

JAMAICA GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Introduction

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Issue Date: 19/1/2010

Footnotes removed before web save.

This file contains much miscellaneous information of relevance to the Maitland and related families and properties

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[Black River](#), Giddy Hall and Mount Charles area map extract.

References & Sources:

DPNJ:

Dictionary of Place-Names in Jamaica (extracts) Inez Knibb Sibley
(Institute of Jamaica 1978).

HBJ----: Handbook of Jamaica yyyy or Jamaica Almanack yyyy.

JR1998: Jackie Ranston research.

AMV1998: Visit by A Maitland, 4/1998. (extended by visit 4/02)

JS: "Jamaica Surveyed" by BW Higman.

Map1804: 1804 Map of Jamaica Properties

LDS: Mormon Parish Records etc.

VLO: Vere Langford Oliver, 1910, Caribbeanea.

"Thomas Thistlewood in Jamaica, 1750-86", by Douglas Hall, University of West Indies Press (ISBN 976-640-066-0) - a graphic description of the life of a planter in the period, from his diaries.

BAH: Brett Ashmeade-Hawkins.

For more general information, try:

[Jamaican family information](#)

2. Jamaica Archives and Registrar General Research Done & to Do

January 2008:

Friday 25th & Monday 28th

0900-1630 M-T, 0900-1530 F

Archives:

Easy to find from Ocho Rios - keep going into town, and keeping slightly left they are behind the colonnaded building in the Emancipation Square, with a bit of begging can park outside archives. Much like a small English record office, but less mechanised! Nice helpful staff.

Microfilm records can be printed, originals photographed at small cost. No charge for use of facilities.

1B/11/3/--

Main records of interest are the estate inventories done at death: they were almost always done when the deceased had any personal property - they do not list any real estate.

The inventories are indexed by name in year groups and start at about 1675 and run into the late 19thC. The inventories themselves are partly on film and part still original. They contain details of the personal estate left by the deceased including slaves, usually named and valued.

the indices for some families were studied.

the indices for our families were studied:

Maitland 1675-1818 fully and the relevant known death periods after that range.

Wright 1675-1810.

Sinclair 1675-1806

Burton 1675-1806

Booth 1675-1777

Roderick Rose not found.

Penfold not yet checked.

Hyem Cohen inventory also copied for interest.

Crop Accounts (1B/11/4/--)

These accounts were filed intermittently for each property and showed their sales to outsiders in varying degrees of detail. They stretch from mid 18thC to late 19thC. They are indexed by property name. They have varying degrees of detail. It appears that pens did not file many returns, particularly early on.

Index for Giddy Hall checked for period 1786-1810. There are more later on. There seemed no mention in this period of Mitcham and the Silver Grove listed was a sugar estate in Trelawney. Andrew Wright's properties would be worth a look, and may list Mitcham and Silver Grove with his properties.

Woodstock in Westmoreland would also be worth looking, but was mentioned in John Maitland's will of 1853.

Land Grants:

These are in two parts, the patent granting the land to an individual and the plat which contains a map. Sometimes the plat is filed with the patent, but more often they are filed in a separate series. They are listed by grantee name and date. There are indices giving the breakdown by parish. Not all grants were recorded as plats and not all as letters patent! Check both!

A Patent for Nicholas Delaroche was found near Santa Cruz and several for Lieut William Sinclair. None found for Maitlands. I only looked at St Elizabeth. This series could bear another look.

The Archives also have sets of the Gleaner and other collections including the Bisco set of photographs, including one of Kellits.

To Be Done 1/2/08:

Also Letters testamentary - not seen

and letters of Administration - not seen.

Giddy Hall Crop Accounts

Andrew Wright property CA's

Woodstock CA's.

Penfold 1804 Scott's Cove

Wright 1763 Scott's Cove, inland slightly, near Mt Pleasant.

Tuesday 29th and Wednesday 30th

Registrar General:

Researcher Dianne T Golding Frankson

diannefrankson@yahoo.com

Dan Livesay researching assimilation of mixed race families into England 1750-1850.

livesayd@umich.edu

0800-1700

Off the roundabout on the Kingston road out of Spanish Town, about 200 yds towards Kingston on the left, the old road not the new!

Not at all like the Archives. 4 desks in the middle of an open plan office. No photographs of documents allowed, only copies on an A3 copier. Hourly charge of \$J600, payable in advance; best thing to do is bite the bullet and pay for the day at the beginning. Payment by credit card at the cash desk in the public area (full of Jamaicans registering births etc, hence not a quick process).

Cheap Jamaican lunch available in the cafeteria - you won't starve.

This office holds wills, deeds and parish record copies.

Wills are indexed by name in year groups, referring to the volume and folio number. Ask for the index books, list the possibilities and request the originals, which appear quickly. Note that where the wills have been transcribed from older copies that the folio reference in the index book is incorrect. Most volumes of wills have an index in the front, which seems to give the correct folio, sometimes with a cross reference to the old number.

Index book 1 goes from 1663 to 1814. A few volumes are not available due to deterioration. Volume 1 & 2 of wills have been transcribed into 1 volume in the 19thC and are poorly indexed and out of order.

What is different between old series and supreme court?

Maitland: All checked from 1675-1810 and also later relevant to us.

Wrights: relevant listed 1675-1810. Andrew Wright's PRO will repeated.

Sinclair: a quick look, found Priscilla.

Burton: Looked for relevant ones (Nicholas & Judith, not found)

Penfold: none found for 1750-1810.

Deeds:

These vary from conveyances of land to debt settlement through slave sales. Usually quite simple when the beginning and end is taken out. The parties are described as gent or mariner etc and area of residence.

Deeds listed by Grantor and Grantee by letter, book number and name. Gives both parties and later on the type of document. There are thousands! Index books only cover 5 year periods. This area needs more study, and would probably reveal more.

Maitlands: Grantee indices for 1777-1818

Wright: Grantee indices for 1777-1809 for relevant ones only - too many otherwise. Grantor for 1803-9 to see if Rebecca W's property transfer was listed - not! Andrew Wright's executors reported a couple of times, and might be worth a look with more time. Similarly Hyem Cohen, whose estate was very big and complicated.

Sinclair: 1777-1785 not much found.

Old Series of interest to us.

Further Research required (3/2008):

Manumission of Patty
Inventory & will of Patty Penford abt 1795 - will found, no inventory
Roderick Rose
The Cove - when was it sold?
Gazettes sailings - RDW etc to England bef 1805.
Black River town maps.
Campbell properties.
Privilege Bill - done at PRO.
Wright Deeds - property of Patty to RDW or FM.
Single Rock

Andrew Wright deeds.
Isabella & Ruth Read, daus of Ruth Sinclair.
Ramsgate (re Andrew Wright Inventory)
Patents & Plats other Parishes.
Francis Wright wills 1760-ish.
Stretton Hall, Vere
Burton Wills
Jamaica Gazette in the Archives.
Bernuda Castle (John Hayle Sinclair, 1766)
Top Hill, Vere Carpenter's Mountains (John & Priscilla Sinclair).
Red Hills, St Johns (Sinclair) now St Andrew, NW side of Kingston.
Dodson's pen, St Catherine (Priscilla Sinclair)
John Maitland deeds.
Andrew Wright Deeds
John & Priscilla Sinclair marriage.
Nicholas Burton - other parishes.
Rebecca Wright burial 1805.

April 2009:

A record of the search results is on the JAM Doc Records.XLS file, and inventory transcriptions on a separate XL file.
Spent 4 days in the RGD with an exhaustive search of all likely names in the Will Index Vol 1 (up to 1816). Many useful wills found. Any which looked to be relevant were inspected.
The Grantee Indexes were searched, and few entries were followed up with good results. Some Grantor indices were checked, and some also checked. Much more work required here. The earliest 4 volumes of indices have not been looked at. A table of the names & dates searched on JAM Doc Records.

DEEDS - Grantee							May 09	
		Maitland	Sinclair	Burton	Penford	Wright	Hayle	Others

Index 1								
Index 2								
Index 3								
Index 4	1746-56	x	x	Relevant	x	x	Relevant	
Index 5	1756-67	x	x	all ex Arundell	x	Relevant		
Index 6	1768-77	x			x			
Index 7	1777-85	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Index 8	1786-91	x	x	x	x	Relevant	x	
Index 9	1791-97	x	x	x	x	Relevant		
Index 10	1796-1800	x				Relevant		
Index 11		x				Relevant		
Index 12	-1818	x				Relevant		

DEEDS GRANTOR

		Maitland	Sinclair	Burton	Penford	Wright	Hayle
Index 1							
Index 2							
Index 3							
Index 4	1747-57	x	x	x	x	x	x
Index 5							
Index 6							
Index 7	1779-85	x	x	x	x	x	
Index 8	1786-91						
Index 9	1791-97						
Index 10	1796-1800	x	x	x	x	x	
Index 11							
Index 12	1803-09	x				Relevant	

2 days were spent in the Archives. A number of inventories were copied to coincide with some of the wills found. Land grants for the southern and western parishes were searched for family names and a number copied. A little work was carried out on Crop Accounts, but more could be done, but it begins to seem that they do not reveal much about the type of properties our family occupied. No mention has been found of the Cove in the crop accounts: Cussins cove was in Hannover.

To Do Next:

Note:
PC's from Archives films better done in 2 sheets - difficult to read if on one sheet.

Crop Accounts:

Tophill is listed in the early volumes many times, but was a sugar estate (Lewis Vassall in 1741, St Elizabeth) May be to look further to see is it is a Hayle property later.

A Tophill Pen appears later, but this one was in St Ann.

Silver Grove were listed was a Plantation or Estate, so not ours.

Mitcham is listed, some times with Silver Grove. None have been looked at yet.

Goshen & Longhill Pen is listed, and may be of interest for the Sherman family.

Giddy Hall is listed intermittently, and should be copied for interest.

Other names tried and drew blanks: Smoakey Hole, Dixons, Red Hills, Single Rock & Culloden.

A Shickles Pen appears in 1805, and Shickles, John Hayle on Vol 16/144.

Other properties to research - try Letters Patent Indexes:

Smoakey Hole (re JH will 1717)

Yarmouth, Vere (" ") Near West Harbour?

Dixons (JS 1740)

Rumate? (JS 1740)

Top Hill (Sinclair)

Woodstock Crop Records.

Andrew Wright Plat 1684: Plat: 1B/11/2/34.

Search Letters Patent Indices for family names,
esp Andrew Wright 1684, Vere.

Recopy Cove Pen Plat: Deeds 339/116

Will of 1708 12/73 Elizabeth Wright

Visit National Library for property information.

3. MAITLAND JAMAICA PROPERTY

Introduction

The prime areas interest for Maitland research in Jamaica are the "pens" (cattle estates) of Giddy Hall, Mitchum and Silver Grove, all in or near St Elizabeth Parish in the South West of the Island. The next property to Giddy Hall, Mount Charles was also owned by Andrew Maitland, son of Francis (1). A property just in Westmoreland from St Elizabeth called The Cove was owned by Patty Penford. Its boundary started on the eastern edge of Scott's Cove.

Giddy Hall was the principal property, and, from the remains visible, was probably the most substantial; most of the children were baptised there. It was bought by Francis Maitland in 1809 from the Delaroche family (or their creditors!). In 1840, Giddy Hall was shown as 2000 acres. It was shown as 1150 in 1845, but John Maitland at that date was the owner of 2 other properties, Kensington (300 acres, on the way to Montego Bay) and Rosehill (130 acres, adjoining Giddy Hall): this probably was a more specific description of the 1840 2000 acres. Later, the Cooper family had, in addition to Giddy Hall, Mount Lebanon, adjoining Giddy Hall, land on Forrest Mountain, and property called Middlesex pen a mile or two north of Giddy Hall. When Giddy Hall was owned by the Delaroche family at the end of the 18thC, it was in 4 parcels, totalling 1900 acres. It was said that the Maitlands owned most of the property between Lacovia and Black River.

Mitchum and Silver Grove belonged to Ann Maitland's father Andrew Wright. They were at one stage joint owned by Francis and his brother-in-law, George Roberts. It would appear that at some stage the ownership was split with Mitcham Pen going to Francis' daughter Emma who married Samuel Sherman and Silver Grove going to the Roberts family.

The area was visited by A Maitland in April 1998, and Giddy Hall, Mount Charles and Mitcham greathouses found. Black River was also visited. Descriptions of the properties are given below. Silver Grove was visited on a later trip in 2002.

Copies of the original aerial survey photograph taken in 1954 have been obtained from the UK Ordnance Survey and reveal a lot of detail of the sites: both Mitcham and Giddy Hall were still standing then. Several photographs of Giddy Hall and Mount Charles taken in 1899 have been found in Peter Rushbrooke's collection.

