracts, Old Series, Lib 867, Fol 95 – Entered Island Secretary's Office 26 October 1844 – Indenture of Lease, 22 October 1844 – between –Rt Hon Henry (3rd) Earl of Harewood by his Attorney in Jamaica the Hon Edward Thompson of Clarendon, Esq (1) – and Daniel Power French of St Thomas in the Vale, Esq (2) – summary

Lease from 1 July 1844 for 5 or 7 years – the Earl of Harewood leases to Daniel Power French Williamsfield in St Thomas in the Vale containing 2794 acres – and Williamsfield Pen in St Catherine containing 100 acres used as a resting place for the cattle of Williamsfield Sugar Estate

Henry Taylor (head clerk at the Colonial Office – see Chapter 14) and James Stephen, Counsel to the Colonial Office, foresaw that after 1 August 1838 the plantations would be deserted by the former slaves.

<https://archive.org/details/autobiographyofh01taylrich> – *Autobiography of Henry Taylor, 1800-1873* – 2 Vols – published 1883 – Vol I – page 125-126

‘Buxton may ask’, I said in a letter to Lord Howick, ‘what more have the negroes to contend for when they have got their freedom? For what end or object could they be riotous or spill blood? To which I answer, there will remain as objects of contention the land, the buildings, the produce, – in short, all the property which emancipation would not be intended to deprive the planters. The slave has not been taught hitherto to make any distinction between the planter’s right to his land and buildings and to his gang: when he sees the one right abrogated, will he think the other sacred? To an uninstructed mind, or to one in which respect for the rights of property has been impaired, an agrarian partition will probably seem as consonant to natural justice as an abolition of slavery.’

I might have added as not beyond the range of conjecture, such an event as a war of the races, – a rising of the blacks to exterminate the whites.

The results which I regarded as not impossible did *not* follow upon emancipation as affected six years later (in 1838). Another result, which not only I, but even Stephen himself, anticipated, did follow. The negroes sank into a state of barbarous indolence, the plantations were deserted, the exports of sugar from Jamaica fell to one-fourth of their previous quantity; and I may add that when a more or less humble and grateful, though lazy, generation of negroes had passed away, the Jamaica rebellion of 1865 [Morant Bay Rebellion] broke out ...

Rev Hope Masterton Waddell, a Presbyterian missionary, wrote that in Jamaica, in the years following 1 August 1838. ‘African superstitions began to revive’ in part due to the arrival of ‘new Guinea people’ in the island.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=bt71nHmVezMC&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa: a Review of Missionary Work and Adventure, 1829-1858*, by Rev Hope Masterton Waddell, published 1863 – page 187-201 – extracts

The wild outbreak of Myalism, in 1841, was one of the most startling events in the history of Jamaica missions, and showed how deeply rooted the old heathenism of their race still was among the negroes . . . As the corrective to *Obea*, it wore a benign aspect, and was favoured by the negroes; while both, as corresponding parts of one system, formed an extraordinary superstition . . .

These superstitions had been restrained during slavery, by severe repressive laws, and the vigilance of owners and overseers, not in the interest of religion, but of the proprietors, who would not that any power but their own should be felt or feared by their slaves. It was supposed, therefore, that they had died out among the Creole negroes, though the old Guinea people were known to be still addicted to them. That was an erroneous idea. The instructed Christian people alone had abandoned them, regarding them with mingled feelings of dislike and fear, as both wicked and devilish; but the great mass of the slaves were bred in the absolute faith in these things, and had the greatest terror of them, though cunning enough to disown them to their masters.

Long suppressed but never eradicated, these African superstitions began to revive after emancipation, when the old laws against them were no longer in force. The introduction of several thousand new Guinea people, taken from captured slavers, favoured their resuscitations; for as the Creoles attributed peculiar skill in the black art to the Guinea negroes, so did these latter to its more recently imported professors.

Though the elder people, generally, worked on the estates where they lived, the younger too frequently took employment elsewhere, and formed irregular habits and connections. Parental authority, weakened by slavery, which set the master above the parents, was not soon re-established, and by freedom alone could not recover its lost position. Young people had become their own masters, could support themselves, and therefore act independently of their fathers and mothers . . . Overseers of estates needing labourers encouraged them, without inquiring whence or why they came, gave them any empty house, and left them to themselves. This disorder, unforeseen, took their ministers by surprise, caused them great sorrow, and prevented to some extent the realisation of the hopes once fondly entertained, of the moral and religious blessings that would follow emancipation.

The schemes of Immigration which were originated after the emancipation of the slaves, must be briefly adverted to. It has been already mentioned how one of the earliest attempts to introduce white labourers on the estates failed. The next idea was to people the crown lands of the interior with Europeans, of a better class than the first adventurers. For this purpose, *Barrettsville*, *Ashantully*, *Middlesex*, and other townships, were commenced, to receive the new colonists. But the attempt was found a vain one, after the loss of vast sums of money, expended in introducing these people. The strangers, though children of toil, were unused to work under a vertical sun and in tropical rains. They knew not the changes in their manner of living required by their new circumstances, were far from market towns, and without carts and horses, unprovided with many necessities, ignorant of the causes and symptoms of the most frequent and fatal disorders, and destitute of medicine and medical attendance. Thus, under a brilliant sky, in a fruitful and beautiful country, and amidst teeming life, so many sickened and died, that the rest lost heart and hastened to leave the colony. The townships deserted were sold for trifling sums, in ridiculous contrast to what they had cost, and white immigration was abandoned, after proving a fruitful source of fraud, licentiousness, and death.

Some parts of the country, it was said, had not a sufficiency of labourers, and schemes were concocted to procure a supply from abroad, at the expense of all the inhabitants. For example, the House of Assembly voted from the public taxes £152,000, for the three years, 1840-42; to import free negroes from the African coast . . .

Free negroes are not numerous, however, on the African coast, especially among the native tribes, and after four thousand five hundred were obtained from Sierra Leone, and other British settlements, the supply was exhausted. These, be it also observed, were obtained only on condition of being sent back again to their own country after a few years service in the West Indies. Coolies from the East Indies were next procured, but proved weak and unfit for heavy cane field labour, and soon, by their diseases, became public burdens . . .

The earliest mention I have of Henry (Edward and Eliza's son) in Britain is on 8 November 1838 in London when he was apprenticed, with his father's consent, to George Traill – to be taught the 'Art, Trade, or Business of a Mariner or Seaman' – below – Henry's Indenture of Apprenticeship.

This Indenture

made the Eighth Day of November in the Second Year of the Reign of her Majesty Queen VICTORIA, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith,

and in the Year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and Ninety-eight — BETWEEN Henry Clouston aged Fifteen Years, a native of Gloucestershire Commercially in the County of Gloucester of the one Part, and George Scwill Infants of Gloucestershire formerly of the other Part; WITNESSETH, that the said Henry Clouston doth hereby covenant and agree to and with the said George Scwill his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, shall and will teach, learn, and inform the said Apprentice, or cause him to be taught, learned and informed in the Art Trade, or Business of a Mariner or Seaman, with the circumstances therunto belonging : and shall and will find and provide for the said Apprentice, sufficient Meat, Drink, and Lodging need

In CONSIDERATION whereof the said George Scwill doth hereby covenant and agree to and with the said Henry Clouston the Apprentice ; that he said George Scwill his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, shall and will teach, learn, and inform the said Apprentice, or cause him to be taught, learned and informed in the Art Trade, or Business of a Mariner or Seaman, with the circumstances therunto belonging : and shall and will find and provide for the said Apprentice, sufficient Meat, Drink, and Lodging need

to pay unto the said Apprentice the Sum of Twenty-five Pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain, in manner following (that is to say), for the first Year he hath of Five Pounds, for the second Year the sum of Six Pounds, for the third Year the sum of Seven Pounds and for the fourth and last Year the less sum of Seven Pounds with an additional sum of five Pounds in compensation off the faithful Services to be performed by the said Apprentice

The said Henry Clouston sending and providing to and for himself all manner of Sea-bedding, Wearing Apparel, and other Necessaries; and it is hereby agreed between the said Parties, that the said George Scwill shall and may from Time to Time during the said Term deduct and retain in his hands out of the several Yearly Payments above mentioned at each Sum or Sums of Money as he shall think fit during the said Term untill he lay out in the buying of any Apparel, or Sea-bedding for the said Apprentice, as need shall require; and for the true Performance of all and singular the Covenants and Agreements aforesaid each of them the said Henry Clouston and George Scwill doth hereby bind and oblige himself, his Heirs, Executors, and Administrators unto the other of them, his Executors, and Administrators, in the Penal Sum of Fifty Pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain, firmly by these Presents.

In Witness whereof, the said Parties, to these Presents have hereunto set their Hands and Seals the Day and Years above-written.

Signed, Sealed, and Delivered, in the Presence of us,
George Ward
Edward Davis
Charles H. Gibson & Co.
2 Lower Thames St.

C. Henry Clouston
Geo. Scwill
G. Clouston

A

Printed and Sold by F. M. & C. Street, 68, Great Tower Street, London.

Transcript

This Indenture made the *Eight Day of November* in the *Second Year* of the Reign of her Majesty Queen Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, and in the Year of our Lord one thousand and *Thirty eight* – Between *Henry Clouston* – aged *Fifteen* – Years, a native of *Gloucester Terrace Commercial Road* [east end of London] in the County of *Middlesex* – of the one Part, and *George Traill* – of *Gloucester Terrace aforesaid* – in the County of *Middlesex aforesaid* of the other Part: Witnesses, that the said *Henry Clouston* – hath of his Free Will *and by the consent of his Father who is party hereto* – put and bound himself Apprentice unto the said *George Traill* – with him, his Executor, Administrators, and Assigns, after the manner of an Apprentice, to dwell, remain, and serve from the Day of the Date hereafter for and during, and until the full end and Term of *Four* – Years from thence next ensuing fully to be complete and ended: during all which Term, the said

Apprentice his said Master shall well and faithfully serve: his secrets keep: his lawful Commands every where do and execute: Hurt or Damage to his said Master he shall not do, consent or see to be done by others, but to the utmost of his Power shall hinder the same, and forthwith his said Master thereof warn. Taverns or Ale houses he shall not frequent, (unless about his said Master's Business:) at Dice, Cards, Tables, Bowls, or any other unlawful Games he shall not play: the Goods of his said Master he shall not embezzle, or waste; or lend, or give to any Person or Persons without his said Master's License: Matrimony any Time about himself and faithful Apprentice and behave himself towards his said Master, his Executors, Administrators or Assigns, during the said Term: and true and just Accounts of his said Master's Goods, Chattels, and Money committed to his Charge, or which shall come to his Hands, faithfully he shall give at all Times when thereunto required by his said Master, his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns. And shall also render an Account of, and well and truly pay, or cause to be paid unto his said Master, his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, all such Wages, Prize-money, and other Sum or Sums of Money, as shall become due and payable unto him from Her Majesty, her Heirs, Successors, or any other Person, in case he shall be impressed, enter, or go into her Majesty's Service during the said Term. In Consideration whereof the said *George Traill* – doth hereby covenant and agree to and with the said *Henry Clouston* – the Apprentice: that said *George Traill* – his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, shall and will teach, learn, and inform the said Apprentice, or cause him to be taught, learn informed in the Art, Trade, or Business of a Mariner or Seaman, with the circumstances thereunto belonging: and shall and will find and provide for the said Apprentice, sufficient Meat, Drink, and Lodging and – to pay unto the said Apprentice the Sum of *Twenty five* – Pounds of Sterling Money of Great Britain, in manner following (that is to say,) *for the first Year the Sum of Five Pounds, for the second Year the Sum of Six Pounds, for the third Year the Sum of Seven Pounds and for the fourth and last Year the like Sum of Seven Pounds with an additional Sum of Five Pounds in consideration of the faithful Services to be performed by the said Apprentice.* The said *Henry Clouston* – finding and providing to and for himself all manner of Sea-bedding, Wearing Apparel, and other Necessaries: and it is hereby agreed between the said Parties above mentioned: all such Sum or Sums of Money as shall during the said Term disburse or lay out in the buying of any Apparel, or Sea-bedding for the said Apprentice, as need shall require: and for the true Performance of all and singular the Covenants and Agreements aforesaid, each of them the said *Henry Clouston* – and *George Traill* – doth hereby bind and oblige himself, his Heirs, Executors, and Administrators unto the other of them, his Executors, and Administrators, in the Penal Sum of *Fifty* – Pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain, firmly by these Presents.

In Witness whereof, the said Parties, to these Presents have hereunto set their Hands and Seals the Day and Year above-written.

Signed, Sealed, and Delivered, in the
Presence of us,
George Ward) Clerks to *Gilson & Co*
Edward Bales) .. 2 [? 62] *Lower Thames St*

Henry Clouston
Geo Traill
E. Clouston

Left margin – vertical type

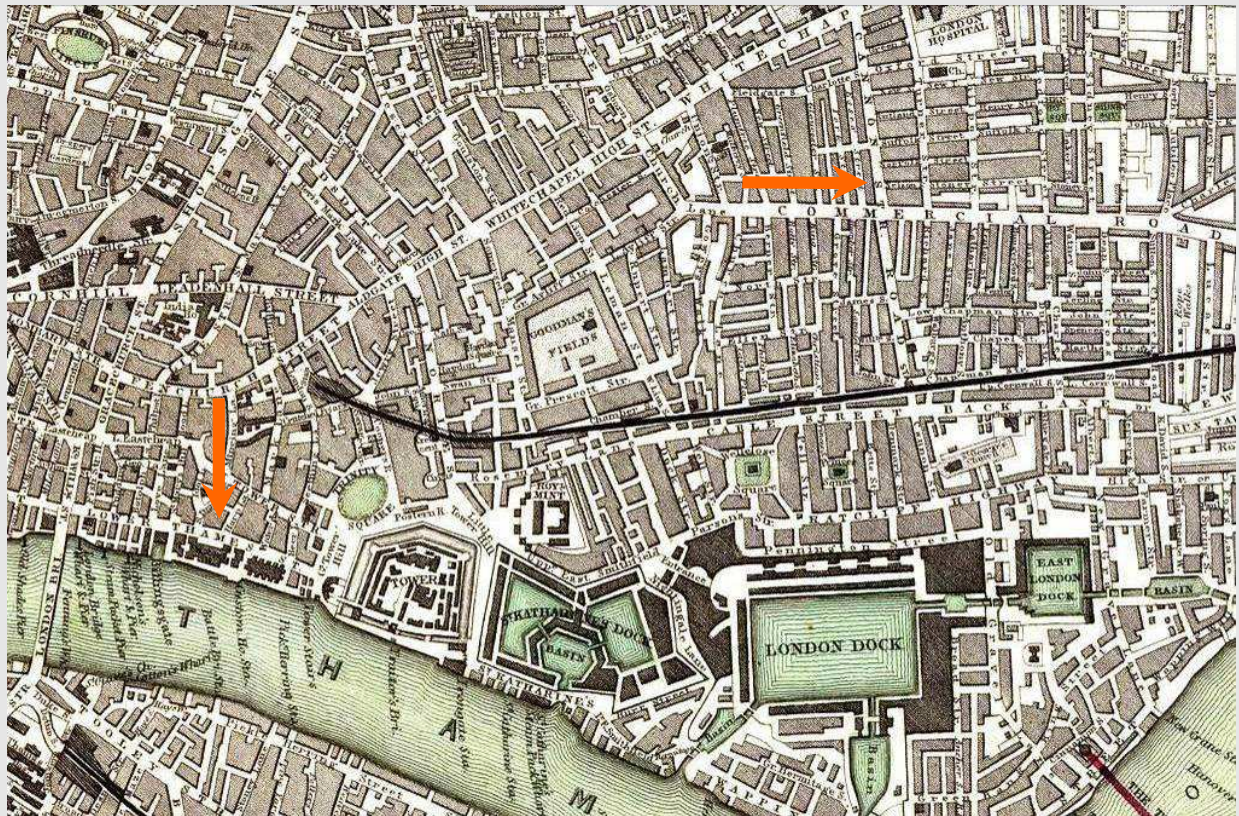
Note – This Indenture must bear Date the Day it is executed, and what Money or other Thing or contracted for with the Apprentice, and his Age must be written in Words at length: and this Indenture, or any fragment thereof, must be registered with the Registrar of Merchant Seaman, or one of his Assistants, if executed within the limits of the Port of London, or by the Collector or Comptroller of Customs, if executed at any other Port, and at the Penalty of Ten Pounds.

Above – *Gilson & Co* – it appears they were *L Gilson and Company*, Ship and Insurance Brokers and Notaries Public of 62 Lower Thames Street

See – www.thegazette.co.uk – *London Gazette*, 6 January 1843 – page 54

See – https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=4kM9AQAAIAAJ&source=gb_s_navlinks_s – *The Spectator. A Weekly Journal of News, Politics, Literature, and Science* – Vol. 16 – published 1843 – page 21 – Gilson and Co, Lower Thames Street, ship-brokers

<http://www.davidrumsey.com/maps3872.html> – *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* – 1843 – London – section – far left London Bridge – **arrows** – left points to Lower Thames Street – right points to Gloucester Terrace, Commercial Road



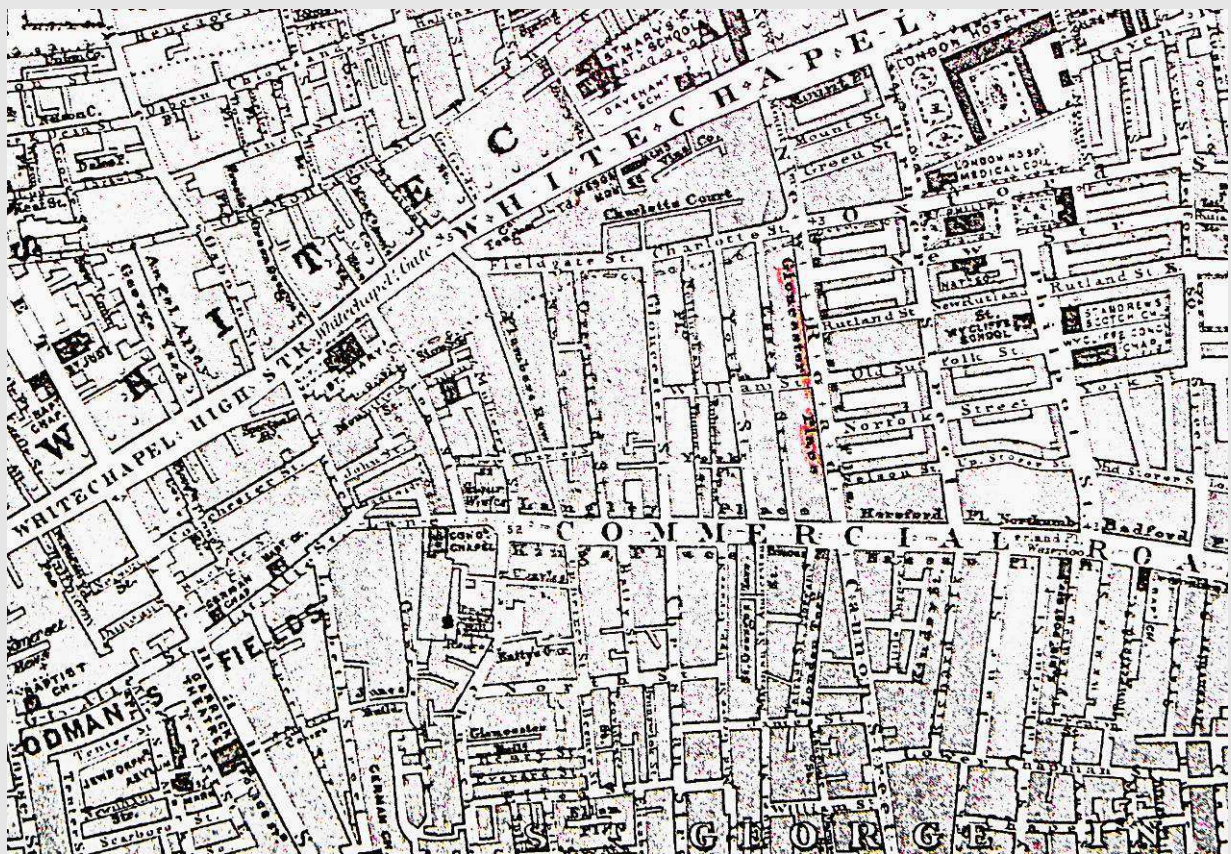
https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=GDxfAAAAcAAJ&source=gb_s_navlinks_s – *A History of London: illustrated by Views in London and Westminster, engraved by John Woods* ... published 1838 – The Upper Pool – looking towards London Bridge and St Paul's



The Custom House – on the south side of Lower Thames Street



Stanford's Map of London and its Suburbs – 1862 – Sheet 11 – supplied 2001 by Christopher Lloyd,
 Tower Hamlets Borough History Librarian – section – highlighted in **red** = Gloucester Place formerly
 Gloucester Terrace



https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=GDxfAAAaAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *A History of London: illustrated by Views in London and Westminster, engraved by John Woods . . . published 1838* – High Street, Whitechapel – north of Gloucester Terrace/Place – see map above



On the night of the 1841 Census, George Traill, Mariner, born Scotland, was at Gloucester Terrace with his wife Alice, born Scotland – 6 children – Rachael, Margaret, Mary, George, James and Jane – and a female servant.

<http://search.ancestry.co.uk/> – 1841 England Census – night of 6 June – Borough of The Tower Hamlets, Mile End Old Town, upper district, Parish of Stepney – Gloucester Terrace includes

| PLACE | HOUSES | | NAMES of each Person who abode therein the preceding Night. | AGE and SEX | | PROFESSION, TRADE, EMPLOYMENT, or of INDEPENDENT MEANS. | Where Born | |
|-------|----------------------------|-----------|---|-------------------|---------|--|--------------------------------|---|
| | Uninhabited or Building | Inhabited | | Males | Females | | Whether Born in same County | Whether Born in Scotland, England, or Foreign Parts |
| No | | | George Traill | 41 | " | Mariner | " | S |
| | | | Alice Traill | " | 34 | | " | S |
| | | | Rachael Traill | " | 14 | | " | " |
| | | | Margaret Traill | " | 12 | | " | " |
| | | | Mary Traill | " | 11 | | " | " |
| | | | George Traill | 10 | " | | " | " |
| | | | James Traill | 5 | " | | " | " |
| | | | Jane Traill | " | 1 | | " | " |
| | | | Mary Wilson | " | 27 | Servant | " | " |

George Traill of Gloucester Terrace was, I imagine, an Orkney Traill (see Chapter 4), but, other than the name Traill, I found nothing to connect George Traill of Gloucester Terrace with Orkney. I found no record of his birth/baptism, nor any record of his parents.

On the 1841 census, above, if Alice Traill was George Traill's wife, it appears that they were married in London on 16 June 1825.

<http://search.ancestry.co.uk/search/category.aspx?cat=34> – Marriages solemnized in the Parish of Saint George, Middlesex in 1825, include – 16 June – George Traill and Alice Patterson

It was
in fact
in the
Green

| | |
|--|------------------------------|
| <u>George Traill</u> | of <u>St George's</u> Parish |
| <u>a Bachelor</u> | |
| and <u>Alice Patterson</u> | of <u>the same</u> Parish |
| <u>a Spinster</u> | |
| were married in this <u>Church</u> by <u>James</u> with Consent of | |
| <u>June</u> | this <u>Sixteenth</u> Day of |
| in the Year One thousand eight hundred and <u>Twenty Five</u> | |
| By me <u>A. Traill, Rector</u> | |
| This Marriage was solemnized between us { <u>George Traill</u> | |
| { <u>Alice Patterson</u> | |
| In the Presence of { <u>James Traill</u> | |
| { <u>Alice Patterson</u> | |
| No. 552. | |

Also on the 1841 census, above, it appears that Rachael, Margaret, Mary, George, James, and Jane were George and Alice Traill's children.

<https://familysearch.org/search> – Baptisms

1826 – 26 September – Rachael Traill – at Heworth (Gateshead), Durham – Father George Traill – mother Alice Traill

1828 – 7 July – Margaret Simpson Trail – baptised Stepney, Middlesex – Father George Trail – Mother Alice

1830 – 14 May – Mary Ann Trail – baptised St Vincent Street Scotch Church, Stepney

<http://search.ancestry.co.uk/search/category.aspx?cat=34> – Baptisms

1831 – 3 June – George, born 4 May 1831 – baptised Parish of St George, Middlesex – son of George and Alice Traill

1840 – 30 April – Janet (? or Jane) Sinclair Traill Urquhart, born 8 April 1840 at 31 Gloucester Terrace, Cannon Street Road – baptised at St Andrews Scotch Church (Vincent Street, Stepney) – daughter of George Traill and wife Alice

In records below it appears that George Traill, Ship Chandler, Rope and Sail Manufacturer, and Ship Owner, was George Traill of Gloucester Terrace on the night of the 1841 census and on 8 November 1838, the day Henry's Indenture of Apprenticeship was signed

<http://search.ancestry.co.uk/search/category.aspx?cat=34> – Marriages – St Botolph, Aldgate, Middlesex

1853 – 1 June – George Stephenson Ayre, full age, Batchelor, Mariner – Residence Aldgate – Father Thomas Ayre, Dead – and Margaret Simpson Traill, full age Spinster – Residence Aldgate – Father George Traill, Ship Chandler – Witnesses Geo Traill and Mary Ann Traill

1857 – 15 February – John Brodie, full age, Bachelor, Shipwright – Residence St George's in the East – Father George Brodie, House-joiner – and Rachel Traill, full age, Spinster – Residence Aldgate – Father George Traill, Ship Chandler – Witness George Traill and Robert Morton

Trinity Parish Church, Stepney

1862 – 27 February – James Patterson Traill, full age, Bachelor, Rope & Sail Manufacturer – Residence 8 Laura Terrace Bromley St – Father George Traill, Rope & Sail Manufacturer – and – Mary Anne Rogers, full age, Spinster – Residence New Grove House – Father Thomas Rogers, Solicitor – Witness Tho Rogers, Geo Croshaw and Janet Traill

Christchurch, Highbury, Islington, Middlesex

1870 – 10 October – George Traill, full age, Bachelor, Ship Owner – Residence Hamilton Road, Highbury – Father George Traill, Ship Owner – and Julia Elwick, full age, Spinster – Residence St Paul's Road, Islington – Father George Elwick, Gentleman – Witnesses Geo Elwick and Ellen Elwick

www.thegazette.co.uk – London Gazette – George Traill – extracts/summaries

1847 – 13 September – Notice – Partnership heretofore subsisting between us the undersigned carrying on business as Ship Chandlers, &c. at No. 43 High Street, Wapping, Middlesex, under the firm of George Traill and Co is this day dissolved by mutual consent; and that all debts due to and from the said partnership will be received and paid by the undersigned George Traill: As witness our hands this 13 September 1847 – Geo. Traill – Hy. A. Brightman.

1867 – 29 January – Notice – Partnership heretofore subsisting between us the undersigned, George Traill the elder, and George Traill the younger, and James Patterson Traill, at High-street, Wapping, Middlesex, Sail Makers and Ship Chandlers, under the firm of George Traill and Sons, was on 31 December 1866, dissolved by mutual consent; and that the said business will for the future be carried on by the undersigned George Traill the younger and James Patterson Traill, under the said firm of George Traill and Sons. – Dated this 29 January, 1867 – Geo. Traill, senior – Geo. Traill, junior – James Patterson Traill.

1868 – 9 September – George Traill, Deceased – Notice – that the creditors and all persons having any claim or demand upon the estate of George Traill, late of No. 63 Fenchurch-street, city of London, and of Nos. 43, 44, 45, and 39, High-street, Wapping, and also of No. 43 Compton-road Highbury, Middlesex, Ship Owner and Ship Chandler, deceased, and (who died on 21 July 1868 – Will proved 6 August 1868, by the Executors therein named), are required to send in the particulars of their debts, claims, and demands upon or against the Estate – to Robert Reed Greig, of No. 5, Verulam-buildings, Gray's-inn, Middlesex, the Solicitor to the Executors – etc – dated 9 September 1868

George Traill's son George died on 23 April 1887.

See – <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Wills – George Traill of 63 Fenchurch Street, City of London, and Beckenham, Kent – Probate 26 July 1888 – Will dated 7 April 1887 – Executors – Brother James Patterson Traill and Andrew Gillespie

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=GDxfAAAaAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *A History of London: illustrated by Views in London and Westminster, engraved by John Woods . . . published 1838* – West India Dock – Import

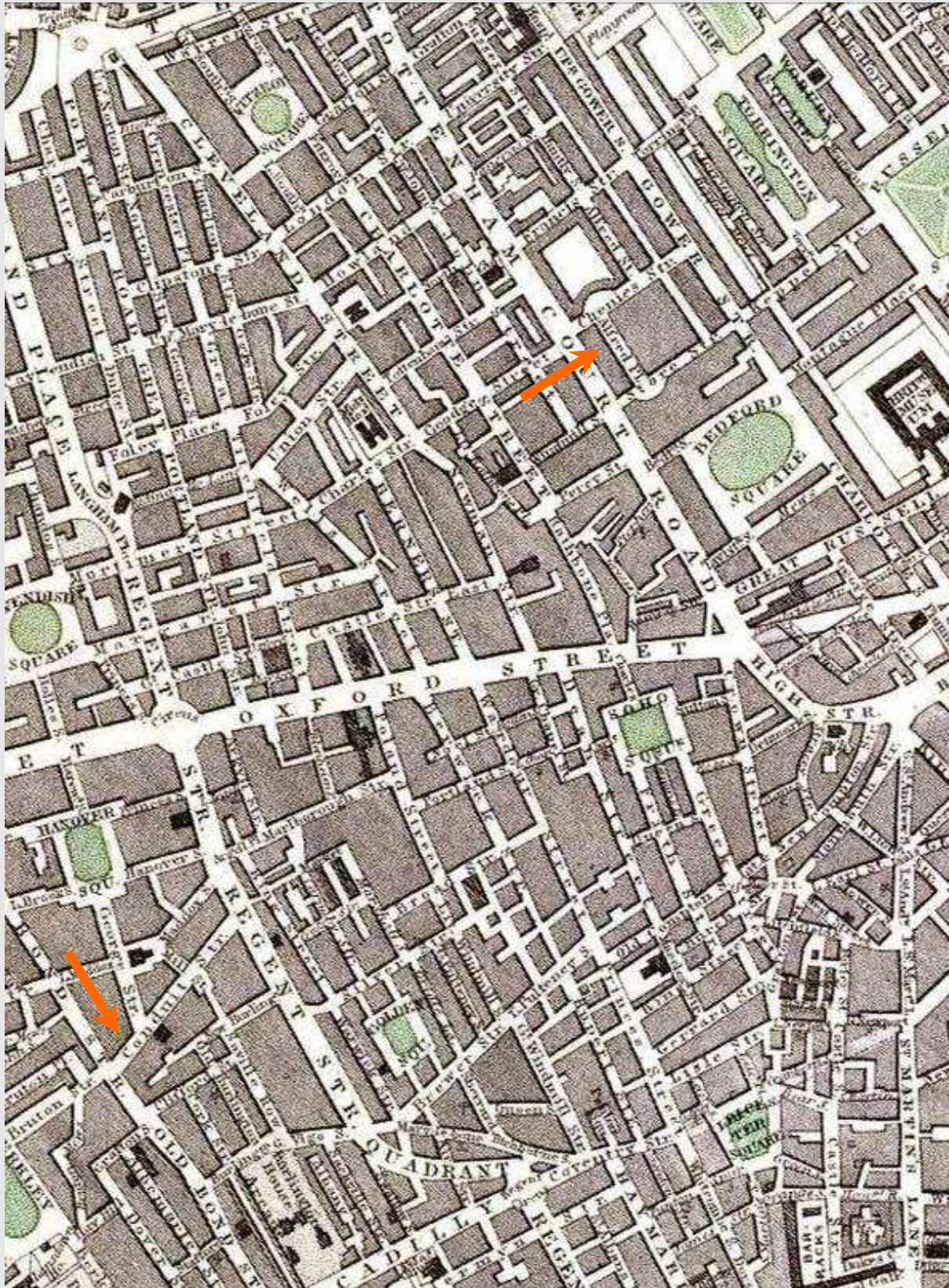


The earliest mention I have of Isabella (Edward and Eliza’s daughter) in Britain is on 6 June 1841 – the night of the 1841 census. She was then in London with Edward and his wife Julia.

<http://search.ancestry.co.uk/> – 1841 England Census – night of 6 June – Parish of St Giles (Bloomsbury) – Alfred Street includes – Julia Clouston – Age 20 (aged 22/23, born 5 June 1818) – born Scotland – Isabella Clouston – Age 12 (aged 13, born 25 December 1827) – born Foreign Parts – Edward Clouston – Age 50 (aged 53, born 7 October 1787) – Gentleman – born Scotland

| PLACE | HOUSES | | NAMES of each Person who abode therein the preceding Night. | AGE and SEX | | PROFESSION, TRADE, EMPLOYMENT, or of INDEPENDENT MEANS. | Where Born | |
|-------|----------------------------|-----------|---|-------------------|---------|--|--------------------------------|--|
| | Uninhabited or Building | Inhabited | | Males | Females | | Whether Born in same County | Whether Born in Scotland, Ireland, or Foreign Parts. |
| | | | Henry Clouston | | 9.5 | | ✓ | |
| | | | Wm. Clouston | | 20 | | ✓ | ✓ |
| | | | Isabella do | | 12 | | ✓ | ✓ |
| | | | William Clouston | | 40 | Gentleman | ✓ | ✓ |
| | | | Robert Clouston | | 40 | do | ✓ | |
| | | | Edward Clouston | | 50 | do | ✓ | ✓ |
| | | | Margaret Clouston | | 45 | do | ✓ | |

<http://www.davidrumsey.com/maps3872.html> – Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge – 1843 – London – section – **arrows** – top, Alfred Street – bottom, Conduit Street (see below George William Hamilton, 14 Conduit Street)



On the night of the 1841 census George William Hamilton was in London at 15 Conduit Street – and next door, at 14 Conduit Street, Robert Clouston was one of the occupants

<http://search.ancestry.co.uk> – 1841 England Census – night of 6 June – City of Westminster – Parish of St Georges, Hanover Square

Conduit Street – No. 14 – George Wm Hamilton – Age 50 (aged 54, born 18 October 1786) – of Independent Means – born Scotland

Conduit Street – No. 15 – Robert Clouston – Age 40 – of Independent Means – born Scotland

Note – it seems likely that Robert Clouston, above, was Edward's brother (on 6 June 1841 aged 42, born 9 January 1798) – the 4th son of Rev William Clouston and Isabella – see Chapter 4.

| PLACE | HOUSES | | NAMES of each Person who abode therein the preceding Night. | AGE and SEX | | PROFESSION, TRADE, EMPLOYMENT, or of INDEPENDENT MEANS. | Where Born | |
|---|----------------------------|-----------|---|-------------------|---------|--|--------------------------------|---|
| | Uninhabited or Building | Inhabited | | Males | Females | | Whether Born in same County | Whether Born in Scotland, Ireland, or Foreign Part. |
| Conduit St. 8. 15 15 D. 16 16 | | | Charlotte Randall | | 20 | | Y. | |
| | | | George W. Hamilton | 50 | | Ind | | S. |
| | | | John Kidd | 20 | | S. M. S. | H | |
| | | | Nanny Pettitt | 20 | | S. M. S. | Y | |
| | | | Elizabeth Knight | | 25 | S. F. S. | H | |
| | | | Martha D. | | 25 | S. F. S. | H. | |
| | | | Fredrick Paerton | 20 | | Sword Cutler | Y. | |
| | | | Rees James | 45 | | S. Tailor | Y. | |
| | | | Mary Ann D. | | 25 | | Y. | |
| | | | John D. | | 11 | | Y. | |
| | | | Robert Clouston | 40 | | Ind | | S. |
| | | | Mary Ann Smith | | 20 | S. F. S. | H | |
| | | | Annat Foxwell | | 15 | S. F. S. | Y. | |
| | | | Martha Brown | | 20 | S. F. S. | H | |
| | | | David Rodgers | 50 | | S. Publican | | S. |

George William Hamilton had arrived in London by 14 August 1840 and was then living at 15 Conduit Street with his brother Robert Hamilton – formerly a Kingston merchant – a co-partner of Bogles & Co with Andrew Bogle and Michael Scott at the time the firm went bankrupt – see Chapter 12.

Below – Robert Hamilton's Will.

www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/wills.htm – Wills – Robert Hamilton, Merchant of No. 14 Conduit Street, Hanover Square, London – Probate granted 31 August 1840 – Will dated 27 September 1839 – Codicil dated 14 August 1840 – summary

People mentioned include – Father – the late John Hamilton (of Northpark, Glasgow – died 1829)

Brothers – George William Hamilton of St Catherine, Jamaica – William Hamilton of Glasgow – Archibald Hamilton of Glasgow

Reputed son Robert Hamilton now a clerk in the firm Frederick Harris & Co of Maracaibo, Venezuela

Elizabeth Hayden Burrell of Kingston, Jamaica (mother of his son Robert Hamilton) – Helen Hamilton, daughter of Elizaabeth Dillon, Kingston, Jamaica

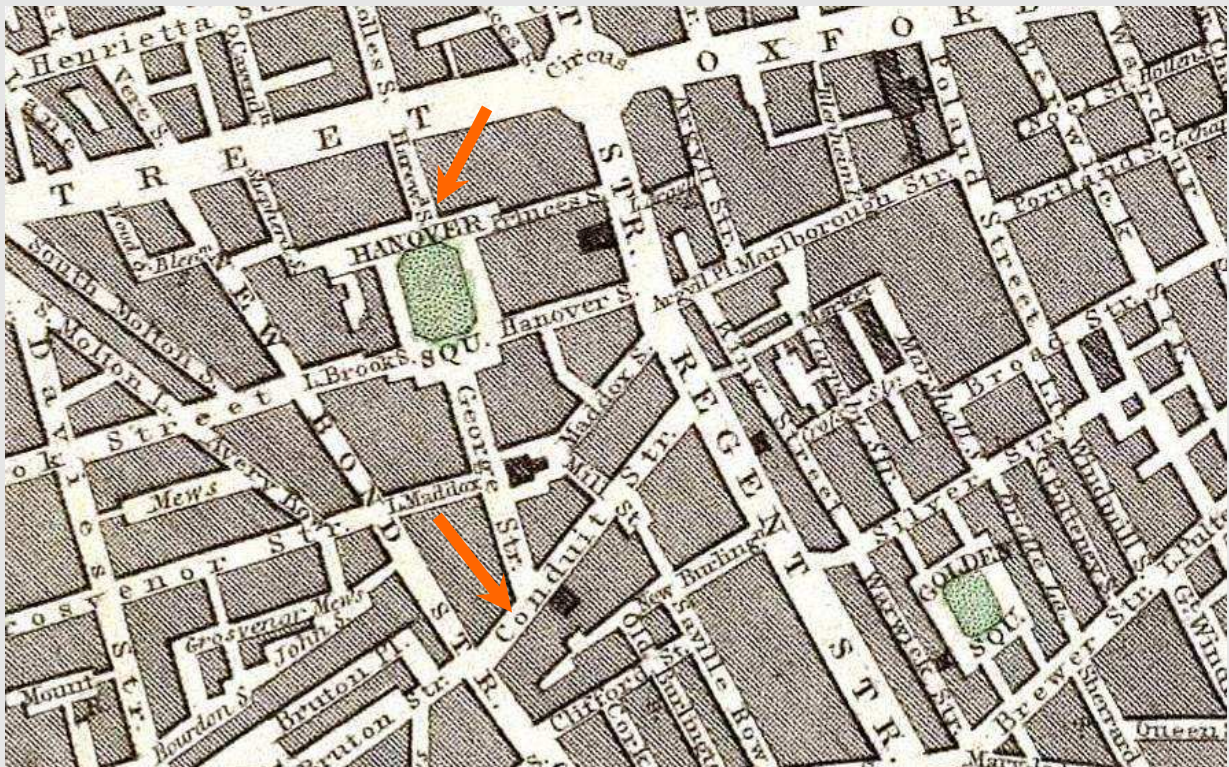
Codicil – I Robert Hamilton of 14 Conduit Street, London . . . my dear brother George William Hamilton since the date of execution of my said Will has returned from Jamaica and is now residing with me in London . . .

Will and Codicil proved by the oath of George William Hamilton the brother the general Executor named in the Will and Codicil

Robert Hamilton's son Robert died on 31 March 1865 at Maracaibo.

See – <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Wills – Robert Hamilton, Merchant residing in Jamaica, thereafter in Maracaibo, Venezuela

<http://www.davidrumsey.com/maps3872.html> – Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge – 1843 – London – section – **arrows** – top points to Harewood House, the Earl of Harewood's town house on the east side of Harewood Street (or Place) and Hanover Square – bottom points to Conduit Street



<https://archive.org/details/oldnewlondonnarr04thoruoft> – *Old and New London . . . Vol IV – Westminster and the Western Suburbs* – by Edward Walford – first published 1878 – page 319

George Street, Hanover Square, in 1800 – looking north from Conduit Street to Hanover Square – in the distance on the far side of Hanover Square, Harewood House



<https://archive.org/details/oldnewlondonnarr04thoruoft> – *Old and New London . . . Vol IV – Westminster and the Western Suburbs* – by Edward Walford – first published 1878 – Page 318 – Harewood House (no date) – from Harewood Place looking south across Hanover Square to St Georges Church and Conduit Street



Henry Lascelles, the 2nd Earl of Harewood, died suddenly in Yorkshire on 24 November 1841.

British Library Newspapers online – The Era, 28 Nov 1841

We are sorry to announce by the information which reached us at a late hour, the sudden death of the Earl of Harewood. The noble earl was out hunting on Wednesday last; whilst returning homewards, in the neighbourhood of Tadcaster, he felt himself indisposed, dismounted from his horse, leaned against a gatepost, and almost instantly expired. The noble earl was found by the whipper-in lying on his face, and quite dead. He had only been left about ten minutes. His lordship's remains were removed to Bramham. The death of the noble earl occasions a vacancy in the office of Lord Lieutenant for the West Riding of this county. His Lordship was born in 1767; married the daughter of Sir J. S. Sebright, bart., who died on the 15th of February 1840. His Lordship was the second son of Earl Harewood the title being created in 1812. He was appointed to the office of Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1819, and was also High Steward of Allerton.

His Lordship who was in his 75th year, possessed the princely income of £200,000 a year, and was one of our largest West India proprietors. His charity was unbounded; he was a father to the poor of his neighbourhood, and the kindest landlord in existence . . .

London Times online – 27 Nov 1841, page 5 – Sudden Death of the Earl of Harewood – extracts

We regret to announce the sudden death of the Earl of Harewood while on his way home from hunting
...

The particulars attending the melancholy event will be best gathered from the report of the evidence given by the witnesses at the coroner's inquest, which we subjoin.

Coroner's Inquest.

Verdict – "Died suddenly by the visitation of God."

London Times online, 29 Nov 1841, page 6 – The Late Earl of Harewood – from the Standard

Although the late Earl was, from his early youth, strongly attached to a country life, he has throughout his long career taken a prominent part in public affairs . . . 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 conspicuous as his industry.

In 1819, when the late Earl Fitzwilliam was deprived of the Lord-Lieutenancy of the West Riding, on account of partisan politics, the Earl of Harewood succeeded to that influential position, and retained it to the hour of his death. As the head of the magistracy of the Riding he ever mingled political impartiality with personal kindness, and, as far as he was concerned, the commission of the peace was kept clear of improper names.

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 Government for the time being. On various occasions he interposed advice, which was deferentially listened to and followed . . .

www.artfund.org/what-to-see/exhibitions/2013/07/14/harewood-masterpieces-works-by-turner-girtin-and-varley-exhibition – J M W Turner – Harewood House from the Southeast



Henry Lascelles, 2nd Earl of Harewood, was succeeded by his second son Henry Lascelles (1797-1857), the 3rd Earl of Harewood.

From 1843 to 1844/45 Edward was living in Edinburgh New Town at 33 Scotland Street.

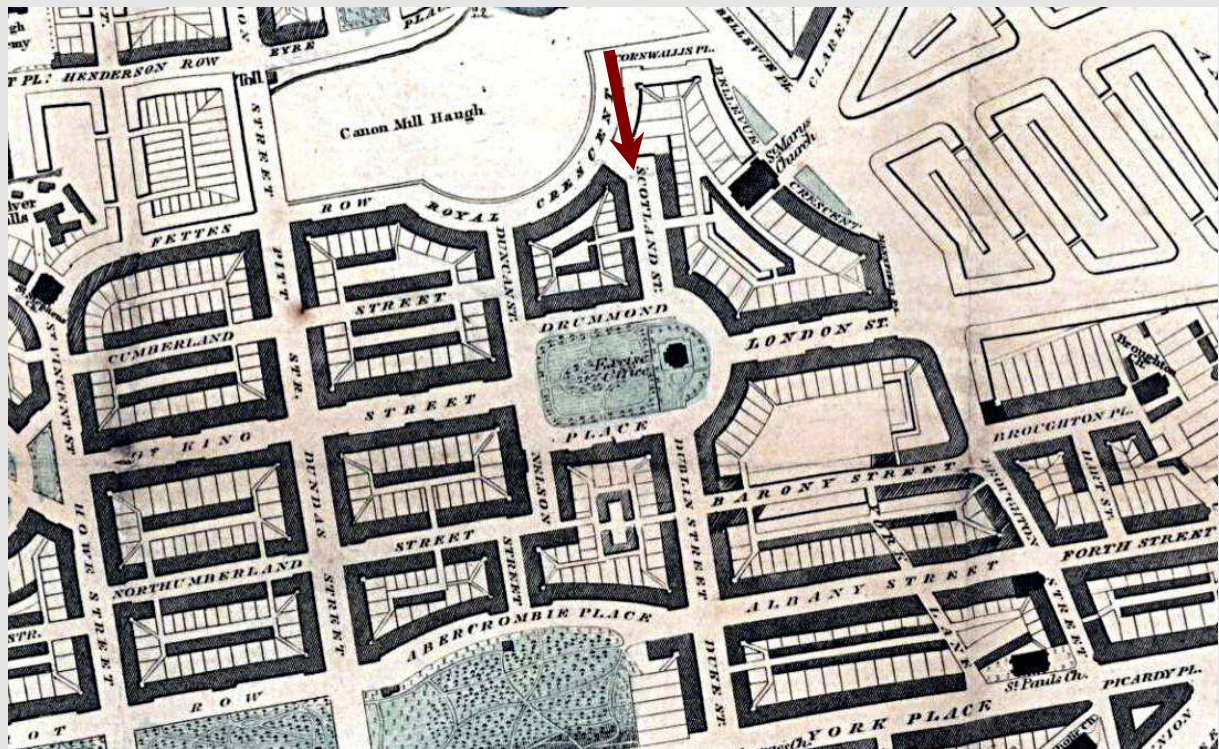
<http://digital.nls.uk/directories/> – *Edinburgh Post Office annual Directory and Calendar, 1843-1844*, printed 1843 – page 214 – Scotland Street – odd numbers = east side

| SCOTLAND STREET. | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1 Hamilton, John, esq. W.S. | 35 Scott, Mrs |
| 1 Welsh, John, grocer | 35 M'Culloch, W. lodgings |
| 1 Fraser, John, teacher | 35 Oliphant, Mrs |
| 1 Graham, Alexander, dairy | 35 <i>Edinburgh & Newh. Rail. Office</i> |
| 1 Sim, Mrs | 37 Watson, Mrs |
| 3 Welsh, John, grocer | 28 Watt, Rev. Robert |
| 3 Hewat, John, of Spital & Sons | 28 Hill, John, of British Linen Co. |
| 5 Adam, James, esq. W.S. | 26 Browne, Rev. Archibald |
| 7 Hogg, John, esq. | 24 Brown, Thomas, esq. |
| 7 West, Mrs Stewart | 22 Panton, Miss |
| 7 Sclanders, A. upholsterer | 22 Lang, Peter, Com. Bank |
| 7 Davidson, Mathew, writing-master | 22 Davidson, C. (G. & C Davidson) |
| 7 Horetsky, Mons. teacher | 22 Hart, John, of Nat. Bank |
| 7 Mackay, John, jun. jeweller | 22 Currie, Donald, of Excise |
| 9 Scott, Andrew, baker | 20 Robertson, John, esq. W.S. |
| 11 Henry, William, builder | 18 Anderson, Peter, Esq. W.S. |
| 11 Cormack, Mrs, midwife | 18 Graham, Wm. letter-carrier |
| 11 Russell, William, accountant | 16 Bruce, Misses |
| 13 Mackenzie, J. W. esq. W.S. | 16 Greig, Rob. Gen. Post Office |
| 13 Campbell, W. B. S. esq. W.S. | |
| 15 Gordon, Misses | |
| 17 Kerr, Miss, dressmaker | 16 Thomson, Miss |
| 17 Muschett, Miss | 16 Grant, Mrs |
| 19 Mackenzie, John W. esq. W.S. | 16 Finlay, Thomas, meal-dealer |
| 21 Goold, G. of B. L. Co. Bank | 14 Potts, G. cabinetmaker |
| 23 Robertson, Thomas, painter | 14 Boyd, James, cabinetmaker |
| 23 Black, Mr Charles | 14 Hall, Mrs Captain |
| 23 Buchanan, D. Editor of Courant | 12 Liddle, Joseph, esq. S.S.C. |
| 25 Patison, William | 10 Whyte, D. bookseller |
| 25 Wilson, W. bookseller | 10 M'Whirter, James, baker |
| 25 Renton, James, S.S.C. | 8 Belfrage, Wm. esq. writer |
| 25 Robertson, Thomas, painter | 8 Rose, Hugh, esq. |
| 25 Durham, James, shoemaker | 6 Alves, Miss |
| 27 Bonar, Misses | 6 Richmond, Miss |
| 29 Leven, John, esq. W.S. | 6 Drummond, George, builder |
| 31 Gordon, Miss | 4 Fisher, Charles, esq. S.S.C. |
| 31 Livingston, Josiah, hosier | 2 Macnish, Will. M.D. surgeon |
| 33 Clouston, Edward, esq. | 2 Robertson, Alexander, esq. |
| 35 Aiken, Hugh, agent | 2 Roughead, Robert, lodgings |
| | 2 Dickson, Thomas, coach-hirer |
| | 2 Wilson, Robert, flesher |

Edinburgh Post Office annual Directory and Calendar, 1844-1845 printed 1844 – page 254-225 – Scotland Street – includes

31 Gordon, Miss
 — Campbell, Major A.
 — Livingston, Josiah, hosier
 33 Clouston, Edward, esq.
 35 Burnside, Mrs, midwife
 — M'Culloch, W. lodgings

<http://maps.nls.uk/towns/rec/420> – Kay's Plan of Edinburgh – 1836 – far left Howe Street – far right, Forth Street – **arrow** points to Scotland Street



My photos, March 2013 – Scotland Street, east side – looking south towards Drummond Place – **arrow** points to middle white door – No. 33



Scotland Street, east side – middle white door – No. 33

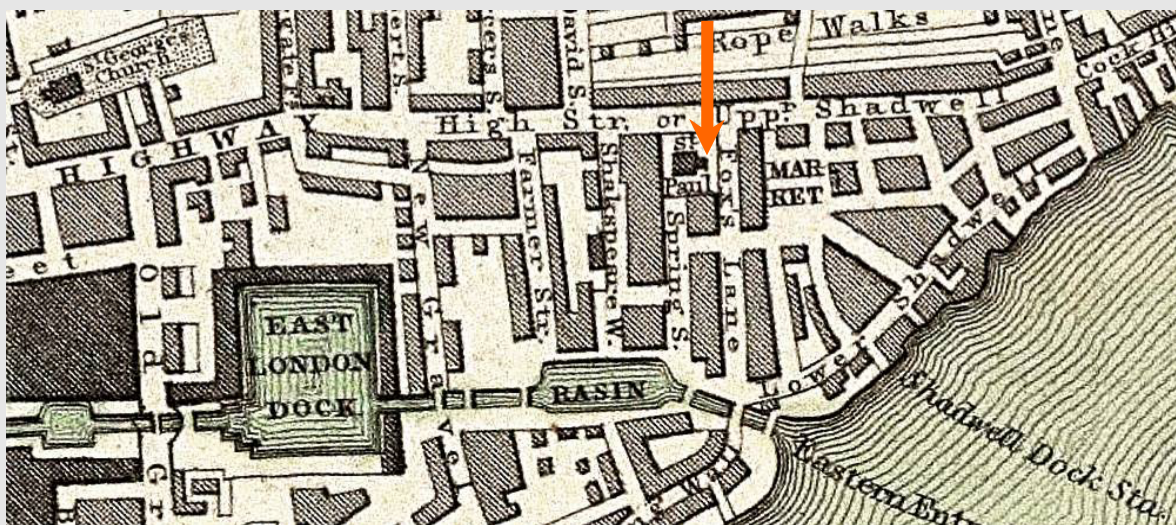


From Drummond Place – looking north down the east side of Scotland Street



On 8 May 1845, seven years after Henry was apprenticed to George Trill, his Seaman's Register Ticket was issued at London. In 1845, when unemployed, Henry resided in the East End of London at Shadwell.

<http://www.davidrumsey.com/maps3872.html> – Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge – 1843 – London – section – **arrows** – top points to Canon Street Road (formerly Gloucester Terrace) – bottom points to St Paul's Church, Shadwell



London National Archives – Seamen's Register Tickets – Issued 1845 – Henry Clouston – section

| | | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| No. of | 24639 | | Register Ticket. | |
| Henry Clouston | | | | |
| Born at | Aberdeen | in the | Age when Ticketed | |
| County of | ~~~~~ | 16 day of Novr. 1822 | 23 | |
| Capacity | Seaman | | | |
| Height | 5 ft 6 in | Hair | Black | |
| Complexion | Man of Color | Eyes | " | Can Write |
| Marks | None | | | |
| First went to Sea as | Apprentice | | Yes | |
| | in the Year 1838 | | | |
| Has served in the Royal Navy | No | | | |
| Has been in Foreign Service | No | | | |
| When unemployed, resides at | Shadwell | | | |
| Issued at | London | 8 day of May | 1845 | |

Transcript

No. of 24639 Register Ticket Henry Clouston

Born at Aberdeen County of ~~~~~ 16 day of Novr. 1822 Age when Ticketed 23

Capacity Seaman

Height 5 ft 6 in Hair Black

Complexion Man of Color Eyes " Can Write Yes

Marks None

First went to Sea as Apprentice in the Year 1838

Has served in the Royal Navy No

Has served in Foreign Service No

When unemployed, resides at Shadwell

Issued at London 8 day of May 1845

Above – Born at *Aberdeen* – ? perhaps before Henry was apprenticed to George Traill he was at a school in Aberdeen.

On 31 July 1845 Edward ‘Clowston’ (Clouston), 33 Scotland Street. Edinburgh was on a list of subscribers to the Newcastle and Berwick Railway.

<http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk/> – *Parliamentary Papers* – Railways – Return to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 31 July 1845: – for – A Return “Of An Alphabetical List of the Names, Descriptions, and Places of Abode of all persons subscribing for an Sum less than £2,000 to any Railway Subscription Contract deposited in the Private Bill Office during the present Session of Parliament; showing the Amount subscribed by each Person for every Railway to which he may be a Subscriber, and the Total Amount of such Subscriptions by each Person.” – Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed, 5 August 1845.

Alphabetical List of Railway Bills brought before the House of Commons during the present Session of Parliament (Session 1845) – include – 145. Newcastle and Berwick Railway Company

Alphabetical List of Subscribers of less than £2,000 – extract – arrow points to – Clowston (Clouston), Edward, gentleman, 33, Scotland-street, Edinburgh – Railway No. 145 – Amount £425

| NAMES OF SUBSCRIBERS. | DESCRIPTION. | PLACE OF ABODE. | Numerical References to the Titles of the Railways. | AMOUNT. | | TOTAL. | |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|---|---------|----|--------|----|
| | | | | £. | s. | £. | s. |
| Clowes, Richard | gentleman | 15, Penton-row, Walworth | 138 | 800 | - | | |
| Clowston, Edward | gentleman | 33, Scotland-street, Edinburgh | 145 | 425 | - | | |
| Ghallow, William Benton | minister | Bradford | 199 | 300 | - | | |
| Clunes, James | clerk | 33, Parkside-street, Edinburgh | 166 | 1,750 | - | | |
| Glunie, John | | 19, West-Nicholson-street, Edinburgh | 59 | 750 | - | | |
| Clupperton, William | merchant | 7, Eldon-place, Glasgow | 6 | 1,500 | - | | |
| Clyde, Josiah | manufacturer | Falkirk | 166 | 100 | - | | |
| Clyde, William | grocer | Skinnergate, Darlington | 81 | 90 | - | | |
| Clyma, William | auctioneer | Truro | 33 | 400 | - | 600 | - |
| | | | | 200 | - | | |
| Coaks, Richard | merchant | Norwich | 45 | 1,000 | - | | |
| | | | 45 | 400 | - | 1,650 | - |
| | | | 51 | 250 | - | | |

On 11 October 1845 Edward was one of a great many subscribers to a Testimonial to George Hudson.

British Library Newspapers online – Morning Chronicle, 11 October 1845 – Testimonial to George Hudson, Esq, M.P. – extracts

In pursuance of the resolutions passed at the General Meeting recently held of the Midlands, York, and North Midland, Newcastle and Darlington, and Newcastle and Berwick Railway Companies, the several Boards of Direction over which Mr Hudson presides have arranged and determined that “the best mode of offering a suitable Testimonial to that gentleman, in acknowledgment of his eminent services, is to raise a Fund by individual Subscription, rather than by grants of money from the public stock of the companies.”

The Committee, appointed to promote the subscription, request that parties intending to subscribe will, at their earliest convenience, state the sum for which their names are to be added to the Subscription List.

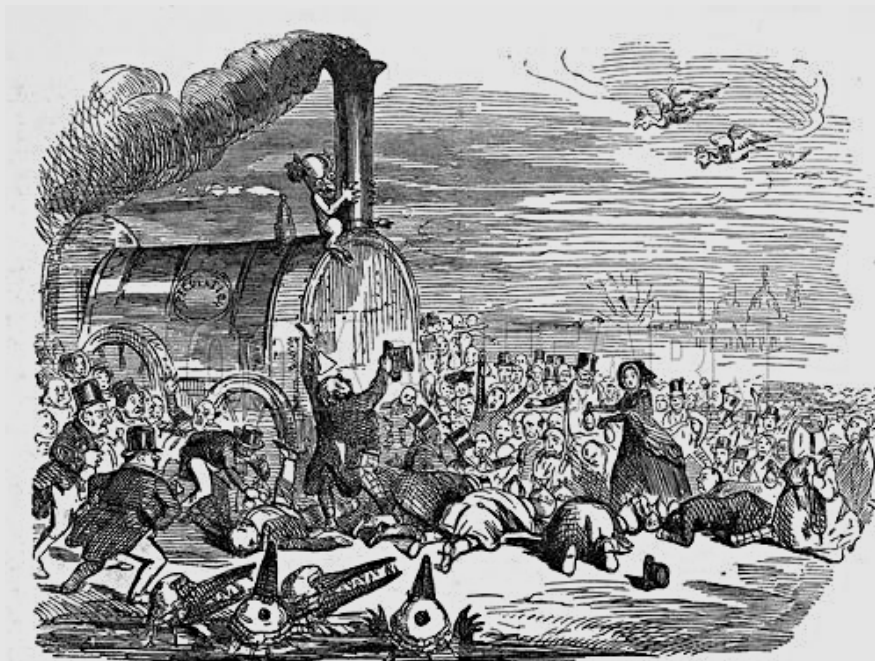
The Committee feel that it is wholly unnecessary for them to attempt to urge the powerful claims of Mr Hudson to the gratitude and respect, not only of all who are shareholders in the several lines of railway with which he is connected, but of the public generally. His pre-eminent services are universally appreciated and acknowledged; and of the success that has attended his labours, the public have experience the most abundant and satisfactory proofs.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Amount already advertised£12,975 14s. 0d.

Below – Edward Clouston, Esq., Edinburgh - £3 0d 0s

| | | | |
|--|-----|---|---|
| James Tonge, Esq., Willow House, Halifax | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. R. Duffitt, York | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Nicholas Charles Gold, Esq., York | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Richard Evers, Esq., York | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| E. L. Farrow, Esq., London..... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| H. S. Belcombe, Esq., M.D., York..... | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Edward Clouston, Esq., Edinburgh | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| James Wail, Esq., Sheffield..... | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| The Right Hon. Sir John Beckett, Stratford-place, London | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Richard Forster. Esq. Bathwick-hill. Bath..... | 0 | 0 | 0 |

George Hudson was the 'Railway King' – see – https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Hudsonwww.digitalvictorianist.com/2013/04/the-pleasures-of-print-2-this-time-its-personal/

THE RAILWAY JUGGERNAUT OF 1845

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Railway_Mania – Railway Mania

Railway Mania was an instance of speculative frenzy in Britain in the 1840s. It followed a common pattern: as the price of railway shares increased, more and more money was poured in by speculators, until the inevitable collapse. It reached its zenith in 1846, when no fewer than 272 Acts of Parliament were passed, setting up new railway companies, and the proposed routes totalled 9,500 miles (15,300 km) of new railway. Around a third of the railways authorised were never built – the company either collapsed due to poor financial planning, was bought out by a larger competitor before it could build its line, or turned out to be a fraudulent enterprise to channel investors' money into another business.

Causes

Britain's (and the world's) first recognisably modern inter-city railway, the Liverpool and Manchester (the L&M), opened in 1830 and proved to be highly successful for transporting both

passengers and freight. However, the late 1830s and early 1840s saw the British economy slow down. Interest rates rose, making it more attractive to invest money in government bonds – the main source of investment at the time, and political and social unrest deterred banks and businesses from investing the huge sums of money required to build railways; the L&M cost £637,000 (£53,420,000 today).

However, by the mid-1840s, the economy was improving vastly and the manufacturing industries were once again growing. The Bank of England cut interest rates, making government bonds less attractive investments, and existing railway companies' shares began to boom as they moved ever-increasing amounts of cargo and people, making people willing to invest in new railways.

Crucially, there were more investors in British business. The Industrial Revolution was creating a new, increasingly affluent middle class. While earlier business ventures had relied on a small number of banks, businessmen and wealthy aristocrats for investment, a prospective railway company had (on top of these sources) a large, literate section of population with savings to invest. In 1825 the government had repealed the Bubble Act, brought in after the near-disastrous South Sea Bubble of 1720 which put close limits on the formation of new business ventures and, importantly, had limited joint stock companies to a maximum of five separate investors. With these limits removed anyone could invest money (and hopefully earn a return) on a new company and railways were heavily promoted as a foolproof venture. New media such as newspapers and the emergence of the modern stock market made it easy for companies to promote themselves and provide the means for the general public to invest. Shares could be purchased for a 10% deposit with the railway company holding the right to call in the remainder at any time. The railways were so heavily promoted as a foolproof venture that thousands of investors on modest incomes bought large numbers of shares whilst only being able to afford the deposit. Many families invested their entire savings in prospective railway companies – and many of those lost everything when the bubble collapsed and the companies called in the remainder of their due payments.

The British government promoted an almost totally 'laissez-faire' system of non-regulation in the railways. Companies had to submit a Bill to Parliament to gain the right to acquire land for the line, which required the route of the proposed railway to be approved, but there were no limits on the number of companies and no real checks on the financial viability of a line. Anyone could form a company, gain investment and submit a Bill to Parliament. Since many MPs, were heavy investors in such schemes, it was rare for a Bill to not pass during the peak of the Mania in 1846, although Parliament did reject schemes that were blatantly misleading or impossible to construct – at the Mania's peak there were several schemes floated for 'direct' railways which ran in vast, straight lines across swathes of countryside that would have been difficult to construct and nearly impossible for the locomotives of the day to work on.

Magnates like George Hudson developed routes in the North and Midlands by amalgamating small railway companies and rationalising routes. He was also an MP, but ultimately failed owing to his fraudulent practices of, for example, paying dividends from capital.

The end of the Mania

As with other bubbles, the Railway Mania became a self-promoting cycle based purely on over-optimistic speculation. As the dozens of companies formed began to operate and the simple unviability of many of them became clear, investors began to realise that railways were not all as lucrative and as easy to build as they had been led to believe. Coupled to this, in late 1845 the Bank of England put up interest rates. As banks began to re-invest in bonds, the money began to flow out of railways, undercutting the boom. The share prices of railways slowed in their rise, then levelled out. As they began to fall, investment stopped virtually overnight, leaving numerous companies without funding and numerous investors with no prospect of any return on their investment. The larger railway companies such as the Great Western Railway and the nascent Midland began to buy up strategic failed lines to expand their network. These lines could be purchased at a fraction of their real value as given a choice between a below-value offer for their shares or the total loss of their investment, shareholders naturally chose the former.

Many middle-class families on modest (but comfortable) incomes had sunk their entire savings into new companies during the Mania, and lost everything when the speculation collapsed.

The boom-and-bust cycle of early-industrial Britain was still in effect, and the boom that had created the conditions for Railway Mania began to cool and then a decline set in. The number of new

railway companies fell away to almost nothing in the late 1840s and early 1850s, with the only new lines constructed being by the large companies. Economic upturns in the 1850s and 1860s saw smaller booms in railway construction, but these never reached anywhere near the scale of the Mania – partly due to more thoughtful (if still very limited) government control, partly due to more cautious investors and partly because the UK railway network was approaching maturity, with none of the ‘blank canvas’ available to numerous companies as in the 1840s.

Results

Unlike some stock market bubbles, however, there was actually a net tangible result from all the investment: a vast expansion of the British railway system, though perhaps at an inflated cost. Amongst the high number of impractical, overambitious and downright fraudulent schemes promoted during the Mania were a good number of practical trunk routes (most notably the initial part of the Great Northern Railway and the trans-Pennine Woodhead route) and important freight lines (such as large parts of what would become the North Eastern Railway). These projects all required vast amounts of capital all of which had to be raised from private enterprise. The speculative frenzy of the Mania made people much more willing to invest the large sums required for railway construction than they had been previously or would be in later years. Even many of the routes that failed when the Mania collapsed became viable (if not lucrative) when in the hands of the larger company that had purchased it. A total of 6,220 miles (10,010 km) of railway line were built as a result of projects authorised between 1844 and 1846 – by comparison, the total route mileage of the modern UK railway network is around 11,000 miles (18,000 km).

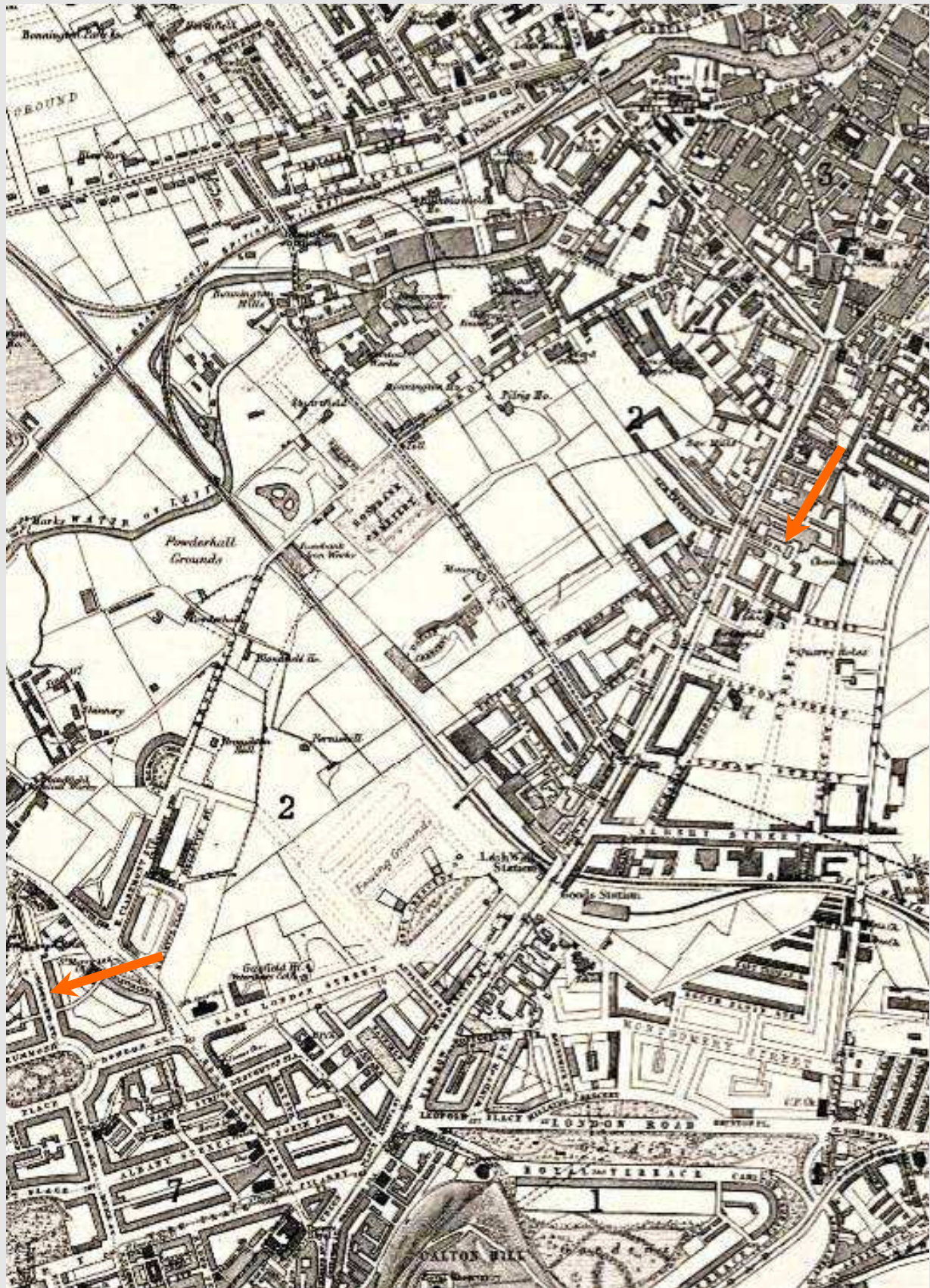
In 1844 or 1845 Edward moved from Scotland Street to 7 Smith’s Place – a street running east off Leith Walk, the road from Edinburgh to Leith.

<http://digital.nls.uk/directories/> – *Edinburgh Post Office annual Directory and Calendar, 1845-1846*
printed 1845 – page 238

| SMITH'S PLACE, <i>Leith Walk.</i> | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 Black, Wm. merchant | 10 Raimes, John |
| 2 Crabbie, Robt. merchant | — Raimes, J. & R. & Co. agts. |
| - Livingston, Alex. agent | 17 Blanchard, G. (J. & R. |
| - Blackie, Thos. com. travel. | Raimes & Co.) |
| - Marshall, W. R. clerk | — Blanchard, Thos. (J. & R. |
| - Rose, Nelson, (Carron Co.) | Raimes & Co.) |
| - Dalgety, J. agent | — Jackson, R. R. (J. & R. |
| - Buchan, Mathew, rectifier | Raimes & Co.) |
| 4 Haig, Mrs | 15 Bruce, John |
| 6 Miller, Wm. wood mercht. | 13 Neill, John, merchant |
| 8 Park, Robert, merchant | 11 Smart, Rev. John |
| - Napier, Charles H. Saw- | 9 Somerville, John, agent |
| mills | - Wright, S. |
| - Brown, J. draper | 7 Clouston, Edward |
| - Wilson, Andrew, S.S.C. | 3 Morton, Hugh, engineer |
| 10 Watson, Mrs Ebenezer | 1 Spence, Mrs J. |

In 1855 Edward was the owner of a house in Smith’s Place (see Chapter 24) and 1865 he was the owner of 7 Smith’s Place (see Chapter 25) so perhaps Edward bought 7 Smith’s Place when he moved there in 1844 or 1845.

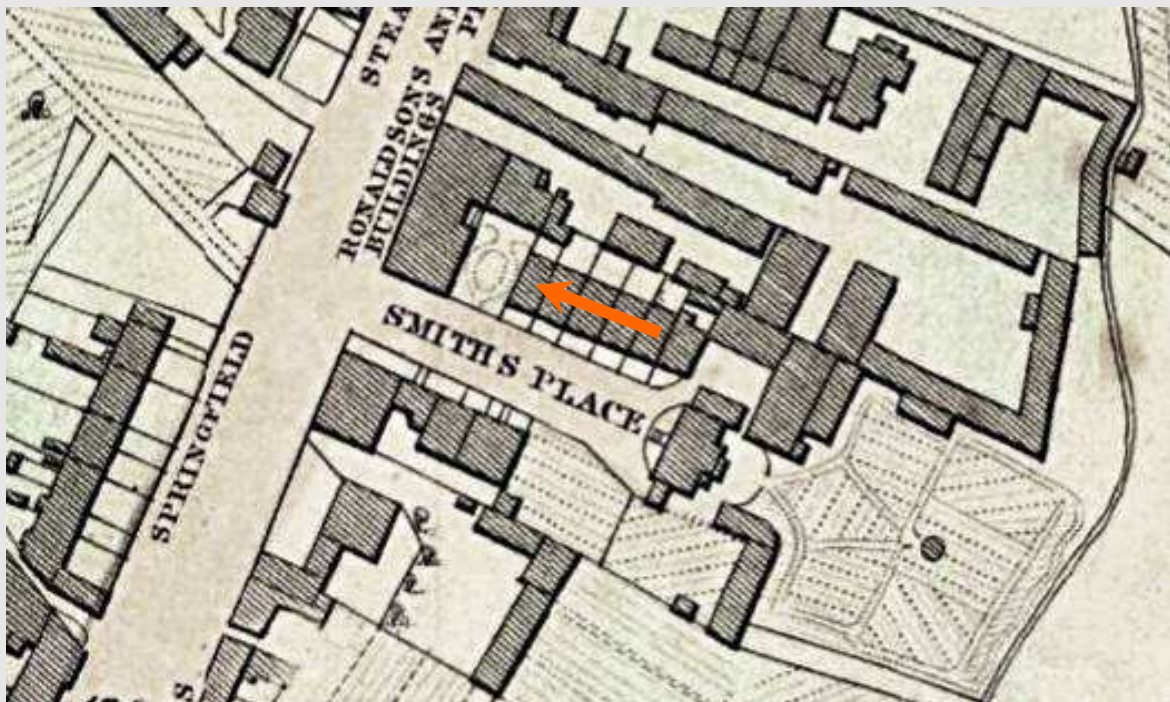
<http://maps.nls.uk/towns/detail.cfm?id=2648> – John Bartholomew – 1882 – Edinburgh and Leith with Suburbs – Constructed for the Post Office Directory – section – top right, Leith – **arrows** – top points to Smith's Place – east from Leith Walk – bottom points to Scotland Street



<https://archive.org/details/cassellsoldnewed03granuoft> – *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh* by James Grant, published 1880 – Vol III – page 169 – Pilrig Free Church and Leith Walk – looking North – towards Leith



<http://maps.nls.uk/joins/422.html> – Johnston's plan of Edinburgh & Leith – 1851 – section – Smith's Place – **arrow** points to No. 7 – on the east side of what was then a garden



Google Maps – Street View – blue door – No. 7 Smith's Place



In 1832 Edward's sister Jane and her husband William Stewart (see Chapter 4), a Leith merchant, were living in a house in Smith's Place.

<http://digital.nls.uk/directories/> – *Edinburgh Post Office annual Directory, 1832-1833, printed 1832* – page 239

Stewart, John, merchant, 23 Constitution street—
house Thomson place
— John, shipmaster, 44 Tolbooth wynd
— Peter, grocer, Pollock's land, Burns street
— Thos. & Co. sealing wax manuf^{rs}, Brickwork cl.
— Wm. merchant, Bell's court—ho. Smith's place
— Mrs, lodgings, 24 Bernard street
— Miss G. 75 Constitution street

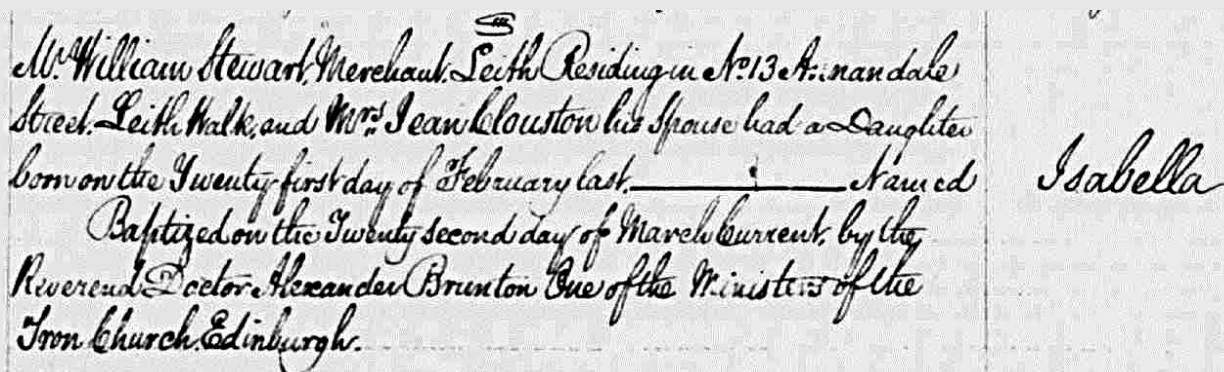
William Stewart and Jane had four children – Balfour Stewart, Isabella Stewart, William Clouston Stewart, and Edward Clouston Stewart.

<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – *Church Registers – Edinburgh – St Cuthbert's Births/Baptisms 1828* – Balfour Stewart – born 1 November 1828 – baptized 25 November

Mr. William Stewart, Merchant Leith Residing in N^o. 13 Annan-
side Street and Mrs. Jane Clouston, his spouse had a son born on
the first day of November current - - - - - Named
Baptized on the twenty fifth day of the said month by the
Reverend Doctor Alexander Brunton, One of the Ministers of
the Free Church Edinburgh. Balfour

Above – Balfour Stewart – see Chapter 4 and Chapter 24

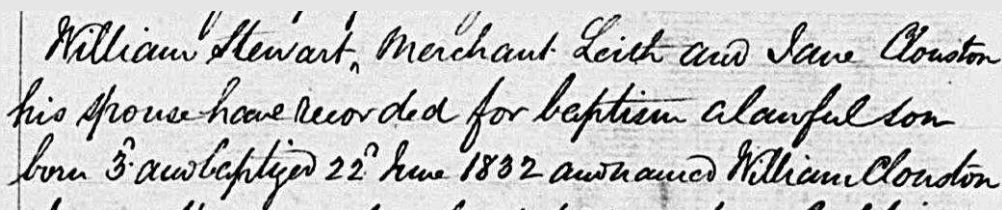
Edinburgh – St Cuthbert's – Births/Baptisms 1830 – Isabella Stewart – born 21 February 1830 – baptized 22 March



Mr. William Stewart, Merchant, Leith, Residing in No. 13, Annandale Street, Leith Walk, and Mrs. Jean Clouston his Spouse had a Daughter born on the Twenty first day of February last. Named Isabella Baptized on the Twenty second day of March Current, by the Reverend Doctor Alexander Brunton One of the Ministers of the Free Church, Edinburgh.

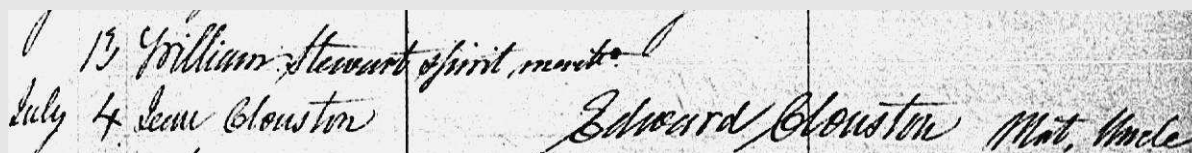
Above – Isabella Stewart married William Heddle Flett – see Chapter 24

South Leith – Birth/Baptisms 1832 – William Clouston Stewart – born 3 June – baptized 22 June



William Stewart, Merchant, Leith and Jane Clouston his Spouse have recorded for baptism a lawful son born 3rd and baptized 22nd June 1832 and named William Clouston

Dundee – Births/Baptisms 1835 – Edward Clouston Stewart – baptized 4 July – named after 'Mat. Uncle' = maternal uncle Edward Clouston – the Edward of my story



13 William Stewart of spirit, married July 4 Jean Clouston Edward Clouston Mat. Uncle

Dundee – Deaths 1841 – 25 October – Jean (Jane) Clouston – Wife of William Stewart, Wine Merchant – Date of Death 21 October – Age 46 – Place of Birth Stromness – Cause of Death Debility

William Stewart and Jane's second son William Stewart Clouston was born at Smith's Place.

www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39516?docPos=162 – Dictionary of National Biography

Stewart, William Clouston (1832–1872), tea merchant and writer on fishing, was born on 3 June 1832 at Smith's Place, Leith, Edinburgh, the third of four children of William Stewart (1798–1873), a tea merchant originally from Orkney, and his first wife, Jean [Jane] (1795–1841), daughter of the Revd William Clouston of Sandwick [Minister of Sandwick and Stromness], Orkney, and his wife, Isabella. When he was a youth the family moved to Dundee, and, following the death of his mother of 'debility' in October 1841, his father remarried in 1843 and returned to Edinburgh in 1848 ...

In 1846 and 1847 Edward continued living at 7 Smith's Place.

<http://digital.nls.uk/directories/> – *Post Office Edinburgh and Leith Directory*

1846-1847, printed 1846 – page 273 –
Smith's Place, Leith Walk – includes

1 Napier, Chas. H. Sawmills
- Spence, Mrs J.
2 Crabbie, Robt. merchant
- Wilson, Miss
- Blackie, Thos. com. travel.
- Marshall, W. R. clerk
- Rose, Nelson, (Carron Co.)
- Dalgety, J. agent
- Buchan, Mathew, rectifier
3 Morton, Hugh, engineer
4 Haig, Mrs
6 Miller, Wm. wood merch.
7 Clouston, Edward
8 Park, Robert, merchant
- Livingston, A. wine mer.
- Brown, J. draper
- Wilson, Andrew, S.S.C.
9 Somerville, John, agent
- Petty, Jas. accountant

1847-1848, printed 1847 – page 269 –
Smith's Place, Leith Walk – includes

1 Napier, Chas. H. sawmills
1 Spence, Mrs J.
2 Davidson, J. A. M. teacher
2 Wilson, Miss
2 Blackie, Thos. com. travel.
2 Marshall, W. R. clerk
2 Rose, Nelson, (Carron Co.)
2 Dalgety, J. agent
2 Buchan, Mathew, rectifier
3 Morton, Hugh, engineer
4 Park, Robt. merchant.
6 Miller, Wm. wood merch.
7 Clouston, Edward
8 Brown, J. draper
8 Wilson, Andrew, S.S.C.
9 Smart, R. C. engraver
9 Petty, Jas. accountant
9 Ovenston, John, traveller
10 Watson, Mrs Ebenezer
10 Raimes, John



<https://archive.org/details/cassellsoldnewed03granuoft> – *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh* by James Grant, published 1880 – Vol III – page 164 – Leith Walk, from Gayfield Square, Looking South – towards Edinburgh



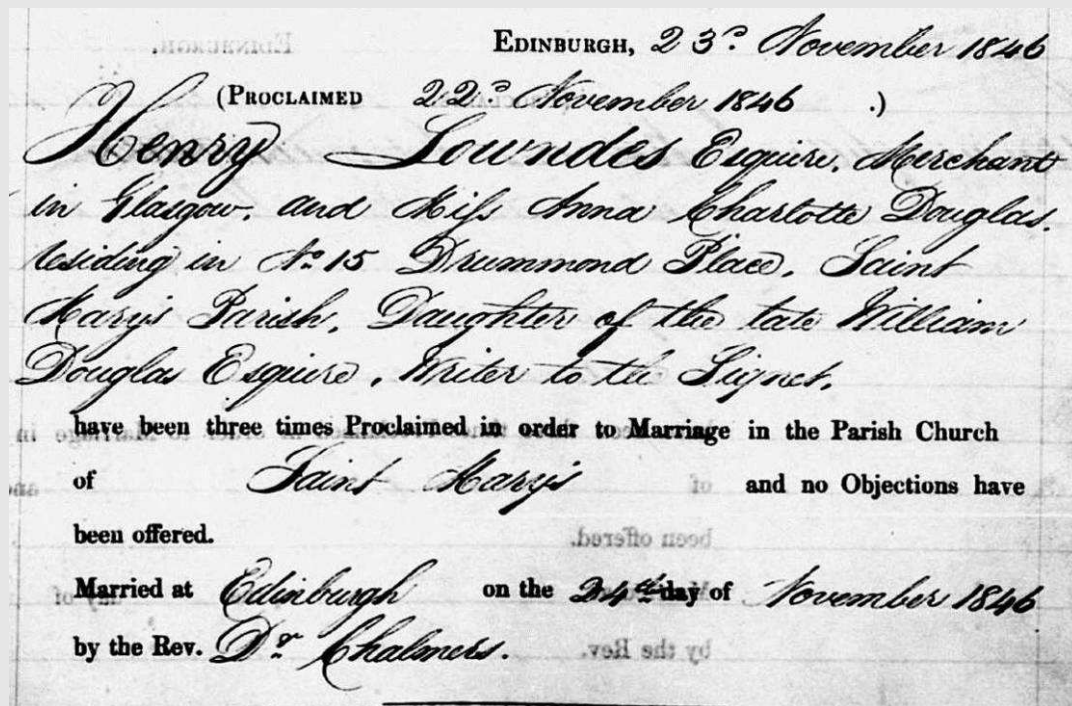
Henry Lowndes left Jamaica in 1844 and settled in Glasgow.

British Library Newspapers online – Caledonian Mercury, 19 Jul 1862 – R. G. Lowndes and Others v. J. B. Douglas – extract – Henry Lowndes

... In 1844 he left Jamaica and came to this country ... He attempted to establish a business in Glasgow, as commission-agent for West Indian produce, and resided there until 1849, having married a Scotch lady in 1846 ...

Henry Lowndes married in Edinburgh on 24 November 1846.

<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Church Registers – Marriages



Anna Charlotte Douglas – Anna Charlotte Murray Douglas – was born at Bingham, Berwickshire, on 23 August 1825 and baptized at Edinburgh on 27 December 1825.

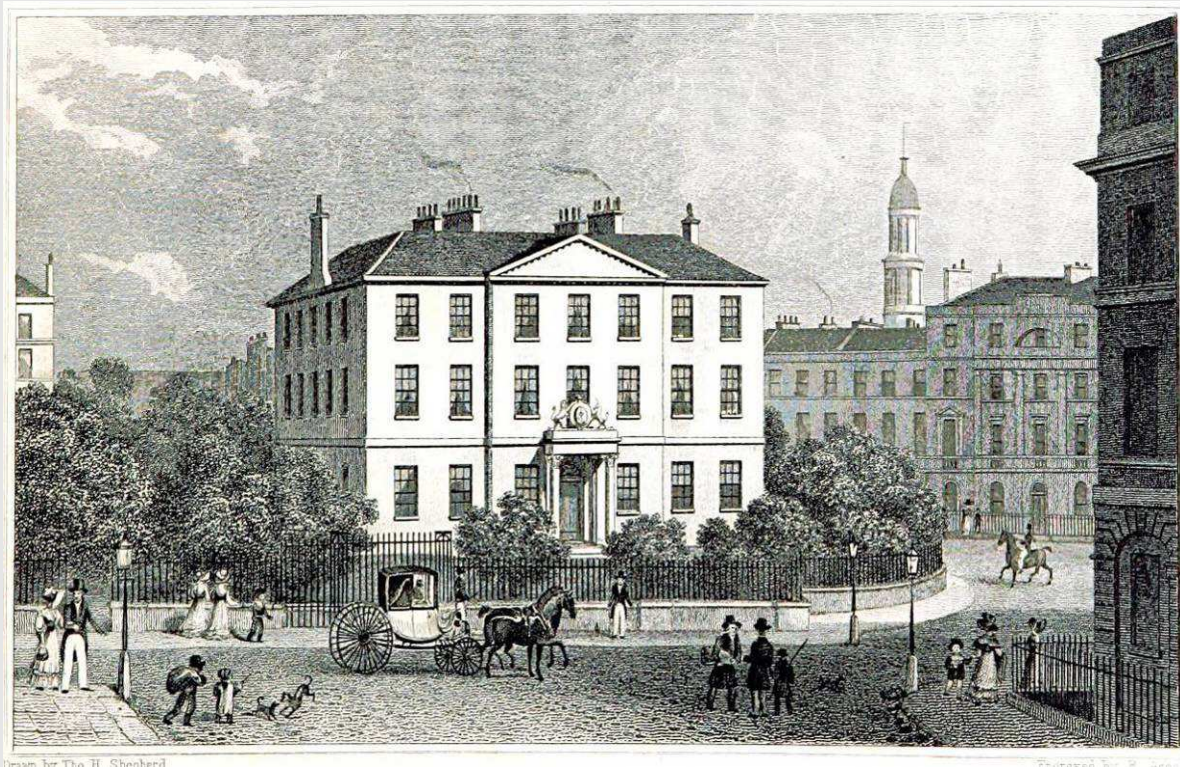
<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Church Registers – Births & Baptisms – Edinburgh 27 December 1825

M^{rs} Douglas Esq^r W^S of M^{rs} Jane Brown H^S & Mary, parish
St. Andrew 23 August last (at Bingham Berwickshire) Named
Anna Charlotte Murray

British Library Newspapers online – Glasgow Herald, 27 Nov 1846 – Married

On the 24th instant, at 15, Drummond place, Edinburgh, by the Rev. Dr. Crawford, of St. Andrews Church, Henry Lowndes, Esq., lately of Jamaica, to Anna Charlotte Murray, daughter of the late William Douglas, Esq., W.S.

<https://archive.org/details/modernathensdis00shepgoog> – *Modern Athens . . . or Edinburgh in the 19th Century*, by Thomas H Shepherd, published 1829 – Excise Office, Drummond Place – at the southern end of Scotland Street (see map above)



In 1846 Henry Lowndes was living in Glasgow at 173 Vincent Street

<http://digital.nls.uk/directories/> – *Post Office annual Glasgow Directory, 1846-1847, printed 1846* – page 137

Low, William, flesher and spirit dealer, 90 Hospital street
LOWNDES, Mrs, 173 St. Vincent street
 Lowndes, Henry, 173 St. Vincent street
LOWREY, Robert, earthenware merchant, 12 Kirk street, Calton

Above – Lowndes, Mrs – may have been Henry Lowndes' mother Isabella, nee Gillies, sister of John Blackburn's wife Rebecca – see Chapter 12.

In Jamaica, Rev W G Burton continued to be the Rector of St Thomas in the Vale until his death in 1847.

In 1843 he was appointed the Provincial Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

http://dgljamaica.org/?page_id=9 – District Grand Lodge of Jamaica – History – extract – 1843

Bro. The Rev William Godfrey Pollard Burton, Rector of the Church, St Thomas-in-ye-Vale, Linstead, appointed Provincial Grand Master, in a revived Scottish Province, just prior to the charter of Lodge Elgin No. 415. Strangely enough, this Scottish Provincial Grand Master was a Mason from the English Constitution, and a member of Sussex Lodge, but was considered the moving spirit in the formation of Lodge Elgin.

On 29 July 1847 Rev Burton died in Spanish Town.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=GJ3KCnhqAdMC&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *The Gentleman's Magazine* – July to December 1847 – page 549 – Clergy Deceased

July 29. At Spanish Town, Jamaica, the Rev, *W. G. P. Burton*, for 32 [31] years Rector of St Thomas in the Vale. He was the second son of the Rev. W. Burton, formerly Rector of Faccombe cum Tangley, Hants, and afterwards of Falmouth, Trelawney, Jamaica.

Monumental Inscriptions of Jamaica, by Philip Wright, published 1966 – page 136

Linstead, St Thomas-in-the-Vale Church – Mural Tablets – The Rev. William Godfrey Pollard Burton, d. in Spanish Town 29 July 1847 aged 57, after being 31 years Rector of this Parish.

In his Will Rev Burton left all his property to his wife Elizabeth – Elizabeth Rodon Burton, nee Lord (see Chapter 14).

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Wills, Old Series, Lib 124, Fol 201 – Entered Island Secretary's Office 6 Jan 1848 – William Godfrey Pollard Burton's Will dated 23 July 1847 – extracts/summary

If I die at Wookey (St Thomas in the Vale) I direct that my body may be buried beside the remains of my beloved Children – but if I die elsewhere then it is to be interred beside the remains of my respected Father in Law William Lord – I direct that my remains may be interred at the least possible expense and I entreat the Executors & Executrix will listen to this wish for the sake of my young and numerous family

I bequeath to my beloved wife Elizabeth Rodon Burton all my real, personal and mixed property together with all monies due to me

It is my express wish – that my servant be sent to my beloved wife at the earliest possible period after my death, and until she can be sent, she be placed under the care of Mrs Lord or her Daughters

Executrix – my beloved wife – Executors – brother in law Charles Payne Lord and friend Robert Gillies Lowndes (Henry Lowndes' brother)

Witnesses – William Nelson Ashby, R Steer and J Hewer

Above – R Steer = Robert Steer, Island Curate for St Thomas in the Vale, the priest in charge of Harewood Chapel who took Eliza's funeral service – see Chapter 22.

On 30 March 1851, the night of the 1851 England Census, Rev W G B Burton's widow was at Tiverton, Devon – Elizabeth R Burton, clergyman's widow, school mistress, born Somerset – 6 daughters and 3 sons, and 3 nieces, all born in Jamaica – see – www.ancestry.co.uk – 1851 England Census

CHAPTER 24

1848 to 1859

Edward, Leith Walk, mortgages part of his Orkney property, 1848 — Henry receives master's certificate at Leith — Edward, Smith's Place, Leith Walk, mortgages rest of his Orkney property — Isabella marries Robert Thin at Smith's Place, 1849 — Edward gives wife Julia an annuity — Edward and Julia in Birkenhead with Robert and Isabella, 1851 — Edward and Henry Lowndes at a meeting in Liverpool, 1852 — Henry Lowndes dies in Jamaica, 1854 — Edward proprietor of farms in Orkney and house in Smith's Place, Leith Walk, 1855 — Edward and Julia living in Tranmere, Birkenhead, 1857 — George William Hamilton dies in Edinburgh — Robert's partner W H Flett marries Edward's niece Isabella Stewart — Henry settles in Nelson, New Zealand, 1849/50 — Henry trading with Australia — Henry marries Mary Maud Rodgers, 1853 — Henry shipmaster and farmer, 1857-1859

In the second half of the 1840s, following the 'Railway Mania' in 1845 (see Chapter 23), the price of railway shares collapsed. When the market crashed Edward was one of many who was said to have lost a considerable amount of money.

The Family of Clouston by J Storer Clouston, first printed 1948, facsimile published 2002 by Dane Clouston – page 113 – Edward Clouston of Kingshouse . . . made a fortune in the great railway boom . . . and then lost it again . . .

<http://som.yale.edu/our-approach/teaching-method/case-research-and-development/cases-directory/george-hudson-and-1840s> – George Hudson and Railway Mania

. . . Share prices reached a peak in 1845, and then the market crashed. By 1850 railway shares were worth less than half of their original value, and dividend rates had fallen from upwards of seven percent to two percent.

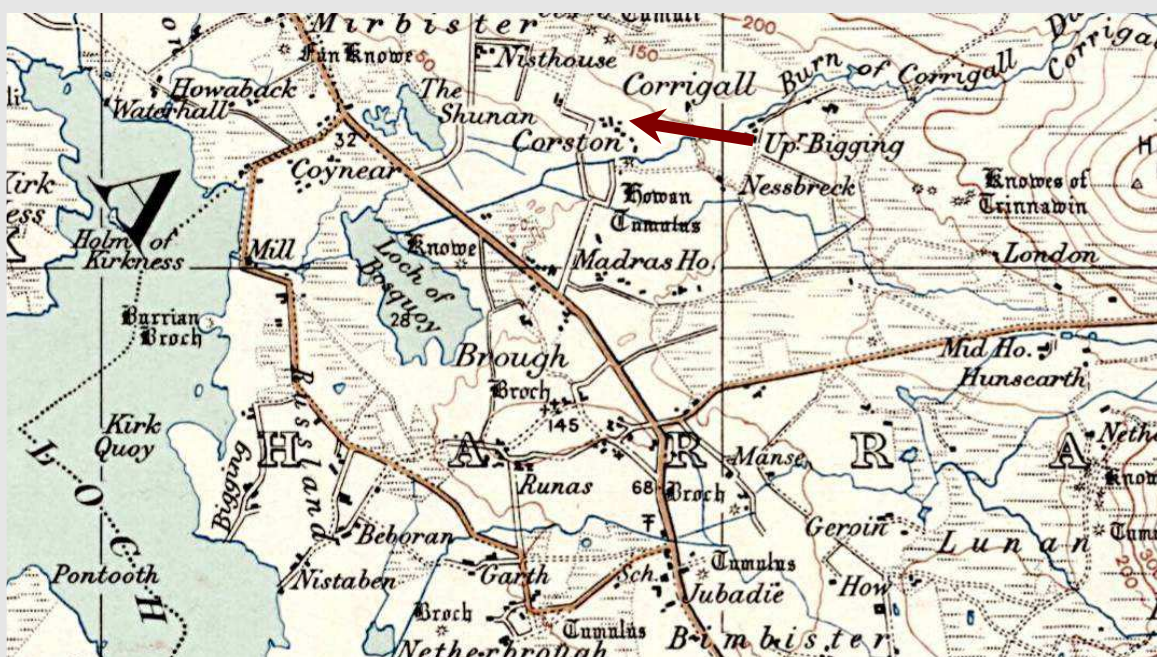
On 20 January 1848 Edward mortgaged part of his Orkney property to Joseph Clouston.

Orkney Library & Archives – Records of Orkney Sasines – Abridgements – photocopy supplied 2001 by Robin Clouston, Northern Ireland

(85) Jan. 20. 1848.
JOSEPH CLOUSTON, late of Cape Coast Castle, Africa, presently residing in Nisthouse, gets Bond and Disp. for £400, by Edward Clouston of Kingshouse, residing at Leith Walk, Edinburgh, Jan. 14. 1848,—over 3 Penny land and 2 parts of a Halfpenny land in the Town of BIMBISTER, par. Harray. P. R. 35. 184.

Joseph Clouston (1816-1865) of Nisthouse was the eldest brother of Sir Thomas Clouston (1840-1915), father of J Storer Clouston, author of *The Family of Clouston* (see Chapter 4). Nisthouse is the farm on the northwest side of Kingshouse.

<http://maps.nls.uk/view/74400496> – OS one-inch, published 1932 – Scotland – Sheet 6 – Orkney – section – top middle left, Nisthouse – bottom middle right, Bimbister – **arrow** points to Kingshouse



My photo, March 2001 – Nisthouse – looking southwest towards Stromness and the Isle of Hoy



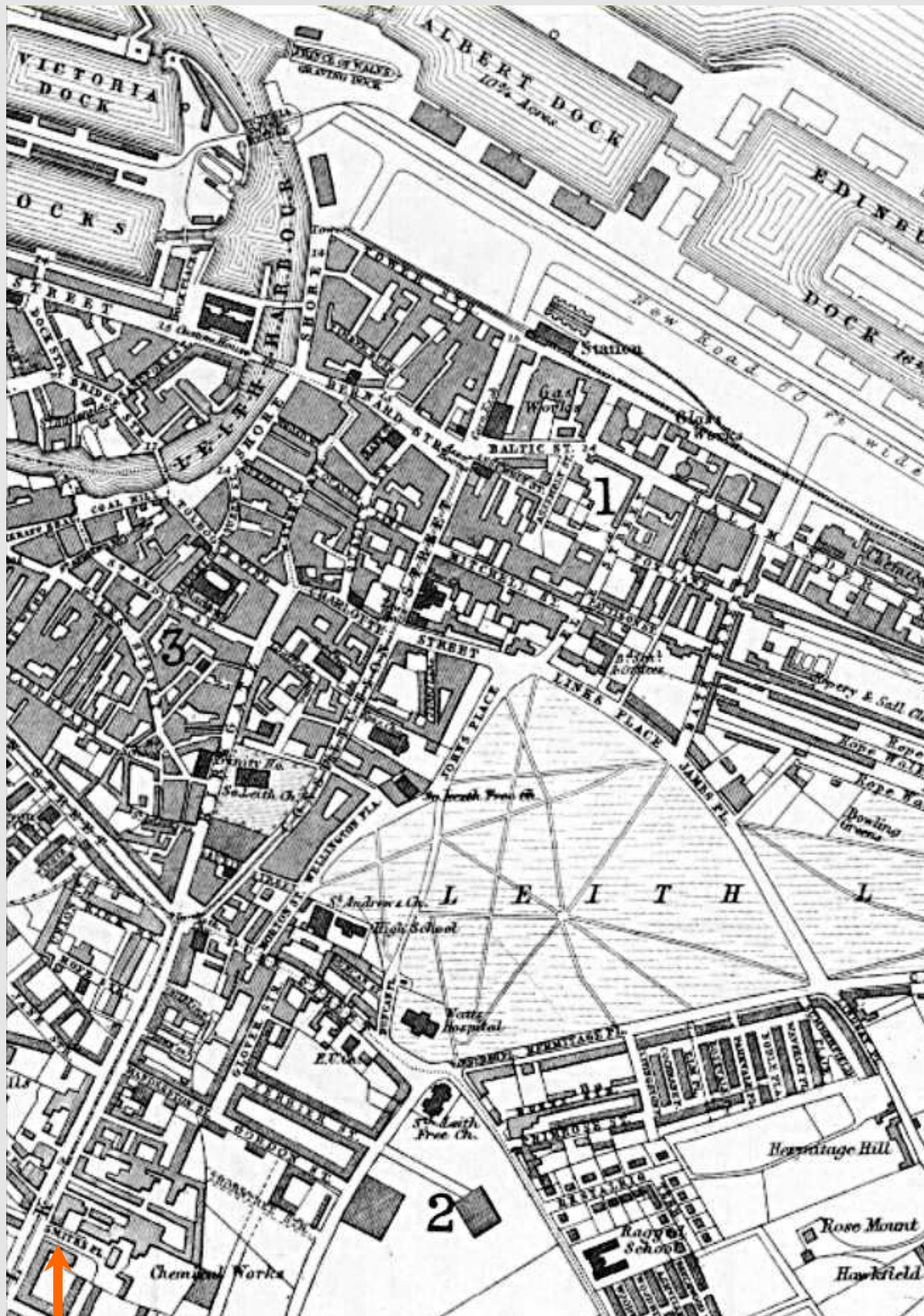
Meanwhile Edward was living at 7 Smith's Place, Leith Walk.

<http://digital.nls.uk/directories/> – *Post Office Edinburgh and Leith directory, 1848-1849, printed 1848* – page 223

| Smith's Place, <i>Leith Walk.</i> | |
|---|---|
| 1 Napier, Chas. H. sawmills | 6 Miller, Wm. wood mercht. |
| 1 Spence, Mrs J. | 7 Clouston, Edward |
| 2 Davidson, J. A. M. teacher | 8 Brown, J. draper |
| 2 Wilson, Miss | 8 Wilson, Andrew, S.S.C. |
| 2 Dudgeon, Mrs William | 9 Smart, R. C. engraver |
| 2 Marshall, W. R. merchant | 9 Stodart, Mrs Mary |
| 2 Rose, Nelson, <i>Carron Co.</i> | 10 Watson, Mrs Ebenezer |
| 2 Campbell, Duncan | 10 Raimes, John |
| 2 Buchan, Matthew, rectifier | 10 Raimes and Co. agents |
| 3 Morton, Hugh, engineer | 17 Blanshard, G. |
| 4 Park, Robert, merchant | 17 Blanshard, Thomas |
| | 17 Jackson, R. R. |
| | 17 McNab, J. <i>Fullarton & Co.</i> |
| | 13 Bruce, Rev. John |
| | 11 Smart, Rev. John |

On 5 April 1848 Henry (Edward and Eliza's son) received his Master's Certificate at Leith.

<http://maps.nls.uk/towns/detail.cfm?id=2648> – John Bartholomew – 1882 – Edinburgh and Leith with Suburbs – section – top, Leith – **arrow** points to Smith's Place



Henry was awarded a First Class Masters Certificate by the Leith Board of Examiners on 5 April 1848.

www.thegazette.co.uk/ – London Gazette, 5 May 1848

A LIST of all the Masters and Mates in the Merchant Service, who have voluntarily passed an Examination and obtained Certificates of Qualification for the Class against each assigned, under the Regulations issued by the Board of Trade, since the 31st March last.