BLACK RIVER & SURROUNDS

AMV1998:

Giddy Hall and Mount Charles are about 1100 ft amsl on the crest of a limestone ridge above Middle Quarters at the Northwest corner the Black River lower flood plain, morass and estuary. The vegetation was prolific, but free water was a problem: water for the houses appeared to be rainwater fed. The main local centre is Black River, a small port town which probably looks much the same now as it did 150 years ago. In the early 19thC, it was an important town and port. It would have been about 1-2 hours drive by trap. The present church in the middle of town was in good condition and a beautiful example of a late Georgian church with many monuments to local dignitaries by smart London masons. In the churchyard was a gravestone for a Rebecca Wright who died 1805 aged (according to MI of Jamaica) 56. The stone was more weathered than when the MI survey was conducted.

It seems very likely that this stone was that of Rebecca Dunston Wright, born 1749, the assumed mother of Francis Maitland. She was born free, and if she had a gravestone was a person of some consequence and resources.

At least two Maitlands live locally, one at Hodges Land, near Giddy Hall and another who had recently returned to Black River and was a member of the church there.

GIDDY HALL

Giddy Hall, St Elizabeth Parish is about 10 miles NNW of Black River, on the high ground above the river flood plane.

It appears that the Pen was owned by the Delaroche family from probably about 1750 until at least 1794. At Dec 2006, the ownership from then to the Maitland family is unknown. It was owned by Francis Maitland from at the latest 1811, and probably from 1809. The ownership before then is unknown, but it is interesting to note that Charlotte Bedford (Hill) Tomlinson, Dr. Andrew Wright Maitland's mother-in-law was born at Giddy Hall. The Maitland family owned it until the death of John Maitland in 1853, when it seemed to have passed to his wife, who then remarried John Myers Cooper. On her death, it passed to the Cooper family. Indications in John's will are that he bought his brothers out of Giddy Hall.

Sir Francis Cooke, Francis Bacon's grandfather was born at Giddy Hall, Essex about 1500. Any connection???

See end of this paper for the Delaroche Family.

Giddy Hall Almanacks etc

1804:- seems to be Roaches. (probably Delaroché)
1811-26:- Francis Maitland.
1833:- Ann Maitland
1838:- Ann Maitland, decd.
1840:- Andrew Wright, decd.
1845:- Maitland J. - also Kensington & Rosehill.
1891:- Cooper J & Cooper WS (Directory)

Kensington Almanacs:

Not found on maps.

1833:- William Nembhard.
1838-40:- Nembhard, Eliza P.
1845:- Maitland J.

AM Visits 1998 & 02:

Giddy Hall settlement consists of a church (late 19thC) and a post office and little else. The postmistress was helpful, but having only been there 3 months not very knowledgeable. After consultation with a man in the back, we established the general location of Giddy Hall Greathouse. (only later did we find that it was marked on the old 1:100000 map).

We drove in the general direction of the house: about 1/2 mile beyond the post office, to take a right fork (the left fork goes to Mount Charles) and on a further 1/2 mile and stopped to ask a man in a field who offered to direct us. This he did and led us to a mound of undergrowth on the right of the road, below a small house. He attacked the mound with his machete and revealed two graves, one of John Myers Cooper and the other of Augusta Spence Cooper (the widow of John Maitland). He told us of some other Europeans who came about 4 years ago who searched for 2 days to find these - we were lucky.

Augusta Spence Cooper, wife of John Myers Cooper, who died at Bloomsbury, 13 January 1858, aged 33.

John Myers Cooper, died 8 December 1875 in his 61st year: "For 30 years and upward he took a prominent part in the public affairs of the Parish of St Elizabeth. He was a man of large sympathy of great generosity and liberality and his charities though unostentatious were extensive and widely distributed. His departure is mourned by many. He contemplated the creation of a church and schoolroom on the farm pen but dying soon after work was commenced it was left to his successors to carry out."

Giddy Hall was sold to the Bauxite companies after the war by the last Cooper, Douglas, who was childless: presumably he was the son of John Cooper who owned the pen in 1915.

The Greathouse site was about 200 yard along the road from the burial ground, on the left on rising ground. We spent some time examining the site: there were extensive stone walled pens, which were difficult to walk over thoroughly due to the undergrowth. The site of the Greathouse was marked by the remains of the main entrance stairway, but little else remains standing. The stairway seemed to be unusually at the corner of the house and had evidence of an arch springing from one side, indicating an arched lower front to the lower part of the house. Some fragments of cast iron railings, probably from the entrance stair, were found: additionally and very

unusually, we found a fragment of what appeared to be an East-Anglian pan-tile. The front of the house seemed to have been about 80ft long and to have faced over the valley containing the Black River Estuary - the view was spectacular.

To the East of the house were the remains of Barbeques for pimento drying and on the valley side of the house were the remains of what might have been gardens.

An [Air Photo](#) of the site in 1952.

The rear view in 1899, [see.](#)

The front view in 1899, [see.](#)

Visit 4/2002:

N18°06.09' W77°52.73' 1300'amsl

The site was much as before, but more overgrown. Investigated the extensive paved Barbeque area which fed by a system of stone gulleys, the big water tank to the SE of the position of the house. The Barbeques are arranged in 3 terraces, with about 18" fall between each. Water supply must be a major problem for stock on this site. The tank still held water, although only what fell into it, the feed gulleys having fallen into disrepair.

Most of the sites seen in this area had barbeques which were usually dual purpose, being used for Pimento drying (we were told elsewhere that the crop was taken in when moisture threatened), but also often were used to catch rainwater.

Very little remains of the house seen on the aerial survey photograph, but it is just possible to distinguish the original outline and see enlarged piles of rubble where the steps seen on the 1899 photographs would have been. The building must have been about 16x17 metres. Curiously, a single floor support pillar remains in place within the perimeter of the building. The kitchen visible on the survey photograph still stands, although much damaged. It seemed small for the site, but looked to be 3 bay, open fronted, with a hearth remaining.

The regularly spaced objects to the SE of the house seen on the survey appear to be the remains of an arcade of arches. They are substantial, with the one nearest to the house with a return on it as though it was part of a flight of steps. It is possible this might have been an aqueduct, but where would a sufficient quantity of water have come from? It seems to me that this is the remains of an earlier house. It was by these ruins that parts of an early cast iron railings were found on the previous visit. A coping stone rests on the ground with the stump of a balustrade inset with lead.

The 1899 photograph shows a late 18thC house. There are references (Thomas Thistlewood's diary) of a severe hurricane 3 October 1780. Almost all the buildings in Westmoreland were destroyed in this event, and a considerable amount of damage in St Elizabeth: Giddy Hall's exposed position facing the worst of the Southerly and Southeasterly winds described would have made it particularly susceptible to damage in this storm.

Perhaps the original house was destroyed in this storm and the later house built on a slightly different site, maybe using the material from the old one (see piece on the 1780 Hurricane later in this paper). There is mention in the Cooper history of a separate billiards room, but these remains seem too substantial for such a place.

DPNJ: (Mount Charles extract) ...It is interesting to note that Andrew Maitland in the 19th Century also owned Giddy Hall, which was the estate adjoining Mount Charles...

Giddy Hall: (Ref Dictionary of Place Names - Jamaica)

"... was first known, some claim, as Gideon Hall and took the name of the first owner. When it became known as Giddy Hall is uncertain, but for many years it was owned by the Cooper family,

who were English settlers."

1804: Giddy Hall seems to be "Roaches" Map1804
Myers shown 1/2 mile west of Giddy Hall village.
Wrights also shown East of Lacovia.

1815: Francis Maitland: Giddy Hall & Mitcham 197/456
1824: 68 slaves and 320 stock, owner Frances Maitland. HBJ1824
1826: 72 slaves and 231 stock, owner Frances Maitland. HBJ1826
1840: 2000 acres, owner Andrew Maitland dcr. HBJ1840
1845: 1150 acres,)
300 acres, Kensington,)-- owner J Maitland. HBJ1846
130 acres, Rosehill.)

1910: Giddy Hall: W.S. Cooper
1915: Giddy Hall - Jno Cooper resident
629.5 acres of grass & pasture
538.5 acres of "other"
291 cattle. HBJ1915

Crop Accounts - Giddy Hall

CROP ACCOUNTS: Giddy Hall, ref 1B/11/4/62, f.10. 1824. JR1998
Giddy Hall Pen, St Elizabeth. An account of all the rents, profits, produce and proceeds of Giddy Hall Pen late the property of Francis Maitland, Esq, deceased and now belonging to Mrs Ann Maitland and in the possession of John and John Salmon, Esqs., as attorneys from the 1st day of June 1824 to the 31 December 1824.

August 27. Geo. Gordon 12 young steers at £20	£240
August 31. ditto 4 mules at £40	£160
September, Robert Milne 6 head of cattle	£88
November. Mr Walker 12 steers at £20	£240
do Prospect Pen 2 asses	£10
do Richard Lloyd 1 telescope	£10
do Geo Gordon. 3 days cart hire	£6

	£754

Personally appeared before me Richard Lloyd overseer on Giddy Hall Pen and made oath that the above is a just and true account.
Signed Edward Coke, 10 March 1825.

CROP ACCOUNTS: ref 1B/11/4/62, f.10. JR1998
An account of all the rents, profits, produce and proceeds of Giddy Hall Pen in the parish of St Elizabeth, the property Mrs Ann Maitland from 31 December 1824 to 31 December 1825.

1825	Bags of Pimento
April 6 shipped on Thetis	81
July 23 shipped on Piggot	120
August 3 shipped on Black River	16
August 3 shipped on Marquis Angelsea	40

	257

Jany: G.G. stone 3 days cart hire	£6
Feby: P.A. Scarlett 6 heifers at	£16
March W.S. Grignon 14 steers at £20	£280
Barton Isles butchers 2 cows, 2 spayed cows	£69
P. Milne 1 steer, 4 spayed cows 1 heifer	£78
C Farquhason 4 steers, 1 heifer, 1 old cow	£78
Richard Lloyd for a saddle £9 and 8 days cart hire	£25
J. Salmon 3 days cart hire	£6
New Savannah cartage, 11 tierces of coffee £11	
10 bushels of corn £5, 149 days of Negro labour	
at 2/6d - £18.12.6	£34.12.6
Nov: Wm Miller 21 steers at £20, 13 spayed heifers at £18	£654
Dec: John Wilson 11 head cattle	£132
W. Farquharson a mare, 1 cow	£13.6.8
do 140 days labour at 2/6d	£17.10.0
do 2 steers and 2 cows	£56

	£1570.9.2

Personally appeared before me Mr James McGregor overseer on Giddy Hall Pen and made oath that the above is a just and true account.

Signed J. McGrath, 7 February 1826.

1835, (ref 1B/11/4/76, f 233) John Maitland named overseer and owner not mentioned.

Slave Registrations:

1817: Francis Maitland: 77	FM & George Roberts: 51
1820: Francis Maitland: 78	FM & George Roberts: 43
1823: Francis Maitland: 77	FM & George Roberts: 43
1826: John Salmon as attorney to GH 74. Ann Maitland & GR:	39
1829: John Salmon as attorney to Ann Maitland @ GH Pen:	76
1832: Francis M & JS as attorney to Ann M @ GH Pen:	78
George Roberts & Ann Maitland as joint owners:	37

Those as joint owners with George Roberts were for Mitcham.

14 slaves baptized Giddy Hall, 12/4/1814.

1878 Directory, Giddy Hall, J. M. Cooper proprietor, Middle Quarters

1891 Directory, Giddy Hall, Middle Quarters: J Cooper & WS Cooper.

The Coopers at Giddy Hall

This is an extract of a "History of the Coopers of Edzell" by John Craig Cooper gives much information on the Coopers of Giddy Hall; a longer extract is to be found in ["Jamaica Maitland"](#). This history claims that John Myers Cooper was at Giddy Hall by 1845: this is not born out by the Jamaica Almanac of 1845. John Maitland died in London in 1853, his elder brother was by then at Mount Charles, as a doctor. His younger brother Francis, was by then dead and his widow remarried with children in London. The youngest brother, Septimus was married soon after this date in

London. It is thus a reasonable assumption that The Coopers acquired the Giddy Hall Pen and its associated other properties by marriage in 1855. The Cooper family (originally from Edzell in Scotland) acquired Giddy Hall Pen seemingly when John Myers Cooper snr married John Maitland's widow, Augusta (Spence) Maitland in 1855. They were there for 3 generations before loosing the estate through poor management in the 1920's. John Myers senior and junior developed the estate

..... an inventory of his (JMC snr) moveable assets of 22 March 1879. What follows is based on that inventory.

On the Fellowship Pen [ranch], Middlesex Pen, [reached by a road from Shaw's, see below] and the Giddy Hall Pen there were a total of 651 "horned stock," and thirty horses. Over half these animals were at the Giddy Hall home place. Also at Giddy Hall were thirty-three sheep, four carriages, buggies, Wains, wagons, drays, carts etc.

The contents of Shaw's House and Shaw's Store [between Middle Quarters and Lacovia] was valued at £822-7-2.

The debts owing him, bills receivable, amount due on mortgages, debentures, and cash in bank came to £9,713-3-6.

Among the household effects was a billiard table. (there is reference in the body of the text to a hip-roofed billiard house adjacent to the main house)

Personalty [i.e. moveable personal property] in addition to that listed, was valued at £12,000.

The total of his moveable assets was £27,606-3-8, in addition to the real estate, store, houses and other buildings. (£2.1M 2006)

This fortune was created in three decades of the mid 19th century, without the support of the developed world's infrastructure.

Although no will is available, his grandson Arnold Cooper says that John Myers Cooper Sr. left the Fellowship Pen to his son William, and the Giddy Hall Pen to John Jr. A river flowed through the Middlesex Pen and he left to each the land on one side of the river. In years of drought each could move his cattle to his own land with water.

When John Myers jnr died in 1920, Giddy Hall was still 1268 acres.

Middlesex is a mile or two north of Giddy Hall.

Here is John Junior's will:

I John Cooper of Giddy Hall ... leave to my sons John Molison Cooper and Douglas George Cooper, all my books, mechanical tools, surveying and mathematical and philosophical instruments to be divided by them. I leave to my beloved wife Joan Alexander Cooper to her absolute and unmolested control my Properties Giddy Hall and Mount Lebanon [between Giddy Hall and Hampstead] and two detached pieces of land situated on Forrest Mountain on the Giddy Hall boundary ... and my Properties of Dickinsons Middlesex and East Middlesex ... with the land there known as Mount Unity adjoining them, with all the live and dead stock [dead stock=hardware] on them severally to her absolute and unmolested use and control for her life time, and thereafter I give Giddy Hall and Mount Lebanon, and the said two pieces of land of Forrest Mountain together with all the live and dead stock then therein to my son ... John Molison Cooper.

To my son ... Douglas George Cooper I give my properties Dickinsons Middlesex and East Middlesex and the said piece of land of Mount Unity ... with all the live and dead stock then thereon. Both these bequests being subject to that my two daughters Catherine Elizabeth Cooper and Mary Helen Cooper are to be supported and maintained from the ... revenues from Giddy Hall and Mount Lebanon at the rate of Fifty pounds per annum to each, and from the ... revenues of Dickinsons Middlesex and East Middlesex and Mount Unity with the said stock, Thirty pounds to each.... Catherine ... and Mary ... shall have and enjoy domicile at Giddy Hall in the old House,

so long as they are content to dwell there and conduct themselves as loving sisters each to their brothers, and they shall likewise be entitled to the privilege of rearing on the properties ... such stock bona fides owned and belonging to them and excepting goats, in such reasonable and limited number as their brothers John and Douglas shall determine and afford.

I appoint my ... wife ... and sons ... as my executors, and also to be, together with my daughters ... residuary Legaties of this my last will and Testament.... this third day of October [1921]."

MITCHAM & SILVER GROVE

Probably at N18°04.6' W77°36.8' (ref Google Earth)

Mitcham & Silver Grove: 1200 acres belonging to Earl Balcarres 1763 (he was later Governor of Jamaica).

Mitcham and Silver Grove were separate properties, both owned by Andrew Wright in the late 18thC and early 19thC. Mitcham is on the lower ground to the north of the road from Mandeville to Lacovia near Gosham. Silver Grove was up the hill, and on the high ground: Mitcham is good flat alluvial ground, probably productive. Silver Grove would be much drier and less reliable. By 1824, they were operated by Francis Maitland and George Roberts (with about 43 slaves and 224 stock at Mitcham and 81 slaves and no stock at Silver Grove). Mitcham was a cattle pen, but Silver Grove seemed to carry no stock, it was probably Pimento or sugar. In 1832, Mitcham was operated by George Roberts and Ann Maitland as joint owners of the slaves. By 1840, Mitcham was owned by Samuel Sherman, the husband of Emma Maitland, and remained in their hands, it was 807 acres in 1840 and 843 in 1845. By 1840, Silver Grove was owned by George Roberts and was 1200 acres, and by his heirs in 1845, and was 1400 acres.

Published in Jamaica Gazette, 1794, the following advertisement:

Mitcham Pen, 13/11/1793:

Runaway slave from the subscriber about the latter end of August last, a new negro man named Jamaica, about 5 feet high: has filed teeth, country marks on both temples and right shoulder and breaks down back, marked on right shoulder AW rather small; had on when absconded a blue baise frock and took with him an afnhurgh(?) one, Reward £2-15s. Andrew Wright.

This shows that Mitcham was a Wright property, presumably came into the Maitland family by Francis' marriage to Ann, Andrew Wright's daughter.

1804: Mitcham: A. Wright (in fact property just east of Morass)

1804: Silver Grove: (approximate position - shown a bit far north)

A. Wright (next one south was Mashetts)

Map1804

All were then in St Elizabeth: the boundary was redrawn later.

LDS shows baptism of 94+ slaves of Mitcham & Silver Grove 21/6/1821, many with surname Maitland.

Ref West India Committee Library:

Silver Grove Pen: Gordon, George, attorney, Accounts 1832-36 (Jamaica Archives ref 1B/26)

Mitcham Almanacs:

1793:- Owned by Andrew Wright, ref Gazette advert.,13/11/1793.

1804:- A Wright.

1811:- Andrew Wright, decd.
1815:- Francis Maitland.
1820-33: Maitland & Roberts
1838-45:- Samuel Sherman.

AM Visit 1998:

Mitcham Greathouse.

The settlement of Mitcham is just west of the border between Manchester and St Elizabeth Parishes, and is reached by following a track off the Mandeville to Lacovia road for about a mile northeast. The site of the Greathouse is about 1/2 a mile beyond the settlement. The house was sited on a limestone outcrop about 100 ft above the surrounding plain, with a 2500ft wooded ridge immediately to the East, on top of which is Silvergrove, another Maitland related adjoining property. The surrounding land looked good fertile cattle country with Bauxite red soil. No stock buildings remain, all milking etc being done at another property a mile or so to the the west.

The former burial ground below the house had been flattened, the remains of some tombstones remaining in a pile of spoil. "Great Grandfather Sherman" was buried there, but the rest of the Shermans are buried in the local church -Goshen(?).

The house itself was destroyed about 1951, but the foundations remain, now covered with concrete to form a pan draining into a comparatively recent water tank (half full and green!). The shell of a small cottage has been built at one side, but not finished. We were told that there had been a separate kitchen, but there was no sign it now. GA Hendrix was said to have "mashed it up". The house was about 60'x30' and was timber framed on stone foundations, with a veranda, 2 rooms and hall, + slave quarters and separate kitchen.

We met in the settlement an old man, born 1910 who remembered the Sherman family and had been the farm manager for 28 years. He was now starting a new church at the bottom of the drive. Another oldish negro at the site remembered the house before it was demolished and showed us round. We also met an older lady who also told us of the Sherman family: one Sherman (white) had "had pickny with black girl: some children came out black like her and some came out pretty like you (referring to the writer)!: told with great glee and no colour problem.

See [Mitchum Air Photo](#) in 1952

[Mitchum Site Photo](#) in 1998.

Mitcham house seemed little changed in 4/2002.

Ref Brett Ashmeade Hawkins:

According to my Godfather, John Calder Earle bought Mitcham Estate after the end of the Second World War and made it into one of the finest Dairy Farms in Jamaica. Perhaps he only leased it from the Sherman family. The Earles never lived at Mitchum. They lived at Aberdeen Great House, which must have been at least 20 miles away. I know that there was some problem regarding Mitcham which led to John Calder Earle giving it up shortly before he died, but I don't remember what it was now.

Silver Grove Visit,

4/2002:

N18°05.2 W77°35.7 2800' amsl.

The house is reached by a marl track through rough, stony, but fertile looking fields. It is owned by a Mrs Finch(spelling?) who is related to the Roberts family, the last of whom died about 1997. There are still some of that family in the village of Lincoln, about 5 miles to the south.

The house was described by Douglas Blain, who visited the site with me. A modest 3 bay 3 hip Spanish wall greathouse (only just reaches that level!) formerly a pimento estate (also cattle pen - AM). Looks about 1820, in fair condition, still lived in by relatives of the Roberts family, whose graveyard contains perhaps a dozen, mostly Roberts, graves. Fine stone tank. 3 stage, stone walled barbeque. Detached kitchen formerly single roofed. Additional alterations about 1920. We both agreed it seemed a simple building for a 1400 acre estate.

Graves:

William Roberts, born 25/12/1841, married 31/10/1869, died 8/6/1896.

Wife and 7 children.

Rozelle Roberts (mother) born 15/11/1842, died 16/1/1926.

Edward Roberts born 12/1/1870, died 10/1881.

Clement Meikle, died 24/9/1958, aged 54.

Herwin Roberts, died 28/4/1956 aged 52

Millicent Roberts, died 2/4/1956 aged 22.

Ellen B Roberts, died 6/2/1960 aged 45.

Silver Grove: Manchester Almanacs.

1804: A Wright.

1820-26:- Maitland & Roberts

1833-40:- George Roberts.

1845:- George Roberts, heirs of

MOUNT CHARLES:

Mount Charles was a cattle pen situated on the high ground to the NNW of Black River town and overlooking the Morass on the River, with magnificent views of the flood plain and the coast. It appears on the 1804 map as "Miss Smith's", and later as the property of John Smith 1811-21 in the gazettes, beginning with 66/12, falling to 28/5 in 1822. From 1824, it was in the name of James E Burlton with 55 slaves & 15 stock, rising to 92 & 225 in 1831; in 1840 it was combined with Ashton a total of 1002 acres, Ashton being probably 370 acres. In 1845 it was owned by his estate (again combined 1209 acres). According to BAH, it was sold to William Spence in 1846, but Dr Andrew Wright Maitland acquired the property between then and 1850, possibly as a result of his marriage to James Burlton's sister-in-law in 1847. If William Spence was involved, Mount Charles may have come into the family with Augusta Spence who married John Maitland in 1848. For some reason, John Maitland continued with Giddy Hall and Andrew took over Mount Charles. Indications in John's will are that he bought his brothers out of Giddy Hall.

Dr AW Maitland bought 171 acres of the next property, Luana Pen later. Andrew's widow, Katherine lived there for the rest of her life. The Miss Haastrob referred to in DPNJ was almost certainly Ann Catherine (Maitland) Haastrop, Dr AWM's daughter.

Dr AWM's mother-in-law, Charlotte Bedford (Hill) Tomlinson was first married to a Charles Burlton.

About 2004, Mount Charles pen was bought by Robbie?? from Kingston. He has sympathetically restored the house to its former state and style, and in 2006 was in the process of improving the land surrounding, planting many native tree species. He has made an extremely good job of the house.

1804: Hodges Land: Cohen's

1878 Directory, Mount Charles, A. K. Maitland proprietor, Black River

[Mount Charles Photo](#) in 1998.

Extract from DPNJ:

Mount Charles in St Elizabeth was owned from 1811 by Charles Phipps and was evidently named after him. A grave which dates back to 1856 could bear the name of a subsequent owner. The inscription reads as follows: Andrew Wright Maitland M.R.C.S. It is interesting to note that Andrew Maitland in the 19th Century also owned Giddy Hall, which was the estate adjoining Mount Charles. Subsequent owners were the Earl family and a Miss Haastrob, a German from whom the Rev John Maxwell, a Presbyterian Minister then stationed in this parish, purchased it. It is now (1978) owned by Mrs Iris Sangster, daughter of the Rev J. Maxwell.

Mount Charles adjoins Giddy Hall:

[\[i\]](#)

Extract from Brett Ashmeade-Hawkins , 19/9/06

See also "Other Places of Interest" below.

James Edward Burlton, who was an English Merchant in Black River during the Early 19th Century, owned both Ashton and Mount Charles. He married Charlotte Tomlinson, one of three beautiful sisters known as "The Three Graces". Their only son, Edward James Burlton, was their pride and joy. He was sent to boarding school in England, but on the voyage home to Jamaica in 1840 he caught Yellow Fever and died at the tender age of 17. He was buried at sea and the ship arrived in Black River with its flag flying at half-mast. James Edward Burlton never recovered from the loss. His wife, Charlotte, had already died in 1834, and so he was left distraught and alone.

In 1829 Charlotte's sister, Ana Katherine Tomlinson, had married Col. John Earle, who owned Mount Olivet coffee plantation near Malvern, in the Santa Cruz mountains of St. Elizabeth. Their son, John William Earle (1837-1912), became James Edward Burlton's favourite nephew and he later made him his heir. When James Edward Burlton died in 1853, he left Ashton to John William Earle. (Mount Charles had already been sold in 1846 to William Spence).

In 1847 Mrs. Ana Katherine Earle, the widow of Col. John Earle, married Dr. Andrew Wright Maitland, M.D. (1809-1856) of Mount Charles and Giddy Hall. She died in 1886 and is buried at Mount Charles. Two of her sons from her first marriage, Edward Muirhead Earle and Charles J. Earle, are also buried at Mount Charles.

Having inherited Ashton in 1853, John William Earle later moved from Mount Olivet Plantation to take up residence at Ashton Great House. He probably also wanted to be closer to his mother, who was living at Mount Charles with his younger brothers. He brought with him some of the fine mahogany furniture from Mount Olivet Great House, including a massive hand-carved Jamaican four-poster bed that was made on the plantation in 1829 as a wedding present.