MASTERS.

| DATE. | Name of Party who has received the Certificate. | Class of Certificate. | Age of Party | Place and Date of Birth. | Present or last previous Service. | No. of Register Ticket. | Name of Examining Board. |
|---------|---|-----------------------|--------------|--------------------------|---|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1848. | | | | | | | |
| April 4 | Thomas Gorddard | Second | — | Plymouth, 1824 | "Alicia," of Plymouth, 427 tons, as Mate | 261640 | Trinity House, Plymouth |
| April 5 | Henry Clouston | First | 25 | Aberdeen | "James Freeman," of Hartlepool, 246 tons, as Mate | 24639 | Board of Examiners, Leith |
| April 6 | James Couch | Second | — | Stratton, Cornwall, 1818 | "Cornwall," of London, 900 tons, as Mate | 32038 | Trinity House, London |

Above – Henry Clouston – Place and Date of Birth: Aberdeen – Register Ticket No. 24639 (see Chapter 23). The "James Freeman", a Brig, was built at Hartlepool in 1840.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=oeENAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – North of England Maritime Directory, 1848-49, by Thomas Marwood, Junior, published 1848 – Ships Registered at Hartlepool – include

James Freeman – Brig – Built 1840 – Hartlepool – 247 Tons

Owners Hartlepool & Durham Commercial Shipping Company

Henry joined the James Freeman in France at Marseilles on 23 August 1847.

Below – London National Archives – BT98/1604 – (photocopy supplied 2001 by Mervyn Clouston) – Crew during Absence from the United Kingdom – Schedule C – Ship James Freeman – of Hartlepool – 247 Tons – Master Thos. Hindmarch

Arrow points to – *Henry Clouston* – Age 24 – Born: *Aberdeen* – Quality: *Mate* – Ship in which he last Served: *Princess Royal* – Date of joining the Ship: *23 Augt 1847* – Where: *Marseilles* – Time of Death, or leaving the Ship: *Remains* – Number of Register Ticket: *24639*

CREW DURING ABSENCE FROM UNITED-KINGDOM.

SCHEME (A)

Ship *James Watson* of the Port of *Glasgow* of the Burden of *447* Tons, whereof *Thos. Watson* was Master.

A LIST of the CREW (including the Master and Apprentices) at the Period of quitting the Port of *Glasgow* in the United Kingdom, from which she took her first Departure, on her Voyage to *the West Indies* on the *23* Day of *Decr 1846* and of the Men who joined the Ship subsequent to such Departure, and until her return to the Port of *Regina* being her first final Port of Destination in the United Kingdom, on the *16th* Day of *Feb* 1847.

| No. and Date of Ship's Register. | Mrs's Names, Christian and Surname at full Length. | Age. | Town or County where Born. | Quality. | Ship in which he last Served. | Date of Joining the Ship. | Place Where. | Time of Death, or leaving the Ship. | Place Where. | How Disposed of | Date of Apprentices' Indentures and Assignments. | When and Where Registered. | Numbers of Register Tickets. |
|----------------------------------|--|------|----------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|--|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 344 | <i>Thos. Watson</i> | 22 | <i>Glasgow</i> | <i>Master</i> | <i>James Watson</i> | <i>11 Dec 1846</i> | <i>Glasgow</i> | | <i>Remain</i> | | | | |
| 345 | <i>John May</i> | 18 | <i>Glasgow</i> | <i>Mate</i> | <i>Tadon</i> | <i>11 Dec 1846</i> | <i>Glasgow</i> | | <i>Remain</i> | | | | <i>322 52</i> |
| 346 | <i>Thos. Watson</i> | 17 | <i>Glasgow</i> | <i>Boys</i> | <i>James Watson</i> | <i>11 Dec 1846</i> | <i>Glasgow</i> | | <i>Remain</i> | | | | <i>227 96</i> |
| 347 | <i>John May</i> | 20 | <i>Glasgow</i> | <i>Boys</i> | <i>James Watson</i> | <i>11 Dec 1846</i> | <i>Glasgow</i> | | <i>Remain</i> | | | | <i>210 74</i> |
| 348 | <i>John May</i> | 20 | <i>Glasgow</i> | <i>Boys</i> | <i>James Watson</i> | <i>11 Dec 1846</i> | <i>Glasgow</i> | | <i>Remain</i> | | | | <i>224 130</i> |
| 349 | <i>John May</i> | 22 | <i>Glasgow</i> | <i>Boys</i> | <i>James Watson</i> | <i>11 Dec 1846</i> | <i>Glasgow</i> | | <i>Remain</i> | | | | <i>257 169</i> |
| 350 | <i>John May</i> | 21 | <i>Glasgow</i> | <i>Boys</i> | <i>James Watson</i> | <i>11 Dec 1846</i> | <i>Glasgow</i> | | <i>Remain</i> | | | | <i>210 74</i> |
| 351 | <i>John May</i> | 17 | <i>Glasgow</i> | <i>Boys</i> | <i>James Watson</i> | <i>11 Dec 1846</i> | <i>Glasgow</i> | | <i>Remain</i> | | | | <i>220 77</i> |
| 352 | <i>John May</i> | 16 | <i>Glasgow</i> | <i>Boys</i> | <i>James Watson</i> | <i>11 Dec 1846</i> | <i>Glasgow</i> | | <i>Remain</i> | | | | <i>176 171</i> |
| 353 | <i>John May</i> | 15 | <i>Glasgow</i> | <i>Boys</i> | <i>James Watson</i> | <i>11 Dec 1846</i> | <i>Glasgow</i> | | <i>Remain</i> | | | | <i>191 261</i> |
| 354 | <i>John May</i> | 20 | <i>Glasgow</i> | <i>Boys</i> | <i>James Watson</i> | <i>11 Dec 1846</i> | <i>Glasgow</i> | | <i>Remain</i> | | | | <i>216 30</i> |
| 355 | <i>John May</i> | 22 | <i>Glasgow</i> | <i>Boys</i> | <i>James Watson</i> | <i>11 Dec 1846</i> | <i>Glasgow</i> | | <i>Remain</i> | | | | <i>210 74</i> |
| 356 | <i>John May</i> | 24 | <i>Glasgow</i> | <i>Boys</i> | <i>James Watson</i> | <i>11 Dec 1846</i> | <i>Glasgow</i> | | <i>Remain</i> | | | | <i>210 74</i> |

Thos. Watson

NOTE.—If any one of the Crew has entered Her Majesty's Service, the Name of the Queen's Ship in which he entered, and the date of his entry, must be stated.

NOTE.—This List to be filled up and signed by the Master of every Vessel, of whatever Tonnage, and to be delivered by him to the COLLECTOR or COMPTROLLER of the Customs within Twenty-Four Hours after the Ship's Arrival at her final Port of Destination in the UNITED KINGDOM.

BT98/1604 – continued – Schedule A – An Agreement made, pursuant to the Direction of an Act of Parliament in 7th and 8th Years of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Between *Thomas Hindmarch* the Master of the Ship *James Freeman* of the Port of Hartlepool and of the Burden of 24.. Tons, and the several Persons whose Names are subscribed hereto – **arrow** points to – Place and Time of Entry: *Marseilles 23 Augt 1847* – *Henry Clouston* – Age 24 – Born: *Aberdeen* – Quality: *Mate* – Amount of Wages per Calendar Month, Share or Voyage: *£4 10s* – Quantity of Provisions per Day: As per annexed Schedule – Witness to Signature *J H Birch* – Name of Ship in which the Seaman last served: *Princess Royal* – Number of Register Ticket: 24639

SCHEDULE A An Agreement made, pursuant to the Directions of an Act of Parliament, passed in the Seventh and Eighth Years of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Between *Thomas Hindmarch* the Master of the Ship *James Freeman* of the Port of *Hartlepool* and of the Burden of *24* Tons, and the several Persons whose Names are subscribed hereto.

It is agreed by and on the Part of the said Persons, and they severally hereby engage, to serve on board the said Ship in the several Capacities against their respective names expressed, on a Voyage from the Port of *Hartlepool* to *Marseilles* and back, and to be at all times diligent in their respective Duties and Stations, and to be obedient to the lawful Commands of the Master in every thing relating to the said Ship, and the Materials, Stores, and Cargo thereof, whether on board such Ship, in Boats, or on Shore.

In consideration of which Services, to be duly, honestly, carefully, and faithfully performed, the said Master doth hereby promise and agree to pay to the said Crew, by way of Compensation or Wages, the amount against their Names respectively expressed. And it is hereby agreed, that any Embezzlement, or wilful or negligent Loss or Destruction, of any Part of the Ship's Cargo or Stores, shall be made good to the Owner out of the Wages (so far as they will extend) of the Seaman guilty of the same; and if any Seaman shall have entered himself as qualified for a Duty to which he shall prove to be not competent, he shall be subject to a Reduction of the Rate of Wages hereby agreed for, in proportion to his Incompetency. In witness whereof the said Parties have hereto subscribed their Names on the Days against their respective signatures mentioned.

Thomas Hindmarch Master's Signature.

| No. and Date of Ship's Register. | Place and Time of Entry. | | | | Man's Name, Christian and Surname set forth at full Length. | Age. | Town or County where Born. | Quality. | Amount of Wages per Calendar Month, Share, or Voyage. | | | Amount of Wages advanced at Time of Entry. | | | Amount of Monthly Allowance. | | | Quantity of Provisions per Day. | Witness to Signature. | Name of Ship in which the Seaman last served. | Number of Register Ticket. |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|------|--------|-------|---|------|----------------------------|------------|---|----|----|--|---|----|------------------------------|---|----|---------------------------------|------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| | Place. | Day. | Month. | Year. | | | | | £ | s | d. | £ | s | d. | £ | s | d. | | | | |
| 124 | Hartlepool | 11 | Decr | 1846 | Thomas Hindmarch | 32 | St. Shields | Master | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 124 | Hartlepool | 11 | Decr | 1846 | Walter Gray | 18 | Lincoln | Mate | 4 | 10 | - | | | | | | | | <i>J. B. Bardon.</i> | <i>Tipton</i> | 52, 552. |
| 124 | Hartlepool | 11 | Decr | 1846 | Thomas Shepherd | 37 | St. Shields | Boys | | | | | | | | | | | <i>J. B. Bardon.</i> | <i>Seaman</i> | 327, 969. |
| | Hartlepool | 11 | Decr | 1846 | Josley Kier | 24 | Boughton | St. Mate | 2 | 17 | 6 | | | | | | | | <i>J. B. Bardon.</i> | <i>St. Seaman</i> | 218, 760. |
| | Hartlepool | 11 | Decr | 1846 | Michael Rice | 20 | Barnwith | Seaman | 1 | 15 | 0 | | | | | | | | <i>J. B. Bardon.</i> | <i>St. Seaman</i> | 334, 130. |
| | Hartlepool | 12 | Decr | 1846 | James Cooper | 22 | Barnwith | Seaman | 2 | 12 | 6 | | | | | | | | <i>J. B. Bardon.</i> | <i>St. Seaman</i> | 339, 169. |
| | Hartlepool | 18 | Decr | 1846 | Thomas Williams | 31 | St. Shields | Seaman | 2 | 12 | 6 | | | | | | | | <i>Andrew Shillies</i> | <i>Thunder</i> | <i>None</i> |
| | Hartlepool | 16 | Decr | 1846 | John Lynch | 17 | London | Apprentice | | | | | | | | | | | <i>St. Seaman</i> | <i>220, 771.</i> | |
| | Hartlepool | 4 | Feby | 1847 | Richd Patterson | 16 | London | Apprentice | | | | | | | | | | | <i>Victory</i> | <i>76, 175.</i> | |
| | Hartlepool | 14 | Decr | 1846 | William Thompson | 15 | St. Shields | Apprentice | | | | | | | | | | | <i>Ship</i> | <i>171, 261.</i> | |
| | Marseilles | 23 | Augt | 1847 | Henry Clouston | 24 | Aberdeen | Mate | 4 | 10 | - | | | | | | | | <i>J. H. Birch</i> | <i>Princess Royal</i> | 246, 339 |
| | Marseilles | 26 | Augt | 1847 | Francis Sparrow | 22 | St. Shields | Seaman | 2 | 12 | 6 | | | | | | | | <i>J. H. Birch</i> | <i>Seaman</i> | <i>None</i> |
| | Marseilles | 28 | Augt | 1847 | Thomas Williams | 31 | St. Shields | Seaman | 2 | 12 | 6 | | | | | | | | <i>J. H. Birch</i> | <i>None</i> | <i>None</i> |

NOTE: This Agreement, or a true Copy thereof, to be delivered to the Collector and Comptroller of the Customs, and to the Port of Destination in the United Kingdom.

I hereby declare to the Truth of all the Particulars set forth in this Agreement (or this attested Copy of Agreement), delivered to the Collector or Comptroller of the Port of *Plymouth* this *17* Day of *Feb* 1847.

Man's Name *Thomas Hindmarch* Address *Plymouth* Reported this *16* day of *Feb* 1847.

Witness *Henry Clouston* Master's Signature.

Witness *J. H. Birch* Mate's Signature.

Schedule A – at the bottom

I hereby declare to the Truth of all the Particulars set forth in this Agreement (or this attested Copy of Agreement), delivered to the Collector or Comptroller of the Port of *Plymouth* this *16* Day of *Feby* 1848
 Agents Name Address *Plymouth* Reported this *17* day of *Feby* 1848

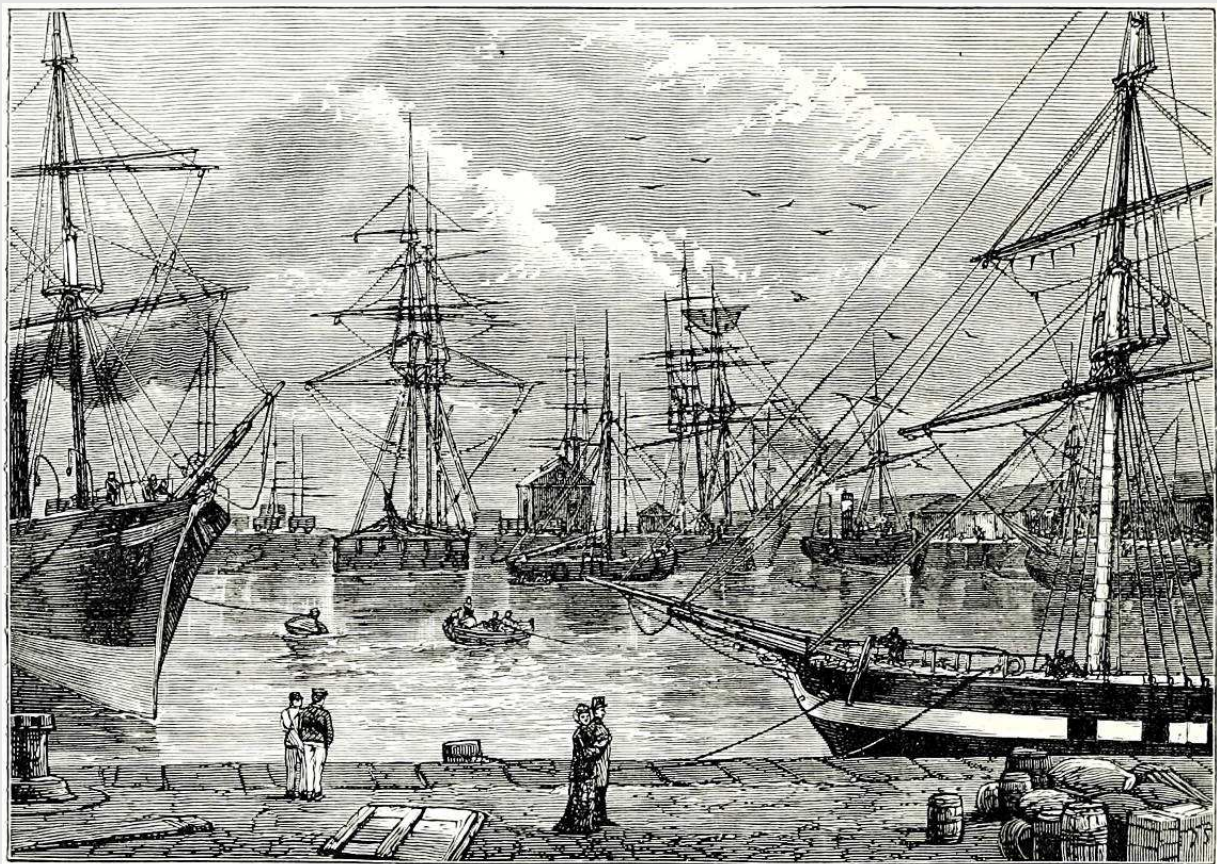
Thos Hindmarch Master's Signature

Henry Clouston Mate's Signature

Thos Hindmarch Master's Signature.
Henry Clouston Mate's Signature.

<https://archive.org/details/cassellsoldnewed03granuoft> – *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh* by James Grant, published 1880 – Vol III – after Sir A W Calcott, R.A.

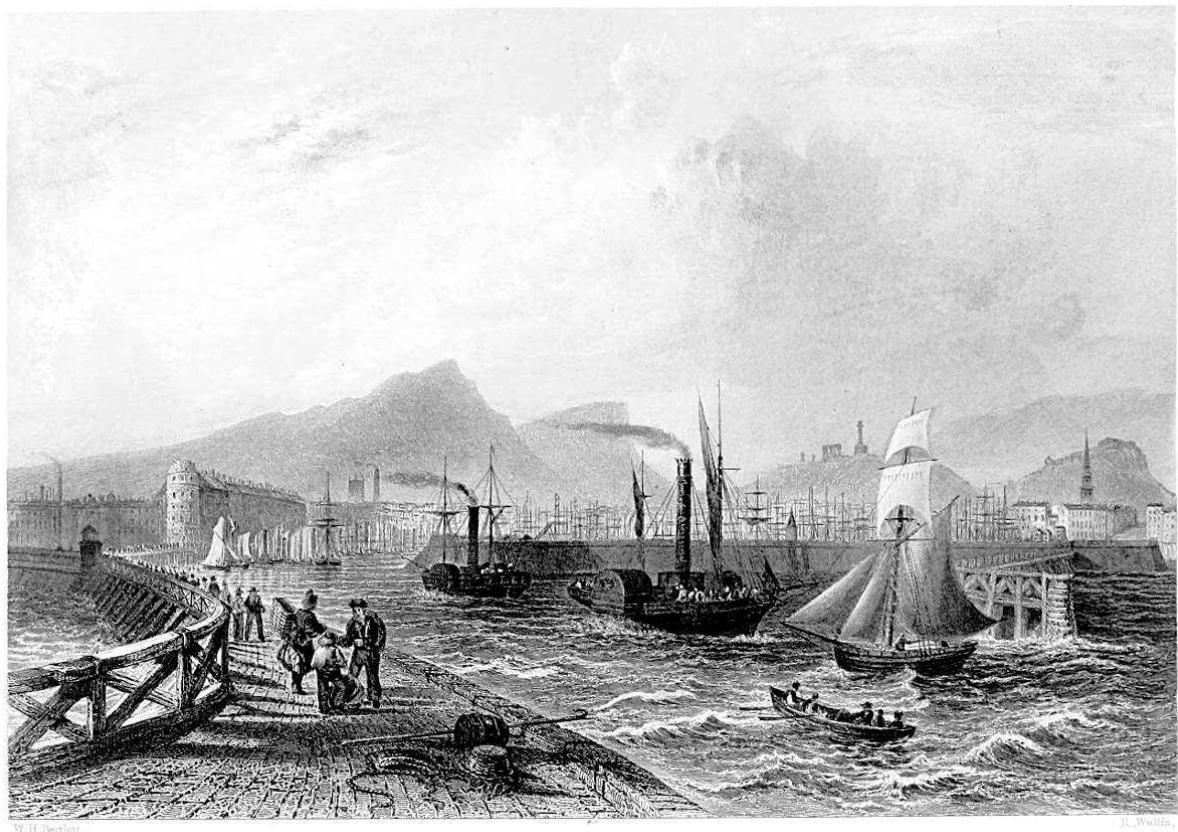
The Edinburgh Dock, Leith



Entrance to Leith Harbour, 1826



Leith, with the Docks, and Edinburgh in the Distance

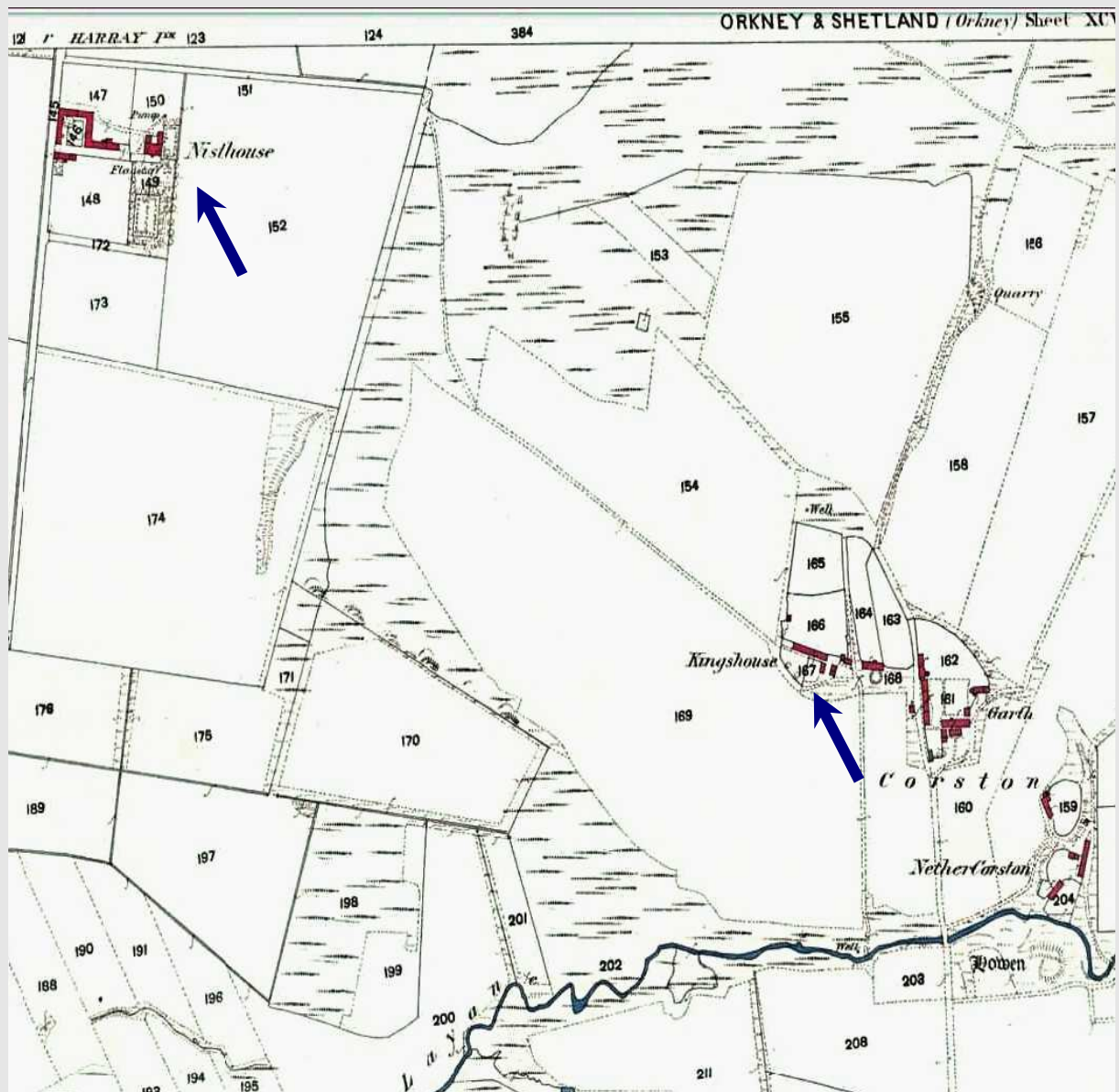


On 2 September 1848 Joseph Clouston of Nisthouse again lent money to Edward.

Orkney Library & Archives – Records of Orkney Sasines – Abridgements – photocopy supplied 2001 by Robin Clouston, Northern Ireland

(118) Sept. 9. 1848.
JOSEPH CLOUSTON, late of Cape Coast Castle, Africa,
 now residing in Nisthouse, Harray, gets *Bond and Disp.* for
 £400, by Edward Clouston of Kingshouse, residing at Smith's
 Place, Leith Walk, Edinburgh, Sept. 2. 1848,—over the 2½
 Penny land and Halfpenny land in CORSTON called **KINGS-**
HOUSE, House and lands of Scowan, and the Quoy above
 Corston commonly called the Quoy of the Hill, par. Harray.
 P. R. 35. 251.

<http://maps.nls.uk/view/75136422> – Ordnance Survey 25 inch to 1 mile – Orkney Surveyed 1880,
 published 1882 – Sheet XCV.13 – section – **arrows** – top, Nisthouse – bottom, Kingshouse



My photo, March 2001 – looking east – left, Nisthouse – right, Kingshouse



Between 21 November and 7 December 1848 Edward and others granted discharge of Bond and Disposition for £200 by William Ward on 10 July 1823 to Rev William Clouston.

Orkney Library & Archives – Orkney Register of Sasines – Abridgements – photocopy supplied 2001 by Robin Clouston, Northern Ireland

(142) Dec. 15. 1848.
ANN CLOUSTON, Forres Street, Edinburgh, Margaret Clouston, and Peter Learmonth, Minister of the Free Church, Stromness, her husband, Edward Clouston, Smith's Place, Leith Walk, Edinburgh, Robert Clouston residing at St. Leonards, Sussex, Charles Clouston, Minister, Sandwick, William Stewart, Merchant, Edinburgh, and Balfour, Isabella, William Clouston, and Edward Stewart, children of the said William Stewart, with his consent as their Administrator-in-Law, and George Wilson, Merchant, Edinburgh, *grant Discharge*, Nov. 21.—Dec. 7. 1848,—of Bond and Disp. for £200, by William Wards *tertius*, Shipbuilder, Stromness, to William Clouston, Minister, Stromness and Sandwick, Jul. 10. 1823; and Disp. and Assig. by his surviving Trustee,, —and *declare Dwelling Houses and Yard in the south end of STROMNESS*, and others,—disburdened thereof. (*Vile* 3 S. No. 193).

P. R. 36. 10.

Above – Ann Clouston – Rev William and Isabella's eldest daughter

Margaret Clouston – Rev William's 3rd and youngest daughter – wife of Rev Peter Learmonth

Robert Clouston – Rev William's 4th son

Rev Charles Clouston – Rev William's 5th and youngest son

William Stewart – husband of Jane (died 1841) – Rev William's 2nd daughter – mother of Balfour, Isabella, William Clouston and Edward Clouston Stewart – see Chapter 23

In 1849, on 17 July, Isabella (Edward and Eliza's daughter) married Robert Thin – the only surviving brother of Edward's wife Julia by their father's second wife Marion, nee Thompson – see Chapter 23.

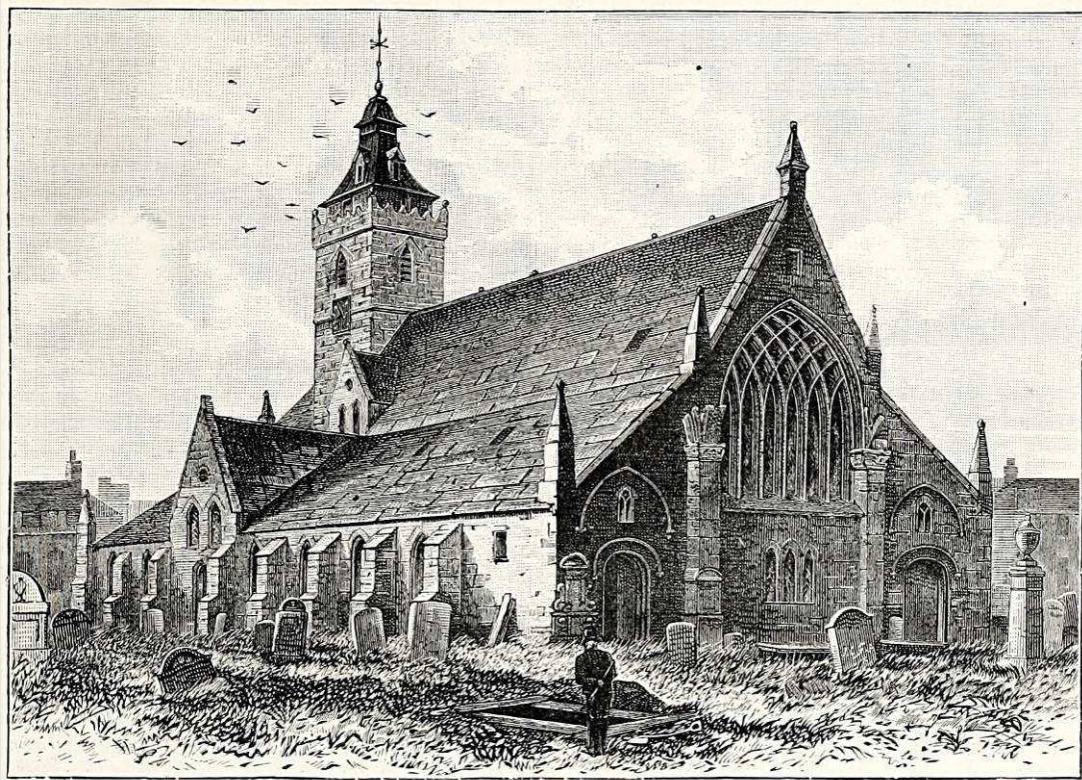
Robert Thin (1820-1862) was born on 27 December 1820, and baptized Robert Adam on 11 June 1821.

<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Church Registers – Births & Baptisms – Edinburgh – Baptism 11 June 1821

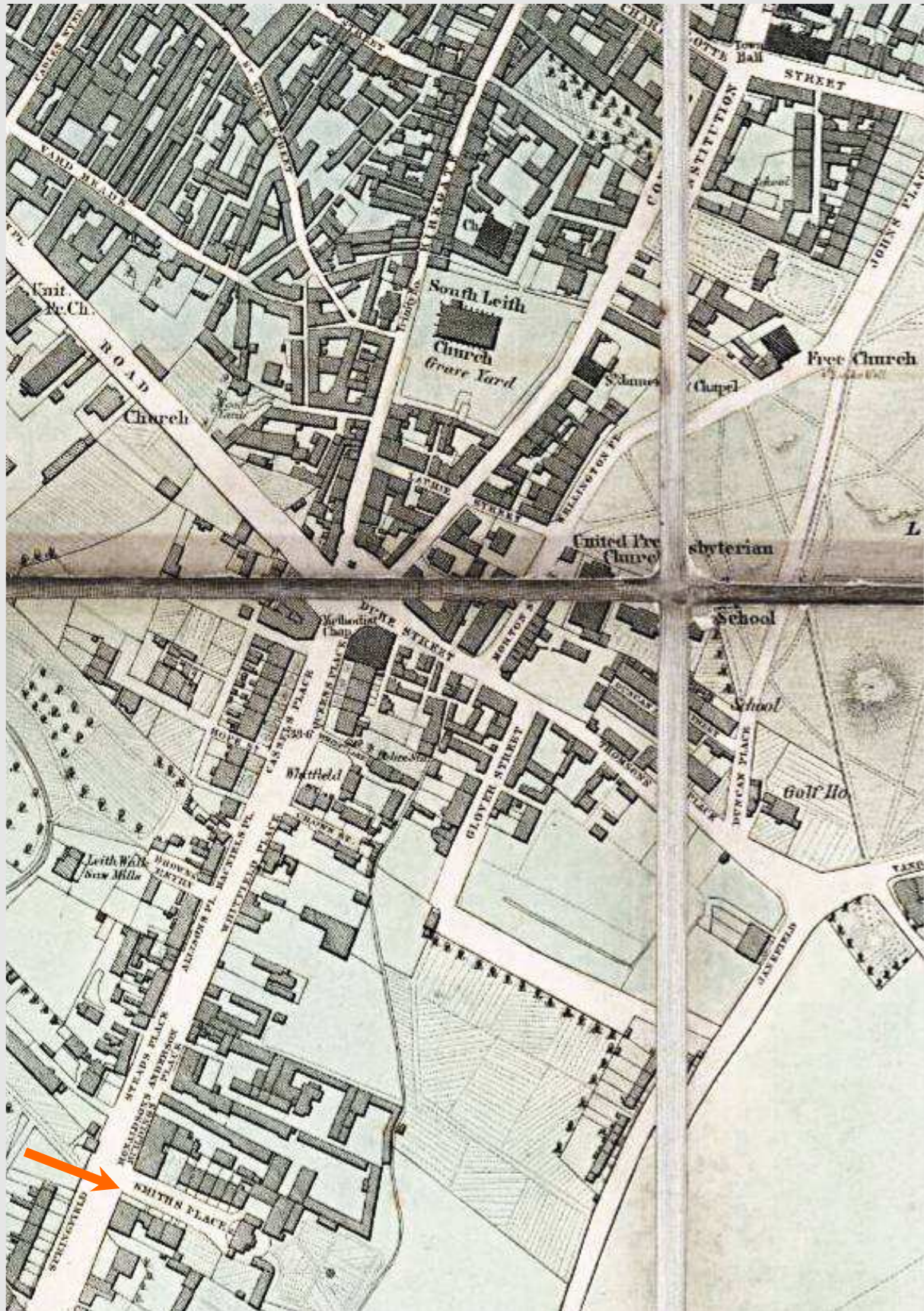
*John Thin, Builder & Marion Thomson Hispouse of South Leith Parish
ASB 27 Decemr 1820 N^o Robert Adam. Bap^t M^r H^o Wood.*

Robert and Isabella's banns were called in the Parish Church of South Leith.

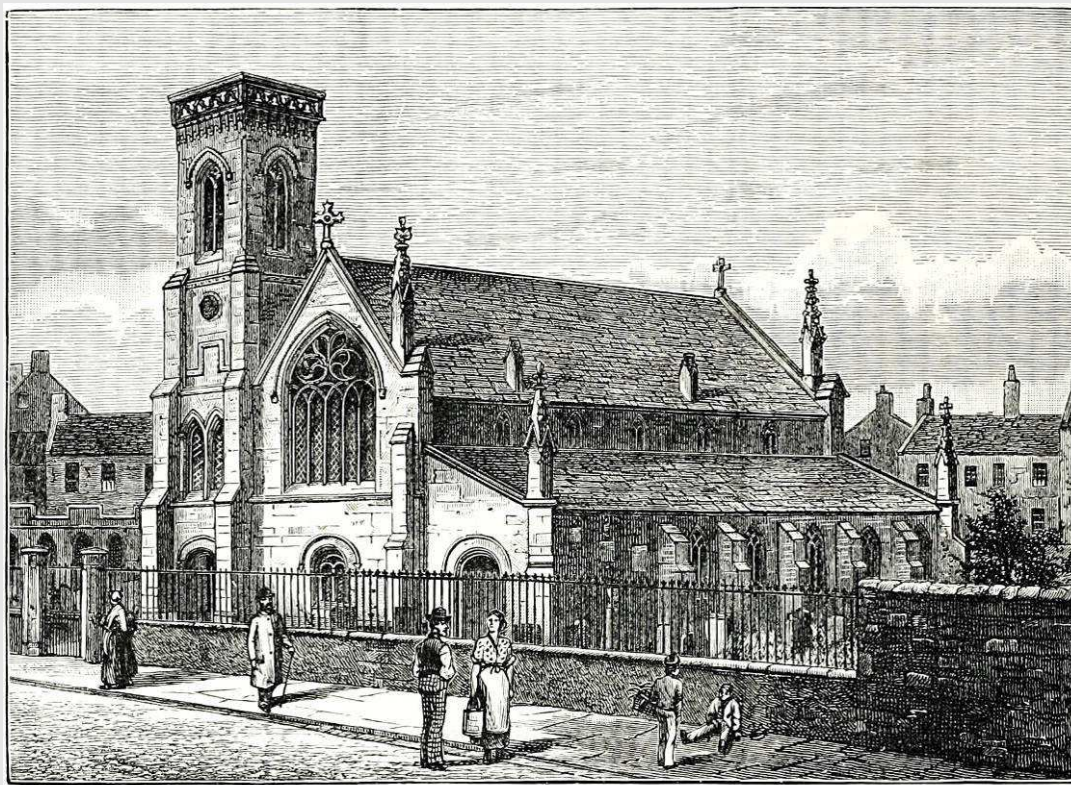
<https://archive.org/details/cassellsoldnewed03granuoft> – Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh by James Grant, published 1880 – Vol III – St Mary's Church (South Leith), 1820



<http://maps.nls.uk/joins/422.html> – Johnston's plan of Edinburgh & Leith, published 1851 – section – upper middle, South Leith Parish Church – bottom left – **arrow** points to Smith's Place



<https://archive.org/details/cassellsoldnewed03granuoft> – *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh* by James Grant, published 1880 – Vol III – St Mary's (South Leith) Church, 1882 – remodelled and restored in 1848



My photos, March 2013– St Mary's – South Leith Parish Church – from the east



From Leith Walk – Smith's Place – on the left, north side, No. 7



Google Maps – Street View – Smith's Place, north side – blue door – No. 7



In the possession of Kyle Ap Simon (a great, great granddaughter of Robert and Isabella) – watercolour – no date – on the back – Isabella Clouston married Robert Thin



British Library Newspapers online – Liverpool Mercury, 20 July 1849 – Married

July 17, at Edinburgh, by the Rev. Dr. Glover, Mr. Robert Thin, of this town, to Isabella, only daughter of Edward Clouston, Esq.

<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Church Registers – Banns & Marriages – Parish of South Leith – July 1849

Thin and Clouston Robert Thin, Merchant, Liverpool, residing at Litherland, Lancashire, and Isabella Clouston residing in No 7 Smiths Place, South Walk, parish of South Leith; daughter of Mr Edward Clouston there, were three times proclaimed in order to marriage in the Parish Church of South Leith 15th July 1849 and were married at South Walk 17th July 1849 by the Rev Dr Glover of Greenlands Parish Edinburgh.

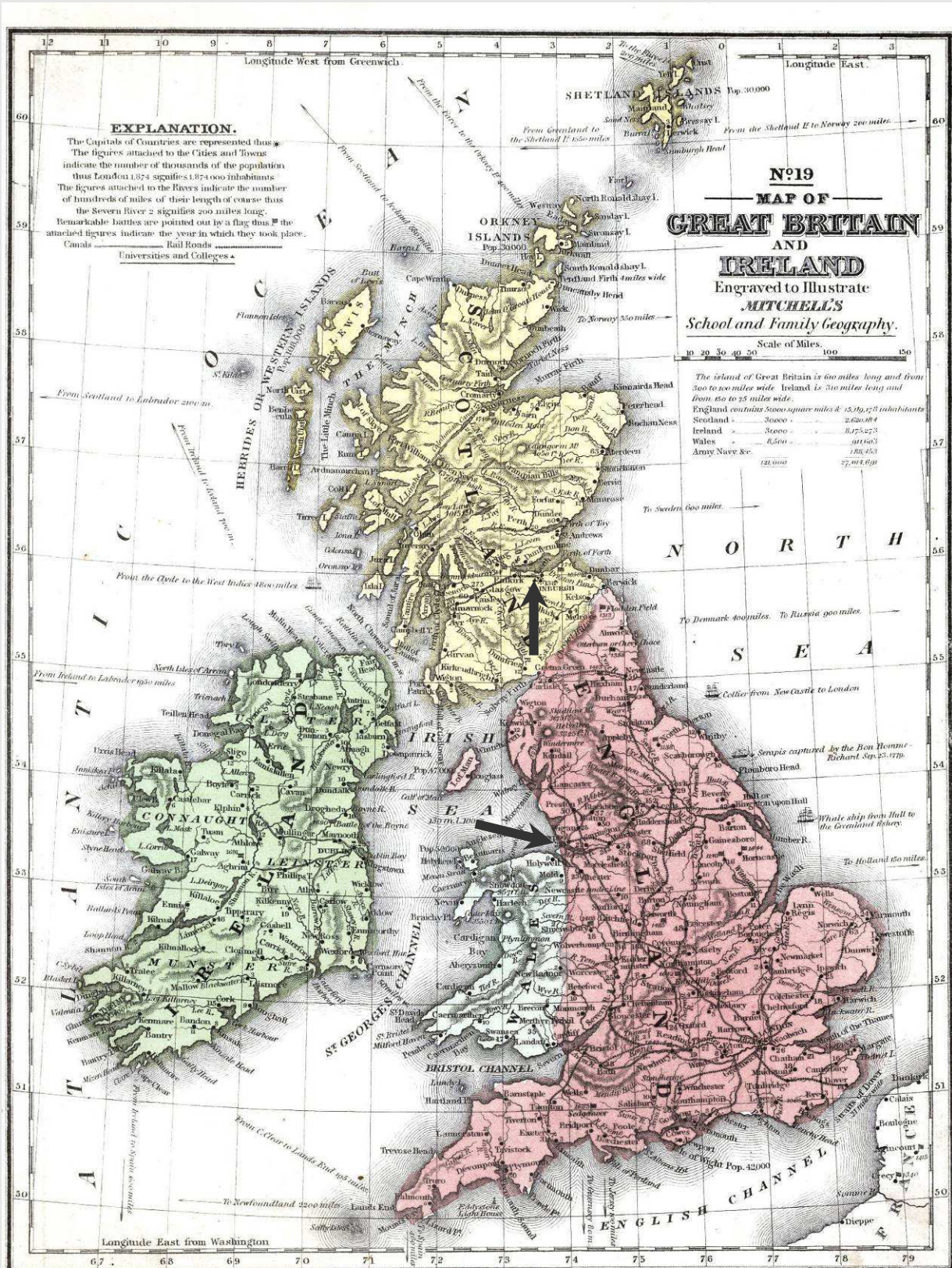
The earliest record I have of Robert Thin in connection with Liverpool is in 1847.

www.thegazette.co.uk – London Gazette, 30 November 1847

THIS is to give notice, that by an indenture, bearing date the 26th day of October 1847, John Samuel Downing, of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, Broker, conveyed and assigned all his estate and effects to Robert Thin, of the same place, Commission Agent, and James Cattle, of the same place, Bookkeeper, as trustees, upon trust, for the benefit of all the creditors of him the said John Samuel Downing; and that the said indenture was executed by the said John Samuel Downing, Robert Thin, and James Cattle, on the said 26th day of October; that the execution of such indenture by the said John Samuel Downing, Robert Thin, and James Cattle was witnessed by Thomas Dodge, of Liverpool aforesaid, Attorney at Law.

Robert and Isabella lived the rest of the lives in Liverpool/Birkenhead

http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/view/all/where/England/when/1847?q=LIMIT:%20RUMSEY~8~1&sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort,Pub_Date,Pub_List_No,Series_No&os=0 – Samuel Augustus Mitchell – 1847 – arrows – top points to Edinburgh – bottom points to Liverpool/Birkenhead



www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/search/?query=Finden – *The Ports, Harbours, Watering-places and Picturesque scenery of Great Britain, by W Finden, published 1836-1842 – Vol II – The Mersey at Liverpool*



Canning Dock, and Custom House, Liverpool

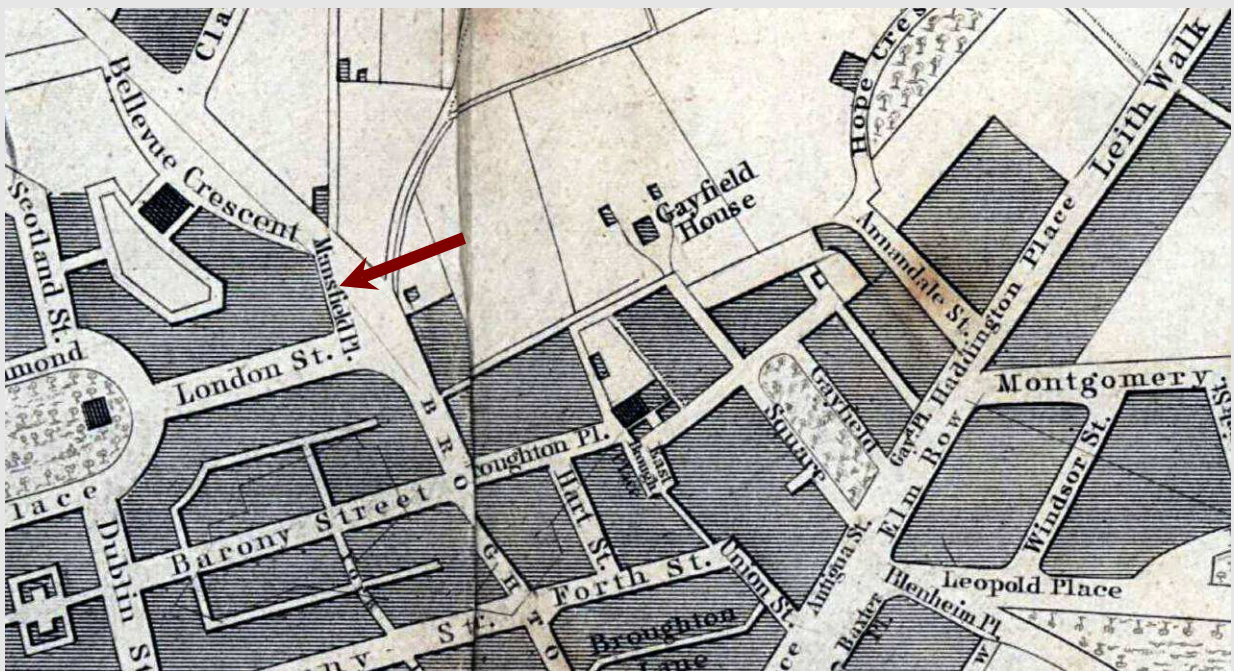


In August 1849 Edward and Julia had moved from Smith's Place and were living at Mansfield Place in Edinburgh New Town

Google Maps – Street View – Mansfield Place



<http://maps.nls.uk/towns/detail.cfm?id=2723> – W. & A.K. Johnston. 1837 – far left, Scotland Street, where Edward and Julia lived 1843 to 1845 (see Chapter 23) – **arrow** points to Mansfield Place



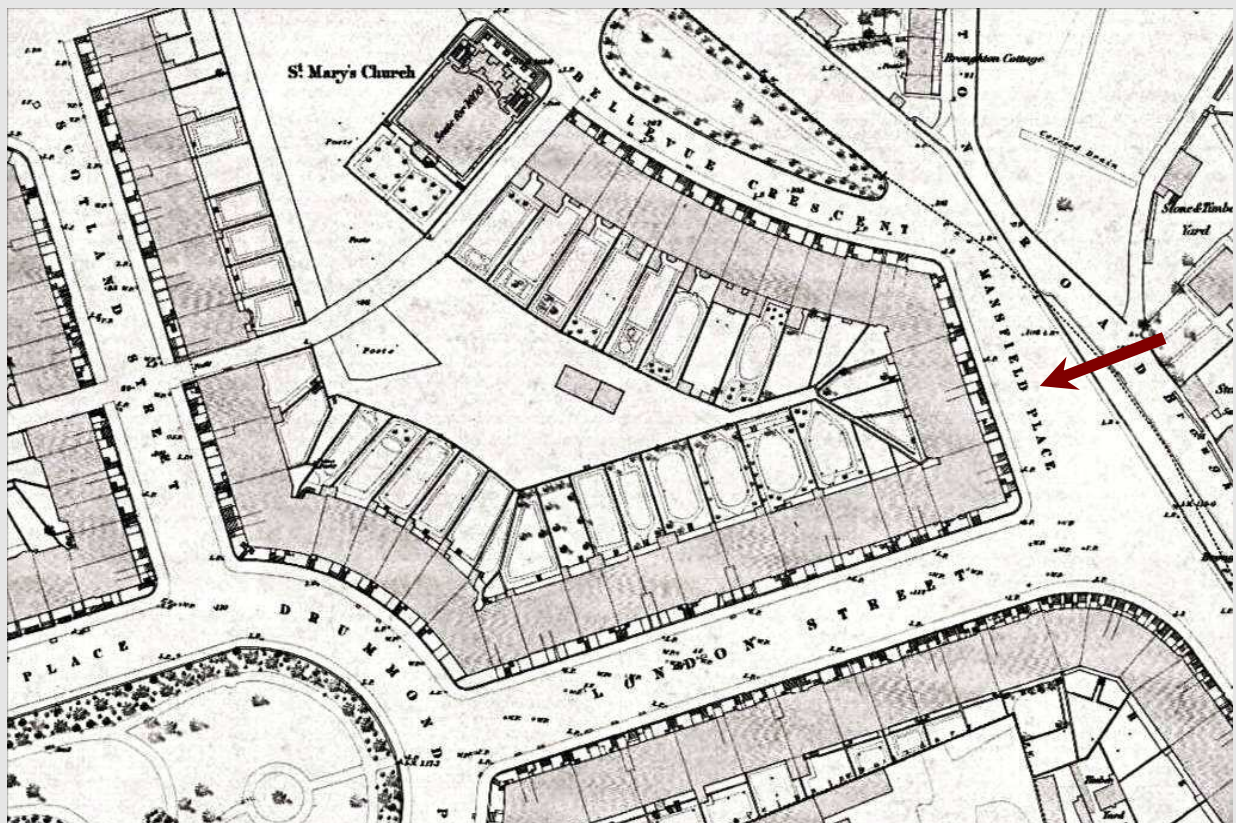
On 7 August 1849 Edward gave Julia a £115 annuity and possession for life of his lands in Orkney – land in the township of Bimbister, Kingshouse and House and Lands of Scouan in the township of Corston, and land in the township of Nether Corston and the Quoy of the Hill in Corston, all in the parish of Harray, West Mainland.

Orkney Library & Archives – Orkney Register of Sasines – Abridgements – photocopy supplied 2001 by Robin Clouston, Northern Ireland

(183) Aug. 22. 1849.

JULIA THIN or **M^cLAREN**, spouse of Edward Clouston, lately residing in Smith's Place, Leith Walk near Edinburgh, presently residing at Mansfield Place, Edinburgh, *Seised*,—in the 3 Penny and two parts of a Halfpenny land in the Town of BINBISTER, and 2½d. land in Corston called Kingshouse; and House and lands of Scouan with the ¾ parts of 1 Farthing land in the Town of Neither Corston, and the Quoy above Corston commonly called the Quoy of the Hill, par. Harray;—in security of a liferent annuity of £115;—on Bond by the said Edward Clouston, Aug. 7. 1849. (*Vide EDINBURGH*).
G. R. 2465. 236.

http://maps.nls.uk/townplans/edinburgh1056_1.html – Ordnance Survey – 1849-53 – **arrow** points to Mansfield Place



The corner of London Street and Mansfield Place was built and owned by Julia and Robert's father John Thin (died 1827 – see Chapter 23). I have however no mention of the number in Mansfield place where Edward and Julia were living in August 1849. Below, people living in Mansfield Place in 1849.

<http://digital.nls.uk/directories/> – Post Office Edinburgh and Leith directory, 1849-1850, printed 1849 – page 198-199

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>Mausfield Place, <i>London Street.</i></p> <p>1 M'Glashan, Dd. wine mer. 2 Trail, George 2 Longmore, Adam C.</p> | <p>6 Harrison, George 6 Wilson, Miss 6 Borstel, William 6 Forsyth, Arthur, road sur. 6 Armstrong, G. merchant 6 Hughes, John 6 M'Kenzie, Mrs 8 Ross, James, S.S.C. 9 Clerk, R. wholesale tea dlr. 10 Sutherland, Hugh, grocer</p> |
| <p>2 West, William 2 West, Miss G. R. 3 Ovenston, Robert, baker 5 Hardie, John, merchant</p> | |

Edward's eldest sister Ann died at 9 Forres Street, Edinburgh New Town, on 19 August 1849.