John William Earle married Mary Elmina Calder, the daughter of John Calder of Stanmore Hill

Plantation, near Malvern. She was descended, on her Mother's side, from the famous Vassall family of Jamaica, which produced Elizabeth Vassal, Lady Holland. I have a manuscript history and genealogy of the Vassal family, listing all the descendants, if you need any of the relevant dates. John William Earle (1837-1912) left Ashton to his eldest son, Charles Edward Earle (1869-1954). His youngest son, John Calder Earle (1881-1957), bought Aberdeen Estate, near Accompong, in St. Elizabeth, which he ran as a banana plantation. He was married in 1929 to Stella Mia Pulford (1893-1970), an English girl who had come out to Jamaica to visit a friend. She was born at a hill-station in India, the daughter of Col. Russell Richard Pulford, C.I.E., R.E., of the India Army, and her brother was Air-Marshall Conway W.H. Pulford of the R.A.F. He was captured by the Japanese during the Second World War, following the fall of Singapore, and was beheaded by a Japanese officer in one of the prisoner-of-war camps. Stella was a talented linguist and spoke 14 languages. During the Second World War the British Governor of Jamaica, Sir Arthur Richards, appointed her Official Translator to the German and Italian prisoners-of-war interned at Mona. Sir Arthur had been a friend of her Father during the British Raj in India.

It is said that John Calder Earle bought Mitcham Estate after the end of the Second World War and made it into one of the finest Dairy Farms in Jamaica. Perhaps he only leased it from the Sherman family. The Earles never lived at Mitchum. They lived at Aberdeen Great House, which must have been at least 20 miles away. There was some problem regarding Mitcham which led to John Calder Earle giving it up shortly before he died.

Mount Charles: St Elizabeth Almanacs.

1804:- Miss Smith's

1811-22:- John Smith.

1824-40:- James E Burlton. (1840 & Ashton)

1845:- James E Burlton, est of.(& Ashton)

AM Visit 1998:

The house was reached by about a mile of now very rough track: we were led up it by a young lad on a motorcycle, who spoke to someone to get permission. After passing one set of formal gate pillars, entry was through a further gate leading onto a grassed area with the house on a rise at the far end, with rough buildings below and left. The house was smaller than Giddy Hall and probably not as grand.

It was built with stone lower floor and wooden living area above. It had verandas front and back. Like Giddy Hall, it faced over the Black River and its estuary, with a Victorian style terraced garden below the house overlooking the valley. Barbeques were still in existence at the back of the house and the original separate kitchen building was still in use, one room used for storage, the other as a kitchen with a large open fire - the interior was heavily soot covered. Interestingly, the path leading to it from the house was very similar to the remains of a path found in the garden of Giddy Hall.

The occupant of the house appeared and after finding out why we were wandering around his homestead, was friendly and helpful. He showed us the burial ground to the southwest of the house where Andrew Wright Maitland and his wife, Ann Katherine were buried. The graves were in a good state of preservation. A number of other graves had lost their name plates. Those still there read as follows:

Ann Katherine Maitland died 22 February 1886
(Marble horizontal gravestone)

Andrew Wright Maitland died 20 April 1858 (brass plaque)
Charles James Earl died 29/6/1858 (brass plaque)
(presumably the Ann Katherine's son by her first husband)
The occupant said that the house was owned by Mr Sangster from Kingston, possibly the son of Iris Sangster, who was a Miss Maxwell.

By 2006, Mount Charles Pen had been bought from the Sangster family by Robb MacMillan from Kingston and had been restored, bringing out many of the original features of the building. Robb at that time was clearing and planting the surrounding land

National Library, Kingston, ref St Elizabeth 689, JR1998
Mount Charles Pen map based on Morris Petgrave's plan of August 1822 and Mr Cunningham's plan of May 1846. Shows Mount Charles Pen with its boundaries being Giddy Hall Pen, Whitehall Pen, Luana Pen, part of Providence, sold to Wm Spence.

Note that John Maitland married Augusta Spence (re her gravestone) in 1848.

National Library, Kingston, ref St Elizabeth 643. JR1998
diagram represents 171 acres of land - part of Luana Pen - and is intended to be purchased by Dr A.W. Maitland and belongs to Mount Charles Pen.

The COVE & LITTLE CULLODEN - Westmoreland

These 2 properties were left by Patty Penford in her will of 1795, The Cove to Rebecca Wright, Little Culloden to Margaret Forbes.

Patty bought for £60 12½ acres from Alexander & Mary Forbes in 1769 in Westmoreland. The Forbes are marked on the 1755 map.

In 1778 she bought Little Culloden pen of 96½ acres for £200.

The Cove pen of 213 acres, was bought by Patty Penford in 1784, left to daughter Rebecca, who then left it to Francis Maitland. He presumably sold it about the time he bought Giddy Hall in 1809. The site was visited by AM in May 2009 when it was raining heavily. The road from Black River to Sav la Mar passes through the property, but little was visible now, the land on the north side of the road being now covered by bush, although fenced. The conveyance to Patty Penford contains a plat of the site, which stretches down to the sea. A couple of buildings are shown on the map. A further visit on a better day might reveal a little more. From the 19thC publications, the Cove remained occupied into the 20thC. The plat, included in the Deed, indicates that the property was owned by Thomas George in 1775, and was sold by Thomas Hogg, possibly his heir (interestingly, the Hogg family reappear as owners of the Pen in 1891).

There were 2 properties called the Cove in the Almanacks for Westmoreland, one looked from the slave numbers to have been quite small, the other was fairly substantial judging by the slave numbers. Their locations are not known, but the larger of the two was grouped with others in the Bluefields area. The larger of the two is probably the one owned by our family at Scott's Cove.

The 1804 map has Pentfords marked near Scots Cove, within the scale of the map, the position is correct.

Earlier references to "The Grove" for Benjamin Capon might have been the Cove?

Letellier look to have been a Roman Catholic family. some appear in Kingston early 19thC.

Ann Letellier recorded as being at the Cove (a small version) from 1817-32.
Benjamin Capon recorded at the Grove 1817-22, and then at The Cove 1824-26. (BC a merchant 1808
Westmoreland).
Thomas Tate at the Cove 1829-38, and left it to a son in his will in 1855.

Proprietors etc./Properties etc./Slaves/Stock

1812: Cove, Capon & Letellier: nil.
1815: Walcott & Capon, Glenislay 102/ 10
1817: Capon, Benjamin, Grove, 25
Letellier, Ann, Cove, 13/2
1818: Capon, Benjamin, Grove, 34/4
Letellier, Ann, Cove, 11/2
1820: Capon, Benjamin, Glenislay and Grove 75/16
Letellier, Ann, Cove 12/ 2
1821: Capon, Benjamin, Glenislay and Grove 101/ 47
Letellier, Ann, Cove 13/ 4
1822: Letellier, Ann, Cove 12/ 4
Capon, Benjamin, Glenislay and Grove 109/ 97
1824: Capon, Benjamin, Cove and Glenislay 88/ 79
Letellier, Ann, Cove 11/ 2
Tait, Jane, Farm 8/5; Tate, Thomas, 46/85; Tate, William, 12.
1826: Capon, Benjamin, Cove and Glenislay 99/66
Letellier, Ann, Cove 12
1829: Letellier, Ann, Cove, 4
Tate, Thomas, Old Shaftston, 105/165
..ditto, Rotherwood, 98/174
..ditto, Cove Pen, 36
1831: Letellier, Ann, Cove, 11
Tate, Thomas, Old Shaftston, 98/225
..ditto, Rotherwood, 97/192
..ditto, Cove, 33
1832: Letellier, Ann, Cove, 5
Tate, Thomas, Old Shaftston, 97/ 307
.....ditto, Rotherwood, 101
.....ditto, Cove, 34
1833: Tate, Thomas, Cove 36/ 1-2 [?]
.....Old Shaftston 99/ 215
.....Rotherwood 103
.....Heath Hall 84
1838 Westmoreland Proprietors, Properties, Apprentices
Tate, Thomas, Old Shafston 83
.....Rotherwood 64
.....Cove 40
1840 acres: Tate, Thomas, 786
---Same, 1821
---Same, 226
---Same, 1333

1845 prop estate acres:

Spence, W. heirs of, Woodstock, 1500
Tate, H. Industry, 14
Tate, R. Robin's River, 1187
_Same, Orange Grove and Bronte, 206
_Same, Mount Edgewcombe, 2215
_Same, Old Shatton, 786
_Same, Rotherwood, 4155

1891 Post Office Address, Kings, (near Culloden pen, west along coast towards Savlamar)
Hogg, W. E. (Owner), Cove Pen
Tate LA, Shafston, Bluefields
Sinclair DJ, Shafston Pen, Bluefields

1910: OWNER PROPERTY DESCRIPTION OCCUPIER POSTOFFICE
Hogg William, Cove Pen, Hogg William, Bluefields PO

REGISTERS AND WILLS

Descendants of Philip Anglin
Generation No. 3

Mary Ann Anglin, born June 23, 1805; died December 1846. She married Thomas Dale Tate June 28, 1826 in Westmoreland25; born Bet. 1789 - 1790; died October 1855.

More About Mary Ann Anglin:

Age: December 1846, 42 years

Baptism: February 02, 1809, Westmoreland

Burial: December 09, 1846, Orange Grove, Westmoreland28

Residence: 1846, Robins River, Westmoreland

Will of Thomas Tate of Westmoreland, Esquire

As executors and trustees I appoint my friend Hugh Anthony Whitelocke and my son Thomas Anglin Tate.

I give to the trustees to hold in trust the property called Rotherwood, and runs of land called Metcalfe and Leamington, and Mount Edgewcombe and the Cove Plantation, Robins River and Shaftston and all other real estate I may own. To pay any debts they may rent the real estate for 7 years. They are to hold any real and personal estate as follows:

Cove, Rotherwood, Metcalf and Leamington and 40 cows in trust for son Napoleon Tate.

Robins River in trust for son Cornelius Moore Tate.

Shaftston in trust for William Anglin Tate.

Culloden, Amity, Allsides and stock and Mount Edgewcombe Pen in trust for Thomas Anglin Tate.

To my daughter Helen Campbell Whitelocke (formerly Tate) an annuity of 150 pounds.

An annuity of 150 pounds to my daughter Mary Ann Tate.

An annuity of 150 pounds to my daughter Fanny Ann Tate.

The annuities are to be paid in equal portions half-yearly on January 1st and July 1st. One fifth to be paid by Napoleon Tate from Cove, Rotherwood, Metcalf and Leamington. One-fifth to be paid by each of the other boys, William Anglin Tate, Cornelius Moore Tate and Thomas Anglin Tate from lands they received. [This only accounts for 4/5ths. There must have been another bequest that was not copied into the Will Book, to another surviving son, John or Philip.]

The land is to be held as tenants in common [See Glossary].

The trustees may invest in stock until the estate is distributed.

Dated the third day of 1852.

Witnesses: G. B. Vidal, Jane Vidal, and Ellen Georgina Braine were sworn on December 7, 1855 before Benjamin Vickers. The will was declared on April 15, 1856.

According to Cundall, "Culloden and Auchindown, in St. Elizabeth, date from the time of the arrival of the ill-fated Darien refugees." [These properties would have been in St. Elizabeth before that area became part of Westmoreland] (B149, Cundall, page 371).

More About Thomas Dale Tate:

Addressed as: Esquire

Burial: October 03, 1855, Orange Grove, Westmoreland29

Occupation: Bet. 1832 - 1843, Planter

Occupation (2): 1837, Proprietor of Old Shaftston, Rotherwood, and Cove30

Occupation (3): 1840, Proprietor of 4,166 acres in Westmoreland31

Occupation (4): 1855, Proprietor Robins River, Westmoreland

Probate: April 15, 1856, Entered Vol. 127, p. 13432

Residence: Bet. 1832 - 1834, Bluefields, Westmoreland

Residence (2): 1842, Residence: Auchindown, Westmoreland

Residence (3): 1855, Residence: Robins River, Westmoreland

Will: 185233

Thomas Hogg to Patty Penford - 1785

339/116 Date 1/12/1784 Ent 4 March 1785

Thomas Hogg, merchant of Westmoreland and Patty Penford, a free mulatto of St Elizabeth.. Jf1000 conveys to Patty Penford ... All that piece etc of land etc in Westmoreland and St Elizabeth commonly called the Cove containing 213 acres bounding easterly on Major General James Bannister now Fonthill estate Northerly on Thomas Parris and Benjamin Heath formerly Griffith Jenkin and westerly and southerly on the sea..

Patty Penford grants to Thomas Hogg 15 feet square around the grave of Thomas George

Witness Hyem Cohen & William Clark

Plat:

a run of land patented by John James and part of a run of land patented by Major General James Bannister .. now belonging to Thomas George .. surveyed 1st March 1775.