<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Church Registers – Deaths & Burials – Edinburgh – St Cuthbert's

Died 19 August 1849 – Clouston, Ann – 9 Forres Street – Cause of Death – Disease of Heart

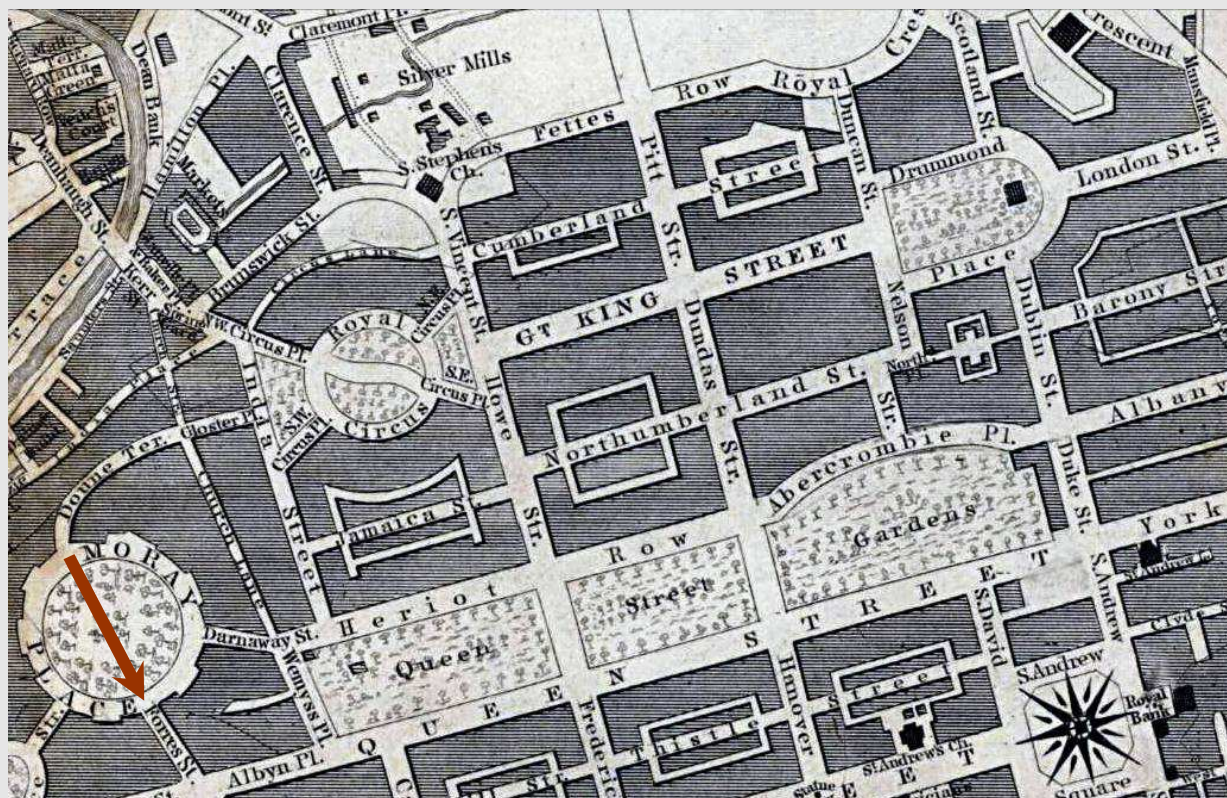
British Library Newspapers online – Caledonian Mercury, 27 August 1849

At Forres Street, on the 19th current, ANN CLOUSTON, eldest daughter of the late Rev. William Clouston, minister of Stromness, Orkney.

<http://digital.nls.uk/directories/> – Post Office Edinburgh and Leith directory, 1848-1849, printed 1848 – page 173

| |
|---|
| <p>Forres Street, <i>Moray Place.</i></p> <p>1 Maussion, Adolph. French consul 1 Fraser, Miss 1 Fraser, William 1 Milne, John 5 Babington, John 9 Marshall, Miss, boardingse. 11 Sanders, Mrs Dr 11 Davidson, Miss 11 Fraser, Wm. writer 10 Ponton, Thomas, architect 10 M'Gregor, Alex. architect 8 Taylor, Mrs 6 Stewart, William 4 Bell, J. M. advocate 2 Oliver, Henry</p> |
|---|

<http://maps.nls.uk/towns/detail.cfm?id=2723> – W. & A.K. Johnston. 1837 – top right, Mansfield Place – **arrow** points to Forres Street



On the night of 30 March 1851, the night of the 1851 census, Edward and Julia were with Robert and Isabella in Birkenhead at their house, 143 Exmouth Street.

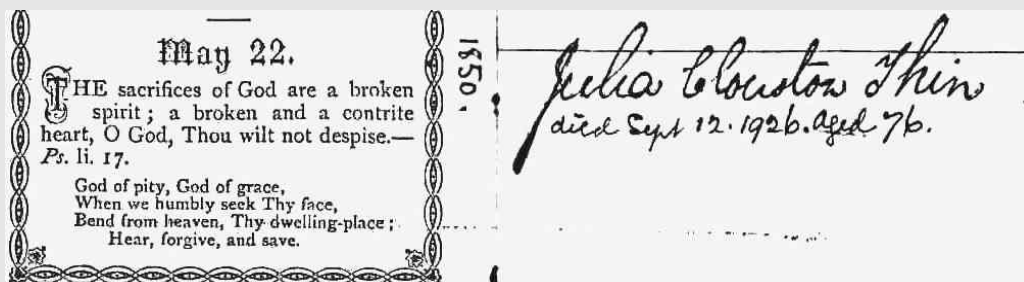
www.ancestry.co.uk – 1851 England Census – Birkenhead – 143 Exmouth Street

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|---------|-----|----|-------------------------|------------|
| Robert Thin | Head | Mar | 29 | Provision Merchant | Scotland |
| Isabella do | Wife | Mar | 23 | | Jamaica |
| Julia C do | da | U | 10 | | Birkenhead |
| Edward Clouston | Born in | Mar | 13 | Retired Jamaica Planter | Scotland |
| Julia do | Wife | Mar | 32 | | do |
| Emma M Cort | serv | U | 21 | House servant | Liverpool |
| Clara Peggan | serv | U | 20 | do | Ireland |

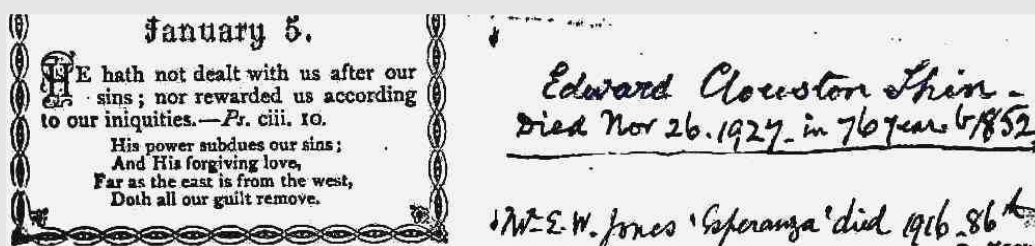
Above – Julia C – Julia Clouston Thin – Robert and Isabella's eldest child.

In my possession – my great grandmother Annie E J Thin's Birthday Scripture Text Book – Robert and Isabella's 7 children

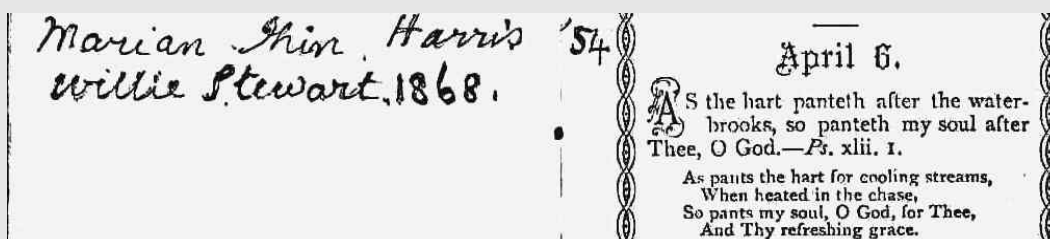
1. Julia Clouston Thin (1850-1926) – b. 22 May 1850 – unmarried



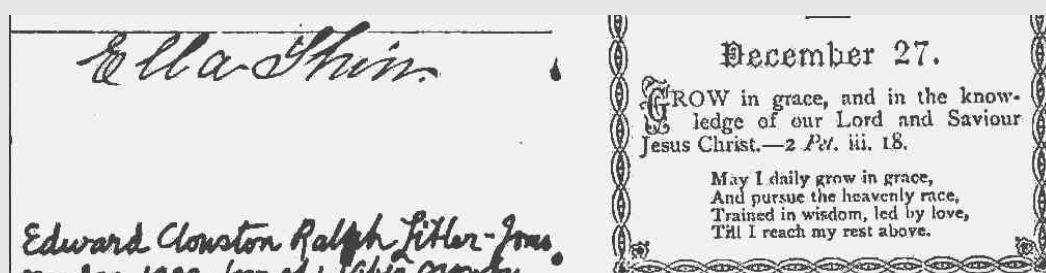
2. Edward Clouston Thin (1852-1927) – b. 5 January 1852 – m. Annie Elizabeth Jane Broomhall



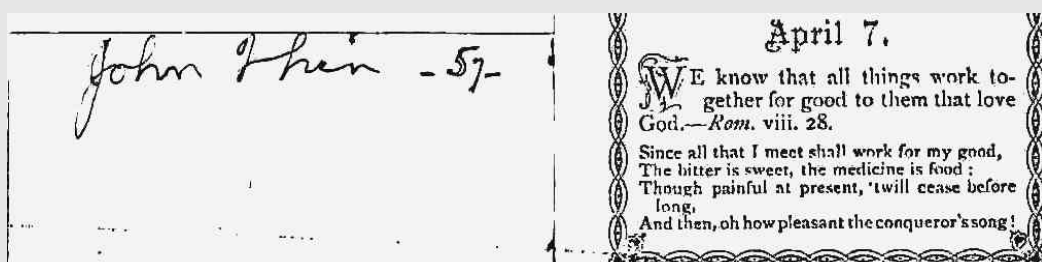
3. Marian Thin (1854-1939) – b. 6 April 1854 – m. Alfred Charles Edward Harris



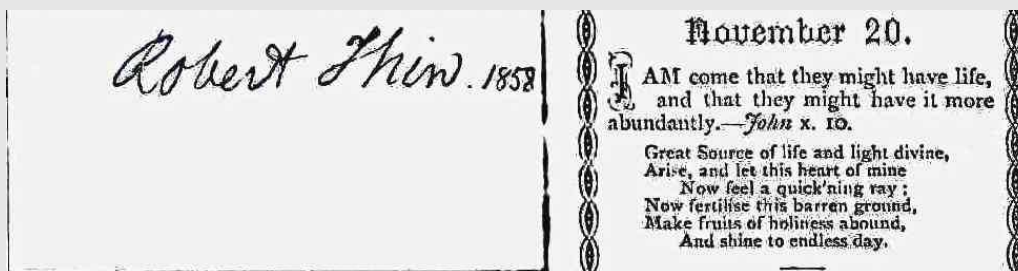
4. Ella – Isabella Eliza Thin (1855-1936) – b. 27 December 1855 – unmarried



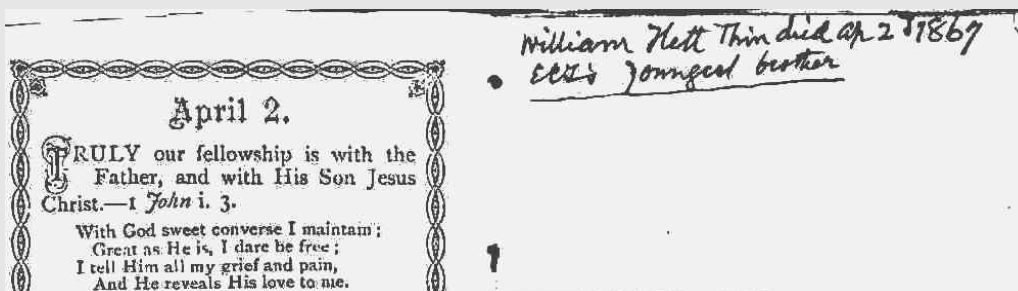
5. John Thin (1857-?) – b. 7 April 1857 – disappeared in Canada end 19th/early 20th century



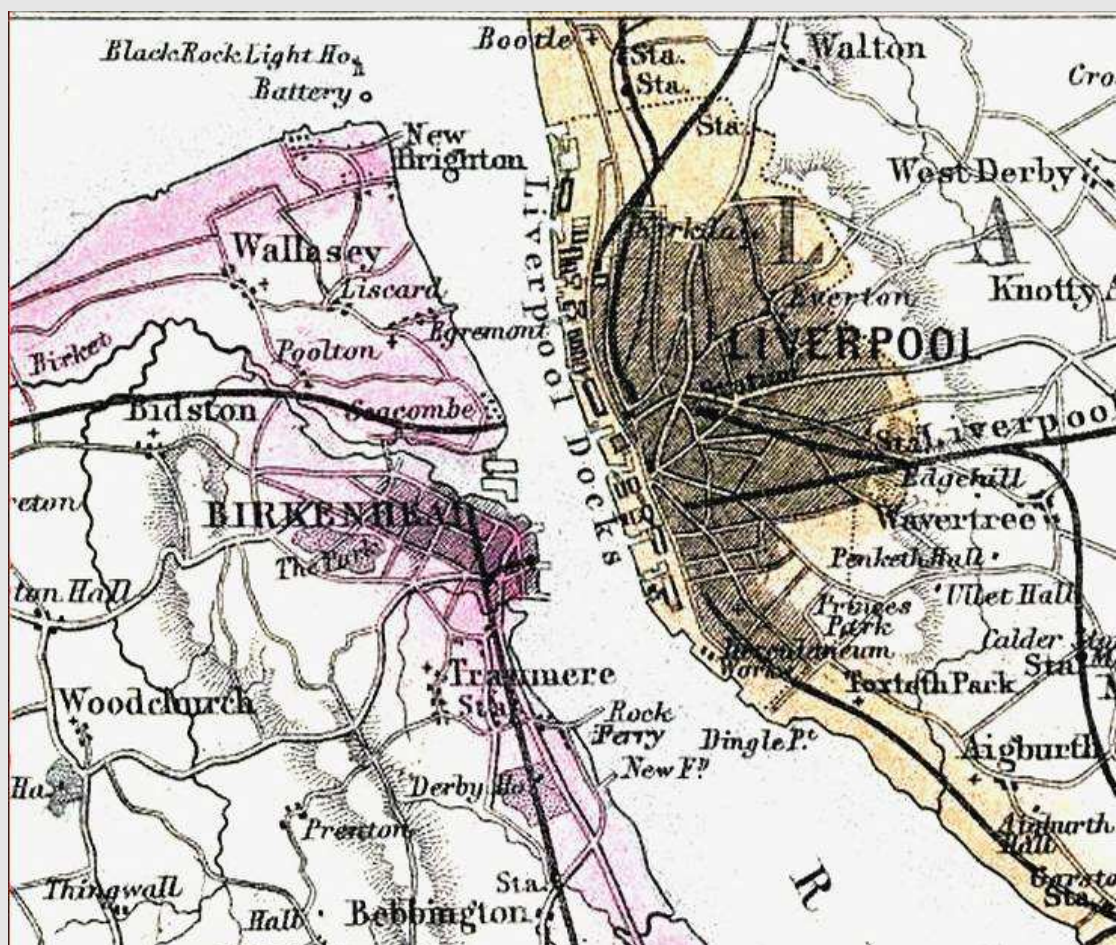
6. Robert Thin (1858-1829) – b. 20 November 1858 – m. Elizabeth Openshaw Broughton



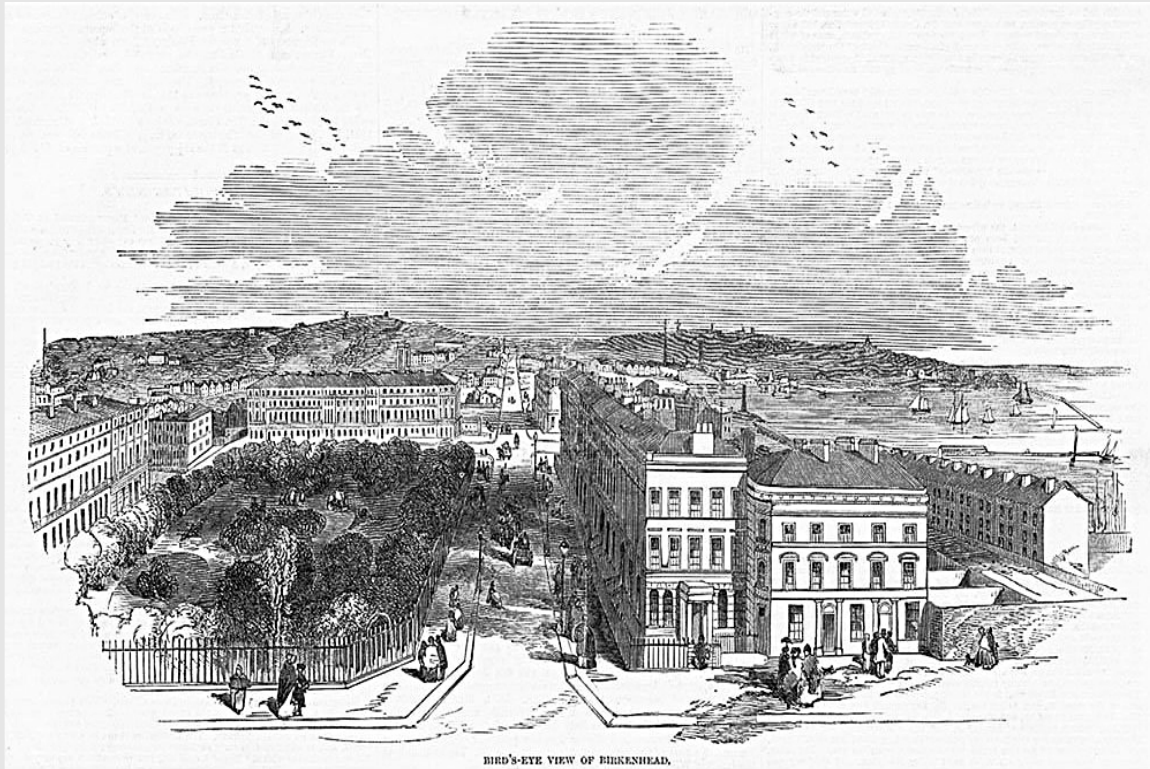
7. William Flett Thin (1861-1867) – d. 4 April 1867 – (not 2 April 1867 as recorded below)



http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/view/search?q==Fullarton%20Liverpool%20LIMIT:RUMSEY~8~1&sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort,Pub_Date,Pub_List_No,Series_No – Fullarton – 1872 – Environs of Liverpool and the Estuaries of the Mersey and Dee – section



www.ebay.co.uk/sch/Art-/550/i.html?_jsoff=1&_sop=2&_sac=1&_nkw=birkenhead – 1847 – Bird's-Eye View of Birkenhead



In Liverpool on 24 August 1852 Edward and 'Lowndes' (Henry Lowndes) were at a meeting of gentlemen interested in the island of Jamaica.

British Library Newspapers online – Liverpool Mercury, 27 August 1852 – Depression of the Colony of Jamaica – extracts

DEPRESSION OF THE COLONY OF JAMAICA.

MEETING OF SUGAR CULTIVATORS.

On Tuesday, a meeting of gentlemen interested in the island of Jamaica was held at No. 6, Brunswick-street, in this town, for the purpose of receiving three delegates from that colony, and hearing statements from them as to the present "lamentable condition to which the British West Indian colonies, and especially the island of Jamaica, have been reduced." The delegates were Mr. Edward Thompson, Mr. Wm. Smith, and Mr. Wm. Girod. Including them, the number of gentlemen present was between twenty and thirty, amongst whom were—Messrs. Jos. B. Yates, B. Hall, W. Hosack, A. R. Scott, Dornin, R. Gladstone, Pool, Trench, Watson, H. C. Chapman, G. Booker, J. Booker, D. H. Lambert, E. Hebson, Stubbs, Rowe, Lowndes, Nathan, John Campbell, R. Kennan, W. C. B. Thomas, M. Muirhead, E. Clouston, T. Davies, and Simon.

On the proposition of Mr B Hall, the chair was taken by Mr J B Yates.

The Chairman said they were called together for the purpose of meeting three highly respectable gentlemen lately arrived from the colony of Jamaica, who had kindly proposed to explain to them the position in which that colony was placed, and the views which they entertained with respect to any amelioration of their condition. The position of the West Indian colonies had for some years back been a subject of much anxiety; and amongst sugar growing colonies there were none which possessed so much claim on their attention as that of Jamaica: sunk as it now was in ruin, by many thought to be irretrievable, it called for the prompt and active interposition of those who had the power to do something for the cultivators there who were now suffering under the most grievous inflictions. The position of the colony, as well as of other sugar growing colonies, had been most critical ever since the passing of the Emancipation Bill in 1833-1834. By that act of the British legislature, a large property was taken away from them. He would not say how it was acquired; but whether it was unfortunately acquired or not, it was for a century and a-half subsisting in certain parties, and subsisting originally by the act of the British sovereigns and the British legislature. Therefore, whatever crime attached itself to the system of slavery (of which he was quite willing to express his opinion in the most unequivocal terms, if called upon, and if there was time for it), yet the proprietors of those slaves located upon the estates in the colonies were not in any degree answerable for the crime which had been committed. That property, therefore, as he had stated, was taken away from them. Now, let them consider the proposition in which property possessed by any British subject was placed. By a variety of ancient statutes it was enacted "that no man's lands or estates shall be seized at the king's hands, against the great charter and the law of the land." He was quoting from Blackstone's first book. "In cases where the public good requires the surrender of a man's property, how," continues Blackstone, "does the legislature interpose and compel him to acquiesce? Not by absolutely stripping the subject of his property in an arbitrary manner, but by giving him a full indemnification and equivalent for the injury thereby sustained." That dictum was fortified by all the great writers on national policy and law; and yet how had that indemnification been given in the present instance? How had pledges entered into by the British legislature been redeemed? He would give them the words of the present chancellor of the exchequer, who said – "The English people, represented by the parliament and the government, entered into a contract with the sugar-colonies in 1834, by which we engaged – first, to give them a sum of money; secondly, to secure them the use of their labourers for a certain time, the immigration of new labourers; fourthly, to secure to them, for a period, the enjoyment of a market. Of these four conditions, England had qualified and retracted three; the violation of the fourth stipulation, by the law of 1846, was a proceeding which has been most fatal to the colonies." (Hear, hear.) It was unnecessary to quote the opinions of other legislators upon the subject; and he therefore begged the meeting now to consider what had been the mode in which those pledges had been redeemed? Of the amount of the £20,000,000 voted for the purchase, as it were of the slaves, and who were happily invested with freedom by that vote, only £17,000,000 or £18,000,000 had been paid; the remainder having been swallowed up in the expenses of collecting and management. But was that the payment even for that portion of the planters' property – the slaves? By no means. The valuers appointed by the government themselves valued these slaves at £60,000,000 odd; so that avowedly there was a payment only of about £17,000,000 or £18,000,000 for what was valued at £60,000,000. But that was not all. Owing to the inconsistent haste in which this measure was passed, urged on, as it were, by a clamour, one consequence was that the slaves, when liberated, being accustomed to a *regime* perfectly different to what was now proposed to them, refused to perform such work as was reasonably expected from them, and withdrew themselves from the manufacture of sugar, in the midst of the most operose and critical processes, to cultivate their own lands, by which of course the manufacturers were thrown back, and the concerns upon almost all every estate were thrown into the utmost confusion. The estates, consequently, universally began to experience a fatal and ruinous depreciation, which had been going on from that period, although accelerated much by late measures, down to the present day. It appeared that even now the abandonment of cultivation in the colony of Jamaica was carried out to a great extent. Even in 1847, a report was made by the house of assembly of Jamaica, in which it was set forth, "that out of 653 sugar estates in cultivation in the island at the period of passing the Emancipation Act, 140 had been abandoned, and that during the same period 465 coffee plantations had been abandoned and their works broken up." . . . No man could rejoice more than he did at the happy and prosperous condition of the blacks, but in one respect he had to lament the appearance presented. They were, according to the best evidence, in consequence of the new state of things, relapsing in a considerable degree into a state of barbarianism. In a petition recently presented to the British parliament, which bore the signatures of the chief-justice, the vice-chancellor, and

other judges of the civil and criminal courts of Jamaica, it was set forth that “the state of the community is visibly and rapidly deteriorating, and your petitioners are afraid, from the complaints universally made, and from their own observation, that the people are becoming daily less attentive to their religious duties, and they are bringing up their children in habits of indolence which must result in vice, and render it fearful to contemplate the probable conduct of the future generation.” And what did they find to be the case with respect to the slave trade? Had the slave trade been put down by the measures of the British government? He replied, unhesitatingly, that it had not. They had spent their millions in keeping up squadrons on the coast of Africa; their negotiations with the different states, more especially Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, and even the United States, had expended their time and labour in what might be considered fruitless endeavours. By a return, dated June, 1849, for the eight preceding years, it appeared that not fewer than 475,000 slaves were deported from Africa to the colonies of the states that he had mentioned. Of these, 111,000 perished during the middle passage; 333,000 were sold into slavery; whilst 31,000 only were captured by the British cruisers . . . During all the period to which he had alluded, the cultivation of the slave-growing colonies of foreigners had increased in a most extraordinary ratio. In 1837, the export from Havannah, Matanzas, and Cuba was about 500,000 boxes; and during the last year it had increased to 1,125,000 boxes; whilst the increase of Porto Rico had gone on in the same manner . . .

Henry Lowndes, after leaving Jamaica in 1844, lived in Glasgow (see Chapter 23), and moved from there to Liverpool in 1849.

British Library Newspapers online – Caledonian Mercury, 19 July 1862 – R G Lowndes and Others v J B Douglas – extract – Henry Lowndes

. . . He attempted to establish a business in Glasgow, as commission-agent for West Indian produce, and resided there until 1849, having married a Scotch lady in 1846. Not being very successful in his attempt to establish a business in Glasgow, he went to Liverpool in 1849, where he entered into partnership in 1851 . . .

On 31 March 1851, the night of the 1851 census, Henry Lowndes and his wife Anna were living in Liverpool at West Derby Street.

www.ancestry.co.uk – 1851 England Census – Liverpool – West Derby Street (no house number) includes – Henry Lowndes head of household

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|----------|------|----|----------------------------|------------------|
| Henry Lowndes | Head | Mar. | 53 | Merchant West Indian Goods | Scotland Paisley |
| Anna M. do | Wife | do | 25 | | do Bergen |
| Isabella G. Forbes | Daughter | U | 27 | Governess | Aberdeen |
| Anna Robertson | Servant | Mar. | 26 | Coach | Edinburgh |
| Isabella Wardlaw | do | U | 19 | Housemaid | Scotland Berwick |
| Wm Minnibonach | do | 17 | 14 | Office Boy | do Kirkcaldy |

Henry Lowndes's Liverpool partnership with Thomas B Cross was dissolved by mutual consent on 2 December 1852.

www.thegazette.co.uk – *London Gazette*, 3 December 1852

NOTICE is hereby given, that the Partnership heretofore subsisting between the undersigned, carrying on business at Liverpool, as Merchants, under the firm of Henry Lowndes and Co. was dissolved by mutual consent, on the 30th day of November last.—Dated the 2nd day of December 1852.

*H. Lowndes.
Thos. B. Cross.*

In 1853 Henry Lowndes returned to Jamaica and died in St Thomas in the Vale at Wallens on 24 May 1854.

British Libraries Newspapers online – Caledonian Mercury, 19 July 1862 – R G Lowndes & Others v. J B Douglas – extract – Henry Lowndes

... In 1853 he returned with his wife to Jamaica, where she died in August 1853. Mr Lowndes himself died in Jamaica in May 1854.

British Library Newspapers online – Glasgow Herald, 19 June 1854 – Death – 24 May 1854

At Wallens, Jamaica, on the 24th ultimo, of cholera, Henry Lowndes, Esq., aged 56 years.

In his Will Henry Lowndes left an annuity to Mary Thomson living in Linstead, St Thomas in the Vale (? his housekeeper before he left Jamaica in 1844), and 2 lots of land in Linstead to Robert Henry Lowndes Shattock (? his son), the rest of his property he left to his wife Anna.

Jamaica Island Record Office – Records of Wills, Old Series, Lib 127, Fol 15 – Entered Island Secretary's Office 18 Aug 1854 – Henry Lowndes' Will, dated London, 30 July 1853 – extracts/summary

I Henry Lowndes lately residing in Liverpool and now about to proceed to Jamaica – to Anna Charlotte Murray Lowndes or Douglas my beloved wife and John Brown Douglas, W. S. Edinburgh – as Trustees – all Lands – etc – heritable and moveable – including my Plantations – etc – in Jamaica – in trust – I appoint my Trustees my sole and only Executors

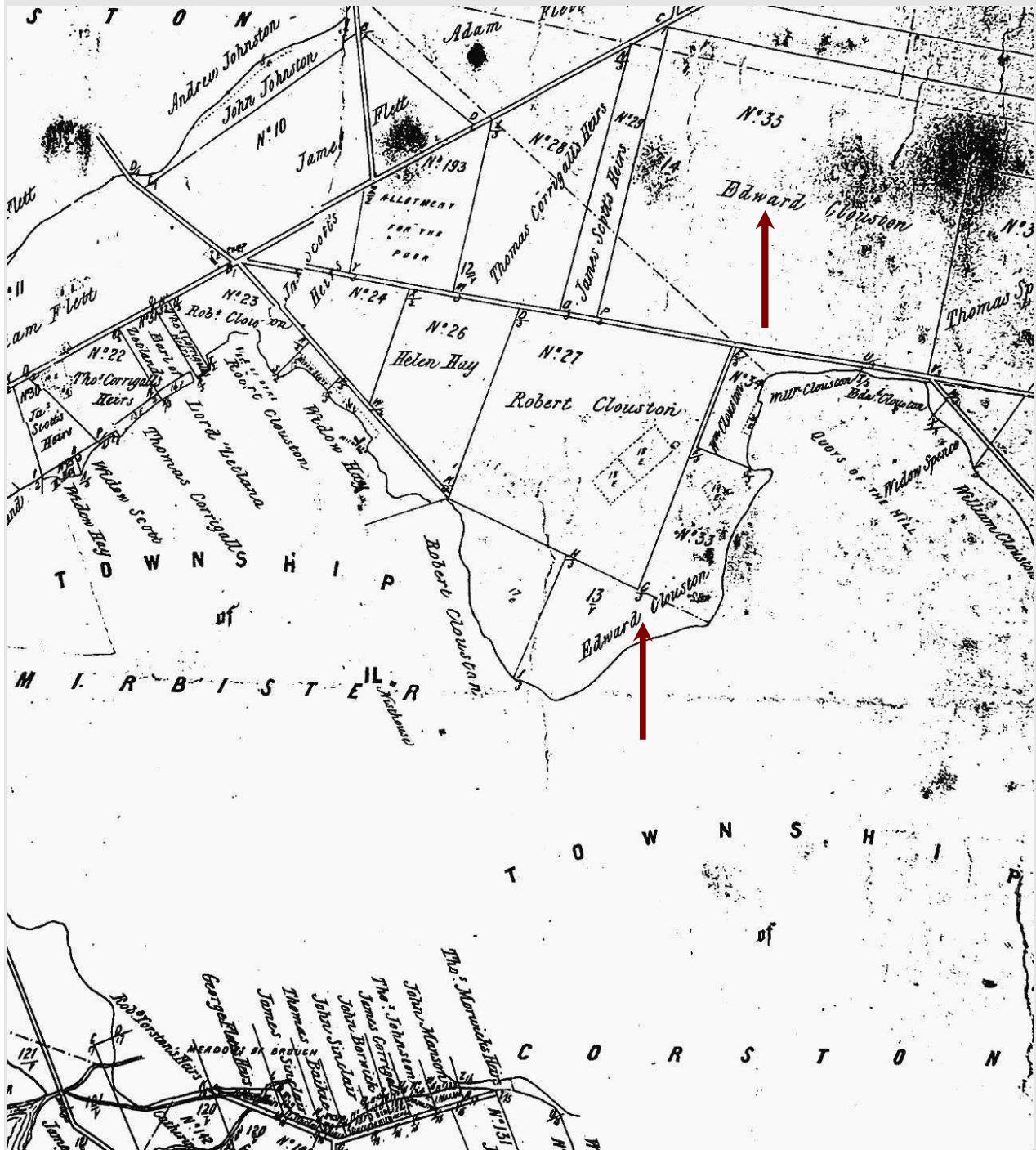
To Mary Thomson now residing at the Village of Linstead in St Thomas in the Vale an annuity of £26 Sterling payable during her life – in the event of Robert Henry Lowndes Shattock lately at school at Elgin, Scotland, attaining the age of 16 years complete – my Trustees shall make over and convey to him 2 lots of land at Linstead with the houses built thereon of which the said Mary Thomson has a liferent under burden of which liferent the said conveyance shall be granted if Mary Thomson shall be alive at the period when this conveyance is appointed to be made

Residuary Legatee – Anna Charlotte Murray Lowndes, nee Douglas

See – <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – *Wills* – Henry Lowndes' Probate Inventory

In Orkney in 1854 the Commonty (common land) of Harray was divided.

Orkney Library and Archives – Plan of the Commonty of the Parish of Harray in the County of Orkney as divided in the Year 1854 by James Robertson Esqre Commissioner – section – **arrows** point to Edward Clouston



The Plan above includes a number of plots marked 'Edward Clouston' but I do not know whether they were all owned by Edward of Kingshouse.

In March 2013 in Edinburgh at the National Archives of Scotland I asked to see – CS238/L/8/40 – Nicol Leith etc v. Clouston and others: Division of Commonty of Harray, 1847 – but was told the record was unavailable.

On 14 March 1854 the balance of the loan given by Edward on 9 October 1834 to his cousin Edward Clouston of Smoogro, late Writer of Stromness (see Chapter 21) was transferred to James Stewart

Clouston (Edward of Smoogro's son) – and on 2 May 1854 it appears that Rev Charles Clouston was in possession of this land.

Orkney Library & Archives – Orkney Register of Sasines – Abridgements – photocopies supplied 2001 by Robin Clouston, Northern Ireland

(189) May 2. 1854.
JAMES STEWART CLOUSTON, Chief Trader in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company, presently residing in Stromness, *gets Assig.* Mar. 14. 1854, by John Rutherford, formerly Accountant in the Office of the National Bank of Scotland, Kirkwall, now residing in Sandystones,—to Bond and Disp. for £250, to the extent of the balance of £150, by Edward Clouston, late Writer, Stromness, thereafter residing in the Island of Westray, and Factor on the Estate of Brugh, to Edward Clouston of Kingshouse, late of Jamaica, Oct. 9. 1834,—and to a Piece of Kail ground, and others, in or about the north end of the Burgh of STROMNESS,—burdened therewith. (*Vide* 5 S. No. 25). P. R. 37. 252.

(190) May 2. 1854.
CHARLES CLOUSTON, Minister, Sandwick, *Seised*,—in a Piece of Kail ground and others, in or about the north end of the Burgh of STROMNESS;—in security of £250, in Bond and Disp. by Edward Clouston, sometime Writer, Stromness, thereafter residing in Stromness, to Edward Clouston of Kingshouse, late of Jamaica, thereafter residing in Edinburgh, Oct. 9. 1834;—on Disp. and Assig. by him, Mar. 2. 1834. (*Vide* No. 189). P. R. 37. 255.

My photo, March 2001 – Harray – looking northwest from the road to the north side of West Mainland



In 1854/55 Edward of Birkenhead was the proprietor of three farms, Kingshouse, Scuan and Quoy, parish of Harray in West Mainland, Orkney – and the proprietor of house and cellar in Smith's Place, Leith Walk, Edinburgh.

<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Valuation Rolls – 1855

County of Orkney – Harray Parish – For the Year 1854-55 – includes – Kingshouse – Scuan – Quoy – Proprietor Edward Clouston, Birkenhead – double page – left side

| Number. | DESCRIPTION AND SITUATION OF SUBJECT. | PROPRIETOR. | TENANT. |
|---------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| 34 | of Kingshouse | Edward Clouston, Birkenhead | William Spence |
| 35 | of Scuan | D. | Magnum Kirkness |
| 36 | of Quoy | D. | D. |

Double page – right side – Kingshouse, Scuan and Quoy

| OCCUPIER. | YEARLY RENT OR VALUE. | | OBSERVATIONS. |
|-----------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| | As Estimated by Assessor. | As Adjusted on Application or Appeal. | |
| James Corrigall | 1 | | |
| William Spence | 20 | | |
| Magnum Kirkness | 6 10 | | |
| D. | 22 | | |

Burgh of Leith – South Leith Parish – For the Year 1855-56 – Smiths Place, Leith Walk – includes – 3) House, and 4) Cellar – Proprietor Edward Clouston, Orkney per Jas Cochrane, 1 Janefield Place, Leith – double page – left side

| Number. | DESCRIPTION AND SITUATION OF SUBJECT. | | PROPRIETOR. |
|---------|---------------------------------------|------------|--|
| | DESCRIPTION. | SITUATION. | |
| 3 | House | do | Edward Clouston, Orkney per Jas Cochrane, 1 Janefield Place, Leith |
| 4 | Cellar | do | |

Double page – right side – 3) House, and 4) Cellar

| TENANT | OCCUPIER. | YEARLY RENT OR VALUE. | | OBSERVATIONS. |
|---------------|-----------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| | | As Estimated by Assessor. | As Adjusted on Application or Appeal. | |
| John Glen | Agent | 40 | 40 | |
| Hugh Morrison | Engineer | 2 | 2 | |
| do | do | 20 | 20 | |

In Birkenhead in 1857 Edward and Julia, and Robert and Isabella, had moved to Tranmere – see above – 1872 map – Environs of Liverpool and the Estuaries of the Mersey and Dee. Edward and Julia were living at 2 Upper Woodlands and Robert and Isabella were living at Lowood, Clifton Park,

<http://cheshiredirectories.manuscripteye.com/book2.htm> – Post Office Directory of Cheshire, 1857 – page 243 and 346 – extracts

Tranmere is a township and ecclesiastical district in the parish of Bebington, adjoining Birkenhead . . . it is seated on the river Mersey . . . Tranmere Pool, an arm of the Mersey, is crossed by a bridge from Tranmere ferry to Birkenhead ferry, whence steamers cross the river to the landing stage at Liverpool . . . – Private Residences – include

Clements Mr. John, Higher Tranmere
Clouston Edwd. esq. 2 Upper Woodlands
Colliver Peter, esq. Holt hill

Taylor William, esq. Church terrace,
Higher Tranmere
Thin Robt. esq. Lowood, Clifton park
Thomas Mr. Thomas Glegg, Church
terrace, Higher Tranmere

In 1857 Robert Thin was exporting his produce to Melbourne, Australia. In the Melbourne Gold Rush, following the discovery of gold in 1852, there was a great demand for supplies of all kinds.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper> – Argus, Melbourne – top – 5 June 1857 – bottom – 27 July 1857

O N S A L E, by the Undersigned : ◀
 160 cases assorted fruits
 140 do. 1-lb. jams
 200 do. pint pickles
 50 do. quart do.

The above are shipped by Robert Thin, of Liverpool, and considered by the trade equal to any in the market.

ROBERT WALKER, 2 and 4 Swanston-street.

210 Jun 5

B R I G H T B R O T H E R S and CO. have on SALE, –
 Butter, Honan's and Thornton's prime, newly landed

Cheese, Dunlop, N. Wilts, Cheshire, &c.

Candles, Price and Co.'s and Brown and Co.'s sperm

Fine dressed table rice, in 1-cwt. barrels

Pork, prime mess, prime middles

Salad-oils, half-pints and pints

Tobacco, Kerr's twist and 10's

Ale, Joule's celebrated, in hhds.

R. Porter and Co.'s bottled ale and porter

Whiskey, in bottle, by Robert Thin

Old tom, do. do. do.

Boots and shoes

Canvas, navy, Nos. 1 to 4

Milner's fire-resisting safes

Bedsteads, very handsome

Dog-carts, by Croall and Co., Edinburgh

Shovels, L. H. round point

American floating ball washing-machines.

Address—Corner of Bond-street and Flinders-lane.

6577 Jul 8

Meanwhile George William Hamilton had moved from London to Scotland.

On the night of the 1851 census G W Hamilton was living in Glasgow with his brother Archibald Hamilton at 5 Woodside Crescent.

See – <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – 1851 Scotland Census

www.theglasgowstory.com/image/?inum=TGSE01002 – Duncan Brown – c.1850s – The Hamilton brothers of Northpark – man on the left – is he George William Hamilton?



Three sons of John Hamilton of Northpark were alive in the 1850s – 2nd son Archibald of Woodside (1784-1860) – 3rd son George William (1786-1857) – and 5th son William of Northpark (died 1866).

In *Tom Cringle's Log* Michael Scott described Aaron Bang (G W Hamilton) as

... a merry, laughing, intelligent, round, red-face man, with a sort of Duncan Knockdunder nose, through the wide nostrils of which you could see a cable's length into his head.

In 1856 when G W Hamilton made his Will he was still living with his brother Archibald at 5 Woodside Crescent. In October 1857 he was at 27 Clarence Street, Edinburgh New Town where he died on 18 October – his 71st birthday.

His death was announced in the Glasgow Herald and on the following day in London in the Morning Chronicle.

British Library Newspapers online – Glasgow Herald, 21 October 1857

At 27 Clarence Street, Edinburgh, aged 71, George William Hamilton, Esq.—Friends will please accept this intimation.

<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Statutory Registers – Deaths – Edinburgh – 1857

George William Hamilton – Proprietor of Banks Funds – Married – Died on 18 December 1857 at 27 Clarence Street – Father John Hamilton – Mother Helen Hamilton, nee Bogle – Cause of Death Paralysis – Buried Necropolis, Glasgow – Informant Helen Ewart, Daughter, Present

| Surname and Name, Rank or Profession, and Condition, (whether Married or Single, Widower or Widow.) | When and where Died, with Hour of Death. | Sex. | Age. | Parents' Names, and Rank, Profession, or Occupation. | Cause of Death, and how long Disease continued.—Medical Attendant by whom certified, and when he last saw deceased. | Burial Place. Underaker, or other Person, by whom certified. | Signature, Qualification, and Resi- dence of Informant, if out of the House in which the Death occurred. |
|--|---|------|------|--|--|--|---|
| Hamilton | 1857 | M | 71 | John Hamilton | Paralysis in lower limbs | Helen Ewart, D. | |
| George | October | Sp | late | Landed | about 18 months | Necropolis | |
| William | Eighteenth | | | Paralysis in lower limbs | Glasgow | | |
| | Oct. 1857 | | | James Dunlop, M.D. | as certified by | | |
| Proprietor of | 27 Clarence | | | John Hamilton | M.D. | William Ewart | |
| Banks Funds | Street | | | Martha Hamilton | deceased | Underaker | |
| (Married) | Edinburgh | | | Bogle (deceased) | October 17 1857 | | Present |

Note – Michael Scott was buried in the Glasgow Necropolis in 1835 – see –

<http://www.glasgow-necropolis.org/profiles/michael-scott-and-james-bogle/>

<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Wills – George William Hamilton, Will dated 5 March 1856 – Codicil dated 16 May 1856 – extracts/summary

I George William Hamilton – sometime of the Island of Jamaica thereafter of London and now residing at 5 Woodside Crescent, Glasgow

Trustees – my Brother William Hamilton, John William Hamilton, merchant, Colin Dunlop, Junior, Writer

To my son John Robert Hamilton (see Chapter 17) residing in Cincinnati, US, my gold watch & appendages

To my wife Mrs Martha Bryce or Hamilton residing at Spanish Town, Jamaica, as long as she remains unmarried a free life rent annuity of £90 Sterling per annum – To my daughter Mrs Helen Hamilton or Ewart by Martha Bryce (see Chapter 23) and now a Widow of John Ewart, MD, of Jamaica a free life rent annuity of £180 Sterling per annum – both annuities burdened with the payment of £20 Sterling per annum towards the support & maintenance of my Grandson George William Hamilton only child of my Son Larchin Lynch Hamilton (see Chapter 17), deceased, until his share of the Residue of my Estate becomes payable

I further direct that on the death or marriage of Martha Bryce the annuity to my daughter shall be increased to £240 Sterling per annum

Whereas a Considerable part of my means and estate consists of my share and interest in the Residue of the Trust Estate of my Father John Hamilton of Northpark – until my Father's Estate be fully wound up – the yearly interest or annual proceeds of my own means may be insufficient for payment of the aforesaid annuities – in that event I authorise and Empower my Trustees to make up any deficiency of my means out of the Capital thereof and to encroach on the said Capital – to such an extent to pay the foresaid annuities in full – in the event of the interest of my means being sufficient for payment of the annuities in full then the amount of such excess be paid to my son John Robert Hamilton until the period arrives for the distribution of the residue of my estate

I direct that after the death of my daughter Helen (provided that that shall happen before the residue of my estate has been fully realized – the foresaid annuity of £180 and also the foresaid annuity of £240 hereby provided to her on the death or marriage of her mother) shall thereafter and until the period arrives for the distribution of the Residue of my Estate to be paid to her daughters by John Ewart, Mathilde Ewart and Janet Tennant Ewart. equally between them, subject to the burden of £20 per annum to my grandson George William Hamilton – etc, etc, etc

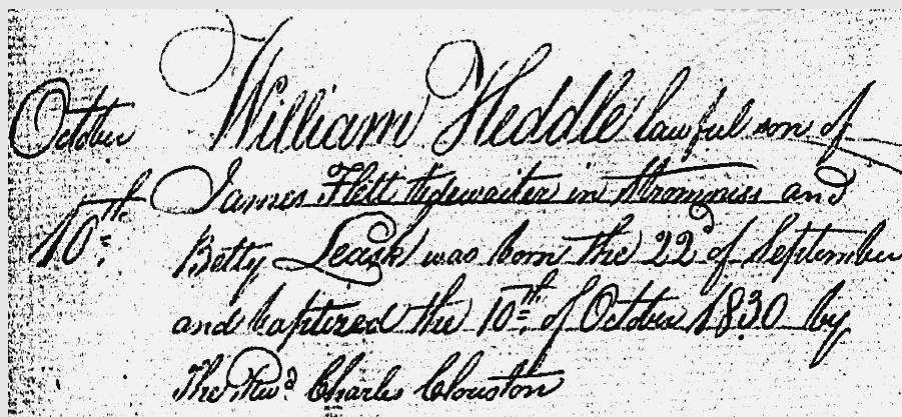
Codicil – I George William Hamilton – make the following alterations – I revoke the liferent annuities to Martha Bryce and Helen – I direct my Trustees to pay a liferent annuity of £110 Sterling to Martha Bryce and a liferent annuity of £250 Sterling to Helen to be increased to £270 Sterling on the death or marriage of Martha Bryce – subject to the same conditions & restrictions as are specified (above) – etc, etc, etc

<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Wills – George William Hamilton – 12 June 1858, Additional Inventory 14 December 1858, and Second Additional Inventory 8 September 1859 – Personal Estate – the whole of which is situated in Scotland – Total value – £8,706 17s 6d

See – <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Wills – John Robert Hamilton (G W Hamilton's son), Will dated 18 September 1874, made at the City of New York – and – Helen Ewart (G W Hamilton's daughter), residing in Kingston, Jamaica, Probate Inventory, dated 10 January 1891

In the 1850s Robert Thin traded in partnership with William Heddle Flett (1830-1911), an Orcadian who was born at Stromness.

<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Church Registers – Births & Baptisms – Stromness 1830 – William Heddle Flett – born 22 September – son of James Flett, tidewaiter (customs officer) and Betty, nee Leask – baptized 10 October by Rev Charles Clouston



October
10th William Heddle lawful son of
James Flett tidewaiter in Stromness and
Betty Leask was born the 22nd of September
and baptized the 10th of October 1830 by
The Rev^d Charles Clouston

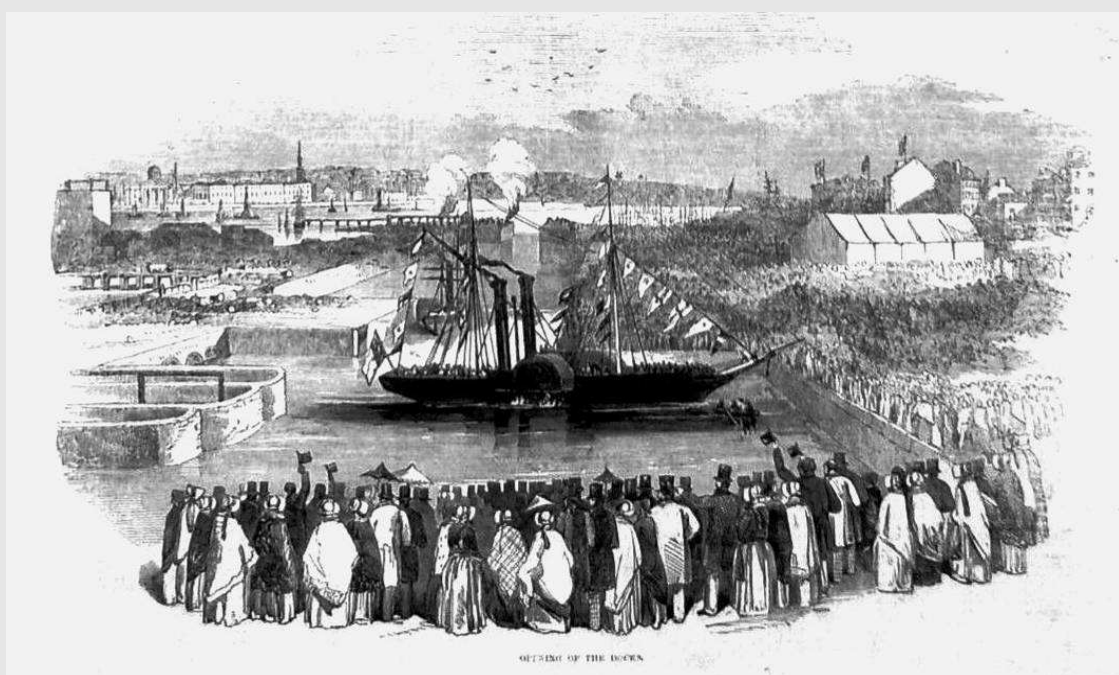
In 1858, on 15 December, W H Flett married Isabella Stewart, the daughter of Jane (Edward's sister) and William Stewart – see Chapter 23.

<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Statutory Registers – Marriages – Edinburgh – 15 December 1858 – William Heddle Flett and Isabella Stewart

Married on 15 December 1858 at No. 5 Alva Street, Edinburgh – Marriage after Banns – Free Church of Scotland – (Signed) William H Flett – Age 28 – Residence No. 5 Oxtou Road, Birkenhead, Liverpool – Merchant – Bachelor – Father James Heddle, late of H. M. Customs – (Signed) Isabella Stewart – Age 28 – Residence No 5 Alva Street, Edinburgh – Spinster – Father William Stewart, Merchant – Mother Jane Stewart, Maiden Name Clouston (Deceased)

| When, where, and how Married. | Signatures of Parties. | Age. | Residence. | Rank or Profession, and Condition, (whether Bachelor or Widower, Spinster or Widow.) Relationship of Parties if any. | Name, Surname, and Rank or Profession of Father. Name, and Maiden Surname of Mother. |
|---|---------------------------|------|---|---|---|
| On the 15th day of December 1858 at No. 5 Alva Street, Edinburgh Marriage after Banns were solemnized according to the terms of the Free Church of Scotland | (Signed) William H. Flett | 28 | No. 5 Oxtou Road, Birkenhead, Liverpool | Merchant Bachelor | James Heddle late of H. M. Customs |
| | (Signed) Isabella Stewart | 28 | No. 5 Alva Street, Edinburgh | Spinster | William Stewart Merchant; Jane Stewart; Maiden Name Clouston (Deceased) |
| Above Marriage was Registered by me at <u>Edinburgh</u> , on the <u>31st</u> day of <u>December</u> , 1858. <u>J. H.</u> | | | | | |

www.ebay.co.uk/sch/Art-/550/i.html?_jsoff=1&_sop=2&_sac=1&_nkw=birkenhead – 1847 – Birkenhead – Opening of the Docks



In the possession of Kyle Ap Simon (a great, great granddaughter of Robert and Isabella) – Ferranti, Liverpool (see below) – watercolour 1876 – from a photograph – Robert Thin (1820-1862), husband of Isabella



<http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/c54a259a-73fb-48c0-a7da-4d184378cccd> – Ferranti of Liverpool – Honoured with the Commands of the Queen and Royal Family to execute enlarged Artistic portraits and Miniatures from ordinary photographs

In my possession – A4 size hand coloured albumen photograph – 1850s – Isabella Thin, nee Clouston – sent to Henry and passed down his family to his great granddaughter Margie Mannering – given to me by Margie in 2001 (see Chapter 1)

On the back of the print – instructions for the colourist – . . . suit picture – . . . ue eyes – Black hair – Dark complexion



Isabella (1827-1884), wife of Robert Thin – Edward and Eliza's daughter



I am intrigued by Isabella's brooch



In 2002, when Katharine Clouston showed me the brooch, below, which belonged to her father the late Ranald Clouston (died 2002 – see Chapter 4), I wondered if it was the same brooch as the one Isabella is wearing. The gold frame of Ranald's brooch, to the outer edges of the curlicues, measures 68 by 57 mm – or – 2.67717 by 2.24409 inches.

Orkney Library & Archives – photo supplied by Ranald Clouston – said to be Rev William Clouston and wife Isabella, nee Traill



A considerable quantity of Clouston memorabilia was passed down to Ranald Clouston, and shortly before he died he told me that he had been told that the couple in the brooch were his great, great grandparents, Rev William Clouston and Isabella, nee Traill. However, as it is a Daguerreotype, Ranald had some doubts because Daguerreotypes were not invented until some years after the death of Rev William and Isabella.

Looking on the web more recently I saw that Daguerreotypes of paintings were made, and I cannot help thinking that Edward, who inherited his father's family paintings (see Chapter 19 – Rev William's Will), had a Daguerreotype taken of a painting of his parents, framed it in a brooch and gave it to Isabella as a memento of her Clouston grandparents. But as it appears that no picture of Rev William or his wife Isabella has survived, we shall probably never know for certain.

<https://archive.org/details/lancashireillust00austrich> – *Lancashire Illustrated* – published 1831 –
Liverpool – The Goree Warehouse, George's Dock



Robert Thin and W H Flett continued to export their produce to Australia

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper> – *The Age*, Melbourne – top – 18 May 1858 – bottom – 17 August 1858

WHISKEY.—Robert Thin's genuine, bottled
Whiskey and Old Tom, on sale by Bright,
Brothers and Co. 66 0124

THIS DAY.

Robert Thin's Bottled Fruits, Jams, Pickles, and
Sauces.

To Grocers, Storekeepers, and Others.

ALEXANDER YOUNG and Co. will SELL
by AUCTION, at their rooms, Queen-street,
on Tuesday, August 17, at 11 o'clock,
Ex Gertrude,

60—15 cases Robert Thin's pint pickles, each
8 dozen

70—8 do do half-pint assorted sauces, each 4 do

71—20 do do bottled fruits, each 8 do

72—36 do do 1-lb jams, assorted, each 4 do.

Ex Donald M'Kay,

73—15 cases Robert Thin's pint pickles, each
8 dozen

74—8 do do half-pint assorted sauces, each 4 do

75—20 do do bottled fruits, each 8 do

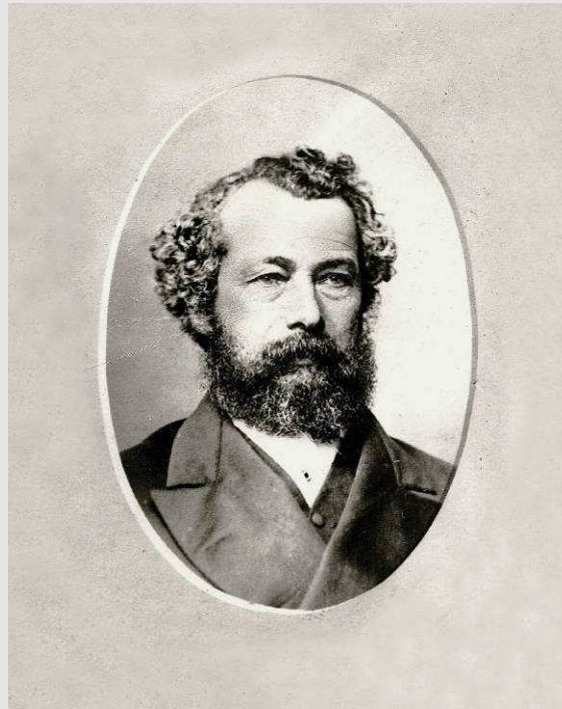
76—36 do do 1-lb jams, assorted, each 4 do.

The above goods are just landed, and the auctioneers
beg to call the attention of the trade particularly to
these shipments, as they have been assorted and
packed with great care expressly for this market.

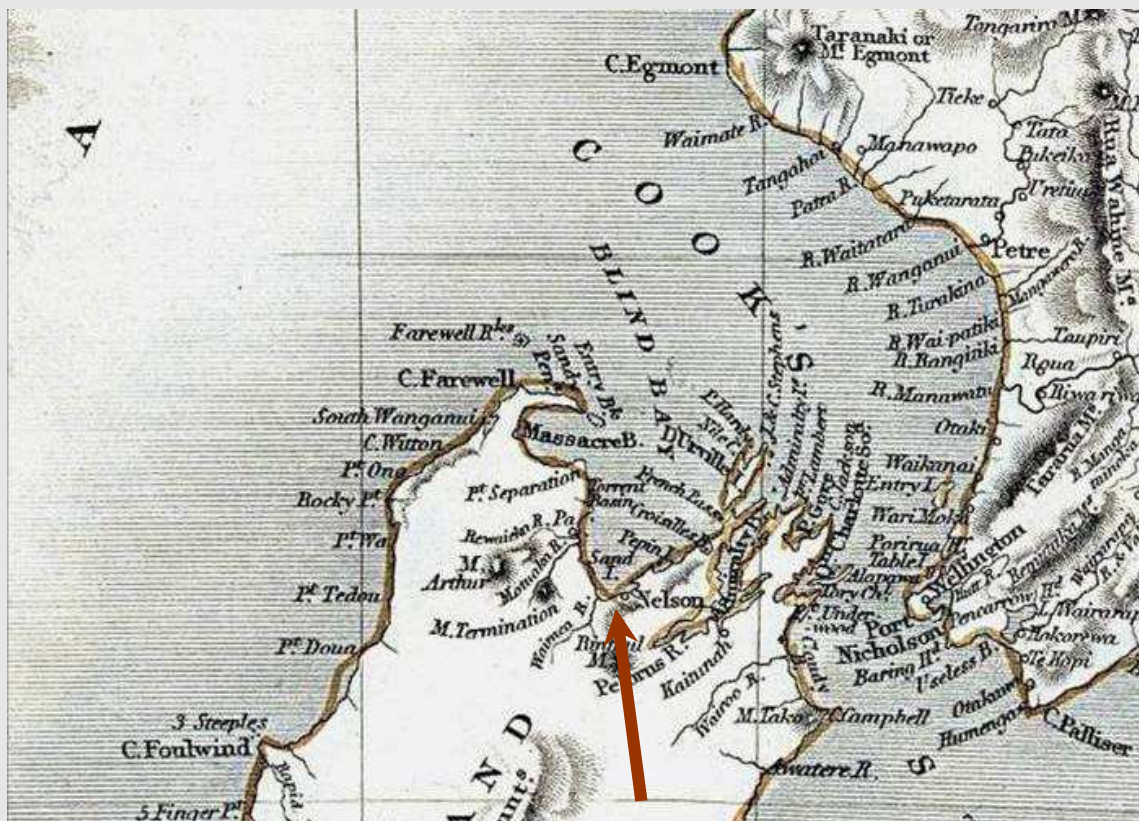
Terms at Sale.

Meanwhile in 1849 or 1850 Henry arrived in New Zealand and settled at Nelson.

Nelson Provincial Museum, New Zealand – Tyree Studio, ½ 67864/3 – Mr Clouston

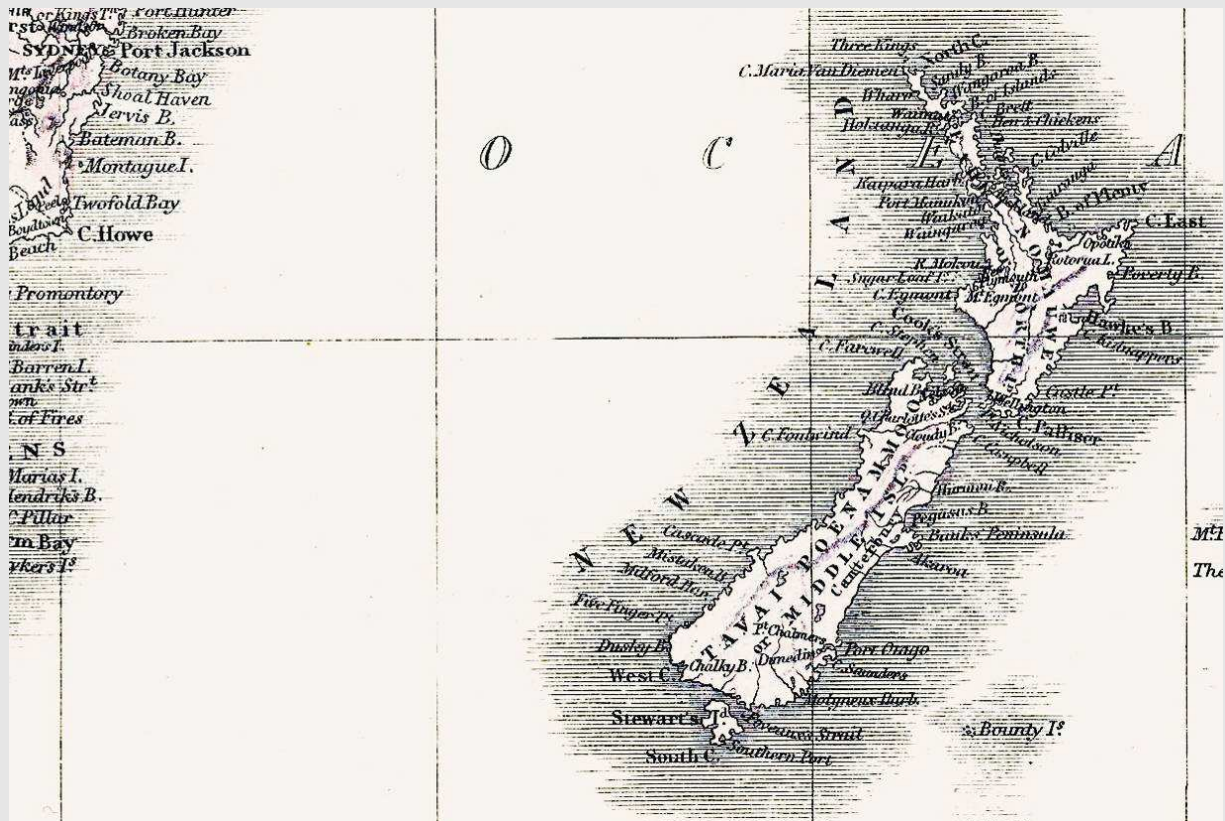


www.davidrumsey.com/ – J & F Tallis – 1851 – New Zealand – section – **arrow** points to Nelson, north coast South Island



Established in 1841, it is the second-oldest settled city in New Zealand and the oldest in the South Island and was proclaimed a city by royal charter in 1858.

www.davidrumsey.com/ – Adam & Charles Black – 1853 – Australasia –section – top left – Port Jackson, the Port of Sydney



<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper> – *Empire*, Sydney, 20 August 1851

The Comet, schooner, will shortly resume her trips to New Zealand. She has undergone a thorough repair, Mr. Clouston, her Chief Officer, will now take charge of her. Captain Cork having placed the vessel under that gentleman's command.

Sydney Morning Herald, 2 September 1851 – Exports

September 1.—Comet, for Nelson: 29 cases wine, 2 cases drapery, 19 boxes soap, 34 cases oilmen's stores, 4 shafts, 16 bags rice, 20 boxes 2 casks prunes, 6 cases dried apples, 2 bales prints, 2 bales rugs, 30 cases Geneva; Robert Clark; 2 cases 1 cask drugs, A. Foss.

Sydney Morning Herald, 3 September 1851 – Sailed from Sydney

September 3.—Comet, schooner, 92 tons, Captain Clouston, for Nelson. Passengers—Mr. and Mrs. P. Smither, Mr. and Mrs. Snow.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Nelson Examiner, 13 September 1851 – Arrived Nelson – 13 September*

13, brigantine Comet, 92, Clouston, from Sydney; 600 sheep. Passengers, Mr. and Mrs. Smither, Mr. and Mrs. Snow.

Nelson Examiner, 20 September 1851 – Sailed from Nelson – 20 September

20, brigantine Comet, 92, Clouston, for Sydney.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper> – *Sydney Morning Herald, 4 October 1851 – Arrival Sydney*

October 3.—Comet, schooner, 92 tons, Captain Clouston, from Nelson the 19th ultimo, in ballast. Passenger—Mr. George Bateman.

Shipping & Sydney General Trade List, 4 October 1851 – Ships in Harbour

Comet, schooner, 92 tons, Clouston, at the Flour Company's Wharf; R. Cork, owner. Discharging.

www.sl.nsw.gov.au/using/search/ – attributed to Jacob Jannsen – 1854 – Government House, Sydney



<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper> – *Shipping Gazette & Sydney General Trade List*, 1 November 1851 – Exports

November 1. - Comet, for Nelson : 1 package cigars, J. M. Leigh ; 314 bags sugar, Beit and Sons; 1 package, 10 stoves, a tomp, W. S. Deloitte ; 24 packages furniture, Dr. Witt ; 20 boxes soap, 20 boxes candles, 740 sheep, R. Cork ; 1 case 1 piece block tin, A. and J. Spark.

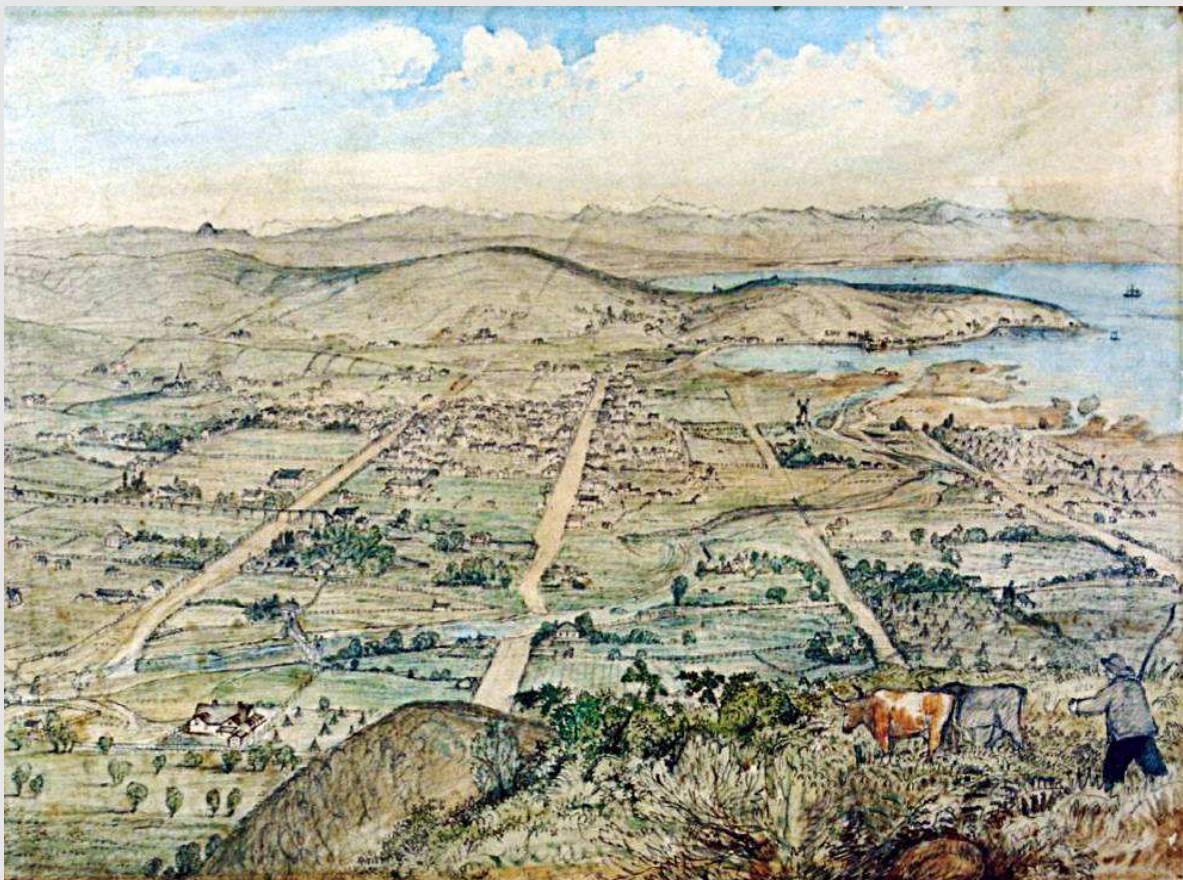
Empire, Sydney, 4 November 1851 – Sailed from Sydney

November 3.—Comet, schooner, 92 tons. Captain Clouston, for Nelson. Passengers—Miss M'Cartney and Mr. Beit.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Nelson Examiner*, 22 November 1851 – Arrived Nelson

Nov. 18, brigantine Comet, 100, Clouston, from Sydney; sheep. Passengers, Mr. H. Beit, Mr. Walker, and Miss M'Artney.

www.theprow.org.nz/places/nelson-haven/#.VRaBkvysV8E – Charles Heaphy – 1852 – Nelson Haven – Maitai River showing hop gardens and windmill



In 1852 Henry continued to be the master of the Comet. In January 1853 the *Nelson Examiner* published a letter from Henry replying to a letter from a disgruntled passenger.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – Nelson Examiner, 29 January 1853 – To the Public – from Henry Clouston, Nelson, 15 January 1853.

TO THE PUBLIC.

IN last week's "Examiner" appeared a letter, published by Mr. COATES, of Nelson, complaining of his treatment at my hands on board the Comet, on his passage from Sydney. The charges being so frivolous and self-contradictory, I should not condescend to a reply on my own part, but for this ungracious statement: "the friends of Mr. Clouston, the Master, in their zeal to justify his conduct towards me, having propagated untruths," &c.!!

This sweeping attack of Mr. Coates on his fellow passengers, leaves me the one alternative of retorting, and of exposing the *falsehood* and absurdity of his advertisement.

The first charge then is untrue, *every word*. As an intermediate passenger, I never dreamt of *assuring* him that he should take his meals in the cabin, the *unfairness* of which would be apparent, when there were two gentlemen on board who had paid the cabin fare, and who, by reason of the large number of passengers, were, notwithstanding, obliged to take up their quarters in the intermediate. Mr. Coates was merely told that he should *fare* as the passengers of the cabin, and not that he should dine out of his own apartment, at the cabin table.

I may state that for a week after sailing, many of the passengers were sea-sick, and often remained in their own cabins at meal times, on which occasions Mr. Coates was invited to the cabin table. As the passengers recovered, it was found necessary to make two courses, there being too many in number to sit down all together; Mr. Coates, it appears, could not brook to partake of the second course, whether the cabin passengers could or not, and he literally *sulked*, and *refused to eat*, to the amusement of those on board, although he was frequently urged and requested by the owner (as he says) to go and partake of his meals with the rest.

He further states that the food placed before him was cold; this is denied by the Steward. It certainly was the same for him as for the other gentlemen who chanced to sit down last; but the practice always was that the meat for the second course remained by the galley fire till it was carried below.

The last charge is, "I was coolly told by the steward that he had orders from the master to have nothing to do with me, and that if I wanted anything I must go to the galley." In reply to this, I have only to state that the duty of the steward is to wait *only* in the cabin, and that the custom is for intermediate passengers to apply at the galley for their meals.—After Mr. Coates' continued refusal to sit at the table, and after my enduring his *aggravating* conduct and language, I could not be expected to deviate with him from the ordinary customs on board.

I beg to advert to the *inconsistency* in the concluding part of his letter. He does not consider that "any distinction ought to have been made between passengers, who having all paid alike for their passage, were entitled to an alike treatment." Now Mr. Coates, as an intermediate passenger, was enjoying the same privileges with those who paid a higher sum for a cabin passage, and who were content to berth in the intermediate. In other words he grumbles at being treated too well!

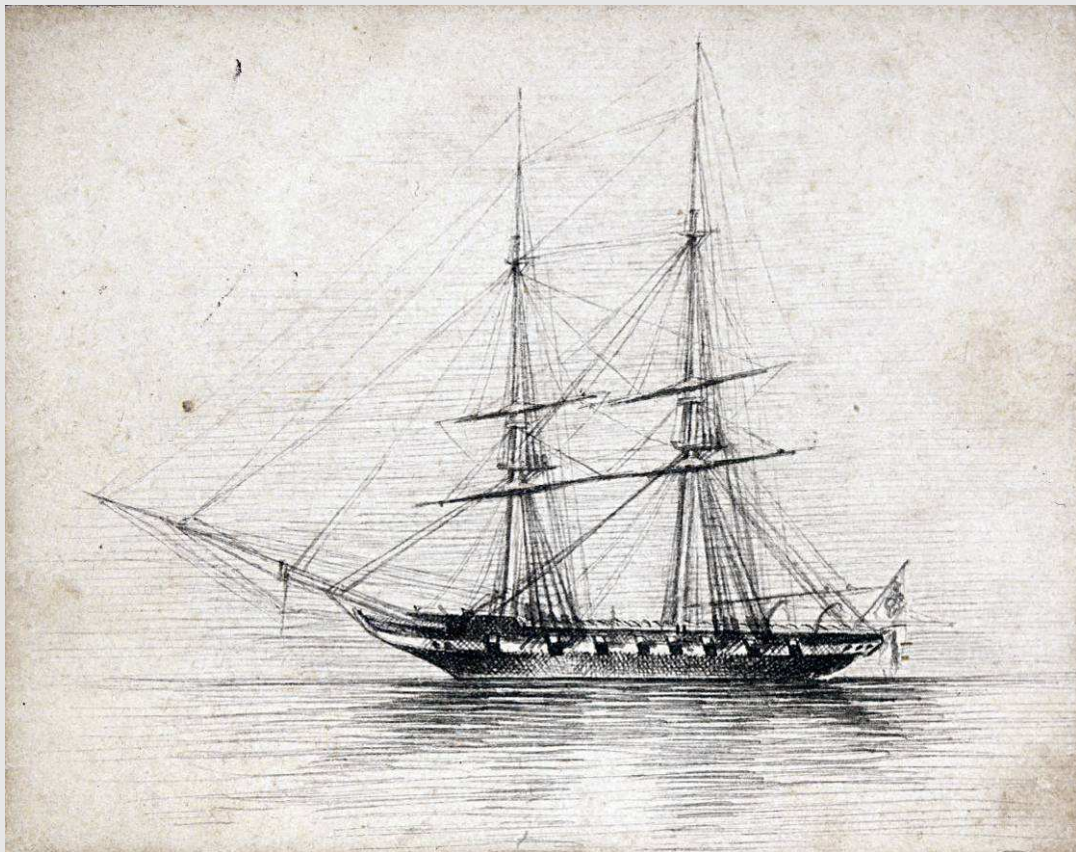
It is not that I feel that my character as master of the 'Comet' requires vindication, that I have published this, but merely from a respect to those gentlemen whom Mr. Coates has been pleased in so unqualified a style to charge with *untruth*. He must remember his murmurings on board the vessel in which he came from England, and his former discontent on the passage to Sydney in the 'Comet,' and that these tend to show a great peculiarity in his nature when at sea.

It would further appear that Mr. Coates had not intended giving me the opportunity of reply. He might have published his letter on his arrival, or at least a week before, but he seemed to prefer its appearing after my sailing for Melbourne; but being accidentally delayed a few hours, I chanced to meet the charge in the Newspaper of to-day, and to have the opportunity of refuting it.

I am, &c.,
HENRY CLOUSTON.

Nelson, Jan. 15.

<http://natlib.govt.nz/search> – Charles Heaphy, while resident in Auckland, New Zealand 1850s – schooner or brig (brigantine)



In the Melbourne Gold Rush a considerable amount of New Zealand goods were exported to Melbourne.

The earliest mention I have of Henry trading with Melbourne is in January 1853 – on 16 January he sailed with a cargo of 14 framed houses, butter, oats, and onions.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Nelson Examiner*, 22 January 1853 – sailed from Nelson

Jan. 16, brigantine Comet, 92, Clouston, for Melbourne. Passengers, Messrs. Tinline, Goodman, M'Eathen, and Miss Donald.

In the COMET, for Melbourne—14 framed houses, 20 kegs butter, 6 bags oats, 4 bags onions—Morrison & Sclanders.

The Comet arrived back at Nelson on 25 March – *Nelson Examiner*, 26 March 1853

March 25, brigantine Comet, 92, Clouston, from Melbourne. Passengers, Messrs. Palmer, Thomas Kinzett, Edward Whitmore, and Charles Connel, wife. and child.

IMPORTS.

In the COMET from Melbourne;—2 half tierces tobacco, 2 mats sugar, 3 cases chairs, 2 barrels flour, 2 bags oatmeal, 158 bags sugar, 10 bags oatmeal, 4 cases champagne, 30 doz. raspberry vinegar, 30 doz. American buckets, 12 doz. do. nests tubs, 30 half chests tea, 36 boxes tea, 649 bags sugar, 32 bags rice, 8 do. coffee, 3 boxes raisins, 4 cases castor oil, 96 boxes American soap, 50 do. candles, 34 cases lemon syrup, 3 cases shirts, 1 bale do., 1 case trowsers, 5 do. American chairs, 40 barrels flour, 40 boxes starch, 7 do. blue, 2 barrels biscuit, 1 do. oatmeal, 50 chests tea—Order

At Nelson on 6 April 1853 Henry married Mary Maud Rodgerson.

Nelson Examiner, 9 April 1853

MARRIAGE.

At Nelson, on the 6th instant, by license, by the Rev. T. D. Nicholson, Mr. Henry Clouston, master of the brigantine Comet, to Mary, eldest daughter of Mr. William Rodgerson, of Nelson.

William Rodgerson was the Nelson Gaoler (Governor of the Gaol).

Nelson Examiner, 16 July 1853 – Electoral Roll for the Province of Nelson – Town of Nelson includes

Rodgerson, William, Shelburne street, gaoler

The Rodgerson family were very early Nelson settlers.

The Family of Captain Henry Clouston, 1822-1898, by Mervyn Clouston – updated 1997 – notes

The Rodgersons left the UK for New Zealand on board the Lord Auckland on 21 September 1841 and arrived on 27 February 1842.

Nelson tombstone – William Rodgerson, a native of Dumfries, Scotland, died 25 May 1872 aged 70 – his wife Melinda died 26 July 1868 aged 64.

Mary Maud Rodgerson (1833-1891) – baptized 22 December 1833 at Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, England.

<http://natlib.govt.nz/search> – John Waring Saxton – print 1842-45 – Town and Part of the Harbour of Nelson in 1842



On 28 April 1853 Henry with his wife Mary sailed from Nelson for Port Phillip, Melbourne.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Nelson Examiner*, 30 April 1853 – Sailed from Nelson 28 April

— schooner Comet, 92, Clouston, for Port Phillip. Passengers, Mr. Schroder, Mr. and Mrs. Murphy and child, Mrs. Clouston, Mr. Giblin, and Mr. Rearden.

Nelson Examiner, 7 May 1853

The brig, whose presence in the Bay we announced last week, proved to be the *Xarifa*, from Melbourne, come in search of a cargo of produce. We have therefore two brigs in our harbour loading for the diggings, besides the brigantine *Comet*, despatched last week. The cargoes now about being shipped on board the *Velox* and *Xarifa*, will comprise some articles never before exported from this settlement, as in addition to sawn timber, wooden houses, shingles, potatoes, oats, barley, butter, and onions, such articles as hay and carrots will be added to the list, and, with every promise of affording a satisfactory remuneration to the shipper. Before these vessels have sailed, the *Rosebud* will have returned from Wellington to load for the same market; the *Spray*, daily expected from Launceston or Melbourne, has a cargo awaiting her, and we hear of other expected arrivals, all willing to purchase whatever the settlement can spare after supplying its own wants. With such a demand for

all our productions, we cannot too urgently press upon cultivators the wisdom of exerting themselves to obtain extensive crops next year.

Thirteen days after sailing the Comet arrived back at Nelson – *Nelson Examiner*, 14 May 1853 – Arrived Nelson 13 May

13, brigantine Comet, 100, Clouston, put back.

The Comet sailed again for Port Phillip on 20 May 1853, but this time under the command of Captain Frazer – *Nelson Examiner*, 28 May 1853 – Sailed from Nelson

May 20, brigantine Comet, 92, Frazer, for Port Phillip, with original passengers and cargo.

Henry's wife was not one of the passengers arriving at Port Phillip, so it appears that they both remained at Nelson. After May 1853 I have no mention of Henry until the following September when he was a passenger sailing on the Admiral Grenfell from Nelson for Sydney.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Nelson Examiner*, 1 October 1853 – Sailed from Nelson 28 September

28, barque Admiral Grenfell, 324, M'Clellan, for Sydney. Passengers, Miss Alexander, Messrs. Redwood, Clouston, and Hume.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper> – *Shipping Gazette*, Sydney, 17 October 1853 – Arrived Sydney includes – H Coulson (Clouston)

October 15.—Admiral Grenfell, barque, 324 tons, Captain M'Clellan, from Nelson, New Zealand, 29th ultimo. Passengers—Miss Alexander, Messrs. H. Redwood, H. Coulson, and four in the steerage. Willis, Merry, and Co., agents.

Shipping Gazette, Sydney, 7 November 1853 – Sydney Exports – Spray, for Nelson – include goods exported by H Clouston – he was also a passenger on the Spray sailing for Nelson – see below

November 5.—Spray, for Nelson: 6 cases books, 2 cases saddlery, 1 case 1 bale leather. Dowall and Co; 15 cases gin, 5 cases brandy, 8 cases geneva, 7 cases whiskey, 3 cases drapery, 2 cases boots, 2 bales leather, 1 case saddlery, 1 bundle hardware, J. Hume; 10 cases liqueurs, G. Locket; 6 hogsheads rum, M. E. Murnin; 5 octaves brandy 10 cases gin, 10 chests 10 half-chests 16 boxes tea, 20 cases champagne, 5 cases olive oil, 1 barrel salmon, 10 boxes candles, 2 kegs rennets, 10 casks lemon syrup, 5 cases drapery, 1 bale bags, 2 rolls woolpacks, 2 jars lime juice, 1 trunk shoes, 3 tierces beef, 5 boxes pickles, 5 packages handles, H. Clouston; 10 chests 50 boxes tea, Macintosh and Hirst; 30 horses, 10 tierces beef, 2 chests tea, Captain Scott; 5 packages drugs, Foss and Co; 5 bales cottons, G. C. Tutting; 1 bag ginger, 1 bag senna, 34 tons biscuit, 8 packages, G. Wilkie; 2 cases cigars, L. R. Poole; 111 bags sugar Australian Sugar Co.; 3 cases books, 1 case clothing, A. B. Spark.

Sydney Morning Herald, 7 November 1853 – Sailed from Sydney

November 6.—Spray, brig, 149 tons, Captain Brett, for Nelson. Passengers—Captain Clouston, Mr. Hume Rogerson, Masters D. and R. Scott.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Nelson Examiner, 3 December 1853 – Arrived Nelson*

Nov. 21, brig Spray, 200, Scott, from Sydney. General cargo and horses. Passenger, Captain Clouston.

Henry and Mary's first child, William Henry Pembroke Clouston, was born at Annandale Farm in the Maitai Valley, Nelson, on 24 June 1854.

Nelson Examiner, 5 July 1854 – Births

BIRTHS.
At Annandale Farm, on the 24th ultimo, Mrs. Clouston, of a son.

The Family of Captain Henry Clouston, 1822-1898, by Mervyn Clouston – updated 1997 – Henry and Mary's 13 children – notes

1. William Edward Pembroke Clouston (1854-1903) – m. Zoe Horne
2. Melina Isabella Clouston (1857-1920) – m. Joseph Jay
3. Balfour Stewart Clouston (1859-1919) – m. Emily Alberta Harley
4. Eliza Fox Clouston (1861-1936) – m. Alexander Mackenzie
5. Henry Clouston (1863-1928) – m. Therese Baignet
6. Mary Maud Clouston (1865-1947) – unmarried
7. Louise Marion Clouston (1867-1824) – unmarried
8. Alfred Earnest Clouston (1869-1941) – m. Margaret Jane Gaussen
9. Jessie Mitchel Clouston (b. and d. 1871)
10. James Rodgerson Clouston (1872-1918) – m. Cecelia Mary Redwood
11. Robert Edmund Clouston (1874-1961) – m. Ruby Alexandra Scott
12. Julia Thin Clouston (1876-1897) – unmarried
13. Florence Adeline Clouston (1878-1929) – m. William Kempson Morton

Henry was the first captain of the Taranaki – a Schooner launched on 19 April 1855 on the west coast of North Island at Moturoa, New Plymouth.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Taranaki Herald*, 25 April 1855

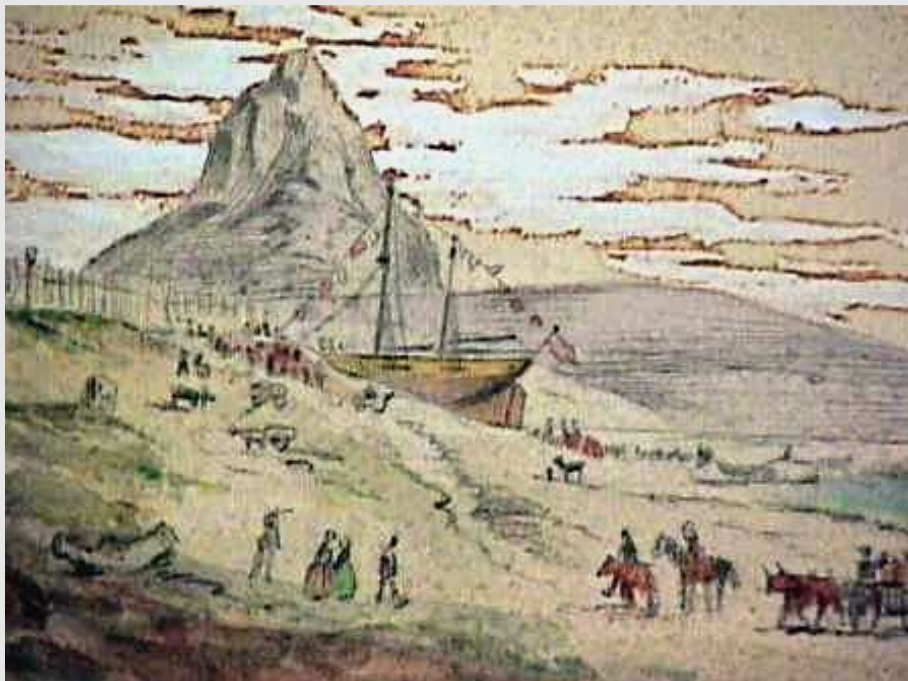
THE LAUNCH OF THE SCHOONER 'TARANAKI.'

The launch of this vessel from its slip at Moturoa took place on Thursday last, and a finer day has not been seen in Taranaki for years. From early morning up to the time appointed for the launch, the inhabitants, great and small, flocked to the spot from all quarters, and as the hour approached, there had gathered on the beach at Moturoa a more gay and numerous assemblage than we have before seen in New Plymouth.—About half-past 10 all the preparations for the launch appeared to be completed, but the tide made very slowly, and it seemed doubtful whether there would be sufficient water found at its height to float the vessel. Only those who know the intense interest attaching to such occasions can conceive the anxiety evinced by the multitude of persons drawn together, when at about eleven the note of preparation was heard, and having been named with the usual ceremonials by Miss Anna Rundle, daughter of the principal owner, the vessel glided gracefully along the ways—but from there not being sufficient depth of water—she dropped into it with some force, but fortunately uninjured.

The tide having receded before measures could be adopted for warping her into deep water, that operation was postponed until the next tide, when with the efficient aid of the Harbour Master and the boats' crews, and the assistance of persons from the shore, it was accomplished without much difficulty, and she was anchored off the Sugarloaf Islands about one in the morning. On Saturday she weighed and sailed up to the anchorage off the town, where she remained until Monday when she left on her first voyage, for Wellington. She was named the *Taranaki*, and is intended to trade as a coaster between the ports of New Zealand, and to Australia.

We congratulate the owners and the settlement on the safe launch of the vessel, and hope that we shall often see her returning from successful voyages to this port. All speak in the highest terms of the admirable arrangements of Captain Clouston, and of the conduct of his crew during the fitting and launching of the vessel; and the owners are warm in their thanks to the Harbor Master, Mr Watson, and his crew for their able assistance.

<http://vernion.npd.govt.nz/search.do?view=detail&page=1&id=282969&db=object> – two drawings – copies – originals by Strutt – Launching and the Naming of the Schooner Taranaki – drawing 1



Two drawings – copies – originals by Strutt – Launching and the Naming of the Schooner Taranaki – drawing 2



www.davidrumsey.com/ – J & F Tallis – 1851 – New Zealand – section – top, New Plymouth, Sugar Loaf Islands, and Taranaki or Mount Egmont – bottom, Nelson



Henry continued to be the master of the Taranaki until 1857. For the first few months after she was launched, the Taranaki traded around the coast of New Zealand. Then in August 1855 the Taranaki made her first trip to Sydney and returned to New Zealand seven weeks later – arriving at New Plymouth on 27 September 1855.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Taranaki Herald*, 3 October 1855 – Arrived New Plymouth

Sailed

September 27.—Taranaki, schooner, 110 tons, Clouston, from Sydney.—I. N. Watt, agent.

September 28.—Taranaki, schooner, 110 tons, Clouston, for Nelson.

IMPORTS.

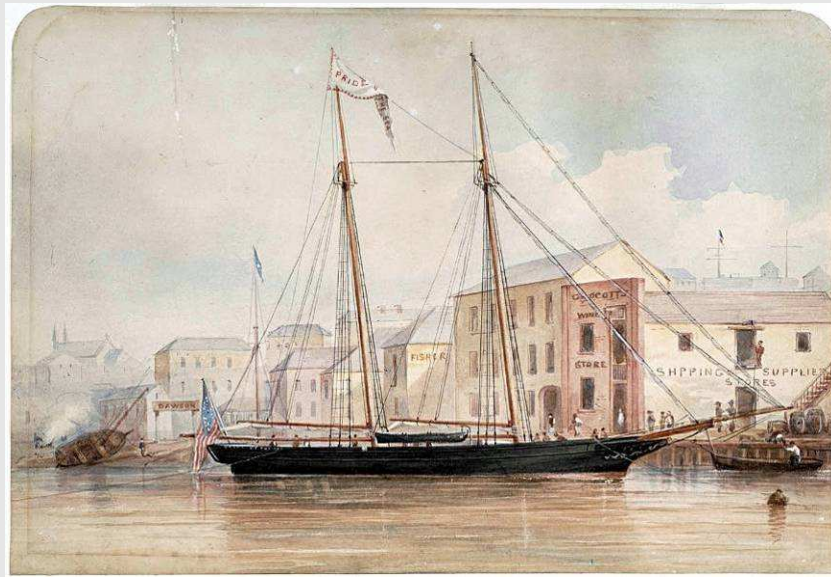
Per Taranaki—8 chests, 18 half do. tea, 20 bags crushed loaf sugar, 1 hhd loaf sugar, 16 mats bastard sugar, 38 bags raw do, 47 cases geneva, 40 boxes soap, 25 do candles, 110 bags salt, 9 tons coal, 1 pocket hops, 6 cases salad oil, 1 cask carbonate of soda, 3 hhds porter, 1 bag pepper, 1 keg shot.

The Taranaki made fair passages of 14 days to and 13 from Sydney, and has been just seven weeks on the trip, and we congratulate her owners on the successful issue of the trial of her capabilities as a trader between this port and Australia. She reports the arrival of the Vixen at Melbourne, hence the 3rd Aug., on the 2nd ult., supposed to have touched at Launceston; and also the arrival of the Ocean, brig, and the Abbey, schooner, the former having left New Plymouth on the 9th Aug. and the latter on the 3rd. The brig Velox was to sail for this port three days after the departure of the Taranaki, and is again commanded by Capt Holford.

<http://emuseum.anmm.gov.au/code/emuseum.asp?id=45844> – Henry Gritten – 1856 – Sydney Harbour



<http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=423731> – Frederick Garling – c.1854 – ‘Pride of the Sea’ – tied up at the wharf in front of James Grocott's wholesale, wine and spirit warehouse, Sydney



In August 1856 ‘Clousten’ (Clouston) with his wife Mary sailed in the Taranaki from Nelson for Sydney – <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Nelson Examiner*, 30 August 1856

August 26, schooner Taranaki, 92 tons, Clousten, for Sydney, with sundry British goods for drawback; 387 bags wheat, 13 tons flour, 67 kegs butter, 516 bags oats, 7 bales wool, 2 tons copper ore, 23 hides, 280 horns, 1 package hams, New Zealand produce. Passengers—Mrs. Clousten, Mrs. White, Miss Ross, Mr. Oldham, Mr. Allison, John Cribb.

Nelson Examiner, 18 October 1856 – arrived Nelson 18 October 1856

18, schooner Taranaki, 100, Clousten, from Sydney. Passengers—Messrs. Lucas, Moon, Cribb, Mrs. Clousten.

In the *Taranaki Herald* in February 1887 it was said that the Schooner Taranaki was ‘subsequently sold in Australia to Capt. Clouston for some £350’.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Taranaki Herald*, 10 February 1887 – Schooner Taranaki – the first vessel launched at Moturoa – extracts

... The launch of the Taranaki took place on 19th April 1855. It was a day of great festivity and elation ... The Taranaki was built of white pine, which was then supposed to be a “splendid wood for ship-building.” But, by the way, something went wrong with the architecture of this vessel. She was designed on the lines of an English Revenue cutter. Now the bulwarks of revenue cutters were built on the ribs of the hulk, which were carried above the deck for the purpose. The mistake made with the Taranaki was in continuing her hulk right up to the tops of these timbers, thus making her deck some 22 inches higher than it ought to have been. She, however turned out to be a good craft. The Taranaki was subsequently sold in Australia to Capt. Clouston for some £350. Capt. Clouston employed her in the island trade, but before her white pine timbers had time to become rotten, she was totally wrecked on one of the Pacific’s coral strands.

By late 1856 Henry appears to have been spending more time on his farm in the Maitai Valley.

<http://natlib.govt.nz/search> – Charles Decimus Barraud – c.1856 – Valley in the Nelson area



<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – Nelson Examiner, 13 December 1856 – Apply to H Clousten (Clouston)

FOR SALE, two superior quiet working BULLOCKS, eight years old, with CART, BOWS, YOKE, &c., complete: warranted to plough without a driver: they are well known in the settlement: or EXCHANGE can be made for a useful MARE AND CART.

Apply to Mr. H. CLOUSTEN, Annandale Farm; or to Mr. W. RODGERSON, Gaol, Nelson.

By March 1857 Cory was the master of the Taranaki – Nelson Examiner, 14 March 1857 – Arrived Nelson – 11 March, Taranaki, Cory, from Sydney – imports include goods for Clousten (Clouston)

March 11, schooner Taranaki, 92, Cory, from Sydney. Passengers—Mr. and Mrs. Raleigh, Mr. and Mrs. Coleman and two children, Mr. Browning, Mrs. White and child.

IMPORTS,

Per Taranaki:—11 boxes tobacco, 2 packages do., 36 cases cigars, 1 package oil stores, 50 casks bottled beer, 2 packages furniture, 1 case drapery, 4 tons oil, 1 hogshead wine, Henry Cory; 46 bags raw sugar, 360 do. bastard, 40 do. refined do., 4 tons crushed loaf, 4 do. bastard, 27 mats sugar, Order; 40 cases whiskey, 1 hogshead brandy, 1 cask loaf sugar, Order; 20

→ boxes tea, 20 half-chests congou, Order; 15 boxes soap, 1 cask porter, 4 bags corks, 1 roll matting, 2 cases tinware, 20 boxes soap, 8 tons coals, 1 roll leather, Clousten; 2 bales and 2 cases drapery, Order; 1 case saddlery, 5 cases blue, 23 do. candles, 40 do. soap, 5 do. wine, Nicholson and Ridings; 1 case drugs, H. Latter; 4 casks nails, Alport.

Nelson Examiner, 20 June 1857 – below – 11 July 1857

WANTED, a MAN accustomed to Cows, and to make himself generally useful on a small farm.

Apply to H. CLOUSTON, Maitai Valley.

WANTED, a general FARM SERVANT.
Apply to Mr. H. CLOUSTON, Maitai-valley.
Nelson, 9th July, 1857.

In 1857 Henry, was the occupier of land in the Maitai Valley – *Nelson Examiner*, 14 November 1857 – Electoral Roll, under the “Nelson Trust Funds Act,” for the year 1857 – includes

| Name. | Place of Abode. | Calling or Business. | Ground of Claim. | No. of Votes. |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| Close, Stephen | Suburban-north | Farmer | Owner, Happy-valley | 2 |
| Clouston, Henry | Nelson | Shipmaster | Occupier, Maitai-valley | 2 |
| Coates, Giles | Nelson | Watchmaker | Owner, Bridge-street | 2 |

<http://natlib.govt.nz/search> – B Connell – Nelson 1859



<http://natlib.govt.nz/search> – Artist unknown – c.1850-1870 – View from the south of Nelson looking towards the northern end of the port, across the Boulder Bank



Henry and Mary's second son, Balfour Stewart Clouston, was born on 14 May 1859.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Nelson Examiner*, 18 May 1859 – Births

On the 14th instant, at Annandale, Maitai, Mrs. H. Clouston, of a son.

Balfour Stewart Clouston was named after Balfour Stewart (a brother of Isabella, wife of Robert Thin's partner William Heddle Flett) who was the eldest son of Jane (Edward's sister) and William Stewart.

In a letter dated 15 April 1819 to Balfour Stewart Clouston, J Storer Clouston referred to Henry as Balfour Stewart's – 'old correspondent' – *typed copy supplied 2001 by Mervyn Clouston*.

While Henry was growing up in Britain I imagine he knew his cousin Balfour and they may have met again when Balfour was in Australia in the first half of the 1850s.

www.oxforddnb.com/ – *Dictionary of National Biography* – May 2015 – Balfour Stewart – extracts

Stewart, Balfour (1828–1887), physicist and meteorologist, was born at Edinburgh on 1 November 1828, the son of William Stewart, a tea merchant of Leith, and his wife, Jane, daughter of William Clouston . . .

Balfour Stewart went to school in Dundee, then for a short time, at the age of thirteen, to the University of St Andrews. At the University of Edinburgh in 1845-6 he attended the class of James David Forbes, the professor of natural philosophy. On leaving the university at the age of eighteen he began an apprenticeship in the office of a cousin, James Balfour, a Leith merchant. Stewart travelled to Australia on business in 1855 [sic], where his taste for physical science developed. His first two papers

– ‘On the influence of gravity on the physical condition of the moon’s surface’ and ‘On the adaptation of the eye to the rays which emanate from bodies’ – were contributed in 1855 to the Philosophical Society of Victoria.

On his return Stewart gave up business, and in February 1856 he joined the staff of Kew observatory as assistant observer to John Welsh. In October 1856 he became assistant to his former teacher, Forbes, at the University of Edinburgh . . .

<https://archive.org/details/transactionsofph01phil> – *Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Victoria . . . for the past year ending July, 1855, published 1855* – Proceedings, &c. – page i – 12 August 1854

First General Meeting – 10 September 1854 – Monthly Meeting – New Members admitted since the last Meeting: – . . . Balfour Stewart . . .

Balfour Stewart sailed from Australia in 1855 – <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper> – *Argus, Melbourne, 8 December 1855*

At the late meeting of the British Association, in Glasgow, a paper was read by B Stewart, Esq, late of Melbourne . . . This gentleman, who was a member of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria, returned to England by the George Marshall in May last – *Geelong Advertiser*.

In June 1859 Henry’s wife Mary was ‘seriously’ alarmed by an intruder

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Colonist, 2 July 1859* – and – *Nelson Examiner 3 July 1859*

MONDAY, JUNE 28.

Before J. POYNTER, Esq., Resident Magistrate.

VAGRANCY.—Frederick Strong was brought before the Court charged with feloniously entering the house of Mr. Clouston, a master mariner, and there behaving himself in such a manner as to seriously alarm his wife, who, we are given to understand, has suffered severely from the fright. As Mr. Clouston was not at home at the time, the case was remanded until Tuesday, for further evidence.

[Before JOHN POYNTER, Esq., Resident Magistrate.]

Frederick Strachan, supposed to be of unsound mind, was brought up under the Vagrant Act, charged with wandering about the town without any visible means of subsistence. It appears, from the evidence given, that, last Saturday, the prisoner took the opportunity (having watched Captain Clouston’s departure from home) to visit that gentleman’s house in the Maitai Valley, and went in and helped himself from the front room to brandy. Mrs. Clouston heard the prisoner moving about, but, thinking it was her husband, she took no notice until the prisoner met her in the kitchen and demanded food, and “the best, too,” threatening to floor Mrs. Clouston, if denied. There was only a little girl in the house, and Mrs. Clouston, being alarmed, sent her for assistance, and Messrs. Epps and Hargreaves went and bundled him off. The police stated that the man had been wandering about

for some time, living apparently by charity ; but, although of weak intellect, they supposed him harmless in such matters, except from the practice he had of always smoking and carrying matches carelessly about. He was remanded until it could be ascertained what was best to be done with him.

In December 1859 Henry was again advertising for a man to work on his dairy farm.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Nelson Examiner*, 3 December 1859

WANTED, on a small dairy farm, a **MAN**
or **YOUTH**, who will make himself generally
useful. Wages, £45 per annum.
Apply to H. Clouston, Maitai Valley.
4153

<http://natlib.govt.nz/search> – Maria Nicholson - 1959-63 – Nelson City



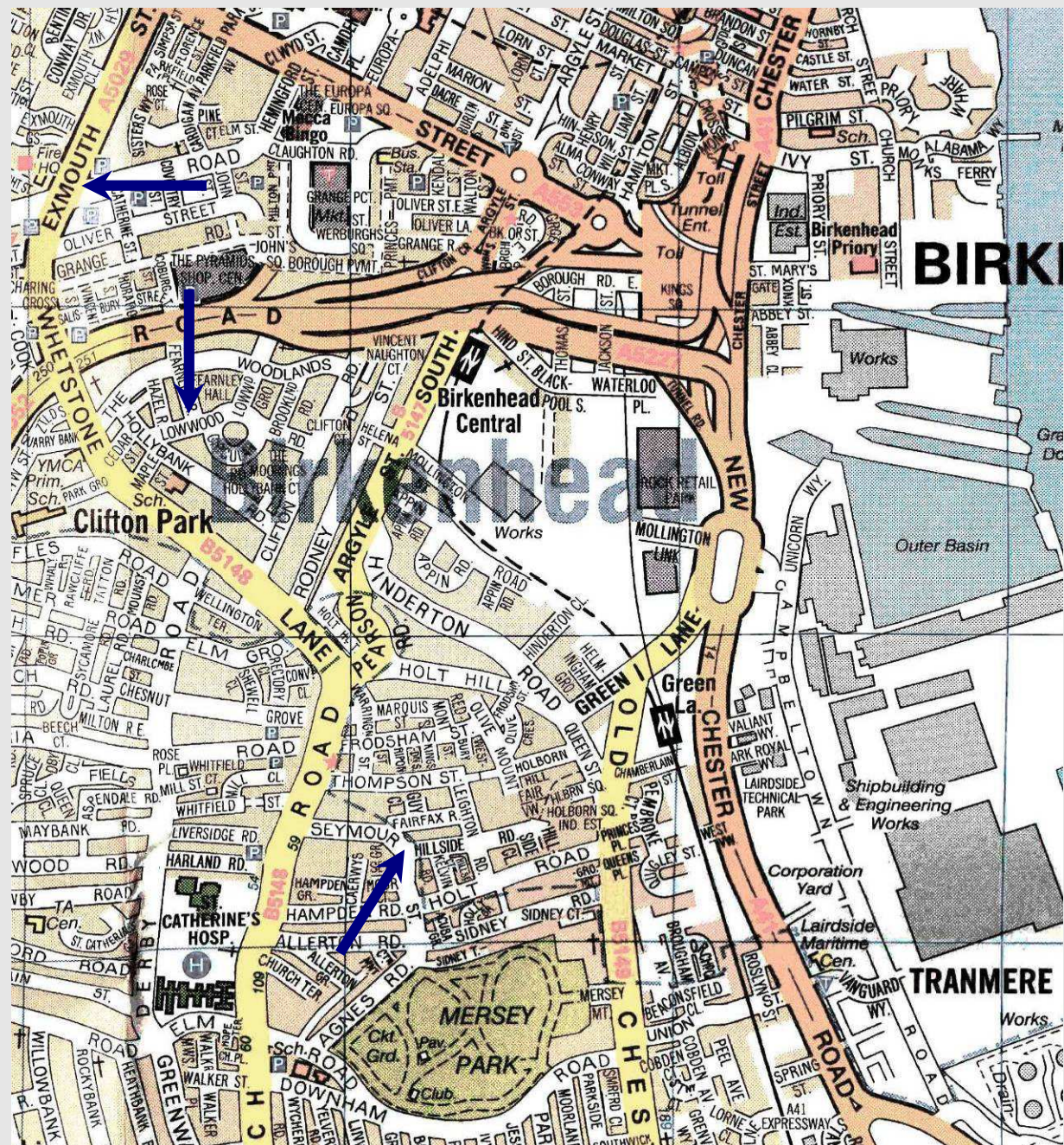
CHAPTER 25

1860 to 1898

Edward living in Seymour Street, Tranmere, Birkenhead — Isabella's husband Robert Thin dies in Birkenhead, 1862 — Edward proprietor of farms in Orkney and 7 Smith's Place, Leith Walk, Edinburgh, 1865 — Edward dies in Seymour Street, Tranmere, 1866 — Edward's widow Julia sells Kingshouse, Orkney, 1871 — Harewood Chapel, St Thomas in the Vale, 1872-75 — Henry in New Zealand, 1860-1878 — Isabella dies in Birkenhead, 1884 — Julia dies in Birkenhead, 1889 — Henry's wife Mary dies in Nelson, 1891 — Henry dies in Nelson, 1898

In 1857 Edward and Julia were living at No. 2 Upper Woodlands, and Robert and Isabella were living at Lowood, Clifton Park (see Chapter 24). Between 1857 and 1861, Edward and Julia moved to Seymour Street.