Thomas Taylor to Patty Pinford - 1778

291/73 Date 19 January 1778 Ent 27 May 1778

Thomas Taylor of Hannover practitioner of Physic and surgery of Hannover and Patty Pinford a free mulatto woman of Westmoreland .. for Jf200 .. convey Little Culloden containing 96 acres and one half .. bounding southerly on the sea easterly on Great Culloden westerley on Ankerdown (Ankendown?)

from MAP1804 and Jamaica Almanacs

A summary of properties mentioned in various texts related to their position on the 1804 map and a mid 20thC Jamaican road map (pre 1950's air survey). The latter map shows many estate names, while the 1804 map shows owners' names. Where possible, lat/long reference has been established. This can be referenced to the Jamaica grid.

The owners are listed as found in the Jamaica Almanacs.

Berlin: St Elizabeth.

17 55N 77 33W, on SE end of Santa Cruz Mountains.

1804:- Cerf

1811-24:- Almanac, Henry Cerf

1833-40:- Hyman Cohen

Blenheim: Vere

17 57N 77 31.5W, 6.5 miles north of coast.

1804:- not shown, blank area.

1809:- George Brooks

1815-24:- George Brooks

PRO has reference to Accounts of Blenheim & Cranbrooke plantations of John Moffatt, 1806-7 WO 9/48.

Bloomsbury:

2 miles North of Giddy Hall.

1824:- George Spence.

1858:- Augusta Cooper (nee Spence, and married to John Maitland, died).

Burnt Ground: St Elizabeth.

18 02N 77 44.5W

1804:- J Brooks

1804:- G Brooks, 1 mile north of here.

1808:- George Brooks (m Sarah Wright).

1811:- Almanac, George Brooks.

Enfield: Vere

17 57.5N 77 29W, 6.5 m inland from South Coast.

1804:- Booth

1815-22:- William Burt Wright.

1824-38:- William Burt Wright, est of.

Kensworth: Vere.

17 56N, 77 30.2W, 5.5 miles inland, north of Cut River mouth.

1804:- either Golburns or Stimpsons.

1815-20:- Robert Benstead Wright.

1822:- RB Wright, est of.

1824-6:- Kenilworth.

1833-38:- N Wright. ("Kinworth")

1840:- Nicola Wright.

Lowerworks: St Elizabeth.

1/2 mile NW of Black River center off Jamaica Road

1/2 mile NW of Black River Centre, off Lacovia Road.

1804:- No indication.

1811:- Joseph Royal.

Meribah: St Elizabeth.

1811-26:- John Wright.

1833:- John Wright, decd.

Middlesex Pen: St Elizabeth

A Cooper property later.

JG 16/8/1813:

For Sale, Middlesex Pen, in the Parish of St Elizabeth, containing about 700 acres of land, on the direct road from Kingston to Savanna la Mar, 4 miles distant from Lacovia and 8 miles from Black River; about 250 acres are in well established Guinea Grass Pieces, fenced chiefly with stone walls, 50 acres in Common Pasture, also fenced, the remainder in Woodland. The YS River runs through the property which is very seasonable, and well worthy the attention of any Person desirous of purchasing a Pen. For terms apply to Messrs Boyles & Co, Kingston or to William Rowe esq, St Elizabeth.

Mount Olivet: St Elizabeth.

17 59N 77 43.5W, E side of Santa Cruz Mountains, N of main road.

1804:- Williams marked near there, but not exact.

1811-24:- Thomas J Williams.

1840:- John Earl. (also Chelsea)

1845:- J Earl, heirs of.

Mount Lebanon: St Elizabeth.

18 26N, 77 56W, 2 miles NW of Giddy Hall.

1804:- Smith's

1811:- Alexander Rose

1826:- Alexander Rose, decd.

Mount Pleasant, Vere (Manchester):

17 56N 77 26W, N of 16 mile Gulley.

1804:- JG Booth, 3.5m N of Rogers River mouth.

1804:- JG Booth about 1.5m South of MP. "The Farm" of 1811?

JG Booth, snr (d 1807) at Mount Pleasant.

JG Booth, jnr (ch 1780) at the Farm.

1811:- JG Booth, decd. (the farm, JG Booth)

1815-20:- heirs of JG Booth. (the farm JG Booth)

1824:- JG Booth at the Farm.

Rose Hill: St Elizabeth.

About 2 miles WNW of Giddy Hall.

Single Rock:, Vere.

Between Rocky Point and Calabash Bay

1804:- A. Wright. Mentioned in his will of 1805.

Southampton: St Elizabeth.

18 00 5N 77 41 5W

18 00.5N // 41.5W,
1804:- J Wright
1804:- W Wright at South Valley, nearby.
1811:- Robert B Wright.

Stretton Hall: (also Streten), Vere.

17 12N 77 42W, on Salt River Bay, 1 mile N of river.
1804:- Wright & Glasgow.
1811:- James Wright, deceased.
1815:- Wright & Glasgow, executors of
1820-22:- White & Levys.

Cohens: St Elizabeth.

1804:- Shown in 2 places NW of Black River, S of Giddy Hall:
18 04N 77 55.5W, between Brompton and Fiffes
18 03.5N 77 45.5, Mt Salus??
1822-24:- Cohen & Co. Heathfield. (Manchester)
1833:- Hyman, Heathfield & Berlin.
1833:- Judah Cohen, Potsdam & Corby Castle
1838:- Hyman, Apropos & Albion (Vere) & Berlin.
1838:- Judah, Potsdam & Corby Castle.
1840:- Hyman, Berlin, Apropos, Isle, Albion
1840:- Judah, Potsdam, Colby Castle, Heathfield, Berwick, Maidstone, Bath & Chatham.

Hyman's: Vere.

Maybe Dean's Valley, 18N 77 43W
1804:- Hyman's
1804:- Hyman's also 1 mile west of Santa Cruz.

Wrights: Vere.

1755:- shown on Minho (Dry) River, east bank. In 1804 perhaps "Richmonds", roughly opposite Gibbons.

Wrights: St Elizabeth.

1804:- shown 1 mile NE of Lacovia, at Greenfield or Petersfield.

Pusey Hall:

17 38N 77 15W, North of Rocky Point, Carlisle Bay.
1804:- Pusey Hall.

Wint: Vere.

1804:- on Milk River, north of Main road crossing, on east bank. Also there were Mrs Booth's.
1811:- John P. Wint.
1804:- Myers were shown about 1/2 mile west of Giddy Hall Settlement
Mrs Parchment's shown near south coast, between Jack's Holt and White Horse.

5. OTHER PLACES of INTEREST & PARISH INFORMATION

Other Relevant & Surrounding Properties

Ashton Pen

- Once owned by the Burlton family with Mount Charles HBJ1840
once owned by Earl family, HBJ1915
1915: 365 acres

1998: now a smart Greathouse hotel just outside Black River.

2008: AM stayed there; opinion reserved! Very poorly converted into hotel - front door and immediate hall only original part remaining.

From Jamaica Gazette, 30/1/1813 (AM 4/2008): Ashton Pen, part of Longwood Pen, containing 300 acres situate in district of Santa Cruz, and binding upon Emmaus Pen. To save trouble, the considerate money is £1500 down, or £2000 by instalments of 1 & 2 years. Applications are to be made to James Miller or George Graham Stone, attorneys to John Mitchell esq.

From Government Gazette, 1813, Ashton Pen, part of Longwood Pen,

"Brett Ashmeade-Hawkins" 24/9/06.

Unfortunately the house was converted into a rather shabby hotel in the early 1990s and the original building has been altered almost beyond recognition. Sadly most of it is now half-hidden behind a mass of incongruous modern additions.

Please find attached three pictures showing Ashton Great House as it once looked when the Burlton and Earle families lived there.

They are as follows:

1. Ashton in 1832. Copy of an original drawing by Miss Storer. Private Collection.
2. Ashton in 1964. Copy of an original photograph by the late T.A.L. Concannon. Concannon Collection. National Library of Jamaica.
3. Ashton in 1981. Copy of an original watercolour by Prudence Lovell. Jamaica, National Building Society Collection.

The drawing showing Ashton in 1832 really captures it as it originally was. It stands on a high hill in the midst of over 350 acres of English-style parkland. The house had wonderful views of both Black River and the sea from the front and also the mountains from the back. Most importantly it was always delightfully cool and a pleasant escape from the constant heat and humidity of the nearby town of Black River.

The late T.A. L. Concannon, an English architect who was the leading architectural historian in Jamaica from the late 1940s to the early 1970s, always described Ashton as an 18th Century house. However it is really quite different from most 18th Century Jamaican houses and I tend to think that it was probably built in the Early 19th Century instead. I would say sometime between 1810 and 1815. It has almost a Regency feel to it.

As you can see Ashton was actually three storeys high, which was somewhat unusual for Jamaica since most houses were usually two storeys. The ground floor was a raised basement built of cut-stone and it contained a "hurricane room", a wine cellar and various storage rooms. The first floor and second floors were built of wood, solid mahogany boards, and the roof was covered with cedar shingles cut and cured on the plantation.

A double staircase of stone led up to a pillared entrance portico on the first floor and into a projecting entrance hall with open wooden jalousies on all sides. This entrance hall led into a central hallway on the right of which was a large Dining Room and on the left of which was a large Drawing Room. Both of these rooms had tall arched doorways and very high ceilings, with

glass sash windows and wooden jalousies on three sides. This allowed the slightest breeze to pass through both rooms, constantly keeping them cool. A beautiful mahogany staircase led to the second floor where there were 6 bedrooms. The bedroom above the entrance hall was said to be the coolest room in the entire house and at one time it was used as a Study by James Edward Burlton. He always kept a large brass telescope standing in the window to keep an eye on the shipping in the harbour at Black River.

The old Slave Kitchen was in a separate building behind the Great House and was connected to the back veranda of the house by a covered pillared walkway. The Stables and Servants Quarters were also in separate buildings behind the house. To the right of the Great House stood a separate one storey wing known as the "Bachelors Quarters". It is not shown in the drawing of 1832 and must have been built later on, possibly in the 1840s. According to family tradition it was used to house the Overseer and Bookkeepers and also visiting Sea Captains and it contained a splendid Billiards Room for their amusement.

Plantation life probably seems dull now to our modern eyes. but the Burltons and the Earles enjoyed a very active social life in the 19th Century. They frequently entertained visitors from Britain and from other parts of the Island. British Governors, Commanders-in-Chief and Admirals or Commodores, on official tours around Jamaica, would have been frequent guests at Ashton, along with their A.D.C.s and Staff. Long visits of a month or more would have been exchanged with family and friends who owned plantations in other parts of the Island and there would have been trips to Spanish Town, to Kingston and occasionally home to Britain. Grand Balls and Receptions were often held at the Black River Court House and numerous dinner parties, formal dances and musical evenings were constantly being held in the town houses in Black River and in the Great Houses on the plantations. Jamaica merchants and planters were well-known for their lavish hospitality, with vast quantities of fine food and drink, and wonderful parties that lasted for days. All this was made possible in those days by the huge retinues of servants.

St. Elizabeth was famous for breeding thoroughbred racehorses. Black River had a fashionable racetrack and grandstand, and some plantations such as Emmaus Pen, just adjoining Ashton Pen, even had their own private racetracks. Race meetings were crowded events, attended in force by the local Gentry, and visitors from other parishes, anxious to show off their new carriages and the latest fashions from Europe. The Highgate Hunt, supported by the local Anglo-Irish gentry such as The Cuff family, frequently met in St. Elizabeth, to ride to hounds. Later on there was Polo at Gilnock Hall Estate, Tennis and Golf at Malvern, and weekend Shooting Parties on all the country estates during "The Season". Shooting began in Jamaica on "The Glorious 12th" of August, exactly the same as in Scotland, and guests were invited down for the long weekend from Kingston and Montego Bay and even came out for the Winter from England, to shoot quail, snipe, plover, wild pigeon and wild duck. These were elaborate social affairs, each with an army of beaters and bird dogs and the usual servants and shooting luncheons. There was even the occasional crocodile hunt in the swamps of the Black River.

In the late 19th Century, due to the export of Logwood, Black River became one of the richest towns in Jamaica, and it was actually the first town in Jamaica to have electricity. The Farquharson and Leyden families, who had two beautiful Victorian mansions at Black River, Invercauld and Magdala, competed with each other to entertain in the grandest manner. Mrs. Leyden, who had once been an Opera singer in Paris, was the leading Society hostess of Black River during the Victorian era. Old St. Elizabeth families such as the Farquharsons, the Griffiths, the Dalys, the Robertsons, the Hendricks, the Levys, the Cuffs, the Earles, the Calders, the Muirheads, the Myers, the Brownes, the Muschetts and the Coopers, would have been frequent guests at her mansion, to listen to visiting Opera singers, Orchestras and Classical Pianists. A fashionable Spa at Black River attracted International Society including British aristocrats, titled Europeans and even the King and Queen of Belgium. One of the first Motor-Cars in Jamaica was imported into Black River in 1904 by the Griffith family of Hodges Pen and, after

the First World War, came the "Dance of the Millions" in the 1920s with new Rolls Royces, free-flowing Champagne and endless Cocktail Parties.

All this has long since vanished and today, in a modern, noisy, crowded, rundown Third World Jamaica, it is increasingly hard to visualize the graciousness of the old British Colonial Jamaica that we knew and loved. If I had not seen the last vestiges of this world with my own eyes, and had not listened to the stories of my Mother and Grandmother and others of their generation, most of whom have now passed away, it would all seem to have been part of some sort of insubstantial dream, just a romantic vision of the past, more myth than history. To most Jamaicans today it is a world as alien and as remote as that of Slavery itself, yet it still existed when I was a child and a few traces of it still survive even to this day.

Fellowship property owned by Jno S. Cooper 1915 HBJ1915

Font Hill,

in St Elizabeth & Westmoreland, named from Font Hill Manor, was owned by Sir William Beckford, Lord Mayor of London, an absentee landlord of sugar plantations in Jamaica in the 18th Century. DPNJ.

This was a big Estate in the SW corner of St Elizabeth owned by the Beckford family until they went bust in 1821, when it passed from the family. Octavius M. described at his burial in 1840 as a Planter, resident at Font Hill. A Samuel M married Camilla Beckford, both of Font Hill, in 1850.

In April 2002, the Font Hill estate is a research forestry plantation owned by Petrol Company of Jamaica: the original greathouse has disappeared.

Fullerswood (Salmon):

"Jamaica Surveyed" by BW Higman describes a plantation called Fullerswood which in 1860 was owned by John Salmon: it is on the East bank of the Estuary of the Black River in St Elizabeth: this John Salmon was probably the Executor of Francis M.'s will.

Seen in April 2002, but now a relatively modern house of little interest: could be seen to have been originally an attractive entrance.

Palisadoes

is a ten mile strip which links Port Royal to the mainland. The peninsula was formed when a group of cays, swept by currents and winds, eventually merged. At first Port Royal could only be reached by a boat from Kingston Harbour, but there is now a road to it which also takes travellers to Norman Manley - originally Palisadoes - Airport, which is situated on a bulging section of Palisadoes and is Jamaica's principle airport. Of interest as this was a major burial ground, where Frederick Lewis Maitland's mulatto mistress was buried. DPNJ.

Port Royal

(extract) ... It became famous as a port at which naval celebrities were stationed. Among these were: George Brydges: Lord Rodney (1739-42); Vice-Admiral John Benbow, who was stationed in Jamaica in 1702; Admiral Edward Vernon (1739-42), C in C West Indies; Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Bt (1778-82); and Admiral Horatio Lord Nelson (1779-1805). At that point chiefly a resort for seamen, Port Royal was again nearly demolished, this time by a violent hurricane on the 28th August, 1772. DPNJ.

Roses Valley,

in St Elizabeth, is named after the first owner, William Rose (Jamaica Almanacks, 1811) of this now defunct estate. Roses Valley is now a village in the centre of which is a Baptist Church, There is also Roses Valley Post Office. DPNJ.

Dictionary of Place-Names in Jamaica (extracts) Inez Knibb Sibley (Institute of Jamaica 1978).

Chew Magna,

in St Elizabeth, near Balaclava, was named by the Roberts Family after the place in Keynsham, England from which they came.

Fort William

near Savannah la Mar, was part of an estate owned by William Beckford, an early English settler, and named after him.

Morningside

is in St Elizabeth. The place name originates in Edinburgh, Scotland. Many Scotsmen were early settlers in St Elizabeth.

Parish Information

CORNWALL - General Information

1784 Almanac:

The County of Cornwall contains 1,522,149 acres, has 5 Parishes, and 10 Towns or Villages.

General state of the County of Cornwall:

388 sugar plantations

561 other settlements

above 93,000 slaves

and the produce in sugar about 67,000 hogsheads,

and about 69,500 cattle

REVIEW OF THE STATE OF THE WHOLE ISLAND

Total

Negroes 255,700

Sugar estates 1061

Produce 105,400 hogsheads of sugar

Other settlements 2018

Cattle 224,500

20 Parishes, in which are 36 Towns and Villages, 18 Churches and Chapels, and about 23,000 white inhabitants.

ST ELIZABETH PARISH INFORMATION

Extracts 1784 Almanac:

ST. ELIZABETH

The town of **Lacovia** does not contain more than 20 houses: here the Quarter Sessions and Petty Courts for the parish are held. **Black River** has about 50 houses, and a fine Bay for shipping. This parish has 39 sugar-works, 190 other settlements, and 16,000 slaves.

Lacovia, in St Elizabeth, is said to have been the La Caoban of the Spaniards, in the early days referred to by the inhabitants as "Coby". Lacovia was the first capital of St Elizabeth. DPNJ.

Middle Quarters is in St Elizabeth. The reason for the name is uncertain. It is claimed in the old days the Quarter Session of the court was held here and that might have something to do with the name. Middle Quarters is now the location of a large-scale shrimp trade conducted by the villagers.

DPNJ.

Miss Parchments shown between Jack's Holt & White Horse of South coast.

MAP1804.

PRO Jamaica "Blue Book" of Government Statistics, 1823.

Rector of St Elizabeth Rev Williams, appointed 21/5/1821.

Pay: £270 stlg, 378, Currency + fees 326-10-2.5d = £C704-10-2.5d.

1823 population: 697 whites, 1918 free, 18802 slaves.

Downloaded from internet 13/5/2003

Parish Information

Population 148,900 (1999)

Literacy Rate 67.5% (1994)

Educational Institutions 1999/2000 (M.O.E.C)

Public Independent

Tertiary 1

Tertiary - Vocational/Agricultural 1 Vocational/Agricultural 1

- - Business Education -

Technical High 1 - -

Comprehensive High 5 - -

Secondary High 4 Secondary High 1

- - Secondary High

(with preparatory department) 1

Special - Special -

Junior High - - -

Primary and Junior High 5 - -

All Age 35 - -

Primary 35 - -

Infant - Kindergarten/Preparatory 5

Other Agencies providing education and training are Basic Schools and H.E.A.R.T NTA.

GENERAL

POSITION/SIZE/DESCRIPTION

St Elizabeth is in the south-western section of the island. It has an area of 1212.4 square kilometres (468.1 square miles). There are three mountain ranges - the Nassau Mountains to the north-east, the Santa Cruz Mountains which, running south, divide the wide plain to end in a precipitous drop of 1600 feet at Lovers' Leap, and the Lacovia Mountains to the west of the Nassau Mountains.

The Black River is the main river supported by many tributaries including Y.S., Broad, Grass and Horse Savannah. It is the longest river in Jamaica {53.4 kilometres (33 0 miles)} and it is

navigable for about 40 kilometres (25 miles). It has its source in the mountains of Manchester near Coleyville where it rises and flows west as the boundary between Manchester and Trelawny then goes underground near Troy. It reappears briefly near Oxford and goes underground again for several miles to reemerge near Balaclava and tumbles down gorges to the plain known as the Savannah, through the Great Morass and to the sea at Black River, the capital of the parish. Because of the limestone formation there are 44 caves in the parish. They include Mexico, the longest in the island. Yardley Chase Caves near the foot of Lovers' Leap, Wallingford Caves near Balaclava, famous for the fossil remains of large extinct rodents and Peru Cave near Goshen which has impressive stalactites and stalagmites. Preservation areas and wetland sites include:

National Park:	Cockpit Country
Lower Black River Morass Wetland Sanctuary:	Luana Point Swamp
Lower Black River Morass Wildlife Sanctuary:	Luana Font Hill
Scientific/Nature Reserves:	Holland Swamp Forest.

Much of the land in the parish is dry grassland called savannahs, marsh and swamp, forests and scrub woodlands. The land is used mainly for agriculture and the farmers here who produce a variety of crops are noted for their skilful farm practices. Earlier the land was used to grow sugar cane and for pasture. It still has one sugar factory on Appleton Estate which is noted for its fine blends of rum. To the north of Appleton lies the Cockpit Country which crosses into Trelawny.

Mineral deposits include bauxite, antimony, white limestone, clay, peat and silica sand which is used to manufacture glass.

BRIEF HISTORY

It is believed the parish was named after the wife of Sir Thomas Modyford, the first English Governor of Jamaica. It originally included most of the south-west part of the island but in 1703 Westmoreland was taken from it and in 1814 a part of Manchester.

The Tainos/Arawaks also lived in this part of the island. There is evidence of their occupation in the cave at Pedro Bluff. When the Spaniards came they established ranches on the savannahs. The walls and wells they left are reminders of their presence.

When the English settled on the island after its capture from the Spanish in 1655, they concentrated on planting sugar cane but the ranches had been so well developed that the tradition continued. In some places buildings with 'Spanish wall' (masonry of limestone sand and stone between wooden frames) can still be seen. St Elizabeth became a prosperous parish and Black River an important seaport. In addition to shipping sugar and molasses Black River became the centre of the logging trade. Large quantities of logwood were exported to Europe to make a Prussian-blue dye which was very popular in the 18th and 19th centuries. Synthetic dyes have now replaced natural dyes so although there are still large quantities of logwood growing wild in some areas there is no longer any demand for it. Today, however, it still supports the honey industry as honey made from logwood blossoms is very popular.

Because of its prosperity electric power was first introduced in Jamaica in a house called Waterloo in Black River in 1893. In 1903 the first motor car to come to Jamaica was imported by the owner of Waterloo. In those days the town had a horse-racing track, a gambling house and a mineral spa for the well-to-do at the west end of the town.

St Elizabeth probably has the greatest racial mixture in Jamaica. When the Miskito Indians came from Central America to help track the Maroons in the 18th century they were given land grants in this parish. In the 18th century too, Loyalists from the Carolinas settled in the Great Morass and attempted to grow rice. In the 19th century Scots and Germans migrated to the parish and this accounts for pockets of distinct racial mixtures in the parish. However, in the 20th century there was steady emigration from St Elizabeth and other parts of Jamaica to Panama, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Cuba to work on railway construction and banana plantations.

With the closure of the port in Black River in 1968 the parish could have become a backwater had bauxite not been discovered. More recently efforts are being made to develop a different kind of tourism in which the community is more involved and which can show off the many ecological features of the parish. The parish lends itself to this kind of development and the annual St Bess Homecoming is enticing its sons and daughters to invest there. In addition to a strong farming base, craft is also being revived and the future looks promising. Munro College for boys and Hampton School for girls were established by the Munro and Dickenson Trust in 1856 and 1858 respectively. Several secondary schools have been built in the last 50 years.

POPULATION: 148,900 (1999)

CAPITAL: Black River

MAJOR TOWNS: Santa Cruz, Malvern, Junction, Balaclava

MAJOR INDUSTRIES/SOURCES OF EMPLOYMENT

Sugar: This is one of the oldest industries in the parish. The one remaining factory is the Appleton Estate which has given its name to the fine blends of rum it produces.

Bauxite: When bauxite deposits were discovered in the parish, Kaiser Bauxite company began mining in the early 1950s. Alpart started mining and alumina manufacturing at Nain. This was closed in 1975 but the mining of ore continues.

Fishing: River fishing is unequalled in Jamaica and sea fishing is also very good. Middle Quarters is known as the Shrimp Capital of Jamaica. Vendors sell pickled crayfish to passing motorists and the industry is said to earn \$3,000,000.00 a year.

Crafts: St Elizabeth is noted for its straw work - hats, bags, baskets, mats, etc. Sisal and thatch are grown locally to support this.

Agriculture: This is the mainstay of the parish noted for its watermelons, seasoning, tomatoes, onions, cassava, pineapples etc. It is one of Jamaica's 'bread baskets'. Its farmers constantly work against drought conditions in some places.

Food Processing: There is a food processing plant at Bull Savannah for tomatoes, carrots and pineapples which are distributed under the brand name Village Pride. There are pimento leaf oil factories at Giddy Hall, Bogue and Braes River.

Tourism: St Elizabeth has significantly increased its room capacity for tourists and is strongly pushing a tourism package with a difference - community tourism which would include eco-tourism. There are indications that over a half of the estimated 1,000,000 tourists who visit the island each year over a half are interested in what the south coast has to offer.

Other industries: Glass, abrasives, Hodges Ceramic Supplies Ltd and Silica mines.

MAJOR HISTORICAL/CULTURAL/RECREATIONAL/ECOLOGICAL SITES

The Great Morass: This is the island's largest wetland which has an area of 125 square miles. The

lower morass extends from the Black River to Lacovia and the upper morass is above Lacovia. It is a complex eco-system and a preserve for more than 100 bird species. It is a refuge for about 300 crocodiles. Fed by the Black River the morass has plenty of crayfish and fish including the God-a-me that can live out of water in mud and moist leaf litter. Sometimes a manatee can be seen near the river estuary. The morass provides a livelihood for the 'shrimp' sellers at Middle Quarters. There is now evidence of pollution and the Black River and Great Morass Environmental Defence Fund is attempting to have the area declared a national park.