A to Z Birkenhead Street Map – **arrows** – top points to Exmouth Street where Edward and Julia were with Robert and Isabella on the night of the 1851 census – middle points to Lowood Road, Clifton Park – immediately north of Lowood Road – Woodlands (? Upper Woodlands) – bottom points to Seymour Street



www.ancestry.co.uk – 1861 England Census – night of 7 April – Birkenhead

Parish of Bebington – Tranmere – Seymour Street (no house numbers) – Edward Clouston, Land & House Proprietor – Julia Clouston, wife – one visitor and one general servant

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------|-------|----|-------------------------|----------------------|
| Edward Clouston | Head | Man | 73 | Land + House Proprietor | Scotland |
| Julia do | Wife | do | 62 | | do |
| David W. Maclellan | Visitor | Woman | 20 | do | do |
| Catherine Mc Lanchlan | Serv | do | 20 | General Serv | Liverpool Lancashire |

Tranmere – Clifton Park (no house numbers) – Robert Thin, Merchant – Isabella Thin, wife – 3 daughters and 4 sons – Julia C, Edward C, Marian, Isabella, John, Robert, and youngest Not named Yet = William Flett Thin born 2 April 1861 – and 4 servants

| | | | | | |
|---------------|----------|-----|------|------------|-----------------------|
| Robert Thin | Head | Man | 48 | Merchant | Scotland |
| Isabella do | Wife | man | 31 | | Jamaica |
| Julia C do | Daughter | | 10 | Scholar | Cheshire Birkenhead |
| Edward C do | Son | | 9 | do | do do |
| Maria do | Daughter | | 7 | do | do do |
| Isabella do | Daughter | | 5 | do | do do |
| John Thin | Son | | 4 | | Cheshire Birkenhead |
| Robert do | Son | | 2 | | do do |
| William Flett | Son | | 1861 | | do do |
| Eliza Rigby | Serv | W | 26 | Dressmaker | do Chester |
| Mary Morgan | do | do | 26 | Cook | Lancashire Liverpool |
| Mary A. Logan | do | do | 18 | House maid | Northumbria Newcastle |
| Fane Jones | do | do | 13 | do do | Cheshire Sutton |

By 1861 Robert and his partner William Heddle Flett were exporting their produce to many parts of the world, including California.

<http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc> – Daily Alta, California, 22 November 1859

Worcestershire Sauce.

Manufactured by Robert Thin, Liverpool.

THIS CELEBRATED SAUCE HAS been long and favorably known in the Australian Colonies, East Indies, and many other parts of the world, and is pronounced fully equal to any manufacture of this famed condiment.

For sale in bond or duty paid by
DICKSON, DEWOLF & CO.,
 Sole Agents for San Francisco,
 105 Battery street.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspape> – Argus, Melbourne, 7 September 1860

NOTICE.—THIN'S MALT AQUA.—Robert Thin, of Liverpool, begs to inform the public, that it has been communicated to him, on the most respectable authority, that parties in Melbourne and neighbourhood are vending a spurious article in imitation of his brand; and, in order to protect the consumers of his pure malt aqua from imposition, and also to maintain the high character of his brand, he has placed full authority in the hands of legal advisers in Melbourne to PROSECUTE all PARTIES endeavouring to LABEL, or vend, any IMITATION of his brand.

All whiskey bottled by Robert Thin is in full-sized bottles, having his name on the bottom, labelled "Pure Malt Aqua," and the capsule bearing the Liverpool coat of arms, as on the label.

Sydney Morning Herald, 26 September 1861 – some of Robert's produce exported to Sydney had been damaged by sea water

Oilmen's Stores.

570 Cases
Pint Pickles
Salad Oils
Bottled Fruits
Jams
Sauces.

From the celebrated House of Robert Thin and Co.

For Auction Sale, **THURSDAY**, the 26th instant, at the Stores, Wynyard-lane.

On account of whom it may concern.

Ex Nagasaki, M'Kay, master, from Liverpool.

Damaged by sea water.

FOTHERINGHAM and MULLEN will sell by auction, at their Stores, Wynyard-lane, immediately at the rear of the Auction Rooms, on **THIS DAY**, the 26th instant, at 11 o'clock prompt, **FM & Co.**

No. 13—100 cases Thin and Co.'s bottled fruits, each 2 dozen

14— 50 ditto ditto ditto damsons, each 2 dozen

15— 10 ditto ditto ditto black currants

16—100 ditto ditto pint pickles, each 2 dozen

17—100 ditto ditto ditto red cabbage, each 2 dozen

18— 20 ditto ditto ditto white onions, each 2 dozen

19— 40 ditto ditto 1 lb. jams, jars, each 4 dozen

20— 40 ditto ditto 1 lb. ditto, tins, each 4 dozen

21— 20 ditto ditto 2 lb. ditto, ditto, each 2 dozen

22— 20 ditto ditto half-pint mushroom ketchup, each 4 dozen

23— 40 ditto ditto half-pint assorted sauces, each 4 dozen

24— 20 ditto ditto half-pint Worcestershire sauce, each 4 ditto

25— 10 ditto ditto pint salad oil, each 4 dozen.

Terms, cash.

Goulbourn Herald, NSW, 21 December 1861 – Robert's exports included tinned Lobster

| PROVISIONS, ETC. | |
|--|---|
| OPENED THIS DAY, | |
| <p>ONE CASE ENGLISH HAMS, very prime One case English Cheese, in perfect condition Salmon (Hunt and Co.'s), in 1 lb. and 2 lb. tins</p> | <p>Oysters, in 1 lb. and 2 lb. tins Lobsters (Robert Thin's), 1 lb. and 2 lb. tins One case Preserved Ginger One case Preserved Chow Chow One case Mixed Fruits</p> |
| <p>S. EMANUEL AND SON,</p> | |
| 9878 | THE BEE-HIVE. |

In Liverpool on 14 February 1862 William Every the younger, Australian merchant of Liverpool, for the benefit of his creditors, conveyed and assigned all his real and personal estate and effects to Trustees, John Samuel Swire and Robert Thin.

www.thegazette.co.uk/ – *London Gazette*, 25 February 1862

NOTICE is hereby given, that the following is a copy of an entry made in the book kept by the Chief Registrar of the Court of Bankruptcy for the registration of Trust Deeds for the benefit of creditors, Composition and Inspectorship Deeds executed by a debtor, as required by the Bankruptcy Act, 1861, secs. 187, 192, 194, 196; and 198 :—

Number—767.

Title of Deed, whether Deed of Assignment, Composition, or Inspectorship—Deed of Conveyance and Assignment.

Date of Deed—14th February, 1862.

Date of execution by Debtor—14th February, 1862.

Name and description of the Debtor, as in the Deed—William Every the younger, of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, Australian Merchant, of the first part.

The names and descriptions of the Trustees or other parties to the Deed, not including the Creditors—John Samuel Swire, of Liverpool aforesaid, Merchant, and Robert Thin, of Liverpool, Merchant, of the second part; and the several persons creditors of the said William Every the younger, of the third part.

A short statement of the nature of the Deed—Conveyance and assignment whereby the said William Every the younger conveyed and assigned all his real and personal estate and effects unto the said John Samuel Swire and Robert Thin upon the trusts therein contained, being for the equal divisions of the estate amongst the creditors.

When left for Registration—24th February, 1862, at 1 o'clock, afternoon.

WM. HY. WHITEHEAD, Chief Registrar.

See – Bankruptcy Act 1861 – www.1902encyclopedia.com/B/BAN/bankruptcy.html

<http://www.worldgallery.co.uk/art-print/liverpool-panoramic-view-restrike-etching-35185#35185> – c1850
– Panoramic view of Liverpool



In 1862 Robert's produce shipped to Australia was again damaged by sea water.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper> – Sydney Morning Herald, 1 April 1862

Oilmen's Stores.
410 Cases,
From the celebrated manufacturer, Robert Thin and Co.,
Comprising
Pint Pickles
Red Cabbage
Ketchup
Glass Jars, Table Salt
Brown ditto ditto, ditto.

For Auction Sale on **TUESDAY, 1st April.**
Time, 11 o'clock prompt.

To Grocers
To Storekeepers
To Country Buyers and others.

FOTHERINGHAM and MULLEN have
received instructions to sell by public auction,
at their Rooms, 309, George-street, **THIS DAY,**
1st April, at 11 o'clock prompt,
On account of whom it may concern,
Ex Blue Rock, —, master, from Liverpool,
Damaged by sea water,
FM over & Co.
No. 60—13 cases Thin's pint red cabbage, each 3 dozen
much

| |
|---|
| 25 ditto ditto ditto ditto, each 3 dozen, slightly |
| 12 ditto ditto ditto ditto, each 3 ditto, very slightly |
| <hr/> 50 |
| No. 51—68 cases Thin's pint assorted pickles, each 2 dozen, much |
| 70 ditto ditto ditto ditto, each 2 ditto, slightly |
| 12 ditto ditto ditto ditto, each 2 ditto, very slightly |
| <hr/> 150 |
| No. 52—10 cases Thin's mushroom ketchup, $\frac{1}{4}$ -pints, glass stoppered bottles, each 5 dozen, slightly |
| No. 53—54 cases glass jars table salt, each 2 dozen, slightly |
| 46 ditto ditto ditto ditto, each 2 ditto, very slightly |
| <hr/> 100 |
| No. 54—68 cases brown jars table salt, each 2 dozen, slightly |
| 32 ditto ditto ditto ditto, each 2 ditto, very slightly. |
| <hr/> 100 |
| Terms, cash. |

And all was far from well back in Liverpool – by 21 May 1862 Robert and his partner W H Flett had gone bankrupt – www.thegazette.co.uk/ – *London Gazette*, 21 May 1862

NOTICE is hereby given, that the following is a copy of an entry made in the book kept by the Chief Registrar of the Court of Bankruptcy for the registration of Trust Deeds for the benefit of creditors, Composition and Inspectorship Deeds executed by a debtor, as required by the Bankruptcy Act, 1861, secs. 187, 192, 194, 196, and 198 :—

Number—1788.

Title of Deed, whether Deed of Assignment, Composition, or Inspectorship—Deed of Conveyance.

Date of Deed—21st May, 1862.

Date of execution by Debtors—21st May, 1862.

Names and descriptions of the Debtors, as in the Deed—Robert Thin and William Heddle Flett, of Liverpool, Merchants, trading in copartnership, under the firm of Robert Thin.

The names and descriptions of the Trustees or other parties to the Deed, not including the Creditors—William Alexander, of Liverpool, Accountant, on behalf of and with the assent of the creditors of the said debtors.

A short statement of the nature of the Deed—A Deed of Conveyance, whereby the debtors convey all their joint and separate estate and effects to the said William Alexander, absolutely, to be applied and administered for the benefit of the creditors of the debtors, in like manner as if they had been, at the date thereof, adjudged bankrupts.

When left for Registration—16th June, 1862, at 3 o'clock, afternoon.

RICHARD BETHELL, Registrar.

But a much greater disaster was to follow – just under six weeks later Robert was dead.

British Library Newspapers online – Caledonian Mercury, 3 July 1862 – Deaths – at Liwood (Lowood, Clifton Park), Birkenhead on 30 June 1862

THIN—At Liwood, Birkenhead, on the 30th ult., Mr Robert Thin, merchant, Liverpool. Friends are requested to accept of this intimation.

General Registry Office, Merseyside – Registration of Death – Robert Thin

Robert died on 30 June 1862, aged 41, at Clifton Park, Tranmere, Birkenhead – occupation Oilman – of Phthisis Pulmonalis (Tuberculosis). His sister Julia Clouston of Seymour Street, Tranmere, present. At Robert's death, was the informant.

| | | | | | | |
|--|----------------|------|-------------|--------|---|--|
| Thirtieth June 1862 Clifton Park Tranmere | Robert Thin | Male | 41 years | Oilman | Phthisis Pulmonalis 4 months Diarrhoea 3 weeks Certified | Julia Clouston present at the death Seymour Street Tranmere |
|--|----------------|------|-------------|--------|---|--|

In my possession – Annie E J Thin's Birthday Scripture Text Book

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>Robert Thin, Senior died June 30. 1862 - Aged 41 years - E.C. Thin's father</p> | <p>June 30.</p> <p>HE shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever.—John xiv. 16.</p> <p>He comes, sweet influence to impart, A gracious, willing guest, Where He can find one humble heart Wherein to rest.</p> |
|--|---|

In July and early August 1862 Robert and W H Flett's stock, business goodwill, and premises were advertised for sale.

British Library Newspapers online – Liverpool Mercury, 11 July 1862

The Bankruptcy Act, 1861. – In the Matter of Thin and Flett's Assignment.
Important sale of the STOCK of a Wholesale OILMAN and PICKLER.
BY Mr. BRANCH.

On Monday, the 4th of August next, and following days at Eleven o'clock each day, on the Premises, in Benn's-garden, Liverpool.

The highly valuable and extensive STOCK-IN-TRADE and MANUFACTURED and UNMANUFACTURED GOODS belonging to the above-named estate, consisting of large quantise of preserved and bottled fruits, pickles, lime juice, vinegars, sauces, mustard, preserved provisions, acida [sic], and the usual assortment of goods requisite for the stock of a Manufacturing Oilman and Pickler in extensive business.

The seller invites and holds himself at liberty to accept, an offer for the purchase of the Goodwill of the Business and of the above Stock, if made before the 1st of August next.

The business has been carried on for several years under the well-known name of Robert Thin, at Redcross-street, Liverpool, but within the last few months it was transferred to the present warehouse, office, and manufactory (in the immediate neighbourhood of the former premises), which were erected with a direct view to the requirements of this very extensive business, and which are now advertised for sale by auction on the 6th August.

For further particulars of the stock and forms of tender (the seller not binding himself to accept the highest or any other tender), apply to Messrs. Dodge and Wynne, solicitors, 7, Union-court, Castle-street; Messrs. Harmood Banner and Son, accountants, Harrington-chambers, North John-street; or Mr. Branch, auctioneer, Hanover-street, all of Liverpool.

See – https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=DS4OAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s – *Chemistry, Theoretical, Practical, and Analytical . . . Vol 1, published ?1860* – page 477-481 – Citric Acid Manufacture – page 478 – Robert Thin was the largest importer in Great Britain of lemon juice – ‘extensively imported into England from Messina for sea-going purposes, every vessel under the *Mercantile Marine Act* being compelled to carry so much per man’.

Liverpool Mercury, 11 July 1862 – The Bankruptcy Act, 1861 – Thin and Flett – continued

Under an Assignment for the Benefit of Creditors.
Important and imposing FREEHOLD PROPERTIES, in the heart of Liverpool.
BY Mr. BRANCH

On Wednesday, the 6th day of August next, at Two p.m., at the Salerooms, Liverpool and London Chambers.

Lot 1. THE OFFICES forming “CHAPEL WALKS,” with the WAREHOUSE and the spacious and convenient VAULTS attached; all Freehold. This property occupies about 1800 yards, and comprises several suites of offices all let to respectable tenants at rents amounting to £707 per annum; the vaults are bonded and extend under the whole property, and produce £300 per annum; the warehouse is also bonded, and has several floors privileged for repacking goods – it produced £100 10s per annum. These tenancies commenced several years ago, and the old rents can shortly be increased, as the majority of the present tenancies commenced several years ago, and the old rents (which have not been varied for several years) are as to some portions of the property far below the fair letting value. “Chapel Walks” lead out of South Castle-street towards Redcross-street and are within 200 yards of the Custom-house. The offices are light, airy, and quiet.

2. The Freehold Land formerly the site of the ancient chapel and schoolhouse in “Benn’s Gardens,” Liverpool, abutting upon lot 1, and the extremely substantial and well-arranged OFFICE, MANUFACTORY, and WAREHOUSE erected thereon within the last year for Mr. Robert Thin, oil and pickle man. This building is suitable for any business. The land contains 1300 square yards, and more than half this space is uncovered by the building. It would be difficult to find in Liverpool a more conveniently situated or better built property for business purposes.

3. This well built Bonded WAREHOUSE, in Argyle-street, close to the Custom House, known as “Thin’s \$38.” In this warehouse (in the fitting-up of which a considerable outlay has recently been made to adapt it for the purpose) the vating and bottling of spirits are permitted by the Custom authorities. This lot is also freehold.

Apply to Messrs. H. Banner and Son, 34 North John-street; Messrs. Lace, Marshall and Co, Union-court; or Messrs. Dodge and Wynne solicitors, 7, Union-court, Liverpool.

Boyce Cunning in his memoir of his grandfather *E C Thin* (see Chapter 4) wrote – ‘At the time of the bankruptcy we know that money was subscribed by friends and relations to help the family out. Further that in due course Mr Flett, who now ran the jam factory, gave the widow an allowance . . .’

In 1864 W H Flett, with his brother, was running the jam and pickle factory in the cellar, basement, and No. 1 floor of Benn’s Garden. On 12 November 1864 the building was destroyed by fire – *British Library Newspapers online* – *Liverpool Mercury*, 12 November 1864 – Extensive Fire in Liverpool – Great Destruction of Property – extract

Last evening, one of the most alarming fires which have for many years occurred in this town took place in Benn’s-gardens, a narrow thoroughfare running from Redcross-street to South Castle-street. The Premises destroyed consisted of a large block of buildings, five stories in height, facing Benn’s-gardens, and running through to Milkhouse-yard, in the occupation of Messrs W. and F. Flett, extensive pickle and preserve manufacturers, and Messrs George McCorquodale and Co, printers, stationers, and book binders.

The premises were erected about four years since by Mr Thinn [sic] . . . Shortly after the completion of the works Mr Thinn died, and was succeeded in the occupation by one of the Messrs Flett, who has since carried on the business in conjunction with his brother, chiefly for the purpose of supplying the home consumption. This firm occupied the cellar, basement, and No. 1 floor. In the cellar was a steam boiler, but we have not been able to ascertain the purpose to which it was applied, and the floors above were appropriated to the general purposes of a store and wareroom. The other floors in the building were in the occupation of Messrs McCorquodale . . .

By 1887 W H Flett's business had expanded – *Liverpool Central Library* – Liverpool of To-Day, 1887 – page 116 – W. H. Flett, Preserve and Pickle Manufacturer, Everton Valley

Liverpool has long been noted for the manufacturer of pickles and preserves, and her export trade, too, is of great magnitude. Among the establishments engaged in this branch of industry a very prominent place is held by that of Mr. W. H. Flett, which has been in existence for 37 years. Among the numerous articles Mr. Flett manufactures and imports we may mention the following: jams, jellies, marmalade, pickles, sauces, bottled fruits, candied peel, lime juice cordial, capers, olives, etc, etc, and is also sole exporter in bottles of the famous "Eureka" table salt, which was awarded a gold medal at the Liverpool Exhibition of 1886. In addition to the large home trade done by Mr. Flett in all parts of the country, he has an extensive export trade, and his goods are supplied to several of the leading steamship companies, his business in general being, in fact, the largest of its kind outside London. The premises, comprising works and offices are very extensive, covering a large area of ground, having a lengthy frontage in Black Bull Lane, and extending back as far as Everton Valley . . .

In my possession, my great grandmother Annie E J Thin's Album Parterre – Robert and Isabella's children – from left – John Thin (born 1857) – Julia Clouston Thin (born 1850) – Marian Thin (born 1854) – Robert Thin (born 1858) – Edward Clouston Thin (born 1852) – Isabella Eliza Thin (born 1855)



Orkney Library and Archives holds photocopies from an Album, source unknown, which include identical copies of the photographs of Robert and Isabella's children, above, and a copy of a photograph of Edward's wife Julia.

Orkney Library & Archives – Album photocopies – source unknown – Mrs Clouston – Julia, Robert's sister and Edward's wife



In 1864 Edward and Julia were living at Heath Villa, Seymour Street, Higher Tranmere.

<http://cheshiredirectories.manuscripteye.com/pdf/1857/04/index.htm> – *Morris & Co's Directory of Cheshire, 1864*

**Claypole Henry K., Esq., Rose bank, R. F.
Clouston Mr. Edward, Heath villa, Seymour
street, H. T.
Coleman Mr. Rd., New Chester road, S. T.**

In the 1864 Directory no Thin is listed.

1865-66 Edward was the proprietor of 3 farms in Orkney – and the proprietor of 7 Smith's Place, in South Leith – the house where Edward and Julia, and Isabella lived in the second half of the 1840s (see Chapter 23 and 24)

Below – <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Land Valuation Roll – County of Orkney – Parish of Harray – for the Year commencing Whitsunday 1865 – includes

Nos. 2842-3-4 – Farms of Kingshouse, Corston – Scuan, Corston – and Quoy of Hill, Corston – Proprietor Edward Clouston, Esq, Birkenhead per William Ross, Esq – double page – left, and below, right

| DESCRIPTION OF SUBJECT. | PROPRIETOR. | OCCUPIER. | TENANT. | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|---|--|
| | | | Not under Lease of 19 years or upwards. | Under Lease of 19 years, and less than 57 years. |
| Kingshouse Corston | Edward Clouston Esq Birkenhead | John Wood | | John Wood |
| Scuan | | Magnus Kirkness | Magnus Kirkness | |
| Quoy of Hill | | Magnus Kirkness | Magnus Kirkness | |

| RENT | Rent payable under such Lease. | Fen-duty or Ground Annual, &c. | Fen-duties, to whom payable. | YEARLY RENT OR VALUE. | | OBSERVATIONS. |
|------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| | | | | As Estimated by Assessor. | As Adjusted on Application or Appeal. | |
| | | | | 0 .. | | |
| | | | | 35 .. | | |
| | | | | 8 .. | | |
| | | | | 26 .. | | |
| | | | | | | William Ross, Esq. |

Valuation Roll – Borough of Leith – South Leith Parish – For the Year 1865-66 – includes – House and Cellar – 7 Smith's Place – Proprietor Edward Clouston, Birkenhead per James Cochrane, 3 Queens Place – double page – left, and below, right

| DESCRIPTION AND SITUATION OF SUBJECT. | | | PROPRIETOR. |
|---------------------------------------|---|------------|--|
| DESCRIPTION. | | SITUATION. | |
| Cellar | 7 | | Edward Clouston Birkenhead per James Cochrane 3 Queens Place |

| TENANT. | OCCUPIER. | YEARLY RENT OR VALUE. | | OBSERVATIONS. |
|---------|-----------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| | | As Estimated by Assessor. | As Adjusted on Application or Appeal. | |
| | Vacant | 43 - | | |
| | Vacant | 2 - | | |

In summer 1866 Edward's eldest grandson, E C Thin, spent a holiday in Orkney – *In the possession of James Weymouth – E C Thin, unpublished memoir by Boyce Cuning*

... “When he was fourteen in the year 1866 Edward Thin went to spend the summer in the Orkneys ... He stayed with his great uncle, the Rev Charles Clouston, at Sandwick Manse near Kirkwall. This uncle was the parson and the first man in that part to make weather charts. He then went to stay with his cousins, the Traills, at Holland House, Papa Westray, who in addition had a town house at Kirkwall . . .”

In my possession – Annie E J Thin's Album Parterre – Rev Charles Clouston (1800-1884), Minister of Sandwick



The Family of Clouston, by J Storer Clouston (1870-1944), 1st printed 1948, facsimile edition published by Dane Clouston 2002 – page 113-114 – descendants of Rev William Clouston – Rev Charles

... There was one whom I can remember in my own youth; the tall dignified figure of the Rev Dr Charles Clouston of Sandwick, with his snowy fringe of beard and whiskers round shaven lips and chin, then already in his eighties . . . I think of “old” Mrs Margaret Clouston, daughter of Edward Clouston of Smoogro and widow of Dr Charles, a gracious figure with the same dignity as he, worn by

that generation of gentlefolk as a kind of inseparable mantel, Clouston both by birth and marriage, who took the keenest interest in all members of her family . . .

. . . the hospitality of Sandwick Manse was a bye word even in a hospitable county. Through his various family connections he had a multitude of kinsmen dwelling in or visiting Orkney, and to all these, as well as many a stranger to the Islands, his door stood ever open; and his house I have heard described as the most elastic structure ever built. Within its harled white walls with their conical roof, there seemed to be beds enough for a regiment, and fare for an army. And all this despite the fact that no share of the witch's benison came the way of this stately, learned, generous old divine.

The 'witch's benison' refers to a witch who told Rev William's grandfather, Thomas Clouston of Stromness, that there would always be a rich Clouston.

Annie E J Thin's Album Parterre – Rev Charles and family group



On 17 September 1866, soon after E C Thin returned from his holiday in Orkney, his grandfather Edward died at Seymour Street.

General Registry Office, Merseyside – Registration of Deaths – Edward Clouston

Edward died age 78 on 17 September 1866 at Seymour St, Tranmere, Berkenhead – occupation Landed Proprietor. He died of natural decay. His wife Julia of Seymour St, Tranmere, present at Edward's death, was the informant.

| | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------|------|-------------|----------------------|---------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| Seventeenth September 1866. Seymour St. Tranmere | Edward Clouston | Male | 78 years | Landed Proprietor | Natural Decay | Julia Clouston Present at the death | Certified Seymour St. Tranmere |
|--|--------------------|------|-------------|----------------------|---------------|--|--------------------------------------|

British Library Newspapers online – Liverpool Mercury, 19 September 1866 – Died – 17 September 1866

**CLOUSTON – Sept. 17, at Heathville East, Holt-hill,
Edward Clouston, Esq. (Friends will please accept
this intimation.)**

Above – Heathville = ? Heath Villa – see above Clouston, Edward – *Morris & Co's Directory of Cheshire, 1864* – Holt -hill – Seymour Street is in the Holt Hill district

In my possession – Annie E J Thin's Birthday Scripture Text Book

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>September 17.</p> <p>I THE LORD search the heart.— Jer. xvii. 10.</p> <p>Oh ! let me never, never dare To act the traitor's part ; Or think that God would hear the prayer That comes not from the heart.</p> | <p>Edward Clouston of King's House. Orkney died Sept 17. 1866. aged 78 years E.C. Thin's Grandfather. buried at <u>Lower Bebington - Cheshire</u></p> |
|---|---|

Above – 'buried at Lower Bebington' = buried in St Andrew's Churchyard, Bebington.

See – www.ukbmd.org.uk/genuki/chs/churches/bebington.html – St Andrew, Bebington – An ancient parish church, originally serving the townships of Higher Bebington, Lower Bebington, Poulton cum Spital, Storeton and Tranmere.

www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/st-andrews-church-bebington-98465 – c.1835-47 – St Andrew's Church, Bebington



Edward died intestate. Letters of Administration of all his personal Estate (not real Estate) and Effects were granted to Julia on 6 April 1867 – Sureties William Flett (Robert's old partner) and James Flett, merchants, both of Benn's Garden, Liverpool

Probate Registry, York

ON the *Sixth* day of *April* 1867,
 Letters of Administration of all and singular the personal Estate and Effects
 of *Edward Clouston late of Seymour Street*
Birkenhead in the County of Chester Gentleman
 deceased, who died on the *Seventeenth* day of *September* 1866,
 at *Seymour Street aforesaid Intestate*
 were granted at the District Registry attached to Her Majesty's Court of Probate at
Chester to *Julia Gordon Clouston*

of Seymour Street Birkenhead aforesaid Widow
the lawful Widow and Relict

of the said deceased, She having been first sworn duly to administer.

Sureties

William Flett of Benns Garden Liverpool in the
County of Lancaster Merchant and James Flett
of the same place Merchant.

Effects under £ 300. No Leaseholds

Extracted by Thomas Dodge of Liverpool Solicitor
O.M.P. 209

On 4 April 1867 Robert and Isabella's youngest child, William Flett Thin, died.

General Registry Office, Merseyside – Registration of Deaths – William Flett Thin

William died aged 6 at Upper Seymour St, Tranmere of Tubercular Meningitis. His aunt/step grandmother, Julia, of Upper Seymour St, who was present at William's death, was the informant.

| | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|------|------------|---|--|--|
| Fourth April 1867 Upper Seymour St Tranmere | William Flett Thin | Male | 6 years | Son of Robert Thin Merchant (Deceased) | Tubercular Meningitis 12 days Certified | Julia Clouston Present at the death Upper Seymour St Tranmere |
|--|-----------------------|------|------------|---|--|--|

On 23 May 1870 Julia repaid Catherine Omand £100 of a £600 loan that was secured on Kingshouse by Edward on 4 June 1858.

Orkney Library & Archives – Orkney Register of Sasines – Abridgements – photocopy supplied 2001 by Robin Clouston, Northern Ireland

(107)

Jun. 14. 1870.

Assig. by CATHERINE OMAND otherwise WYLIE, widow of Adam Isbister Wylie, Writer in Stromness, to Julia Gordon Thin or Clouston residing in Birkenhead, Cheshire, widow of Edward Clouston of Kingshouse, formerly of the Island of Jamaica, afterwards of Birkenhead, to the extent of £100,—of Bond (dated 4th, and recorded in Particular Register of Sasines for Shire of Orkney 10th Jun. 1858) for £600, by said Edward Clouston, with consent,—and also the 2 Penny land and half penny land in CORSTON called KINGSHOUSE, in Mainland of ORKNEY and Parish of Harray. Dated May 23, 1870; with Warrant of Registration thereon, on behalf of said Grantee.

4. 137.

On the night of the 1871 census, Julia was living in Edinburgh with her sister in law Margaret Learmonth (Edward's youngest sister), widow of Rev Peter Learmonth of Stromness.

<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – 1871 Scotland census – night of 2 April

Edinburgh – St Stephens Parish – No. 6 St Vincent Street – Margaret Learmonth, head, widow – Julia G (Gordon) Clouston, boarder – and one servant

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|---------|-----|----|------------------|------------------|
| Margaret Learmonth | Head | Wid | 63 | | Stromness Orkney |
| Julia G Clouston | Boarder | Do | 51 | | Edinburgh |
| Margaret G Irvine | Servant | Wid | 21 | Domestic Servant | Stromness Orkney |

www.ancestry.co.uk – 1871 England Census – night of 2 April

Birkenhead – Claughton Grange – Balls Road, 3 Heaton Villas – Isabella Thin – her six surviving children – and 2 domestic servants

| | | | | | |
|------------------|----------|-----|----|------------------------|---------------------|
| Isabella Thin | Head | Wid | 43 | none | Jamaica |
| Julia C do | Daughter | Wid | 20 | Governess | Cheshire Birkenhead |
| Edward C do | Son | Wid | 19 | General Broker's Clerk | do do |
| Marian do | Daughter | Wid | 16 | Scholar | do do |
| Isabella E do | Daughter | Wid | 15 | do | do do |
| John do | Son | | 13 | do | do do |
| Robert do | Son | | 12 | do | do do |
| Bridget Murphy | Serv | Wid | 28 | Domestic Servant | Ireland |
| Elizabeth Heales | Serv | Wid | 23 | do do | Ireland |

On 3 April 1871 Julia, residing in Edinburgh, sold Kingshouse to William Wards and repaid Catherine Omand the rest of the loan secured by Edward on Kingshouse.

Orkney Library & Archives – Orkney Register of Sasines – Abridgements – photocopy supplied 2001 by Robin Clouston, Northern Ireland

(236) Mar. 15. 1872.
Disp. by JULIA GORDON THIN otherwise CLOUSTON residing in Edinburgh, widow of Edward Clouston of Kings-house, formerly of the Island of Jamaica, afterwards residing at Birkenhead, Cheshire (in virtue of power of sale in Bond, dated 4th, and recorded in Particular Register of Sasines for Shire of Orkney, 10th Jun. 1858, by said Edward Clouston, with her consent, to Catherine Omand or Wylie), to William Wards, Carpenter in the Service of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company at Hong Kong,—of the 2 Penny land and half penny land in CORSTON called KINGS-HOUSE, in Parish of Harray and Mainland of Orkney. Dated Apr. 3. 1871; with Warrant of Registration thereon, on behalf of said William Wards. 9. 182.

Edward's sister Margaret Learmonth, at the time of her death on 14 October 1886, was of 9 Clarence Street, Edinburgh – see – <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/advanced-search#> – Registration of Deaths

Boyce Cuning in his memoir *E C Thin* wrote – His [E C Thin's] great aunt “Learmonth” is reported to have been something of a character, since in her old age she hibernated each winter and in the afternoon, decking herself out in her lace cap and Orkney shawl, received relatives and friends while ensconced in her four poster bed.

Annie E J Thin's *Album Parterre* – Mrs Clouston – Edward's widow Julia



Returning once more to Jamaica – in December 1872 Rev G B Brooks, Incumbent, St Marks, Parish of St Andrew, Jamaica, & Secretary to the Diocesan Synod of the Church of England in Jamaica, wrote from Jamaica to the 4th Earl of Harewood, Henry Thynne Lascelles, in connection with Harewood Church (formerly Chapel) at Williamsfield.

West Yorkshire Archive Service – Harewood West Indies, photocopy supplied 2003 – letter from Rev G B Brooks to the 4th Earl of Harewood

Tower Lodge, Ipswich, Dec 9, 1872

My Lord,

At the request of the Clergyman and the congregation of Harewood Church, in the Parish of St Catherine & Diocese of Jamaica, I take the liberty of writing to ask whether your Lordship will be so good as to adopt some means of conferring substantial benefit on that church.

Your Lordship's father, I believe, built the Church at Williamsfield Estate, for the use of the Slaves on that Property, many of whom are still alive and resident there.

They say that when the Church was finished the late Earl directed that a piece of land should be given for the purpose of building a Parsonage, & School, to be attached to the Church.

They assert that this direction was never carried out.

The Clergyman is therefore obliged to rent the House [the Great House] at Williamsfield, which indeed is the only house suitable within several miles of the Church, & it has been so inhabited for the last 20 years, by the incumbent for the time being.

Unfortunately, Harewood lost its State paid Clergyman some time ago, & since the Act of Disestablishment [1869], no new appointment could be made; the stipend of the present Curate has, therefore, to be raised wholly by the congregation. This makes them less able than ever to give money for purchase of land, or building of Parsonage, and the Curate's income being about £120 a year, any rental however moderate reduces it considerably.

It has thus become necessary to endeavour to enlist the sympathy & aid of every one who has any interest in the District, and it is hoped that your Lordship, as the chief Landowner there, will be so good as to help in the way which my seem best to you.

I need hardly say that the force of your Lordship's example will be of immense value in the District, negroes are strongly impressed & influenced by the action in any matter, of those whom they regard as the 'Old Master'.

I am requested to state in the order of merit, the ways in which help from your Lordship would be most accepted to your old retainers.

1. As the House on Williamsfield has been so long rented to the Curate of Harewood, would your Lordship make a gift of it, with sufficient land for pasturage, as a parsonage?
2. Without making an actual gift, would your Lordship allow it to be used for that purpose, rent-free, so long as the people maintain a Clergyman amongst them?
3. Would your Lordship make an annual contribution to the Funds of Harewood Church for the maintenance of a Clergyman amongst your tenants and labourers?
4. Would your Lordship carry out what is said to have been the original intention of granting a piece of land for the benefit of Harewood Church?

Nos. 2 & 4 combined, would I believe be really the most substantial aid to the Church supposing that your Lordship is not disposed to consider No 1.

I hope your Lordship will pardon my troubling you at this length, but it is of such great importance now to obtain help from every source whence it can be got, that we must not leave anything undone which may tend to the welfare of the people.

I may mention, that gifts of land, or money, to the Jamaica Church are all under the supervision of a duly authorised Diocesan Financial Board, which is responsible for the proper appropriation of them to the several destinations indicated by the Donors.

Let me add that I am personally known to our Governor – Sir John P Grant, who is at present in England – at Willenhall, Whetstone, and to Lord Frederick Cavendish, who, about a year ago, visited Jamaica, where I had the honour of making his acquaintance.

If I can give any information which your Lordship may desire to have, I shall be most happy to do so.

I have the honour to be your Lordships obedient Servant

G B Brooks. M A.

It appears that a copy of 'The Case of the Church of England in Jamaica', below, was sent to the 4th Earl of Harewood around the time Rev G B Brooks wrote to the Earl on 9 December 1872.

West Yorkshire Archive Service – Harewood West Indies, photocopy supplied 2003 – The Case of the Church of England in Jamaica – extract – The Church of England in Jamaica claims special attention from English Churchmen on the following grounds: –

- I. All the negroes, now living, or, their immediate progenitors, were slaves of Englishmen. England recognised her duty so far as to spend £20,000,000 in emancipating West Indian slaves. Will she now look back, after having put her hand to the plough, and leave these people to be again the slaves of African fetishism, obeahism, and myalism?
- II. No other Colonial Church has ever been disendowed with so short notice. The Church in the Bahamas had seven years (now current) given it to prepare for the change: the Church in Jamaica had three weeks.
- III. In no other Colonial Church but this has disestablishment been carried into effect against the express wishes and settled convictions of the great majority of the Colonists and Colonial Statesmen.
- IV. The great English Missionary Societies (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and Church Missionary Society) used to spend £12,000 per annum in Jamaica; but this was withdrawn when Government undertook to provide sufficient religious agency. Now that the Church is disestablished she asks for no more than £5,000 per annum.
- V. An *imprimatur* has been given by the prominent religious societies and individuals of every party in the Church, who, on examination of the claims of the Church in Jamaica have been constrained, in spite of other numerous pressing claims, to lend her a helping hand in her extremity. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge has granted £5,000; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel £1,000; the Colonial and Continental Society have issued a special appeal for £500 per annum for this cause (which, at any rate for last year, has been fully answered). The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and almost all the English Bishops have written to express their hearty sympathy, and have recommended the appeal to the clergy: the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, Gloucester and Bristol, Manchester, and Peterborough; Earls of Shaftesbury and Nelson, and Lord Lyttleton have either presided or spoken at public meetings for this Church; and the Bishop of Chichester has preached for it. The Right Hon. Russell Gurney, M.P., late Royal Commissioner to Jamaica, is not only a contributor, but he has kindly acted on an influential and successful local committee (in Paddington) for the Jamaica Church. It is hoped that if a man may be known by his friends, the Jamaica Church will obtain help from many who have confidence in those who thus publicly befriend her.
- VI. The Church of Jamaica has always considered herself an integral part of the Church of England. Jamaica negroes subscribed to the Patriotic Fund in the Crimean War, the Relief Fund in the Lancashire Cotton Famine; and even now, in their troubles and disestablishment all the Churches in Jamaica have had collections for the sick and wounded in the war, to swell *England's* list of contributions. Before 1870 the local Church Missionary Society besides opening up twenty-three stations in this island, sent subscriptions to the English societies: – for the Propagation of the Gospel and Church Missionary Society. She has hitherto done her duty to her mother Church, and not asked for help as a daughter.
- VII. It is only for the poorest congregations that this appeal is made. In the towns and larger villages it is believed that the Church will be able, though with difficulty, to hold her own. The extended outlying districts, which are too poor to support any Dissenting teachers, will also be unable to secure Church teaching, unless very largely assisted by English Christians. In some congregations, amounting to 700 negroes, on the average every Sunday, all, except about fifty, are too poor to afford to wear shoes and stockings. This is no great privation in Jamaica, but illustrates the small amount of money at their command.

Subscriptions will be thankfully received for the Jamaica Church at the Colonial Bank, 13, Bishopsgate Street Within or by –

W. E. PIERCE, B.A.,
Member of Deputation from Jamaica Synod, (32 Cheapside, London).

West Yorkshire Archive Service – Harewood West Indies, copies supplied 2003 – copy letter from the 4th Earl of Harewood to Rev G B Brooks – Harewood, 14 Dec 1872

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of Dec 9th on the subject of a Parsonage house in the parish of St Catherine, Jamaica. As the church was built for the benefit of the Slaves on the estate, it could have been built by my Grandfather or my father.

I have no knowledge of any directions having been given by my father or my grandfather [by whom no doubt the church was built] for a piece of land to be given for a parsonage house & school.

Not havingacquaintance with the place, I will refer this matter to my agent for further information & will answer your letter more fully when I hear from him.

H.

Copy letter from the 4th Earl of Harewood to Rev G B Brooks – Harewood, 31 Dec 1872

Sir,

Having heard from my agent I am now in a position to answer your letter on the subject of the house at Williamsfield in Jamaica. You are perhaps aware that for many years past the Williamsfield estate has produced no income whatever. Should the estate ever at some future time produce an annual return the house at Williamsfield would be required as a residence for the agent. Therefore I can not entertain the proposal No 1. in your letter that it should be given as a parsonage house. It is deemed to be undesirable that that part of the estate should be from it.

I am however willing to give a site for a Parsonage house to be built & to ask Mr MacKie who acts for me there to consult with the Clergyman & select a site, and until the parsonage is built or the house at Williamsfield should be required for other purposes to allow the Clergyman to live on in the present house without paying any rent beyond a mere nominal acknowledgement. I trust that this arrangement may be satisfactory and

Sir, Yours faithfully, Harewood

Copy letter from Bryan E MacKie to Messrs Wilkinson & Gaviller – Dove Hall, Jamaica, 23 May 1873

Dear Sirs,

I have now to apologize for allowing your letter to have remained so long unanswered.

I do most decidedly concur in your advice to his Lordship. No. 1 & 3 of the Rev^d Gentleman's propositions are simply preposterous. No. 2 & 4 may certainly be open to his Lordships consideration. No 1. The house on Williamsfield is now rented to the present Incumbent of Harewood Chapel @ £15 a year, on Lord Harewood's part doing the necessary repairs. This I think a far better arrangement than to let the House at a nominal rent, the incumbent to keep the premises in repair, which he will never do properly.

No. 4. With regard to the gift of land by his Lordship to the Church, I see no objection. 20 or 25 acres would in my opinion be amply sufficient: but that is for his Lordships consideration. I would suggest in making out the conveyance, a clause should be inserted (if possible), but that his Lordship's Solicitors would be able to say about.

That in the event off the Parsonage not being erected within the course of say 8 or 10 years, the land should revert to the owner of Williamsfield. Otherwise in all probability if that is not done, the land will be squatted upon, & the intentions of the donor frustrated.

The rents come in but slowly, in fact I am heartily sick of it. I hope however to remit some money early.

Yours Truly, Bryan E MacKie

On 17 November 1875 the 4th Earl of Harewood conveyed, in trust, to the Corporate Lay Body of the Church of England in Jamaica 36 acres of Williamsfield land including Harewood Chapel and Burial Ground.

14/5/74/2/-

Scale & Chans
15 rods
Such

From Rio Negro

Road to Guirclen

Harewood Church

Road from Church

Harewood

Road to Innoing

R o a d

a. 2. p. 36: 1: 15

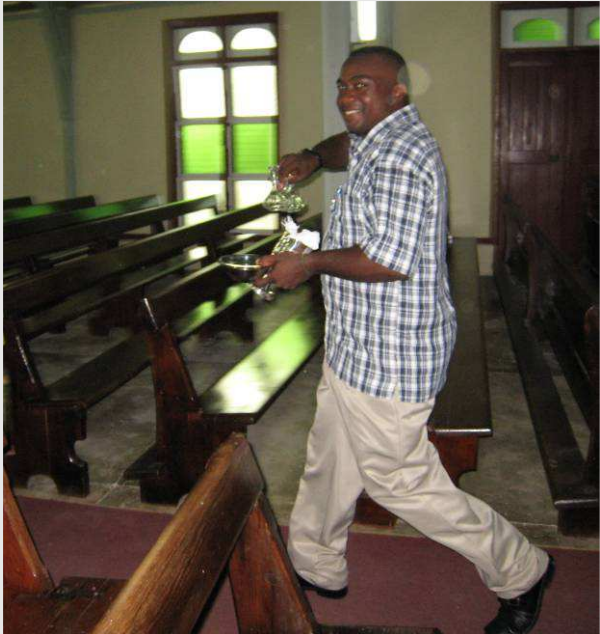
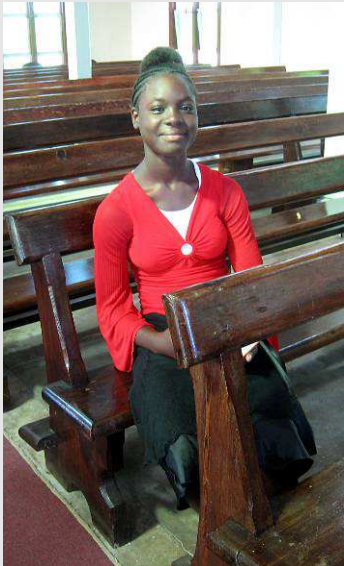
| Courses | Horizontal Distances | Remarks |
|--------------|----------------------|---------|
| Along Spring | From | |
| a to 13 | 1690 | |
| From B to C | 2300 | |
| From C to D | 3900 | |
| From D to A | 210 | |

14.9.74.2/ Laniarica p The above figure represents the form of Thirty Six acres One Rod and fifteen perches of land part of Williamsfield Plantation in the parish of Saint Catherine and the district of Saint Thomas in the Vale which is intended to be conveyed by - to - for whom this Survey was made - It is bulled and bounded as above described and is the same to which - the annexed deed refers - Dated this 14 day of December 1874 By R. G. Crossman C.S.

My photos – St Saviour's Anglican Church, Harewood, St Catherine

Built on the site of Harewood Chapel, consecrated on 4 July 1826 – the chapel Edward helped to build – where Isabella was baptized on 13 July 1828 – and – where Eliza was buried on 28 February 1836







Meanwhile in New Zealand on 5 April 1860 Henry was appointed an Inspector of Weights and Measures

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Nelson Examiner*, 28 April 1860 – and – 16 May 1860

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.—The *Government Gazette* of April 5, contains a proclamation of the Governor, bringing into operation in this province on the 11th of June next, the Ordinance for establishing Standard Weights and Measures. Mr. H. Clouston is appointed Inspector.

Colonial Secretary's Office, Auckland,
5th April, 1860.
HIS Excellency the Governor has been pleased to appoint
HENRY CLOUSTON
to be an Inspector of Weights and Measures.
HENRY JOHN TANCRED,
For the Colonial Secretary.

Colonial Secretary's Office, Auckland,
5th April, 1860.
HIS Excellency the Governor has been pleased to appoint
HENRY CLOUSTON
to be the person with whom the approved copies or models of the Standard Weights and Measures of the Colony shall be deposited at Nelson.
HENRY JOHN TANCRED,
For the Colonial Secretary.

Colonist, 4 September 1860

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.
Depot, Nelson,
3rd September, 1860.
NOTICE is hereby given that I am now prepared to compare, adjust, and stamp Weights and Measures, under the provisions of the "Weights and Measures Ordinance," at the office of the Board of Works, Nelson. All persons having in their possession any false or deficient balance, or any unstamped or unmarked weight or measure after the first day of October next, will be liable to a penalty of ten pounds.
HENRY CLOUSTON,
Inspector.

In December 1860 Henry was selling dairy cattle – *Colonist*, Nelson, 25 December 1860

FOR SALE.—Several head of fine dairy CATTLE, and a few Agricultural IMPLEMENTS.
Apply to H. CLOUSTON, Maitai-valley. 1549

<http://natlib.govt.nz/search> – c1860s – Maitai Valley, Nelson – Maitai River and field of hops



In 1861 Henry was appointed the Meteorological Registrar for Nelson – *Nelson Examiner*, 16 October 1861

METEOROLOGICAL REGISTRY.—In pursuance of a general plan of meteorological observation for the colony, a complete set of instruments for the purpose has been received by our Provincial Government from Auckland, which are about to be erected on one of the towers of the Government Buildings, and are to be placed in charge of Mr. Clouston.

In the January 1862 Nelson Regatta, Henry won first prize in the 5th race – *Nelson Examiner*, 4 January 1862 – extracts

NELSON REGATTA.

Our annual regatta, which, for the last three years, has been suffered to remain in abeyance, was revived on Tuesday last, with great success; in fact, we believe that more people were present at it than had been known at any of its predecessors, notwithstanding that the wind during the day was of that boisterous character which is seldom witnessed in Nelson.

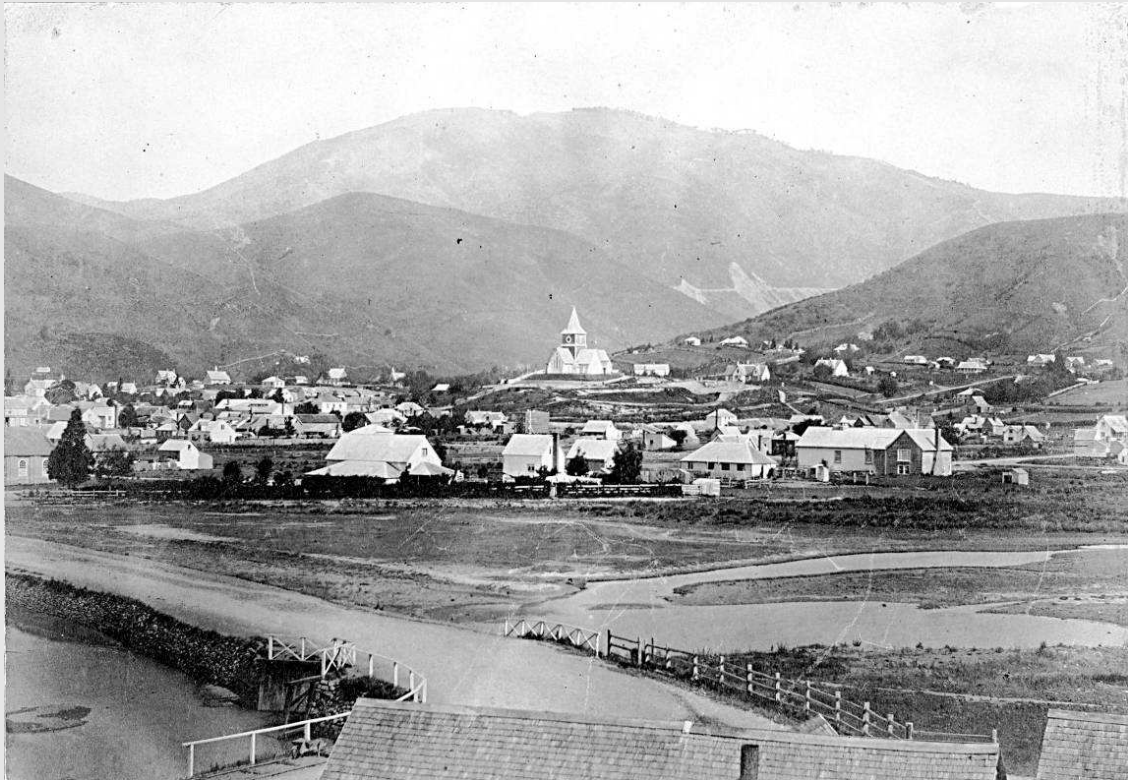
FIFTH RACE.

Third-class Yachts.—First Prize, £6; Second Prize, £1.