YS Falls: These falls are considered by many to be Jamaica's most spectacular waterfalls. Eight cascades separated by pools ideal for swimming fall for 120 feet. Limestone cliffs and towering lush vegetation enhance the scene. It is on private property but is open to the public for a fee. There is a picnic ground and transportation to the falls. The estate raises racehorses and Jamaica Red cattle

Bamboo Avenue: This two and a half mile 'avenue' of bamboos on the main road between Lacovia and Middle Quarters was planted by the owners of Holland Estate in the 17th century to provide shade in the heat of the savannah. A former owner was John Gladstone, father of the famous British prime minister. It was a sugar estate and the factory has only recently been closed. Although battered by hurricanes and the occasional fires it is still attractive. It is maintained by the staff of the Hope Botanical Gardens in Kingston.

Font Hill Wildlife Sanctuary: The Petroleum Corporation of Jamaica owns this 3150 acre wildlife reserve. It has two miles of coastline. Scrubby acacia and logwood thickets cover much of the area. Near to the coastline are interconnected lagoons and swamps. It is a haven for birds. Eight endemic species can be seen there including the pea dove, the white-bellied dove and the ground dove, the smallest dove in the world. It used to be a cattle ranch earlier.

St John's Parish Church: Although a tablet on the tower notes the laying of a foundation stone in 1837 it is believed that this yellow brick church is much older. The church has a pair of monuments erected in 1828 to the memory of Robert Hugh Munro and his nephew Caleb Dickenson. Munro bequeathed his estate in trust to his nephew and the church wardens and their successors to form a free school for the poor children of the parish. This bequest formed the Munro and Dickenson Trust which opened the Munro and Dickenson Free School in Black River in 1856, fifty-nine years after Munro's death and eventually Munro School for boys and Hampton School for girls, the oldest public educational institutions in the parish. The tombstones outside the west entrance are for Duncan Hook (1741 -1779) and his four children by a 'free mulatto' who lies beside him. He had to have a special act of Assembly passed to give his mistress and their children the same legal status as white people. Without it they could not have been buried in the churchyard.

Lacovia Tombstones: At the junction of the Lacovia main road and one of the roads to Maggoty lies two tombstones. On one is a large marble slab with the inscription "To Thomas Jordan Spencer". The other is unmarked. The story goes that a duel at a nearby tavern resulted in the death of both men. The engraved coat of arms has been traced to Spencer of Anthrop, an ancestor of the late Sir Winston Spencer Churchill of World War 2 fame.

Appleton Estate: Tucked in the Siloah Valley between the Nassau Mountains and the Cockpit Country lies Jamaica's oldest rum distillery on the Appleton Estate. The rums bear the estate's name and have been produced there since 1749. The estate is now owned by J.Wray & Nephew, Jamaica's largest producers of rum.

Pondside Lake: This is the largest fresh water lake in the island situated about six miles from Black River on the road to Mountainside. It is officially known as the Wally Eash Pond. According to legend this pond was once a district which, like the Yallahs Ponds in St Thomas, mysteriously disappeared leaving a pond in its place. A man and his dog left the district at night and as he was returning to the spot where the house should be he stepped into water. The district had sunken while he was away and he was the only one saved.

Accompong: Situated on the south side of the Cockpit Country, Accompong is the only remaining village in western Jamaica inhabited by the descendants of the Maroons. It was reputedly named after the brother of the great Maroon leader Cudjoe, and it was a common name among the Akan speaking tribes of West Africa. The settlement was formed after the treaty between the Maroons and the English in 1739. When the second war with the English broke out in 1795, the Accompong Maroons remained neutral and were left untroubled at the end of the war when all the other Maroon settlements were destroyed. On the 6th of January each year a traditional ceremony is held to commemorate the signing of the treaty with the English in 1739 which gave them their freedom. Their head of government is the Colonel who is elected by secret ballot every five years. He is assisted by a council which he appoints. Most of the Maroons have gone to other parts of Jamaica to live but they are still proud of their African heritage.

Savanna-la-Mar

Extracts 1784 Almanac: WESTMORELAND

...is the county town, where the Assize courts are held for the county of Cornwall, the last Tuesday in March, June, September, and December: it has lately been ornamented by an elegant court-house, and contains about 100 other houses. In the parish are 89 sugar estates, 106 other settlements, and 18000 slaves

6. JAMAICA ALMANACS, HANDBOOKS & NEWSPAPERS

4 volumes (1824, 1826, 1840 & 1845) were examined in the Royal Commonwealth Library collection now in the University Library, Cambridge (7/2000). The remainder of the extracts were from a website on Jamaica Genealogy (jamaicanfamilysearch.com)
The local Government in those days, was called the "Justices and Vestry." It comprised the Custos Rotulorum (Chairman), four senior Magistrates, the Rector of the Anglican Church and the two Church Wardens with ten Freeholders who were to be elected annually as Vestrymen.

ALMANACS EXTRACTS

1751 Civil List: no sig

1776 Civil List: John Wedderburn, Magistrate, Westmoreland
John de la Roach, magistrate, St E

Dr William Wright, Surgeon General to Navy
Hanover: George Spence
St Elizabeth: John James Swaby

1779 Magistrates:

Hanover: George Spence
Westmoreland: John Wedderburn
St Elizabeth: John James Swaby

1784 Magistrate

Hanover: Custos Hon George Spence
Westmoreland: John Wedderburn, Thomas Thistlewood
St Elizabeth: John James Swaby

Militia

St Elizabeth:
William B Wright, Major; Charles Wright, Lt; Robert Wright, Lt
Westmoreland:
John & William Tomlinson, Ensigns
Hanover:
Henry Scrymgeour, Lt

1790 Magistrates:

Westmoreland: John Wedderburn, James Robert Tomlinson

Militia

St Elizabeth:
William B Wright, Major; Robert B. Wright, Lt;
Westmoreland:
William Tomlinson, Lt.
Hanover:
Henry Scrymgeour, Lt

1793: (Royal Gazette)

Andrew Wright Vestreyman, St Elizabeth
CAVEATS entered in the Office

Jan 31 Wright, Alexander by William Hislop

(March) On Tuesday the 22nd a subscription purse, for two years old, two mile heats, was run for over the Race course at Lacovia, by Mr. Andrew Wright's Bay Colt, and Mr. Salmon's Pepper Filly, Brunettes. The first heat was won by the Colt, but in the second he ran out of the course and was distanced.

1794, July, died:

In this town, Mr. Charles Wright, lately of Europe

1796:

Westmoreland:
Magistrates:
Also of the Quorum

James Robert Tomlinson
James Wedderburn
Commissioner of Workhouse: James Wedderburn.

St Elizabeth
Coroner: JB Wright
Horse Militia
Hanover Windward: William Sinclair, Lt.
Militia
St Elizabeth:
Robert B. William & Andrew Wright, Capt
JC Wright, Ensign; Robert Wright, Lt

1802 Westmoreland:
Magistrates:
Also of the Quorum
James Robert Tomlinson
James Wedderburn
Commissioner of Workhouse: James Wedderburn.

St Elizabeth
Coroner: JB Wright
Horse Militia
Hanover Windward: William Sinclair, Lt.
Militia
St Elizabeth:
Robert B. William & Andrew Wright, Capt
JC Wright, Ensign; Robert Wright, Lt

1808 Civil list
Richard Pusey, attorney at law
Alexander Rose, JP, St Elizabeth

1811 (Property/slaves/stock)
St Elizabeth Brooks, George -Burnt Ground, 40/10
Barnes, Jonathan, decd - Rosely Hill, 43/31.
Cerf, Henry - Berlin & Potsdam, 50/176
Campbell, Peter - Holland, 421/202
Maitland, Francis - Giddy Hall, 74/140
Royal, Joseph - Lower Works 29/323
Rose, Alexander - Mount Lebanon, 38/42
Smith, John - Mount Charles, 66/12
Sinclair, Alexander - Prospect, 85/-
Wright, Andrew, decd - Mitcham, 116/174
Wright, William B - Cornwall, 79/-
Wright, John - Meribah, 79/134.
Wright, Robert B - Southampton, 48/126.
Williams, Thomas J. - Mount Olivet, 100/28.

Vere Booth, JG - Farm, 62/13
Booth, JG Decd - Mount Pleasant, 58/12
Booth, Samuel - Asia, 41/19
Edwards, J P, - Pusey Hall, 360/157
Wint, John P - 50/-
Wright, James, decd - Streten Hall, 82/56

Westmoreland Watkins, Hannah - Logwood, 46/6
Wedderburne John, Spring Garden etc, 1,524/ 1,877
Wedderburn Sir David & Andrew,
Blue Castle and Blackheath 602/ 633
Leslie Hon. William, Lindores 59/ 41 (cf Margaret Dick)

Clarendon: Wint, Thomas - Belmont, 75/87

1812:

slaves/stock

Westmoreland: Tomlinson W., deceased, Culloden 31/ 97
Tomlinson, Thomas, Bluefields 116/123
Wedderburn, John, Spring Garden etc. etc., 2322/1285
Wedderburn, Sir D., Black Heath etc. 686/ 353
Watkins, Hannah, Logwood penn 35/ 5

St Elizabeth: Angel, Sarah, Providence 43/ 11
Angel, Thomas M., Lookout 33/ 50
Brooks, George, Burnt Ground 37/ 36
Brooks, Martha, Rocky Mount 25/ 3
Cerf, Henry, Berlin etc., 602/ 214
Campbell, Peter, Holland 409/ 30
Maitland, Francis, Giddy Hall 74/ 142
Royal, Joseph, Lower Works 29/ 331
Rose, Alexander, Mount Lebanon 57/ 89
Sinclair, Alexander, Prospect 41/ 30
Smith, John, Mount Charles 68/ 15
Wright, Andrew, deceased, Mitcham 118/ 169
Wright, John, Meribah 54/ 76
Wright, Charles, ___ 30/ 30

1815

St E. Cerf, Henry - Potsdam, Berlin & Malvern Well, 643/-
Maitland, Francis - Giddy Hall & Mitcham, 197/456
Smith, John - Mount Charles, 22/13
Sinclair, Alexander - Prospect, 53/60
Wint, Mary - Caen-Wood, 43/10
Wright, John - Meribah, 56/42

Vere Booth, John Gaul, heirs of - Mount Pleasant, 42/20
Booth, Samuel, - Asia, 24
Brooks, George - Blenheim
Edwards, Hon John P, Pusey Hall - 303/232
Wint, John Pusey, - Ryde, 131/15
Wright & Glasgow, exec of, - Stratton Hall, 72/112
Wright, Robert Benstead, - Kensworth, 45/12

Westmoreland Wright, William Burt, - Enfield, 103/16
Thompson, Mary - Truro 49
Wedderburn, John, Spring Garden 467/319 [?]
.....Jerusalem 273/ 267 [last digit torn]
.....Mint 248/ 213
.....Retreat 368/ 261
.....Moreland 230/ 232
.....Paradise 154/ 476
.....Mount-Edgecumbe 260/ 246
Wedderburn, Sir David, Blue-Castle 300/ 385

1816:

St Elizabeth: Maitland, Francis - Giddy Hall & Mitcham, 197/450

1817:

St Elizabeth:

Maitland, Francis, Giddy Hall, T(orn) & Mitcham, T

1818

St Elizabeth: Maitland, Francis - Mitcham, 114/185
Maitland, Francis - Giddy Hall, 75/224
Smith, John, Mount Charles, 29/14

1820

Manchester:

Booth, John Gall - Farm, 74/30.
Booth, John Gall heirs of - Mount Pleasant, 35/4
Maitland & Roberts - 80 (prob Silver Grove)
Wint, John Pusey - Ryde, 115/12
Wint, Mary - Caenwood, 64/31
Wright, William Burt, - Enfield, 137/17
Wright, Robert Benstead, Kensworth - 61/8
Sinclair, Alexander, Prospect 73/ 8

St Elizabeth:

Cerf, Henry - Berlin, 409/13
Corby Castle, 96
Nile, 40
Potsdam, 251/28
Cohen, Abraham S - 2/1
Cohen, David - 6
Maitland & Roberts - 42/179 (prob Mitcham)
Maitland, Frances - Giddy Hall, 71/240
Nembhard, Ballard B, decd Hounslow 85/440
Sherman, Judith - 13/9
Smith, John - Mount Charles, 28/5
Wright John - Meribah 79/4
Wright, Nathaniel - 24/3
Wright, Thomas - 2/2

Vere:

White & Levys - Stretton Hall, 81/22.
Brooks, George - Blenheim, 118/20

Westmoreland:

Wedderburn, James, 8/ 1
Wedderburn, John, Endeavour 15/ 4
Wedderburn, John, Jerusalem 291/ 213
....., Mint 224/ 197
....., Moreland 216/ 210
....., Mount Edgcumbe 241/ 450
....., Paradise 140/ 183
....., Spring Garden 418/ 310
....., Retreat 354/ 250
Wedderburn, Sir David, Blue Castle 263 330
Wright, Catherine, 5

1821

St Elizabeth: Maitland & Roberts - Mitcham?, 38/194
Maitland, Francis - Giddy Hall, 70/217
Smith, John, Mount Charles 30/ 20

1822

Manchester:

Maitland & Roberts - Silver Grove, 80
Wint, John Pusey - Ryde 112/11
Wint, Mary - Caenwood, 71/2
Wright, Robert B, estate of - Kensworth, 70/20
Wright, William Burt estate of - Enfield, 174/27

St Elizabeth

Cohens & Co. - Heathfield 96/4
Maitland & Roberts - Mitcham, 41/219
Maitland, Frances - Giddy Hall, 66/220
Smith, John - Mount Charles, 28/5
Sherman, Judith - 12/4
Wright, John - Meribah, 80/76
Wright, Nathaniel - 12/3

Westmoreland:

Wright, Catherine - 5.