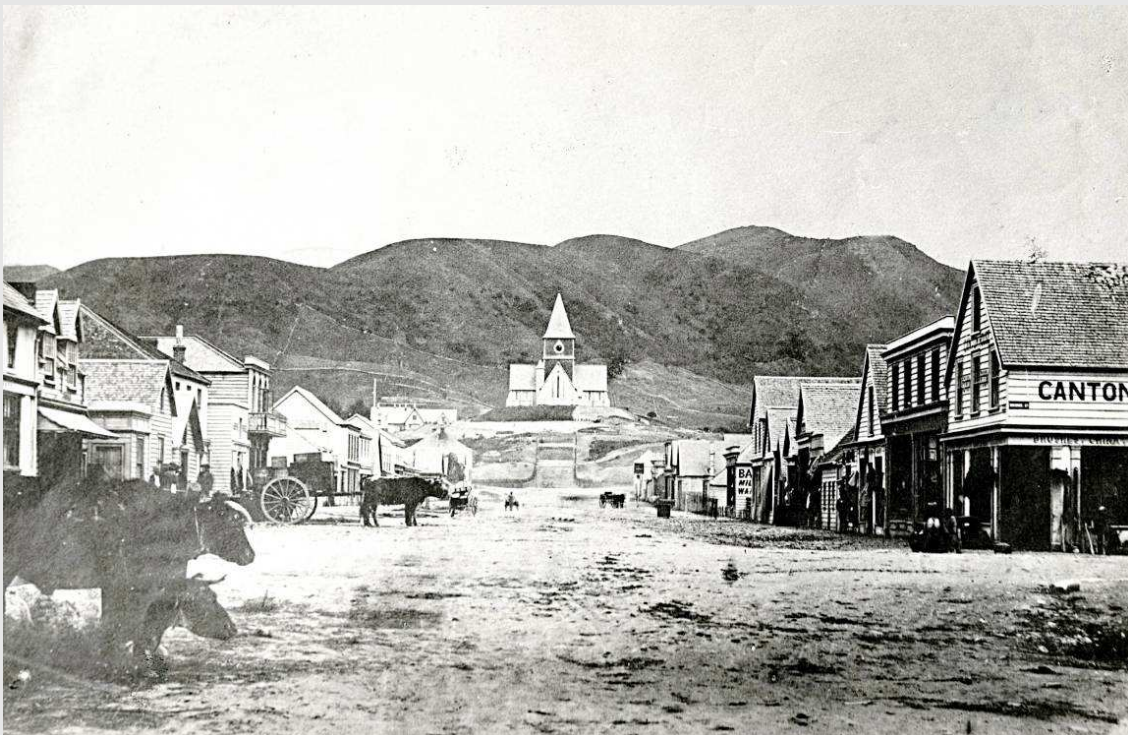
| | | |
|----------------------|------------|---|
| May, cutter | (Clouston) | 1 |
| Midge, cutter | (Redwood) | 2 |
| Reubena, cutter..... | (Askew) | 3 |

We cannot but say that much praise is due to Captain Clouston, Mr. J. S. Cross, Mr. Askew and others for having so successfully revived our regatta.

<http://natlib.govt.nz/search> – 1859 – Nelson City – in the middle, Christ Church Cathedral



c1860 – Trafalgar Street Nelson



In March 1862 Henry carried out marine surveys of the rivers Buller and Grey on the west coast of South Island – <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Nelson Examiner*, 12 March 1862 – Expedition to the Buller River – extract

The expedition to the Buller river, which is intended to sail by the schooner Mary this evening, is a beginning that promises fairly for removing the character of torpor and indifference which, justly or otherwise, has been fixed on this community, and more especially on the local Government. The staff and arrangements are satisfactory. His Honour the Superintendent takes with him the Chief Surveyor, Mr. Brunner, whose name is inseparably associated with the West Coast by his long and hazardous exploration in the year 1846; Mr. James Burnett, who, besides his experience as a surveyor, is practically acquainted with the coal-field and collieries in the north of England; Mr. John Rochfort, with several assistants, who will forward Mr. Burnett's examination of the coal strata by surveys and tracks; and Captain Clouston.

The Mary is chartered by the week, to remain as long as may be necessary for the service; the arrangement being that her crew shall be employed in examining and sounding the mouths of the rivers or other places available for shipping.

Whilst the exploration of the coal and gold valleys is proceeding on the one side, Mr. Knyvett is engaged to lay out a line of road from the East Coast to the West by way of the Waiau-ua, which has been recently explored by Mr. Rochfort. It is now necessary that the Provincial Council should look well forward and pull together with the Executive in carrying out the work thus begun, and we may hope to see a fresh life infused into the veins of the place, such as animates our Southern neighbours at Canterbury and Otago.

Nelson Examiner, 6 April 1862 – Entered Inwards (Nelson) – 14 April

—, schooner Mary, 40, M'Lean, from Grey and Buller river. Passengers—His Honour the Superintendent, Captain Clouston, Messrs. Brunner, Childs, Brooks, and Clarke.

Nelson Examiner, 24 May 1862 – Henry's report, dated 15 April 1862

MARINE SURVEY OF RIVERS ON THE WEST COAST.

To his Honour the SUPERINTENDENT, Nelson.

SIR—Having accompanied you to the West Coast and visited the Rivers Buller and Grey, I now, in accordance with your request, give you my report thereon.

There can be little doubt of the superiority of the Buller over the Grey, which arises not so much from a greater depth of water on the bar, as from its width and steadiness. The prevailing wind on the coast being from the south-west, vessels can easily enter and leave the Buller in ordinary weather; and in the event of calms there is no danger in vessels being

towed either in or out. This could not be accomplished at the Grey river without running some considerable risk. The depth of water on the bar at the Buller, at low water, spring tides, is six feet six inches; neap tides, seven feet six inches. The ordinary rise of spring tides is from eleven to thirteen feet, and of neaps from eight to ten feet, making a depth of nineteen feet six inches of water on the bar at high water.

The harbour is altogether well calculated for vessels,

whose draught of water does not exceed twelve or thirteen feet; but it would be necessary before vessels of such tonnage visit the harbour, to have two large buoys, with suitable chains, laid down, one placed abreast of the present landing place, and the other a considerable way down the river towards the opposite shore, as the river rises so rapidly and comes down with such force as to render it unsafe for vessels to lie in the stream, and in such case no dependance can be placed on their anchors. The buoys would therefore enable them to shear over to the opposite side by warps, where the current is comparatively slow, and where they could lie at the mouth of the lagoon in perfect safety with plenty of water.

The lagoon is admirably adapted for small vessels of about six feet draught of water.

I am sorry to say I cannot report so favourably upon the Grey.

The channel is altogether different and constantly shifting.

On our entering the deep water of the channel (which was very narrow and lay close along the northern bank, which makes it more difficult of access with the prevailing south west wind), we fortunately entered with a fair wind from the northward, and found, even then, there was but little room to yaw about.

The first fresh that came down after our arrival, gave another entrance direct to the sea, but very narrow, and a few days after, we had a third trending to the west-south-west, each with their accompanying sandbank, so that it would be imprudent for vessels of large tonnage to attempt at any time to enter the river.

There is however one thing favourable to vessels leaving the river, and that is the strong land breeze, which is experienced every morning; vessels may with perfect safety get out, should the tides answer, any time between five and ten o'clock, being sure of a good commanding breeze, otherwise they would have to wait until the tide again agreed with the morning breeze, which would be in about ten days, or take the chance of a south-wester and smooth bar; there are about seventeen feet of water on the present inner bar, what on the other channels I am unable to say, not having had an opportunity of judging; I should think, however, that no vessels drawing more than eight feet of water would become traders to this river unless they could secure the assistance of an able and skilful pilot, as the probability would be that of their having to wait too long for an opportunity to start, as it would be unsafe for vessels to be towed out to sea, from the narrowness of the channels.

In accordance with your instructions, I made careful observations of the latitudes of both the Buller and the Grey rivers, the result of which I give you below, as compared with Mr. Haast's Report and the New Zealand Pilot's:—

| | HAAST. | N. Z. PILOT. | CLOUSTON. |
|---------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | deg. min. sec. | deg. min. sec. | deg. min. sec. |
| Buller entrance, North side . . | 41 42 20 | 41 46 15 | 41 46 13 |
| Grey . . . | 42 23 45 | 42 28 30 | 42 28 4 |

By this it will be seen that there is little difference between my observation and the New Zealand Pilot's, and that Mr. Haast is a little out in his latitude, there being a difference of 3 mins. 53 secs., or near four miles in the latitude of the Buller, and 4 mins. 19 secs., or upwards of four miles and a quarter, in the latitude of the Grey.

In concluding my report, I am happy in congratulating your Honour upon the advantages likely to accrue to this province from the possession of such a harbour on the West Coast as the Buller, as without this our mineral resources in that district, more especially the coal, would in all probability never be developed.

I have, &c.,

HENRY CLOUSTON.

Nelson, April 15, 1862.

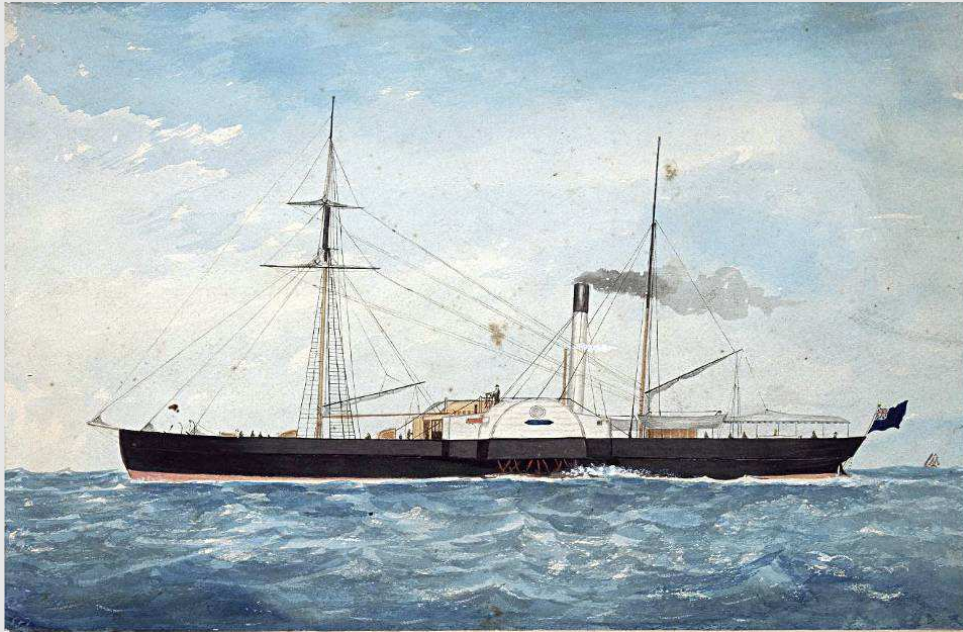
See – www.topomap.co.nz/ – searchable detailed map of New Zealand

<http://natlib.govt.nz/search> – Samuel Edwy Green (1838-1935) – c1860s – The Buller Bar



Henry's biography in the 1905 *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* (see below) includes – Captain Clouston was the first to take the steamer "Sturt" over the Buller bar.

<http://natlib.govt.nz/search> – Bowen Watson Nazer – Friday, Jan 11th 1867 – The New Zealand Government Paddle Steamer “Sturt” Capt. Fairchild



In 1864 Henry surveyed Mokihinui Harbour on the west coast of South Island –*Nelson Examiner*, 12 January 1864 – Coal

We publish below a report given by Captain Clouston of his recent survey of the Mokihinui harbour. Captain Clouston at once sets aside, as an impossibility, the entrance of large sailing vessels, in consequence of “the narrowness of the channel, and the heavy breakers and rollers constantly tumbling in.”

He speaks favourably, however, of the facilities for steam colliers, built expressly for the service, and thinks that such vessels, having no greater draught of water than eight feet, might with safety trade between Nelson and the Mokihinui.

It will more readily be seen how favourable is Captain Clouston’s report in this respect, when it is remembered that the steamer Sturt, drawing five feet six inches of water, and fitted as a passenger boat, can carry 150 tons of coal. Two hundred tons, at the least, in addition to that necessary for her own consumption for steaming purposes, could

be carried by a vessel built expressly for the trade, and having a draught of eight feet of water, without departing far from common models.

The difficulty in the way of the Mokihinui harbour being used by steam colliers having vanished, we hope that all lesser difficulties will soon be also routed, and that the excellent coal well known to exist on our West Coast in such large quantity, will speedily be brought to market. We would warn those whose interest and duty it is to attend to the speedy development of our coal, that already a company is spoken of for working that known to exist on the Waikato river, and that, unless some vigorous steps are speedily taken, we may defer for a long time our present chance of becoming the New-castle of New Zealand:—

To his Honour the SUPERINTENDENT, Nelson.

SIR—According to your instructions, I have the honour to report to you my observations of the Mokihinui harbour, and in doing so, will confine my remarks thereon, as having reference to steam colliers and steam boats, as, from the narrowness of the channel, which is about two and a-quarter chains, and the heavy breakers and rollers constantly

tumbling in, I consider it altogether unfit for sailing vessels. The depth of water on the bar I found to be eleven feet at high water, neap tide, and the rise and fall 7 feet 6 inches; the depth of water at spring tides would, in my opinion be about 12 feet 6 inches, and at low water from two to three feet. It is, in my estimation, impossible for vessels of any great draught of water to become traders to such a port, but crafts of from six to eight feet may do so, if built expressly for the trade.

I have, &c.,

HENRY CLOUSTON,

Master Mariner.

Nelson, January 11,

<http://natlib.govt.nz/search> – John Gully (c1819-1888) – watercolour 1860s – Nelson



By 5 May 1865, when Henry wrote a report on the wreck of the *Barque Success*, he had been appointed Nautical Assessor.

Nelson Examiner, 11 May 1865 – Loss of the Barque Success on the Waimea Sands – extract

An inquiry into the cause of the above wreck was held on the 8th May, before the Resident Magistrate and Captain Clouston, Nautical Assessor, as provided by Act of the New Zealand Assembly, 1863. After the Master and the chief and second mates had been examined, the Collector of Customs, who had caused the inquiry to be made, said he had examined all the crew of the barque at his office, and he must state that one and all said they knew nothing as to the position of the ship before she struck, and knew of nothing which could impute any blame to either the master or officers.

The Resident Magistrate and the Nautical Assessor having retired for consultation, returned and delivered the following as their judgment:—"We think the vessel was lost through the prevalence of thick and stormy weather, to which was due the fact of Captain Lavery being unable to ascertain his position by observation. At the same time, we think that there was slight carelessness in not keeping the lead going whilst in such thick weather, and after lights had been seen so close under the land."

We append the report of Captain Clouston, the Nautical Assessor, and we do this the more readily for the testimony it gives in favour of erecting a light on the Cape Farewell Sandspit. No man is better qualified than Captain Clouston to speak on this subject, as for ten years he was constantly trading between the Australian colonies and Cook Strait. The enormous trade that has sprung up within the last few weeks with the West Coast, is another argument in favour of a lighthouse on the Sandspit, as it would materially serve the largest coasting traffic existing in any part of the colony:—

"To J. POYNTER, Esq., Resident Magistrate, Nelson.

"SIR—After hearing the examination of the master and officers of the barque Success, respecting her loss on the sands at the bottom of Blind Bay, I beg fully to concur with you that it was mainly attributable to an error in judgment arising from continued thick heavy weather, having had no opportunity of ascertaining by observation the exact position of the vessel. Everything seems to have been done by the master to navigate his vessel aright, considering himself in Cook Strait; but I cannot withhold an expression of what I consider ought to be a duty incumbent on every master when in the vicinity of land, with thick hazy weather—that of keeping the log constantly going, and ascertaining at least every two hours her rate of sailing. I think that a great error was in this respect committed on board the Success, she not having a log on board, or even anything that could be substituted for one. Her estimated speed seemed considerably above what she really went, thereby placing her greatly to the eastward of her true position. Had there also been taken a few casts of the lead when the light was seen, her position would then have been easily ascertained, for her master would have seen, on reference to his chart, that no such soundings could possibly be had in Cook Strait.

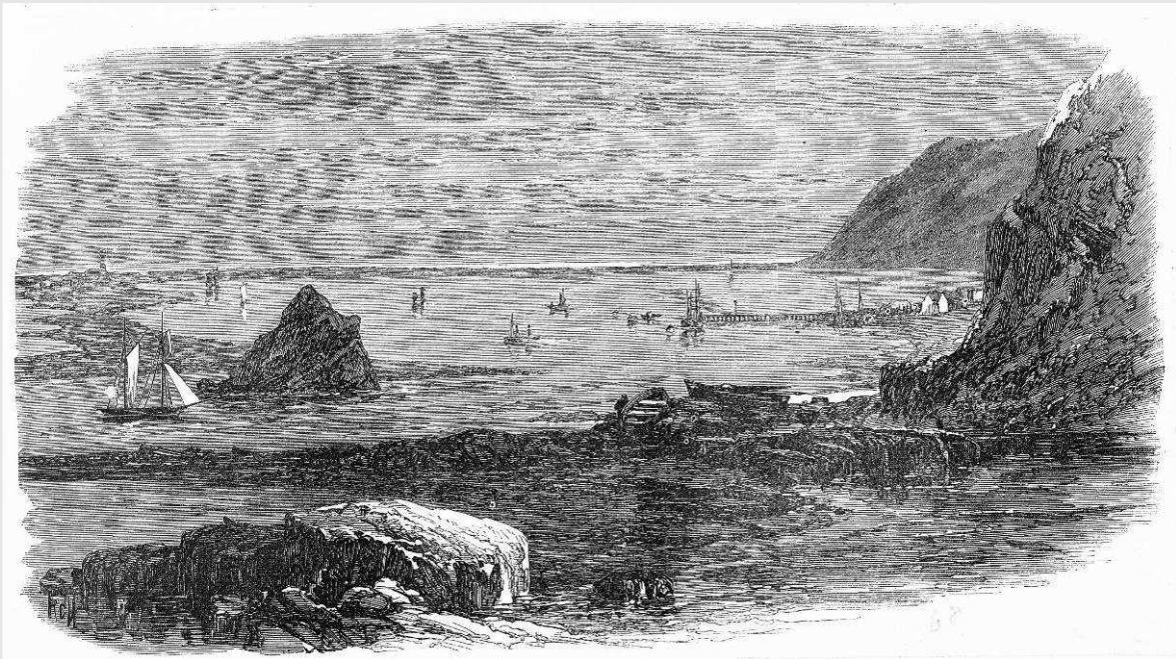
"In conclusion, I must here express what I have persistently stated with respect to lights on our New Zealand coast, that is, that the most useful and requisite light for Cook Strait would be at the end of the Sandspit. Had there been such a light, this loss would not have occurred. My chief reason for assigning that position for the light is, that I consider a light most serviceable when a vessel has just made the land, after an over-sea voyage; in making the land in thick, hazy weather, with imperfect observations a few days before, then is the time a light becomes most precious to the navigator, and if such is placed in any fair way on your first approach to land, you will endeavour to make it, and correctly ascertain your position, after which you can boldly steer on your course, without doubt

or danger. There are few vessels that come from the eastward which do not come coastwise; they are therefore daily in with the land, and from day to day correctly determine their position. Such is not the case with vessels coming from the westward.

"I have, &c.,
"HENRY CLOUSTON,
"Nautical Assessor.

"Nelson, May 8."

<http://natlib.govt.nz/search> – *Illustrated London New*, published 1868 – 1867-68 – Natural breakwater and harbour at Nelson



Henry was the Acting Gaoler (Governor) of Nelson Goal in 1866 when four men, the Maungatapu Murderers, were imprisoned in the Gaol.

www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/society/maungatapu-murders/the-maungatapu-murders

On 12 June 1866 James Battle was murdered on the Maungatapu track, south-east of Nelson. The following day four other men were killed nearby in a crime that shocked the colony. These killings, the work of the 'Burgess gang', resembled something from the American 'wild west'.

The case was made more intriguing by the fact that one of the gang, Joseph Sullivan, turned on his co-accused and provided the evidence that convicted them. The trial was followed with great interest and sketches and accounts of the case were eagerly snapped up by the public. Sullivan escaped the gallows; his colleagues were not so lucky.

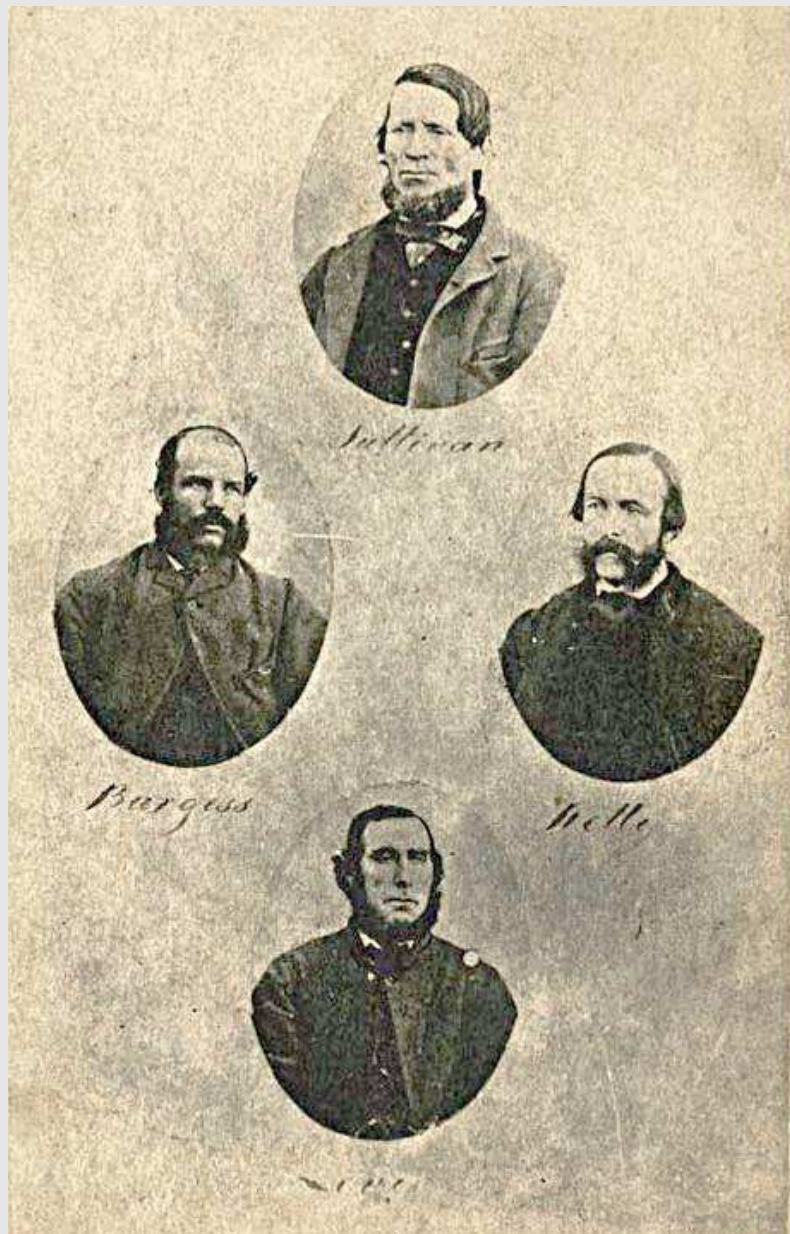
All four members of the Burgess gang had come to New Zealand via the goldfields of Victoria, Australia. Three of them had been transported to Australia for crimes committed in England. They were the sort of 'career criminals' that some of the authorities in Otago had feared would arrive following the discovery of gold in the province. The South Island goldfields of the 1860s offered potentially rich pickings for criminals . . .

While the Murderers were in Nelson Goal, Henry took photos of them.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Nelson Examiner*, 20 July 1866

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS OF THE MURDERERS.— We were shown, yesterday, excellent photographic portraits of Burgess, Kelly, Levy, and Sullivan, taken a few days since in gaol. The prisoners were no way averse to have their likenesses taken, and Burgess and Kelly expressed a desire to have a few copies, when printed off, for presentation to their friends. The photographs were taken by the Acting-Gaoler, Mr. Clouston, assisted by Mr. Brown, photographer of Trafalgar-street, and the likenesses are admitted by all who have seen them to be excellent.

www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/society/maungatapu-murders/the-maungatapu-murders – the Burgess Gang (the Maungatapu Murderers) photographed at Nelson gaol in 1866



In July 1867 Henry's father in law William Rodgerson resigned as the Governor of Nelson Gaol, and Henry was appointed his successor.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Nelson Examiner*, 13 July 1867 – and – *Nelson Evening Mail*, 12 July 1867

NELSON GAOLER.—Mr. Rodgerson, who for many years has filled the office of Gaoler in Nelson, having resigned his office, Captain Clouston, who acted as Gaoler during the late absence of Mr. Rodgerson from the colony, has been appointed his successor.

Nelson Evening Mail, 12 July 1867 – Provincial Council, 11 July – extract

In the Gaol Department, the Provincial Secretary stated that Captain Clouston, having been appointed Gaoler, would continue to perform, as heretofore, the duties of Meteorological Registrar, and the salary of 275*l* was voted for the combined offices.

Nelson Evening Mail, 27 April 1868

FOR SALE,

15 FINE WELL-BRED DAIRY COWS.
 1 staunch Horse, broke into all sorts of work, very quiet.
 2 heavy Carts
 1 Spring Cart
 1 Trap
 1 Howard's Plough, new
 1 Roller
 1 Set Harness
 1 Set Heavy Harness
 1 Set Light „
 2 Churns
 Milk Dishes and all the requisites of a dairy.
 Apply to
 839 **H. CLOUSTON.**

Nelson Examiner, 5 November 1868 – Wreck of the Steamer Nelson – Captain Clouston, Nautical Assessor – extract

An official inquiry into the wreck of the steamer Nelson at West Wanganui, on the evening of the 12th instant, was opened in the Court-house, on Thursday last, before J. Sharp, Esq, R.M., and Captain Clouston, Nautical Assessor. The Collector of Customs, D. Johnston, Esq., conducted the case on behalf of the Government. The following evidence was given :—

In 1869 Henry was the Secretary of the Nelson Presbyterian church.

Nelson Examiner, 17 March 1869

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
NELSON.**

WANTED, a CONDUCTOR for the CHOIR
who can play the Harmonium.

Salary, £25 per annum.

Applications to be made to the Secretary,
Captain CLOUSTON, during
this week. 612

Nelson Provincial Museum, New Zealand – Tyree, ½ 29629/3 – no date – Clouston Girls – six of Henry and Mary's daughters



At Nelson on 1 November 1873 Henry raced his whaleboat "Queen" against Captain Todd's skiff.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Colonist, Nelson, 25 November 1872*

BOAT RACE.—On Saturday, Nov. 1st, a match between Captain Todd's skiff, and Cap'tain Clouston's whaleboat "Queen" took place. The ship's boat was a likely-looking one, but some five feet shorter than the Queen, and she had for crew, Calder, Westrop, the Browns (2) and Carpenter. The whaleboat was pulled by W. Morrison, Johnson, and the Freemans (3). The start, if anything was in favor of "the boys," as the crew of the skiff were termed, and a tough race ensued, the skiff losing space on the leeward course, and regaining it on the windward; so that when the whole course was finished, the stern of the Queen was not more than a yard ahead of the skiff's bow, and the general impression was that had the course been half a mile further "the boys" would have won the race.

Colonist, Nelson, 23 December 1873

FOR SALE.

THE Cedar built WHALE-BOAT QUEEN, thoroughly equipped in every requisite; two Sets of Oars, Mast, Sail, Steer Oar, Rudder, Yoke Awning, Ensign, &c. Cost, landed here, £60, will be sold for £35. Apply to
3243 H. CLOUSTON.

Colonist, Nelson, 2 March 1875 – race between two whaleboats – Captain Clouston the judge

BOAT RACE—On Saturday afternoon a race took place between the whaleboats Thistle and "Colonist" for £5 a side. The distance was four miles and a half. Mr Garrard officiated as starter, Captain Clouston as Judge and Mr D. C. Tennent as time-keeper. A considerable number of spectators were present. The boats started at 2h. 59m., and the first half of the distance was accomplished as follows:—Thistle 3h. 16m. 30s.; "Colonist," 3h. 17m. 5s.; the former pulling 37 and the latter 40 strokes to the minute. On first rounding the upper buoy the Thistle was 35 seconds ahead, and at the second round she was 42 seconds ahead. The boats reached the winning post thus:—Thistle, 3h. 35m.; "Colonist," 3h. 35m. 37s.—the former thus winning by 37 seconds. At the finish the Thistle pulled 36 strokes per minute, and the "Colonist" 39.

On 13 June 1878 Henry and Mary's eldest daughter Melina (or Millie) Isabella Clouston married Joseph Jay.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – Nelson Evening Mail, 13 June 1878.

JAY—CLOUSTON.—June 13, at Christ Church, Nelson, by his Lordship the Bishop, J. Jay, Esq., of Wellington, to Millie Isabella, eldest daughter of Captain Clouston, Raby House, Maitai.

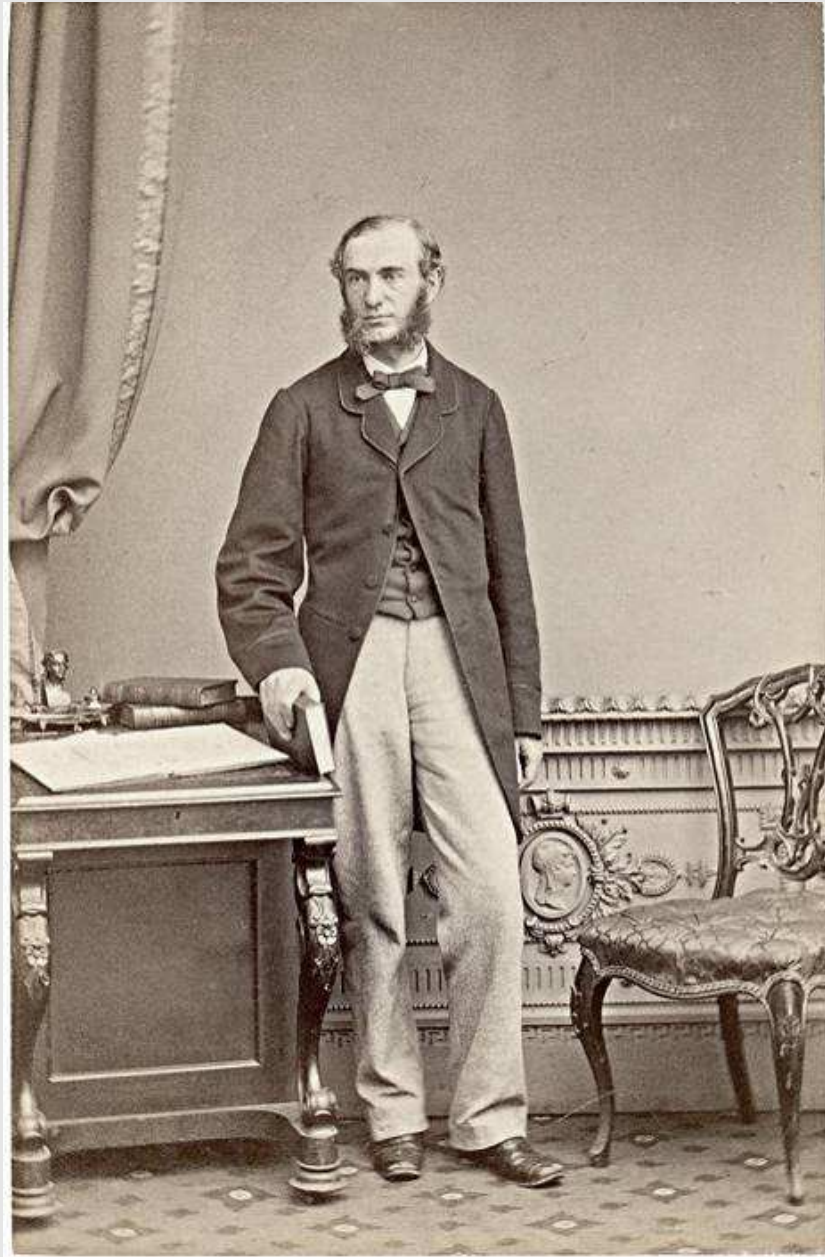
In Birkenhead on 12 September 1877 Robert and Isabella's eldest son Edward Clouston Thin married Annie Elizabeth Jane Broomhall. Isabella and Henry's cousin Balfour Stewart and his wife Katie sent a wedding present.

In my possession – letter, dated 4 September 1877, from Balfour Stewart's wife Katie to E C Thin

The Mansions
Parsonage Road
Sittington
Manchester
Sept 4th
My dear Edward
Balfour and
I wish to send you our
warmest congratulations
upon your approaching

marriage; we hope your similar present has
will have great happiness been to us we shall
We have sent to you be very glad.
address today a Behave me yours very
little present which sincerely
we hope you will accept. Katie Stewart
if it proves as
useful to you as a

<http://frontiersmagazine.org/balfour-stewart-sun-clouds-and-inspiration/> – in the Royal Society's possession – no date – Balfour Stewart



In Birkenhead in 1878 Isabella was living at 15 Barnard Road, Claughton.

<http://cheshiredirectories.manuscripteye.com/pdf/1857/04/index.htm> – Cheshire Post Office Directory, 1878 – Birkenhead – Claughton

**Tetley Thomas 'Wilkinson, 4 & 5 Westminster road
Thin Mrs. 15 Barnard road
Thomas Edward Colson, 29 Balls road**

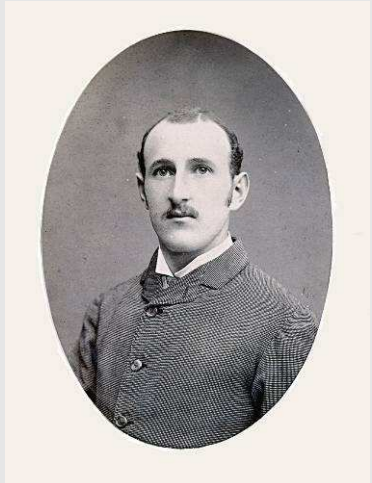
On the night of the 1881 census, 3 April, Julia was living with Isabella at 15 Barnard Road.

www.ancestry.co.uk – 1881 England census – Birkenhead – 15 Barnard Road

Isabella Thin – her children – Julia, Isabella, John and Robert – her sister in law/step mother Julia – a visitor – and one servant

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------|----|----------------|-----------------------|
| Isabella Thin | Head | Widow | 52 | Annuitant | Jamaica, W Indies |
| Julia A Do | Daughter | Married | 30 | | Birkenhead (Cheshire) |
| Isabella E Do | Daughter | Do | 24 | | Do |
| John Do | Son | Do | 23 | General Butler | Do |
| Robert Do | Son | Do | 22 | Celest | Do |
| Julia Gordon Clouston | Sister in law | Widow | 68 | | Edinburgh Scotland |
| Annie Reid | Visitor | Married | 22 | | Leith Do |
| Marion Hepburn | Servant | Do | 20 | Servant | Leith |

In my possession – Annie E J Thin's Album Parterre – Robert and Isabella's children – Julia – Edward and Marian – and below – Isabella – John – and Robert



Annie E J Thin's Album Parterre – Isabella – Mrs Thin as a Widow

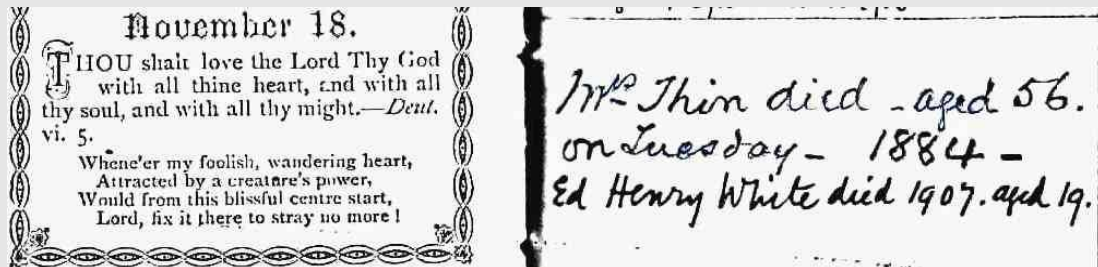


In the possession of James Weymouth – E C Thin, unpublished memoir by his grandson Boyce Cunning – E C Thin's mother Isabella (daughter of Edward and Eliza)

... [Isabella] it appears, was one of those rare creatures who do not wish to be anything themselves, but who have a gift for spreading happiness around them. In figure she was small and fine; by disposition gentle and generous; her features were neat, her skin was delicate and the harmony of her spirit was reflected in her face. She was said very much to resemble her granddaughter Marian [my grandmother Marian]. Not only her children but also her staff, whom she loved to see each Christmas and to whom she gave presents long after they left her, regarded her with adoration. My mother remembered her well, though her grandmother had died when she was only five. She remembered praying one night for her to get well, believing her prayers would be answered, and next day being disconsolate when she heard the sad news of her granny's death. Aunt Julia, she said, particularly loved the old lady.

Although Boyce described Isabella as an 'old lady', she was only 56 when she died on 18 November 1884.

In my possession – Annie E J Thin's Birthday Scripture Text Book – Mrs Thin = Isabella Thin, nee Clouston



General Registry Office, Merseyside – Register of Deaths – Birkenhead – Isabella Thin

Isabella died aged 56 on 18 November 1884 at 15 Barnard Road, Claughton, aged 56 years. She died of Acute Pluro Pneumonia. Her death was certified by Dr A C E Harris, M.B. (husband of Isabella and Robert's daughter Marian). Her daughter in law Annie E J Thin of 3 Shrewsbury Road, Oxtou, Birkenhead was in attendance.

| | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|--|---|--|--|
| <i>Highland's</i> <i>November</i> <i>1884.</i> <i>15 Barnard</i> <i>Road</i> <i>Claughton</i> <i>Mersey D.</i> | <i>Isabella</i> <i>Thin</i> | <i>Female</i> <i>56</i> <i>years</i> | <i>Widow of</i> <i>Robert</i> <i>Thin</i> <i>Merchant.</i> | <i>Acute Pluro</i> <i>Pneumonia</i> <i>6 days</i> <i>Certified by</i> <i>A. C. E. Harris</i> <i>M. B.</i> | <i>A. E. J. Thin</i> <i>Daughter in Law</i> <i>in Attendance</i> <i>3 Shrewsbury</i> <i>Road</i> <i>Oxtou</i> |
|--|--------------------------------|--|---|--|--|

British Library Newspapers online – Liverpool Mercury, 19 November 1884 – Deaths

THIN—Nov. 18, at Barnard-road, Claughton, aged 56 years, Isabella, relict of the late Robert Thin, of this city.

Isabella's uncle Rev Charles Clouston died on 10 January 1884. News of both deaths was sent to New Zealand. The announcements, below, of Isabella's death mistakenly records that she died on 15 November aged 58.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Nelson Evening Mail, 19 January 1885 – and – Marlborough Express, 23 January 1885*

DEATHS.

CLOUSTON.—On November 10th, 1884, at Sandwick Manse, Orkney Islands, the Rev. Charles Clouston L.L.D., aged 84 years, uncle to Capt. Clouston of this city.

THIN.—On November 15th, 1884, at Birkenhead, Liverpool, Isabella Thin, aged 58 years, sister to Capt. Clouston of this city.

CLOUSTON.—On November 10, 1884, at Sandwick Manse, Orkney Islands, the Rev Charles Clouston L.L.D., aged 84 years, uncle to Capt. Clouston of Nelson, and grand-uncle of Mr W.E.P. Clouston of Blenheim.

THIN.—On November 15, 1884, at Birkenhead, Liverpool, Isabella Thin, aged 58 years sister to Capt. Clouston of Nelson, and aunt of Mr W.E.P. Clouston of Blenheim.

Annie E J Thin's Album Parterre – Julia Gordon Clouston, widow of Edward Clouston of Kingshouse



Julia continued living at 15 Barnard Road and died there on 1 April 1889 aged 70, not in her 70th year as mistakenly recorded in her death announcement below – *British Library Newspapers online* – *Liverpool Mercury*, 3 April 1889

CLOUSTON—April 1, at 15, Barnard-road, Claughton, in her 70th year, Julia Gordon, widow of the late Edward Clouston, of King's House, Orkney, and Jamaica.

In her *Birthday Scripture Text Book*, Annie E J Thin also mistakenly recorded Julia's year of birth as 1819 – she was born on 3 June 1818 (see Chapter 23).

| | |
|---|---|
| <p><i>Mrs Clouston died 1889. (1819 - 1889) Julia Gordon Clouston ne Thin</i></p> | <p>April 1. THE Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in My name, He shall teach you all things.—<i>John xiv. 26.</i> Thou art the Spirit of all joy, Sadness Thou lovest not; Thy comfort, beaming from on high, Lights up the darkest lot.</p> |
|---|---|

The mistake about the year Julia was born recorded by Annie E J Thin in her *Birthday Book*, was again made when Julia's death was registered – died aged 69 years – should be 70 years.

General Registry Office, Merseyside – Register of Deaths – Birkenhead

| | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|--------|-------------|---|---|---|
| First April 1889. 15 Barnard Road Claughton M.D. | Julia Gordon Clouston | Female | 69 years | Widow of Edward Clouston Sugar Planter | Cancer of Liver Certified by A. C. Harris M.D. | Robert Thin Nephew Present at death 15 Barnard Road Claughton |
|---|-----------------------------|--------|-------------|---|---|---|

In my possession – Annie E J Thin's Photograph Box – Gravestone in memory of Edward Clouston of Kingshouse and wife Julia



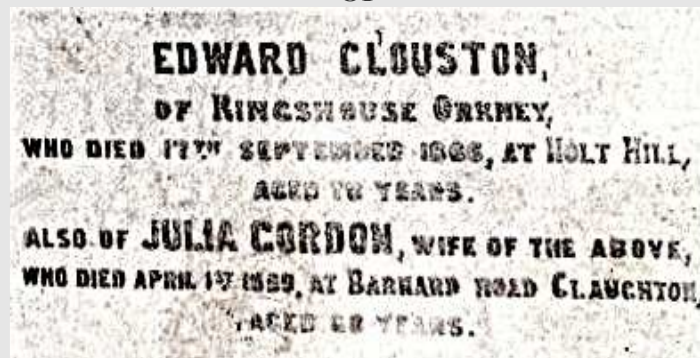
In 2001 Christopher and I visited St Andrew's Church, Bebington – the churchyard where Edward was buried in 1866 (see above). Most of the gravestones had been cleared away and we found no gravestone in memory of Edward and Julia.

www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/966/ – St Andrew's, Bebington



Annie E J Thin's Photograph Box – Edward and Julia's gravestone – inscription – it also mistakenly records Julia dying aged 69

IN
LOVING MEMORY
OF

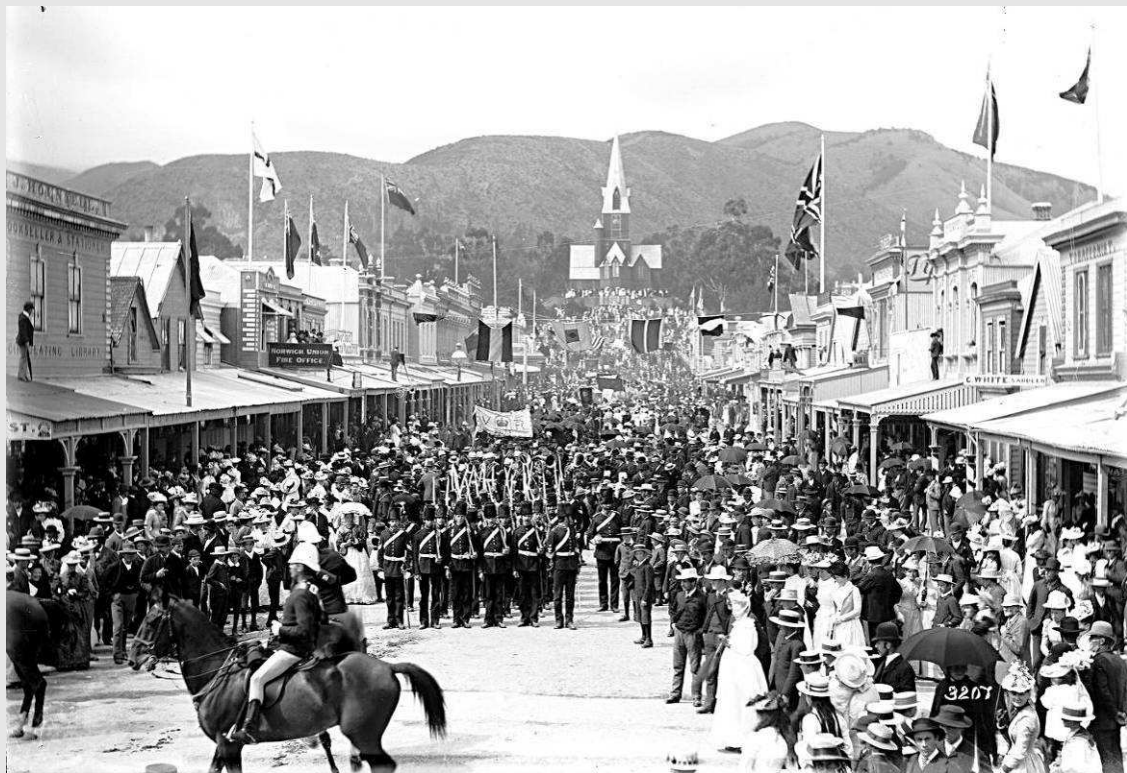


EDWARD CLOUSTON,
OF KINGSHOUSE ORKNEY,
WHO DIED 17TH SEPTEMBER 1866, AT HOLT HILL,
AGED 78 YEARS.
ALSO OF JULIA GORDON, WIFE OF THE ABOVE,
WHO DIED APRIL 1ST 1889, AT BARNARD ROAD CLAUGHTON
AGED 69 YEARS

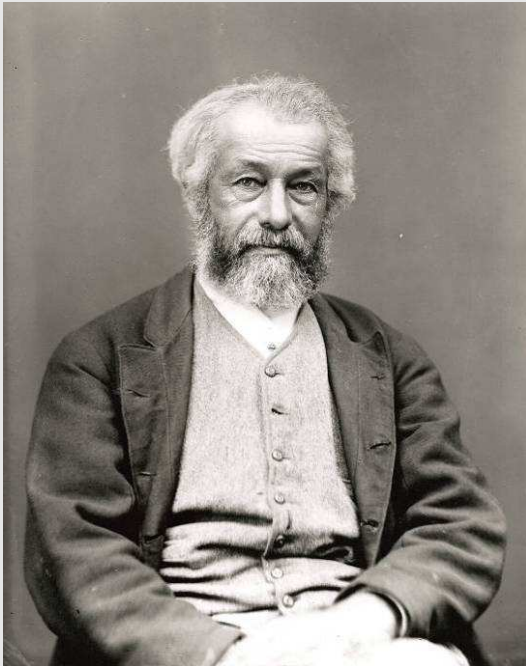
Above – Holt Hill – Seymour Street, where Edward died, is in the Holt Hill district of Tranmere

In New Zealand in the 1870s the City of Nelson was growing fast.

<http://natlib.govt.nz/search> – June 1887 – Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee Celebrations, Trafalgar Street, Nelson



Nelson Provincial Museum, New Zealand – E. E. Brown, 16800/2 – Captain Clouston – Tyree – 1/4 17559/3 – Mrs Clouston



Henry's wife Mary died suddenly in 1891 on 23 July – <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Colonist Nelson*, 24 July 1891 – Deaths

Clouston.—July 23, at Maitai Valley, Mrs Clouston, aged 57 years.

Yesterday morning Mrs Clouston, wife of Captain Clouston, of the Maitai Valley, passed away somewhat suddenly, and much sympathy will be felt for her sorrowing husband and family. Mr Swanson, whose death also

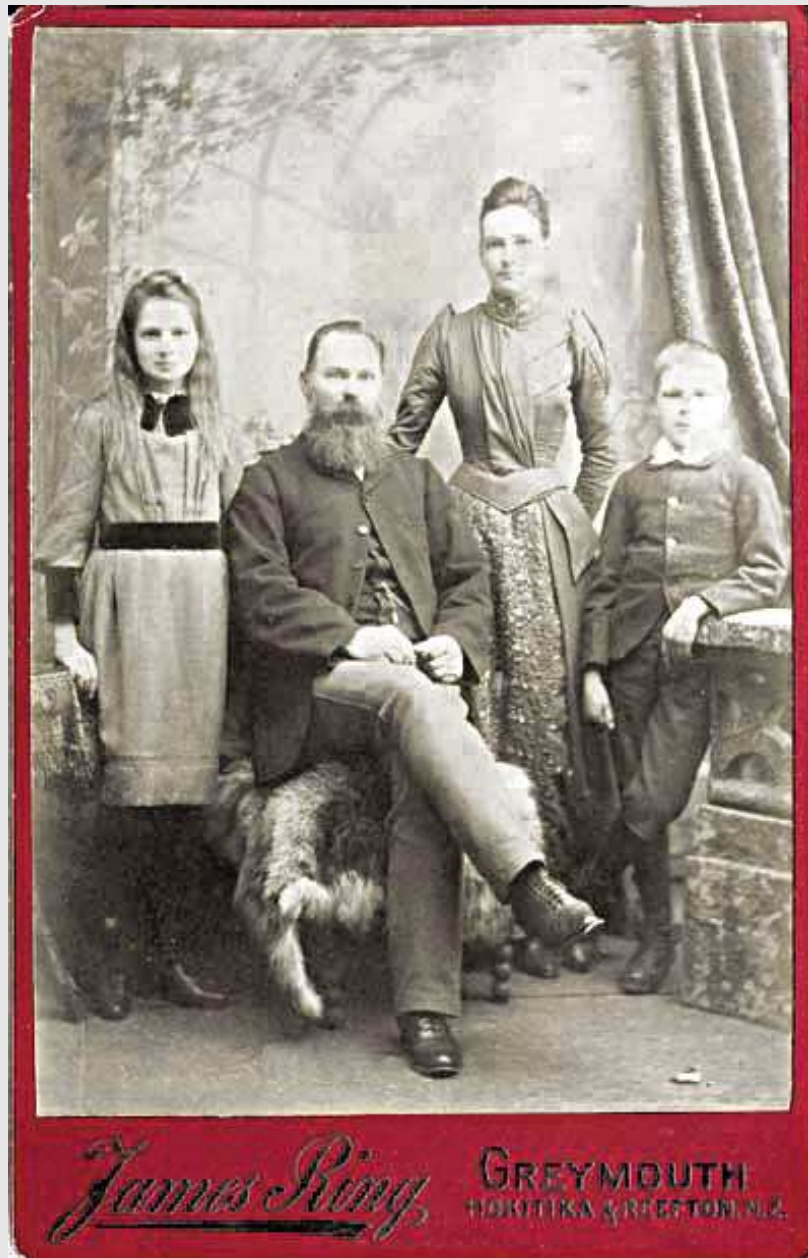
On 15 September the foundation stone for a new Presbyterian Church in Nelson was laid. In the report below Henry is mentioned as one of the Church officers.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Colonist, Nelson 15 September 1891* – Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Presbyterian Church

Nearly forty-two years ago the foundation stone of the first Presbyterian Church in Nelson was well and truly laid, to-day the corner stone of a new edifice is to be placed in position. The ceremony will be performed at three o'clock by Mr James McKerrow, Chairman of the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church Property Board, and this gentleman will have the assistance of the Rev James Patterson, of Wellington, and, if his health permits, as we trust it will, of the Rev P Calder, who for some thirty-four years acted as pastor of this Church, and whose kindness and ability will never be forgotten by those who had had the privilege of his acquaintance. Beneath the foundation stone of the new Church will be placed the stone laid in February, 1849, and on this will be deposited a bottle containing documents and coins placed beneath the original foundation stone, as well as a printed statement concerning the same, and copies of this morning's COLONIST, of the 'New Zealand Presbyterian' of the present month, and of the 'Evening Mail'. The foundation stone itself is a fine block of marble presented by Mr Robert Pattie, senior, of Riwaka, from whose property the stone was quarried. It is 30 inches long, 13¾ in. deep, and 14 in. in

width, and has been dressed free of charge by Mr R Simpson, face of the block, 30 in. by 12¾ in, has a plain smooth border, with finely picked sunk panel, in the centre of which are the raised and highly polished characters – “A.D. 1891.” At present Trinity Church is without an appointed Pastor, but the Rev W O Robb is Moderator *pro. tem.*, and the Rev J H McKenzie has occupied the pulpit of late. The Church officers are: – Messrs Wm. Brown, Robert Murray, and Captain Clouston; Managers . . . Mr Heginbotham is the architect for the new Church, and Mr J Robertson the builder . . .

In Annie E J Thin's *Photograph Box (in my possession)* there are two photos sent to her from New Zealand – the earliest, undated, is of Henry's eldest daughter Melina Isabella, her husband Joseph Jay, and their two children – Lena Isabella Jay (b.1879) and William Clouston Jay (b.1881)



On the back – Mrs Thin

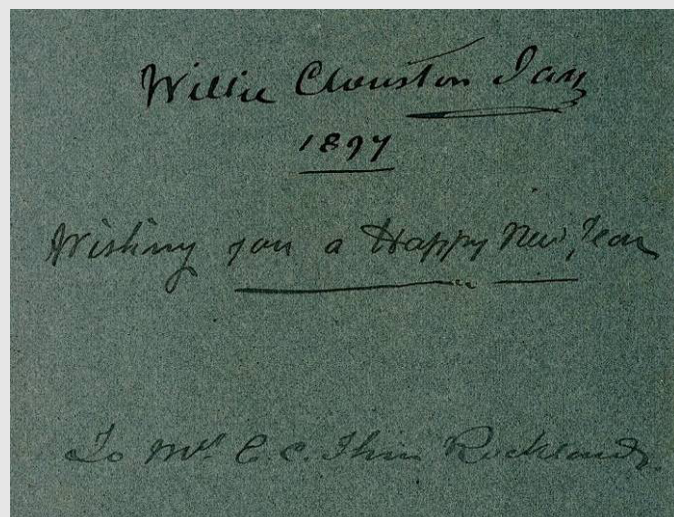
Mrs Thin

Above – Annie E J Thin's New Zealand photograph – the people were identified for me by Merv Clouston in 2001.

<http://natlib.govt.nz/search> – E Walker – print 1877 – Nelson with Maitai River flowing out towards the harbour



Annie E J Thin's Photograph Box – the second New Zealand photo – on the back – Willie Clouston Jay (son of Melina Isabella and Joseph Jay) – 1897 – Wishing you a Happy New Year – To Mrs E. C. Thin Rocklands (E C Thin and Annie's house in Birkenhead)



Nelson Provincial Museum, New Zealand – Tyree, ½ 29628 – Captain Clouston



Henry died at his home in the Maitai Valley on 30 August 1898

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – *Nelson Evening Mail*, 30 September 1898

CLOUSTON,--On August 30th, Captain Henry Clouston, at his late residence, Maitai Valley, in his 76th year.

Captain Clouston, of the Maitai, a highly-respected and well-known citizen, died this morning after a lingering illness. He had been associated with the city and province since the early days, and in years gone by he held important public positions. As, however, it was one of the last wishes of the late Captain Clouston that little or no notice should be taken of his death by the local press, we refrain from giving an outline of a career which had been most eventful.

Colonist, Nelson, 1 September 1898

THE Friends of the late CAPTAIN HENRY CLOUSTON are informed that the Funeral will leave his residence, Maitai Valley, THIS MORNING, at 11 o'clock, for the New Cemetery.

**G. FLEMING & SONS,
1637 Undertakers.**

<https://bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/search> – Deaths – Henry Clouston – death registered 6 September 1898

Henry Clouston, Farmer – died 30 August 1898 Maitai Valley Nelson – Age 75 years – Cause of Death: Perityphlitis (inflammation of the peritoneum surrounding the cecum) – Father: Edward Clouston, Gentleman – Name of Mother: Not Known

| DESCRIPTION OF DECEASED. | | | CAUSE OF DEATH. | PARENTS. |
|---|---|--------------------|--|--|
| When and where died. | 1. Name and Surname. 2. Rank, Profession, or Occupation. | Sex and Age. | 1. Cause of Death. 2. Duration of last Illness. 3. Medical Attendant by whom certified. 4. When he last saw deceased. | 1. Name and Surname of Father. 2. Name and, if known, Maiden Surname of Mother. 3. Rank or Profession of Father. |
| 1898 30 th August Maitai Valley Nelson 1898 | (1) Henry Clouston (2) Farmer | Mr. 75 Years | (1) Perityphlitis (2) Exhaustion (3) 8 Months (4) J.D. Andrew Mr R.C.S. (5) 29 th August 1898 | (1) Edward Clouston (2) Not Known (3) Gentleman |

Buried 1 September 1898 Nelson Cemetery – by James A Mackenzie, Presbyterian Minister – Born Jamaica – Lived in New Zealand 48 years – Married, aged 30, Mary Rodgeron at Nelson – Issue living 6 Males, 5 Females

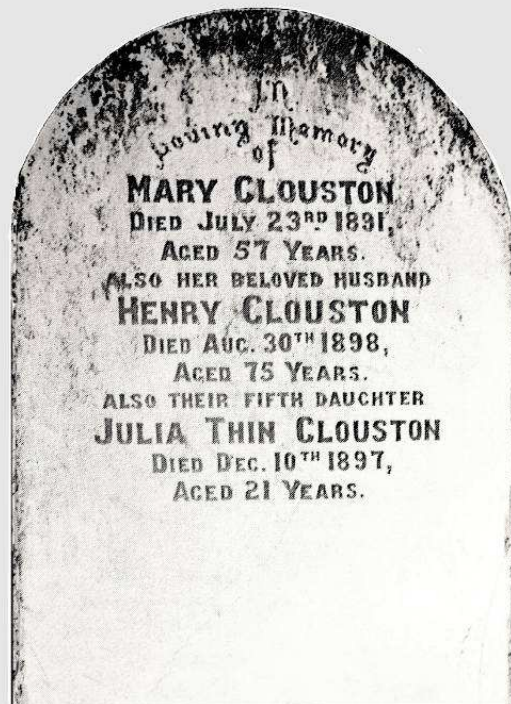
| IF BURIAL REGISTERED. | | WHERE BORN. | IF DECEASED WAS MARRIED. | | INFORMANT. |
|---|--|--|---|--|--|
| When and where buried. | Name and Religion of Minister, or Name of Witness of Burial. | 1. Where born. 2. How long in New Zealand. | 1. Where married. 2. At what Age married. 3. To whom married. | If Issue living, state Number, Age, and Sex. | 1. Signature of the Informant. 2. His or her Description. 3. Residence. 4. If entry a correction of a former entry, Signatures of Witnesses attesting the same. |
| 1 st September 1898 Nelson Cemetery | James A Mackenzie Presbyterian Minister | (1) Jamaica (2) Nelson New Zealand (3) 48 Years (4) 30 (5) Mary Rodgeron, | | 6 Males 44 Years 39 36 31 27 23 5 Females 41 Years 37 33 29 19 | W.E. Fleming Undertaker Nelson |

Henry was buried in the Wakapuaka Cemetery with his wife Mary and their fifth daughter Julia Thin Clouston – see – <http://nelson.govt.nz/services/facilities/cemeteries/cemeteries-database-2/>

www.theprow.org.nz/places/nelson-haven/#.VR-tWtZF98 – 1893 – Wakapuaka Cemetery, Nelson



The Family of Captain Henry Clouston, 1822-1898, by Mervyn Clouston, records updated 1997



<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/> – Marlborough Express, 5 September 1898

DEATH OF AN OLD SETTLER —
The death of Captain Henry Clouston (of the Maltai Valley) father of Messrs W. E. and J. Clouston of Blenheim, is recorded by the Nelson Mail. Deceased, who was a highly respected and well known citizen of Nelson, passed away on August the 30th, in his 77th year, after a lingering illness. The Mail says:—He had been associated with the city and province since the early days, and in years gone by he held important public positions. As, however, it was one of the last wishes of the late Captain Clouston that little or no notice should be taken of his death by the local press, we refrain from giving an outline of a career which had been most eventful.

Although Henry was only 75 when he died the Marlborough Express announcement, above, mistakenly recorded that Henry died in his 77th year – and perhaps it was this announcement that was sent to the Thins.

Annie E J Thin's Birthday Scripture Text Book – note at the back

Captain Henry Clouston
of New Zealand
Mrs Isabella Thin's
brother (only one)
died at
Aug 30. 1898 in his
77th year –

In 1905 Henry's biography was published in the Cyclopedia of New Zealand.

<http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-corpus-cyclopedia.html> – Cyclopedia of New Zealand

The aim of *The Cyclopedia*, stated the publishers in the Preface to Volume One, was to “place on record plain facts regarding the settlement and progress of the Colony”. Notwithstanding this ideal, it is important to note that members of the public paid to feature in *The Cyclopedia* and supplied the compilers with their histories and personal details. The information they provided was as accurate as memory – and honesty – permitted . . .

Henry's biography, below, is a mix of memories with some embellishment.

<http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc05Cycl-t1-body1-d1-d1-d23.html> – *Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Vol 5, Nelson, Marlborough & Westland Provincial Districts, published 1905* – Nelson – Old Colonists – page 109

CAPTAIN HENRY CLOUSTON, sometime of Nelson, landed in New Zealand by the ship “Nugent,” in 1847. He was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1820, and died at Nelson on the 12th of August, 1898. His father owned and lived on a large sugar plantation, called the Mount St. Oliver Estate, in Jamaica. Captain Clouston had been educated with a view to his entering the Presbyterian ministry, but after studying a short time he decided to go to sea. He was first mate of a vessel trading to the Mediterranean, when the master of the vessel was drowned, and the duty of sailing the ship from Alexandria to England devolved upon him. Mr. Clouston obtained his captain's certificate at the age of twenty, and upon returning from a voyage to China, his uncle bought him a sailing vessel, with which he was engaged in the Sydney-China tea trade till 1847, when he came to New Zealand with the Hon. J. T. Peacock's father. He traded between Port Cooper (Lyttelton), Nelson and Sydney in the “Comet,” “Gazette,” and Taranaki,” taking produce to Sydney and bringing back horses. Captain Clouston was the first to take the steamer “Sturt” over the Buller bar. He was often engaged by the Government, as an expert, to take soundings at the bars of the Colony, and opened up a number of ports. He gave up the command of his ship in 1868. Captain Clouston acted as governor of the Nelson gaol for four years, and had charge of the Maungatapu murderers from the time of their capture till their execution. He was Government Meteorological Observer for many years, and filled the office of Inspector of Weights and Measures. Upon relinquishing public duties, he purchased seventy-five acres of land in the Maitai, where he resided till his death. He took a prominent part in church matters, and was an elder of the Presbyterian Church. Captain Clouston enjoyed excellent health till shortly before his death. He left a family of six sons and six daughters.

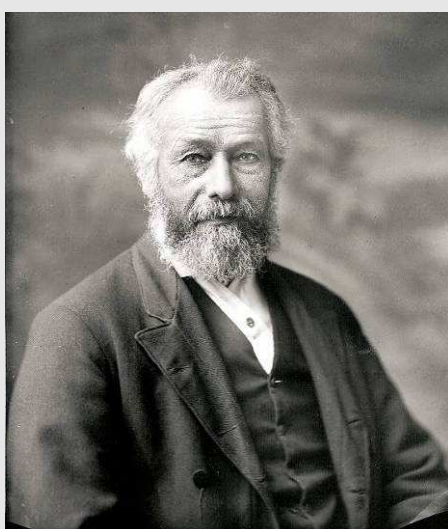
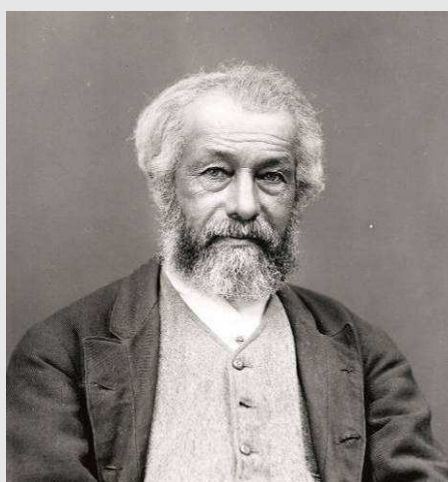
It appears that the Thins and the New Zealand Cloustons lost touch soon after Henry died. The Thins remembered that Henry and Isabella were the children of Edward of Kingshouse, remembered that Isabella had been born in the West Indies, and remembered that Henry and Isabella's mother had died when they were children, but by the end of the 20th century her name had been forgotten. However, in New Zealand a Clouston family tree compiled in 1919 or soon after records that Eliza Fox was the name of the mother of Edward's children – and as far as I know this New Zealand Clouston Genealogy is the only record from earlier times that records Eliza Fox as the mother of Henry and Isabella.

In the possession of Susan Clouston Cohu (a great granddaughter of Henry, copy supplied by Susan in 2002) – family tree headed – Clouston Genealogy – section

Edward Clouston of Kingshouse.
 Born 1787. Died 1866 (Married
 Eliza Fox.
 Issue Henry, Isabella.

HENRY and ISABELLA

The children of Edward Clouston and Eliza Fox



CHAPTER 26

POSTSCRIPT

Discovering that Eliza was buried in Harewood Chapel burial ground, I searched for the chapel but found no mention of Harewood Chapel or Church later than the 19th century.

In 2004 I sent an inquiry email to the Jamaica Diocesan website and heard that Harewood Church had been destroyed by earthquake in 1907. The church was rebuilt soon after on the same site and renamed St Saviour's – St Saviour's Anglican Church at Harewood. I was given the name and postal address of the priest in charge, Rev Claudette Johnson.

I wrote to Claudette and she replied sending me information about St Saviour's. She also told me that the church, with repeated hurricane damage, was badly in need of restoration and please could I send a cheque. I made a gift aid donation to USPG (Anglican missionary society) in London and they sent the money on to Jamaica earmarked for St Saviour's restoration fund.

The restoration work was completed in 2006 and the members of St Saviour's invited me to the service of rededication that July. Unfortunately the invitation arrived only a few days before the service, and at short notice I was unable to go to Jamaica, and with no email address for Claudette, I knew my reply would not arrive until after the service. On the invitation I saw that the Bishop of Kingston, Robert Thompson, was to be the celebrant and preacher at the service, and found his email address on the Jamaican Diocesan website. In my email I gave Robert brief details of my family connection with Williamsfield and some notes from my Harewood Chapel research. I asked him to tell the members of St Saviour's that I much regretted I could not come to Jamaica for the service.

Robert replied immediately and said he looked forward to meeting my husband Christopher and me in due course in Jamaica. A few hours later, to my surprise, I received a second email from Jamaica – an email from John Aarons, Honorary Archivist of the Jamaica Diocese and at that time the Jamaica Government Archivist, who also said he looked forward to meeting us when we visited Jamaica. I discovered afterwards that John's wife Elsie was Robert's assistant and she had sent my email on to John.

A little later I saw on the web that Robert was going to be in London in October 2006 and I invited him to lunch – and soon after arriving for lunch he invited Christopher and me to stay with him and his wife Charmaine in Kingston. During lunch I asked about St Saviour's and Robert told us that the church was in debt to the diocese for the restoration work. I decided then and there to pay off the debt, but said nothing to Robert because first I wanted to see St Saviour's.

Robert suggested we went to Jamaica in March 2007. First we stayed with him and Charmaine in Kingston, and while we were there Claudette invited us to stay with her and her husband Lenward. The Johnsons live in Ewarton in what was once northwest St Thomas in the Vale, and during our stay with them, Claudette took us to various places, including of course Williamsfield and St Saviour's. On the morning we left the Johnsons I told Claudette that when we were back in the UK I would send another gift aid donation via USPG to pay off the debt for the restoration work.

Later in 2007 Claudette telephoned and said that the members of St Saviour's had decided to have a plaque made in memory of Eliza and Edward to be put up in the church – a thank you to me for my contribution to the restoration work. In 2008 Claudette told me that the plaque was going to be installed at a service on Sunday, 7 September. She invited me to unveil the plaque, and asked me to speak for five minutes about our family connection with Williamsfield.

In September 2008 Christopher and I, with my cousin Piers Partridge, and second cousin James Weymouth and his wife Caroline, went to Jamaica for the service.

On Saturday, 6 September, the day before the service, Mr Tenn, who kept the hardware store at Williamsfield Bridge, suggested to Claudette that Christopher and I planted two palms in St Saviour's churchyard in memory of Eliza and Edward.

My photos, 6 September 2008 – before planting the two palms in memory of Eliza and Edward – Mr Tenn on the right



The two palms Christopher and I planted in memory of Eliza and Edward



ST SAVIOUR'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, HAREWOOD, ST CATHERINE, JAMAICA

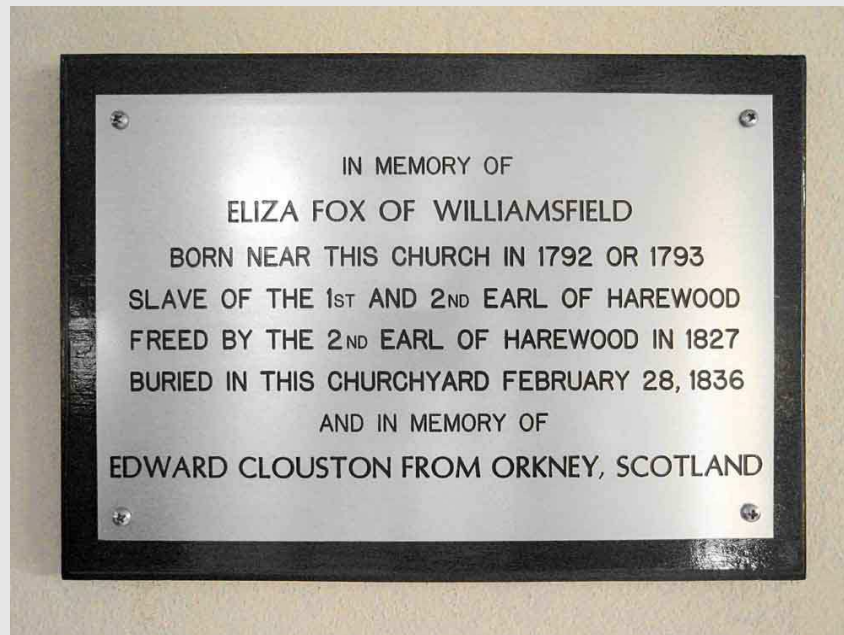
SERVICE OF THANKSGIVING AND INSTALLATION OF PLAQUE

SUNDAY, 7 SEPTEMBER 2008 AT 3 P.M.

CELEBRANT AND PREACHER RT. REV. DR. ROBERT THOMPSON, BISHOP OF KINGSTON

REV. MRS. CLAUDETTE JOHNSON, PRIEST IN CHARGE

At the start of the service Bishop Robert invited me to unveil the plaque.



During the service young members of St Saviour's sang various songs, ending with, 'Come Back Liza', an old Jamaican folk song – my cousin Piers sang one of his songs, 'I'm Going Home' – and then I read my 'five minutes'.

Your Priest – the Reverend Mrs Claudette Johnson – has asked me to say a few words about our family connection with Williamsfield.

I was nervous about speaking at this service – but Mrs Johnson said – I must not worry – you – and we – are all family.

Some of our family ancestors lived here long ago – and – I think – some of your family ancestors lived here long ago.

My ancestors – Eliza Fox – and – Edward Clouston – lived on Williamsfield – and some of your ancestors may have lived on Williamsfield.

And – perhaps – I share family ancestors with some of you.

Eliza's mother – Bessy – is the oldest Jamaican ancestor whose name we know. Bessy was born here around 1769.

And – perhaps – my ancestor Bessy – was also an ancestor of some of you.

Bessy had 6 children – 4 daughters – Ann – Eliza – Eleanor – and – Dorothy – followed by 2 sons – Lawrence – and – Jamaica.

At the time that Bessy's children were born – Bessy and her family were slaves on Sandy Gut sugar plantation.

Sandy Gut was the area that is now known as Harewood – and – this church – St Saviour's – was built on land that was formerly Sandy Gut land.*

In 1815 – the 1st Earl of Harewood – the owner of Williamsfield sugar plantation – purchased Sandy Gut and all the slaves on the plantation – and Sandy Gut then became part of Williamsfield.

And it was here on Williamsfield – a year or two after Sandy Gut became part of Williamsfield – that Eliza Fox and Edward Clouston met.

Edward was born in 1787 – in Scotland – in the Orkney Islands. He was the eldest son of the Reverend William Clouston – a Church of Scotland Minister.

Edward was a planter – and – after he arrived in Jamaica in 1816 – Williamsfield was his home.

Two or three years after Eliza and Edward met – their eldest child – baby Edward – was born – baby Edward died when he was only four years old.

But – Eliza and Edward went on to have another 2 children – Henry – and – Isabella.

Henry was born on 16 November 1822. Five years later – on Christmas Day in 1827 – Isabella was born.

My cousin James – my cousin Piers – and I – are three of many great, great grandchildren of Isabella. And – all the family of Eliza and Edward are the descendants of – Henry – or – Isabella.

By the mid 1820s Edward had become one of the senior plantation managers in this area – I think you will be familiar with some of the names of properties he managed –

Mount Olive – New Works – Wallens – Rose Hall – Berkshire Hall – Enfield – Hog Hole – White Plains – Treadways – Pleasant Farm – Golden River – Mount Concord – Coolshade – Harkers Hall.

Towards the end of 1832 news arrived from Scotland of the death of Edward's father – and on the death of his father Edward inherited his father's Orkney property.

Edward began to make preparations to return to Scotland. One of Edward's preparations was the purchase of Scholar's Cot* – a small plantation in the neighbourhood of Williamsfield.

Edward purchased Scholar's Cot for Eliza – a place for her to live after he left Jamaica.

In May 1833 Edward sailed from Jamaica.

A little under 3 years later Eliza died here – and – at the time of her death – she was living on Scholar's Cot.

Edward survived Eliza by 30 years – he died in Britain in 1866.

From family memories Edward brought Henry and Isabella to Britain when they were children.

Henry and Isabella – spent the rest of their childhoods – with Edward in Britain.

Edward and Eliza – were remembered – and their names were handed down the family. In memory of their mother Henry and Isabella each named one of their daughters Eliza.

These two granddaughters named Eliza both died in 1936 – exactly one hundred years after the death of their grandmother Eliza Fox.

But – until now – there has been no memorial to Eliza Fox. Your gift of this plaque is the first memorial to Eliza – and this church – St Saviour's Church – is the most fitting place for us to remember her.

On behalf of all the descendants of Eliza and Edward – James, Piers, and I – thank all of you – the members of St Saviour's – for your most kind and generous gift.

This plaque in memory of Eliza and Edward is a great honour – a great honour that we share with our ancestors – and shall share with all who follow after us.

Blessings to you all – you will be in our hearts forever.

*Claudette told me after the service that the area around St Saviour's is still known as Sandy Gut. In 2009 I found that Scholar's Cot was conveyed to Edward in 1831

My photo, March 2007 – meeting in the Vestry – Rev Claudette Johnson with senior members of St Saviour's



My photos, Sunday, 7 September 2008 – after the service – the plaque in memory of Eliza and Edward, the only memorial in St Saviour's, is to the right of the altar on the side aisle wall



Side aisle with the plaque to the left of the window – Mr Black and Mr Scott counting the collection



Leaving St Saviour's – my cousins James and Piers followed by James' wife Caroline and Christopher



On our way back to Kingston we stopped at Mount Olive – and as dusk fell into night, with the 'buzzing, and chirping, and whistling, and croaking of numberless reptiles and insects' (*Tom Cringle's Log*) it was as though time had stood still and we were back in the days of Edward and Eliza.



27. TIMELINE

EDWARD CLOUSTON and ELIZA FOX

| | |
|---------|---|
| 1747 | Rev William Clouston born in Orkney, Scotland – Edward’s father |
| 1762/63 | Isabella Traill born in Orkney – Edward’s mother |
| 1768/69 | Bessy born in Jamaica – Eliza’s mother |
| 1786 | Rev William Clouston and Isabella Traill married in Orkney |
| 1787 | Edward born in Orkney – eldest child of Rev William Clouston and Isabella, nee Traill |
| 1792/93 | Eliza born in Jamaica – second child of Bessy, |
| 1796 | Bessy and her children, including Eliza, slaves on Sandy Gut, St Thomas in the Vale |
| 1800 | Bessy and her children, including Eliza, slaves on Sandy Gut |
| 1804-07 | Edward arrives in Jamaica between 1804 and 1807 |
| 1808 | Georgia, St Thomas in the East, crop account for 1807 sworn by Edward, overseer |
| 1809 | Georgia, St Thomas in the East, crop account for 1808 sworn by Edward, overseer 10 acres in St Thomas in the East sold to Edward Edward buys 2 barrels sugar from Georgia |
| 1810 | Georgia, St Thomas in the East, crop account for 1809 sworn by Edward, overseer Edward collects his salary as overseer of Georgia for 1809 Edward buys 1 barrel sugar from Georgia Edward leaves Georgia around the end of 1810 |
| 1810/11 | Eliza’s son William Burrowes born |
| 1811 | Edward one of the Jurors summoned to attend Morant Bay Court House |
| 1812 | Conveyance of 10 acres in St Thomas in the East to Edward (the 10 acres sold to him in 1809) |
| 1812/13 | Eliza’s son Lewis Burrowes born |
| 1813 | Conveyance of Sandy Gut plus slaves to Joseph Timperon – among the slaves Bessy and her family, including Eliza and her son William (and her son Lewis if had been born by the time of the conveyance) Edward of Westmoreland gives notice of his intention of leaving Jamaica |

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| 1814 | Edward leaves Jamaica |
| 1815 | <p>Conveyance of Sandy Gut plus slaves to Edward Lascelles, 1st Earl of Harewood – among the slaves Bessy and her family including Eliza and her sons William and Lewis</p> <p>Sandy Gut added to Williamsfield, the 1st Earl of Harewood's estate in St Thomas in the Vale</p> |
| 1816 | <p>Edward arrives at Port Royal from London</p> <p>Edward writes to Captain Malcolm Gray</p> |
| 1817 | <p>1st Triennial Returns of Slaves</p> <p>Edward as owner registers 8 slaves in St Thomas in the East</p> <p>George Cuthbert and Francis Graham as attorneys to the 1st Earl of Harewood register slaves in St Thomas in the Vale (Williamsfield) – among the slaves Bessy and her family, including Eliza and her sons William and Lewis</p> |
| 1818 | <p>James Fraser dies, Edward of St Thomas in the Vale an executor</p> <p>Edward on Williamsfield in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Edward buys 2 barrels sugar and 1 hogshead rum from Williamsfield</p> |
| 1818/19 | Eliza's (and Edward's) son Edward Clouston born |
| 1819 | <p>Williamsfield, St Thomas in the Vale, crop account for 1818 sworn by Edward</p> <p>Giving-In – St Thomas in the East – Orkneys (the name given by Edward to his 10 acres), 7 slaves</p> <p>Edward buys 1 hogshead rum from Williamsfield</p> |
| 1819/20 | Eliza's son Lewis Burrowes dies |
| 1820 | <p>Edward registers power of attorney from Rev Alexander Johnston</p> <p>Williamsfield, St Thomas in the Vale, crop account for 1819 sworn by Edward</p> <p>Giving-In – St Thomas in the East – Orkneys, 7 slaves</p> <p>The 1st Earl of Harewood dies and is succeeded by his son Henry Lascelles, 2nd Earl of Harewood</p> <p>2nd Triennial Returns of Slaves</p> <p>Edward as owner registers 7 slaves in St Thomas in the East</p> <p>Edward as attorney registers slaves</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - for Rev Alexander Johnston in St George - for Peter Scollay in Clarendon <p>George Cuthbert and George William Hamilton as agents to the 2nd Earl of Harewood register slaves in St Thomas in the Vale (Williamsfield) – among the slaves Bessy and her</p> |

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| | <p>family, including Eliza and her sons William and Edward (Edward's son),</p> <p>Edward arrives at Port Royal from Santiago de Cuba</p> |
| 1821 | <p>Williamsfield, St Thomas in the Vale, crop account for 1820 sworn by Edward</p> <p>Giving-In – St Thomas in the East – Edward, Orkneys, 6 slaves</p> <p>Edward buys 2 barrels sugar from Williamsfield</p> <p>Edward arrives at Port Royal from St John, New Brunswick</p> |
| 1822 | <p>Williamsfield, St Thomas in the Vale, crop account for 1821 sworn by Edward</p> <p>Giving-In – St Thomas in the East – Edward, Orkneys, 6 slaves</p> <p>Grand Court – Edward versus George William Hamilton, Executor of the late Edward Sword – Judgement – payment to Edward</p> <p>Edward a subscriber in St Thomas in the Vale to the Presbyterian Institution of Kingston</p> <p>Edward and Eliza's son Henry Clouston born</p> <p>Edward buys 170 gallons rum from Williamsfield</p> |
| 1822/23 | <p>Eliza's (and Edward's) son Edward Clouston dies</p> |
| 1823 | <p>Williamsfield, St Thomas in the Vale, crop account for 1822 sworn by Edward</p> <p>Giving-In – St Thomas in the East – Edward, Orkneys, 6 slaves</p> <p>Edward an Ensign in the St Thomas in the Vale Militia</p> <p>3rd Triennial Returns of Slaves</p> <p>Edward as owner registers 6 slaves in St Thomas in the East</p> <p>Edward as attorney registers slaves for Rev Alexander Johnston in St George</p> <p>George Cuthbert and George William Hamilton as agents to the 2nd Earl of Harewood register slaves in St Thomas in the Vale (Williamsfield) – among the slaves Bessy and her family, including Eliza and her sons William and Henry (Edward's son)</p> |
| 1823/24 | <p>Edward registers power of attorney from James Laing</p> |
| 1824 | <p>Williamsfield, St Thomas in the Vale, crop account for 1823 sworn by Edward, overseer in 1823</p> <p>Giving-In – St Thomas in the East – Orkneys, 12 slaves (Edward owns 6 of the slaves)</p> <p>Edward a Magistrate for the Precinct of St Catherine</p> <p>James McIntosh swears before Edward that he saw Alexander McIntosh sign his Will</p> <p>Harewood Chapel being built on Williamsfield, 1824-26 – Edward one of 6 men overseeing</p> |

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| | the building of the Chapel |
| 1825 | <p>Mount Olive, St Thomas in the Vale, crop account for 1824 sworn by Edward, overseer</p> <p>Giving-In</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - St Thomas in the East – Edward, Orkneys, 12 slaves (5 of the slaves owned by Edward) - St Thomas in the Vale – Edward, 1 slave (transferred from St Thomas in the East), 6 stock <p>Edward registers powers of attorney from</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sir John Gordon - James McIntosh - Meredith Moore <p>Edward a Lieutenant in St Thomas in the Vale Militia</p> <p>Philip Jaquet and Edward (acting as intermediaries) convey a slave in exchange for a slave on Longville, Clarendon</p> <p>Edward one of the men named in connection with repairs to road through Rio Cobre gorge and a road in St Thomas in the Vale</p> |
| 1826 | <p>Mount Olive, St Thomas in the Vale, crop account for 1825 sworn by Edward</p> <p>Giving-In</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - St Thomas in the East – James Reid, Inverness and Orkneys, 52 slaves (Orkneys and 3 of the slaves owned by Edward) - St Thomas in the Vale – Edward, 3 slaves (2 transferred from St Thomas in the East), 5 stock <p>Edward registers powers of attorney from</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - John Hayman - John Oliver - Donald McIntosh <p>Edward a subscriber to the <i>Annals of Jamaica</i> by Rev George Wilson Bridges</p> <p>Harewood Chapel on Williamsfield consecrated by the Bishop of Jamaica – Edward one of the subscribers to the Chapel</p> <p>4th Triennial Returns of Slaves</p> <p>Edward as owner registers 3 slaves in St Thomas in the East, and 3 slaves in St Thomas in the Vale (1 slave transferred from St Thomas in the East)</p> <p>Edward as an attorney registers slaves</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - with James Laing for Major General William Nedham in St Thomas in the Vale (Mount Olive), and in St Catherine (Crescent pen) - for Francis James Flutter Steevens in St Thomas in the Vale (Harkers Hall), and in St Catherine (Lime Tree Garden pen) - for James Berney Bourdieu in St Thomas in the Vale (Hog Hole) - for John Hayman in St Thomas in the Vale (Berkshire Hall) - for James Seton Lane in St Thomas in the Vale (Coolshade) - for Sir John Gordon in St Thomas in the Vale (Golden River) - for William Hervey in St Thomas in the Vale (Enfield) |

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| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - with James Grant for Donald McIntosh in St Thomas in the Vale (Muse) - with James Grant for James McIntosh in St Thomas in the Vale (Muse) <p>Edward as receiver for Mount Concord registers slaves in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>George Cuthbert and George William Hamilton as attorneys to the 2nd Earl of Harewood register slaves in St Thomas in the Vale (Williamsfield) – among the slaves Bessy and her family, including Eliza and her sons William and Henry (Edward's son),</p> <p>John Gray dies, Edward and Henry Lowndes executors</p> <p>Edward and Henry Lowndes as executors of John Gray convey a half share of slaves</p> <p>Edward and Henry Lowndes as executors of John Gray convey a half share of land in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Edward's mother Isabella, nee Traill dies in Orkney, Scotland</p> <p>Edward one of the men named in connection with repairs to road through Rio Cobre gorge</p> <p>Edward buys 60 gallons rum from Mount Olive</p> |
| 1826/27 | <p>Edward registers powers of attorney from</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - James Berney Bourdieu - James Seton Lane - Francis James Flutter Steevens - William Hervey |
| 1827 | <p>Mount Olive, St Thomas in the Vale, and Crescent pen, St Catherine, crop account for 1826 sworn by Edward</p> <p>Giving-In – St Thomas in the Vale – Edward, 3 slaves, 5 stock</p> <p>Edward returns from America</p> <p>Edward and Henry Lowndes as executors of John Gray convey a half share of slaves</p> <p>Edward buys a slave at Collecting Constable's sale in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>2nd Earl of Harewood manumits Eliza and her son Henry (Edward's son) – Edward pays £120 for Eliza and Henry's manumission</p> <p>Edward and Henry Lowndes as executors of John Gray released from any claim made against John Gray's estate by administrator of a deceased planter</p> <p>Eliza and her son Henry (Edward's son) produced at a St Thomas in the Vale Vestry</p> <p>Edward one of the men named in connection with repairs to road through Rio Cobre gorge, and a road in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Edward and Eliza's daughter Isabella Clouston born</p> |
| 1827/28 | <p>Edward registers power of attorney from Major General William Nedham</p> |
| 1828 | <p>Mount Olive and Crescent pen crop account for 1827 sworn by Edward</p> |

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| | <p>Giving-In – St Thomas in the Vale – Edward, 4 slaves, 6 stock</p> <p>Edward registers powers of attorney from</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Richard Lee et al - James Berney Bourdieu <p>Conveyance to Edward of Retirement (formerly Roman Hill), 96 acres plus 14 slaves in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Edward and Eliza's daughter Isabella baptized</p> <p>Edward authorizes sale of stray ass in the St Thomas in the Vale pound</p> <p>John Gray's heirs in England acknowledge receipt of payments and indemnify executors Edward and Henry Lowndes against any future charges</p> <p>Edward hires a waiting boy slave from Mount Concord</p> <p>Edward buys 400 lbs sugar from Mount Olive</p> <p>Edward buys 1 puncheon rum from Berkshire Hall</p> |
| 1828/29 | <p>Edward registers powers of attorney from</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - William Hervey - David Mustard - Francis James Flutter Steevens |
| 1829 | <p>Mount Olive and Crescent pen crop account for 1828 sworn by Edward</p> <p>Conveyance of slaves to Edward and Henry Lowndes, executors John Gray</p> <p>Edward administers oath to appraiser of the goods and chattels of Samuel Hyde, deceased</p> <p>Edward one of the appraisers of the goods and chattels of James Seton Lane, deceased</p> <p>Edward (acting as a middleman) conveys land in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Edward transmits a burial certificate to the Rector of St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Edward a Captain in St Thomas in the Vale Militia</p> <p>5th Triennial Returns of Slaves</p> <p>Edward as owner registers 3 slaves in St Thomas in the East, and 17 slaves in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Edward as attorney registers slaves</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - with Colin Mackenzie for Major General William Nedham in St Thomas in the Vale (Mount Olive), and in St Catherine (Crescent pen) - for Francis James Flutter Steevens in St Thomas in the Vale (Harkers Hall), and in St Catherine (Lime Tree Garden pen) - for John Blackburn in St Thomas in the Vale (New Works and Wallens) - for Richard Lee, James Esdaile and William Thwaytes in St Thomas in the Vale (Rose Hall) - for James Berney Bourdieu, executor and trustee of John (Berney) Bourdieu in |

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| | <p>St Thomas in the Vale (Hog Hole)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - for John Hayman in St Thomas in the Vale (Berkshire Hall) - for Sir John Gordon in St Thomas in the Vale (Golden River) <p>Edward as agent to heirs and devisees of James Seton Lane registers slaves in St Thomas in the Vale (Coolshade)</p> <p>Edward as a guardian and an executor of John Gray registers slaves in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Edward as receiver for Mount Concord registers slaves in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Adam Gray as agent to Edward, attorney to Rev Alexander Johnston, registers slaves in St George</p> <p>George Cuthbert and George William Hamilton as attorneys to the 2nd Earl of Harewood register slaves in St Thomas in the Vale (Williamsfield) – among the slaves Bessy and her family, including Eliza's son William</p> <p>Catechetical Instruction to slaves on 29 properties in St Thomas in the Vale includes 8 properties represented solely or in part by Edward</p> <p>Edward buys 3 barrels sugar from Mount Olive, and pays to Mount Olive £5 for carriage of a still and 3 tierces of coffee</p> <p>Edward hires a slave from Lime Tree Garden pen, St Catherine</p> |
| 1829/30 | Edward registers a power of attorney from John Blackburn |
| 1830 | <p>Mount Olive and Crescent pen crop account for 1829 sworn by Edward, overseer</p> <p>Giving-In – St Thomas in the Vale – Edward, Retirement, 17 slaves, 3 stock</p> <p>Edward registers powers of attorney from</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sarah Barriffe - Millicent Lane - Francis James Flutter Steevens et al - William Falcolner <p>Davison, Newman & Co, accounts for Rose Hall, St Thomas in the Vale, include</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Edward's bills £350 + £250 + £250 - Le Blanc & Co, account for drawing power of attorney in favour of Edward for Rose Hall <p>Edward one of the men named in connection with repairs to road through Rio Cobre gorge, and 2 roads in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>List of Grand Court causes – McIntosh versus Clouston</p> <p>Edward one of the justices at a special slave court in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Catechetical Instruction to slaves on 28 properties in St Thomas in the Vale – Edward mentioned in connection with 9 properties</p> <p>Edward buys 60 gallons rum from Hog Hole</p> |

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| | <p>Edward owes £18 to Mount Concord for hire of a slave lad</p> <p>Edward buys 912 lbs sugar from Mount Olive</p> <p>Edward one of the men named in connection with repairs to road through Rio Cobre gorge</p> |
| 1831 | <p>Mount Olive and Crescent pen crop account for 1830 sworn by Edward, attorney</p> <p>Giving-In – St Thomas in the Vale – Edward – Retirement – 19 slaves, 3 Stock</p> <p>Grand Court – Edward versus David Hughes</p> <p>Grand Court – Edward versus Executors of James Reid, deceased – Judgement – payment to Edward (for hire of his slaves in St Thomas in the East and Orkneys)</p> <p>Davison, Newman & Co, accounts for Rose Hall, St Thomas in the Vale, include - Edward's bill £400</p> <p>Edward first named on a committee appointed at a meeting in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Conveyance to Edward of 72 acres and 1 rood in St Thomas in the Vale (Scholars Cot)</p> <p>Edward as attorney for Enfield petitions House of Assembly – duty on imported Norway deals overcharged – refunded</p> <p>Edward (as attorney to James Berney Bourdieu) buys slaves</p> |
| 1831/32 | <p>Edward registers power of attorney from James McCook et al</p> |
| 1832 | <p>Edward registers power of attorney from - Major General William Nedham et al (Aeneas Barkly) - Henry W Masterson</p> <p>Eliza buys 1 slave in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Edward (attorney to James Berney Bourdier) conveys slaves to James Berney Bourdieu and William Bourdieu</p> <p>Giving-In – St Thomas in the Vale – Edward, Retirement, 15 slaves</p> <p>William Thaw dies, Edward an executor</p> <p>Grand Court – Edward versus James Reid deceased – if money due to Edward for hire of his slaves and land (Orkneys) not paid, James Reid's slaves to be sold under writ of Venditioni Exponas and payment to Edward out of proceeds</p> <p>Edward as attorney for Rose Hall writes 2 letters to Davison, Newman & Co</p> <p>6th and last Triennial Returns of Slaves</p> <p>Eliza as owner registers 1 slave in St Thomas in the Vale – return sworn by Eliza before Edward</p> <p>Edward as owner registers 1 slave in St Thomas in the East , and 16 slaves in St Thomas in the Vale</p> |

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| | <p>Edward as an attorney registers slaves</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - for Francis James Flutter Steevens in St Thomas in the Vale (Harkers Hall) and in St Catherine (Lime Tree Garden pen) - for Richard Lee, James Esdaile and William Thwytes in St Thomas in the Vale (Rose Hall) - for James Berney Bourdieu, executor and trustee of John (Berney) Bourdieu in St Thomas in the Vale (Hog Hole) - for William Herve slaves in St Thomas in the Vale (Enfield) - for Sir John Gordon slaves in St Thomas in the Vale (Golden River) - for heirs and devisees of James Seton Lane in St Thomas in the Vale (Coolshade) - for Sarah Barriffie slaves in St Thomas in the Vale (Pleasant Farm and Ivy pens) <p>Edward as an executor registers slaves</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - with Henry Lowndes for the late John Gray in St Thomas in the Vale - for the late William Thaw in St Thomas in the Vale <p>Edward as receiver for Mount Concord registers slaves in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>George Cuthbert and George William Hamilton as attorneys to the 2nd Earl of Harewood register slaves in St Thomas in the Vale (Williamsfield) – among the slaves Bessy and her family, including Eliza's son William – return sworn by Edward</p> <p>Edward's father, Rev William Clouston dies in Orkney, Scotland</p> <p>Edward enters a caveat on the estate of James Reid, deceased</p> <p>St Thomas in the East Deputy Marshall's sale of 44 slaves, under a writ of Venditioni Exponas, Edward versus James Reid, deceased – Edward buys 6 of the slaves</p> <p>Edward sells 1 slave in St Thomas in the East (last of the 8 slaves he first registered in St Thomas in the East in 1817)</p> <p>Jamaica Royal Gazette announces death of Rev William Clouston, father of Edward of St Thomas in the Vale.</p> <p>Edward first named on a committee appointed at a meeting in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Edward heads a subscription list for a Kirk in St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Edward as attorney for Rose Hall, writes a 3rd letter to Davison, Newman & Co</p> <p>Catechetical Instruction to slaves on 29 properties in St Thomas in the Vale includes 5 properties represented solely or in part by Edward</p> <p>Edward given 1259 lbs sugar from Enfield in exchange for sundries</p> |
| 1832/33 | Edward registers power of attorney from John Blackburn |
| 1833 | <p>Colin Mckenzie and Edward, as attorneys to Major General William Nedham and Aeneas Barkly, convey a slave belonging to Mount Olive to Alexander Gilzean (acting as a middleman) – Alexander Gilzean conveys the slave to Edward</p> <p>Edward as attorney for Rose Hall writes to Davison, Newman & Co</p> <p>Edward elected a Churchwarden for St Thomas in the Vale</p> |

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| | <p>Eliza sells her one slave</p> <p>Edward as attorney for Rose Hall writes a 2nd letter to Davison, Newman & Co</p> <p>Edward gives notice of his intention of leaving Jamaica</p> <p>Edward commits 2 slaves to St Thomas in the Vale workhouse</p> <p>Edward conveys 4 of his slaves to Eliza</p> <p>Edward as attorney for Rose Hall writes a 3rd letter to Davison, Newman & Co</p> <p>Edward commits another slave to St Thomas in the Vale workhouse</p> <p>Edward as attorney for Rose Hall writes a 4th letter to Davison, Newman & Co</p> <p>Edward sails from Port Royal for New York</p> <p>Henry Lowndes et al (William Holloway Clarke) register 4 powers of attorney from Edward</p> <p>Williamsfield crop account for 1833 includes – William Burrowes (Eliza's son) for taxes by the Collecting Constable, £60.</p> <p>Eliza buys William Burrowes at the St Thomas in the Vale Collecting Constable's sale for £60</p> <p>Conveyance by Edward's attorneys of 10 acres (Orkneys) in St Thomas in the East</p> |
| 1834 | <p>Edward's crop account for 1833 sworn by William Holloway Clarke, attorney</p> <p>Conveyance in Orkney, Scotland, to Edward, late of Jamaica, of property, including Kingshouse, inherited by Edward from his father Rev William Clouston</p> <p>Edward lends money to his cousin Edward Clouston (of Smoogro)</p> <p>Claims for Compensation following Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies</p> <p>St Thomas in the Vale – Valuators' Returns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Claim No. 25 – Eliza, Scholar's Cot, 1 slave (her son William) – value £45 sterling - Claim No. 298 – Edward, Scholar's Cot, 21 slaves – value £1,065 sterling <p>St Thomas in the Vale – Claims</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Claim No. 25 – Eliza – Scholar's Cot, 1 slave (her son William) – sworn by Eliza - Claim No. 298 – Edward – Scholar's Cot, 21 slaves – sworn by Edward's attorney William Holloway Clarke <p>Conveyance by Edward's attorneys of 70 acres, part of Retirement in St Thomas in the Vale</p> |
| 1834/35 | Henry Lowndes registers a power of attorney to him and Edward from Henry E Burnett |
| 1835 | <p>Edward's crop account for 1834 sworn by John Maghee</p> <p>Edward of Orkney, Scotland, late of Jamaica, makes Counter Claim in respect of certain slaves domiciled on Coolshade, St Thomas in the Vale</p> |

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| | <p>Edward, Orkney, late of Jamaica, now going to the Continent, makes counter claim in respect of certain slaves domiciled on Richmond Hill, St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Money awarded for Slavery Compensation – St Thomas in the Vale</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Claim No. 298 – Edward – 21 slaves – £448 3s 5d – Interest £16 16s 5d – Total £464 19s 10d – collected in London by Edward - Claim No. 25 – Eliza – 1 slave (her son William) – £20 11s 5d – Interest 12s 11d – Total £21 4s 4d – collected in London in 1836 by Andrew Colvile |
| 1836 | <p>Scholar's Cot, Edward's crop account for 1835 sworn by William Holloway Clark, attorney</p> <p>Edward in London withdraws his Counter Claim in respect of certain slaves domiciled on Coolshade, St Thomas in the Vale</p> <p>Eliza of Scholar's Cot dies and is buried in Harewood Chapel Yard</p> <p>Edward of 31 Keppel Street, Bloomsbury, London a subscriber to the Kent Railway Company</p> <p>Edward of Edinburgh, one of the people who pays for a reprint of an 18th century book</p> <p>One of Edward's apprentices (former slaves) buys the remaining time of his Apprenticeship</p> |
| 1837 | <p>Edward ? owner of shares in the London and Birmingham Railway Company</p> <p>Edward's crop account for 1836 sworn by William Holloway Clarke, attorney</p> |
| 1838 | <p>Edward's crop account for 1837 sworn by Henry Lowndes, attorney</p> <p>Edward of 27 Howe Street, Edinburgh New Town, marries Julia Gordon McLaren, nee Thin at 4 Forth Street, Edinburgh New Town</p> <p>Edward and Eliza's son Henry apprenticed in London to George Traill, to learn the art, trade or business of mariner or seaman – indenture signed by Henry, George Traill, and Edward</p> |
| 1841 | <p>Edward, his wife Julia, and his and Eliza's daughter Isabella in London at Alfred Street, Bloomsbury on the night of the 1841 census</p> |
| 1843-45 | <p>Edward living at 33 Scotland Street, Edinburgh New Town</p> |
| 1845 | <p>Henry's Seaman's Register Ticket issued at London</p> <p>Edward of 33 Scotland Street, Edinburgh New Town, owner of shares in the Newcastle and Berwick Railway Company</p> <p>Edward of Edinburgh a subscriber to Testimonial to George Hudson</p> |
| 1845-47 | <p>Edward living at 7 Smith's Place, Leith Walk, Edinburgh</p> |
| 1848 | <p>Edward of Smith's Place, Leith Walk, Edinburgh is given a loan secured on part of his Orkney property</p> <p>Henry receives his Master's Certificate at Leith, port of Edinburgh</p> <p>Edward of Smith's Place, Leith Walk, given another loan secured on his Orkney property</p> |

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| 1849 | <p>Edward and Eliza's daughter Isabella living at 7 Smith's Place, Leith Walk, marries Robert Thin, a Liverpool merchant (her step mother Julia's brother), at Smith's Place, Leith Walk, Edinburgh</p> <p>Edward of 7 Smith's Place, Leith Walk, Edinburgh member of Edinburgh Select Subscription Library</p> <p>Edward secures a life annuity on his Orkney property for his wife Julia, lately living at Smith's Place, Leith Walk, now at Mansfield Place, Edinburgh New Town</p> |
| 1849/50 | Henry settles in Nelson, New Zealand |
| 1851 | Edward and Julia in England with Robert Thin and Isabella at their house in Exmouth Street, Birkenhead on the night of the 1851 census |
| 1852 | Edward at a meeting in Liverpool |
| 1853 | Henry marries Mary Maud Rodgers at Nelson, New Zealand |
| 1855 | Edward of Birkenhead, proprietor in Orkney of three farms, Kingshouse, Scuan and Quoy, parish of Harray, West Mainland – and proprietor of house and cellar in Smith's Place, Leith Walk, Edinburgh |
| 1857 | Edward living at Upper Woodlands, Tranmere, Birkenhead |
| 1858 | Edward of Birkenhead secures a loan on Kingshouse, parish of Harray, West Mainland, Orkney |
| 1861 | Edward and Julia living at Seymour Street, Tranmere, Birkenhead on the night of the 1861 census |
| 1862 | Isabella's husband Robert Thin dies aged 41 in Birkenhead |
| 1864 | Edward living at Heath Villa, Seymour Street, Tranmere, Birkenhead |
| 1865 | Edward of Birkenhead, proprietor of three farms in Orkney, Kingshouse, Scuan and Quoy of Hill, parish of Harray, West Mainland – and proprietor of 7 Smith's Place, Leith Walk, Edinburgh |
| 1866 | Edward of Heathville (? Heath Villa), Seymour Street, Tranmere, Birkenhead, landed proprietor, dies of natural decay aged 78 – buried in (St Andrew's churchyard) Bebington |
| 1867 | Edward's widow Julia granted letters of administration |
| 1870 | Julia of Birkenhead repays part of the loan secured on Kingshouse |
| 1871 | Julia of Edinburgh sells Kingshouse |
| 1884 | Isabella dies aged 56 in Birkenhead |
| 1889 | Julia dies aged 70 in Birkenhead |
| 1891 | Henry's wife Mary dies aged 57 in Nelson, New Zealand |
| 1898 | Henry dies aged 75 in Nelson |

28. ENDNOTE

After Merv and Robin Clouston generously gave me so much information in 2001, and after I found Eliza in January 2002, I was hooked on finding out more about Edward and Eliza. I wanted to try to build a picture of them in the context of their times, and to try to see their world through the eyes of their contemporaries.

In the early years, with few scanned records online, I had the fun of delving in UK libraries and discovering bit by bit Edward and Eliza's story. For me those early years and later searching in Jamaica libraries were thrilling – and seeing places where Edward and Eliza lived and worked was the icing on the cake.

Our visits to Jamaica left my husband Christopher and me with unforgettable memories of the warmth and kindness of the island. Among many people in Jamaica I particularly wish to thank:

Rev Claudette Johnson, former priest in charge of St Saviour's at Harewood and four other churches, and her husband Lenward Johnson.

Robert Thompson, Bishop of Kingston, and his wife Charmaine Thompson.

John Aarons, former Government Archivist and Archivist of the University of the West Indies, Honorary Archivist of the Jamaica Diocese, and his wife Elsie Aarons.

Trevor Hope and his wife Elizabeth Thomas-Hope, Emeritus Professor at the University of the West Indies.

All of them went out of their way, giving up their time, to make our visits special.

I also particularly wish to thank:

Thomas Philbrick, Emeritus Professor of English at Pittsburgh University. In 2007 he suggested I wrote a story of discovery. I first wrote to Thomas in 2003 after reading his Introduction to Michael Scott's *Tom Cringle's Log* in the 1999 'Heart of Oak' paperback edition. He gave me information about sources for Michael Scott, and very kindly asked me to keep in touch. I am especially grateful to Tom for giving me the confidence to start writing and for his encouragement to continue. He read drafts I wrote in 2007, 2008 and 2009, and drafts I had completed by summer 2016.

And:

Alan Macfarlane, Emeritus Professor of Anthropological Science at King's College, Cambridge, his late mother Iris Macfarlane, and his wife Sarah Harrison. In 2003 I sent an email to Alan after seeing on his website that his ancestor John James Vidal owned Berkshire Hall in St Thomas in the Vale. Alan sent my email on to Iris and they very kindly invited me to meet them. During my visit they lent me two manuscript books that had belonged to their ancestor Herbert Jarrett James of Spanish Town, both of which gave me valuable insights into life in Jamaica in the early 19th century. In 2009 I heard from Sarah that she was going through Alan's Jamaica family materials, and since then we have been sharing information about our research. In summer 2016 Alan and Sarah very helpfully set me a deadline for finishing Edward and Eliza's story.

From start to finish Christopher has been a great support. He lived the story of Edward and Eliza as I went along, read all my drafts, and made many good suggestions.