Vere:

Brooks, George - Blenheim, 134/17

1823:

Manchester:

Maitland & Roberts - Silver Grove, 79
Wint, John Pusey - Ryde, 107/17.
Wint, Mary - Caenwood, 70/26.

St Elizabeth:

Maitland & Roberts - Mitcham, 41/266
Maitland, Frances - Giddy Hall, 67/298
Smith, John - Mount Charles, 28/5
Sherman, Judith - Twickenham, 12/4
Wright, John - Meribah, 81/84
Wright, Nathaniel - 12/3
Wright, Rebecca, 5
Wright, Robert, 10/ 4
Wright, Robert B., 10/ 4

1824: (Hardcopy & web site)

	Name	Property	Slaves/Stock
St Elizabeth:	Maitland & Roberts:	Mitcham	43/224
	Maitland Frances	Giddy Hall	68/320
	Burlton James E.	Mount Charles	55/15
	Spence George	Bloomsbury	50/20
	Williams Thomas John	Mount Olivet	103/24
Manchester:	Maitland & Roberts:	Silver Grove	81/0
St Elizabeth:	Wright John	Meribah	100/100
	Wright Nathaniel	-----	12/2
	Wright Rebecca	-----	5/0
	Wright Robert	-----	7/0
	Wright Robert B	-----	10/4
Manchester	Brooks, George	Blenheim	33
	Wright Robert B, est of,	Kenilworth	85/0
	Wright Wm Burt, est. of,	Enfield	190/00

1824:

St Elizabeth	Burlton, James E - Mount Charles 55/15		
	Cerf, Henry - Berlin, 457/14		
	Corby Castle, 107		
	Potsdam, 247/9		
	Cohens & Co - Heathfield, 96/4		
	Maitland & Roberts, - Mitcham, 43/234		
	Maitland, Francis - Giddy Hall, 68/320		
	Sherman, Judith - Twickenham, 13/5		
	Wright, John - Meribah, 100/100		
	Wright, Nathaniel, 12/2		
	Wright, Rebecca, 5		
	Wright, Robert, 7		
	Wright, Robert B, 10/4		
Manchester	Maitland & Roberts, - Silver Grove, 81		
	Wright, Robert B estate of - Kensworth 85		
	Wright, William Burt, est of - Enfield 190		
	Wint, John Pusey - Ryde 99		
	Wint, Mary - Caenwood, 73/2		
	Booth, John Gall - Farm, 115/23		
Vere	Booth, Robert W - 3/19		
	Booth, Samuel - Rest 25/4		
Westmoreland	Wright, Catherine, 7		

1825

St Elizabeth:	Maitland & Roberts - Mitcham, 42/274		
	Maitland, Francis - Giddy Hall, 76/300		

1826:

St Elizabeth:	Maitland & Roberts:	Mitcham	42/245
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	Maitland Frances	Giddy Hall	72/231	
	Burlton James E.	Mount Charles	48/32	
	Sherman Judith	Twickenham	9/4	
	Earl John	-----	3/0	
	Nembhard, Ballard B, decd	Hounslow	81/442	
	Spence George	Bloomsbury	45/6	
	Rose Alexander dcr	Mount Lebanon	48/26	
Manchester:	Maitland & Roberts:	Silver Grove		85/0
St Elizabeth:	Wright Ezekiel	-----	30/0	
	Wright John	Meribah	70/23	
	Wright Rebecca	-----	10/0	
	Wright Robert	-----	11/0	
	Wright Robert E	-----	20/10	
Manchester	Wright Robert B, est of,	Kenilworth	85/3	
	Wright Wm Burt, est. of,	Enfield	167/21	

1827:

St Elizabeth:
 Burlton, James E., Mount Charles, 50/50
 Maitland, Frances, Giddy Hall, 74/228
 Maitland and Roberts, Mitcham, 41/264

1828:

St Elizabeth: Maitland, Ann, 72/226
 Maitland and Roberts, Mitcham, 40/241
 Burlton, James E., Mount Charles, 41/36
 Rose, Alexander, deceased, Mount Lebanon, 36/37
 Wright, Ezekiel, 2/1
 Wright, John, Meribah, 69/23
 Wright, Rebecca, Friendship, 5
 Wright, Robert B., 7/2
 Manchester: Roberts, George, Silver Grove, 86
 Westmoreland: Wedderburn, James, Mint, 335/37
 ..ditto, Moreland, 316/27
 ..ditto, Mount Edgecumbe, 251/380
 ..ditto, Paradise, 115/670
 ..ditto, Retreat, 326/38
 ..ditto, Spring Garden, 374/49
 Wedderburn, James, 10/5
 Wedderburn, Sir David, Blue Castle, 217/112

1829:

St Elizabeth:
 Burlton, James E., - Mount Charles, 77/55
 Maitland & Roberts - Mitcham, 37/244
 Maitland, Ann - Giddy Hall 78/197

1830:

St Elizabeth:

Maitland & Roberts - Mitcham, 39/247
Maitland, Ann - Giddy Hall 77/145

1831:

St Elizabeth: Burlton, James Edward, Mount Charles, 79/118
Maitland and Roberts, Mitcham, 39/247
Maitland, Ann, Giddy Hall, 77/145
Wright, Charles, 13
Wright, John, deceased, Meribah, 67
Wright, Nathaniel, 13/4
Wright, Rebecca, Friendship, 5
Wright, Robert B., Friendship, 7/2
Manchester: Roberts, George, Silver Grove, 90
Wint, Mary, Cowick Park, 82
..ditto, Look Out, 56/48
Wright, Mrs., Kensworth, 86/4
Westmoreland: Wedderburn, James, Mint, 323/42
..ditto, Moreland, 296/17
..ditto, Mount Edgecumbe, 258/358
..ditto, Paradise, 106/557
..ditto, Retreat, 327/47
Wedderburn, James, 43/8
Wedderburn, Sir David, Blue Castle, 221/114

1833:

St Elizabeth (slaves/stock)
Burlton, James Edward - Mount Charles, 92/225
Campbell, Holland, 322/200
Cohen, Judah - Potsdam 317/40 - Corby Castle, 117
Cohen, Hyman - Berlin 452/35 - Heathfield, 21
Earl, John - 6
Maitland & Robert - Mitcham, 60/350
Maitland, Ann - Giddy Hall 100/300
Nembhard, William - Kensington, 77
Rose, Alexander, decd, Mount Lebanon, 72/70
Sherman, Judith - Twickenham 10/10
Wright, John decd - Meribah 53
Wright, Rebecca - Friendship 5
Wright, Robert B - Friendship 7
Wright, Nathaniel - 12/5
Wright, Charles - 50.

Westmoreland

Wright, Elizabeth, 4
Wedderburn, James, Mint 332/ 53
.....Moreland 279/ 15
.....Mount Edgecombe 263/ 319
.....Retreat 311/ 37
.....Spring Garden 346/ 41
Wedderburn, James, Paradise 99/ 558

Manchester Wedderburn, Sir David, Bluecastle 222/ 121
Roberts, George - Silver Grove 180
Wint, Mary - Look-Out 55/61
Wright, N - Kensworth 89/3

1838: (with numbers of "apprentices")

Manchester Wint, Mary - Cow Park etc, 119
Wright, N - Kinworth 91
Wright, WB, decd - Enfield 154
Cohen, Hyman - Apropos 39 - Albion 227
Cohen, H&J - Isle 53
Cohen, Judah - New Heathfield, 53
- Chatham & Bath, 79
- Berwick, 50

St Elizabeth (apprentices)
Maitland, Ann decd - Giddy Hall, 76
Sherman, Samuel - Mitcham 44
Burlton, James E - Mount Charles, 88
Cohen, Judah - Potsdam 271 - Corby Castle - 101
Cohen, Hyman - Berlin 332
Gladstone, John, Holland, 250
Nembhard, Eliza P - Kensington, 62

1838

Civil Lists:

St Elizabeth Vestrymen: James E Burlton, James Mullings, Matthew Farquharson, John Maitland, Theodore Stone, F Hendricks, Edward F Coke, John Earl, Alexander Cowan, Michael Myers

Militia: St Elizabeth,

Quartermaster Samuel Sherman;

Asst Surgeon AW Maitland

1839:

St Elizabeth Vestreymen: John Maitland

1840: (hard copy & website)

St Elizabeth:	Maitland Andrew dcr	Giddy Hall	2000 acres
	Sherman Samuel	Mitcham	807 acres
	Burlton James E	Ashton & Mount Charles	1002a
	Wright Nathaniel	South Valley	115 acres
	Spence Joan Lean	Bloomsbury	226
	Spence George B	Upland	82 acres
	Cohen, Judah	Potsdam,	1710a
	Cohen, Judah	Colby Castle,	328a
	Cohen, Hymen	Berlin,	1412a
	Earl, John	Chelsea,	180a
	Earl, John	Mount Olivet,	502a
	Earl & Muirhead	Roseberry,	802a

Nembhard, Eliza P	Kensington, 202a
Gladstone, John,	Lacovia estate 2212 & Holland, 4548.
Cooper, David,	Lyndesaye-Lodge, 118
McClymont, John,	Unity, 1000
Wallace, Jane,	Mount Unity, 188
Solomons, Eve,	Mount Lebanon, 1500

Manchester -

- Cohen, H & J - Isle, 397a
- Cohen, Judah - Heathfield, 348a
- Cohen, Hymen - Apropos, 60a
- Cohen, Judah - Maidstone, Bath & Chatham, 1058a
- Cohen, Hymen - Albion 1350a
- Cohen, Judah - Berwick, 700a
- Roberts, George - Silver Grove, 1200a
- Sweetman - Pusey Hill 403a
- Wint, Mary - Lookout, Caen Wood & New Hall, 951a
Cowick Park, 400a
- Wint, Diana - Content, 10a
- Wint, James - Mahogany Grove, 1000a
- Wright, Nicola - Kensworth, 500a
- Wright, Robert J, - Halsham, 50a

Vere

- Booth, R.W. Estate of, 300a
- Burrwell, Geo P, exor of Booth, 137a.

Westmoreland:

- Wedderburn, --, heirs of, 3453
- Same, 1800
- Same, 2767
- Same, 1825
- Same, 1742
- Same, 1841
- Wedderburn, Daniel, 2131
- Wedderburn, James, 340
- Wedderburn, Eliza, 36
- Wright, F, 16a

St Elizabeth Civil List:

Vestreyemen: John Earl, Jno Maitland, Frederick Hendricks
Militia Assistant Surgeon: AW Maitland.

Also in this volume was a description of a new electric rotating machine, demonstrated in New York in 1837.

1845:

St Elizabeth:	Maitland J	Kensington	300 acres
		Giddy Hall	1150 acres
		Rosehill	130 acres
	Sherman S	Mitcham	843 acres
	Sherman J	Mahogany House	10 acres
	Burlton James E, est of,	Ashton & M/C	1209 acres
		Black River &c	250 acres

Earl J heirs of Mount Olivet	497 acres
Wiltshire	600 acres
Cooper J. Sportsman Hall	10 acres
Cooper B & Co Newport & Black River	13 acres
Cooper F Pleasant Hill	50 acres
Spence Joan L Bloomsbury	226 acres
Swaby JJ Montpellier	3000 acres
Swaby Ann Spice Grove	26 acres
Gladstone A, Holland, Maybole & Stonehenge,	5185.
Hewitt, W. K.	Fellowship, 700
Barnes, N. A.	Middlesex, 15
Bent, J.	Middlesex, 117
Rickard, J.	Watt's Middlesex, 530
Salmon, J.	Magotty and Middlesex, 1440
Solomon, Eve,	Mount Lebanon, 750
Finlay, W.	Mount Unity and Good Intent, 38
Parchment, W.	Mount Unity, 41
Swaby, Ann,	Brownhill, 100
_Same,	Mount Unity, 25
Segre, J.	Mount Unity, 25
Wallace, Jane,	Mount Unity, 180

Manchester: Roberts George heirs of Silver Grove 1400 acres

Westmoreland: Maitland R. Carpenter Hall 11 acres

St Davids: Maitland C Claugh na Cate 10 acres

St Elizabeth Civil List:

Assistant Justices & Magistrates: John Maitland

Militia Quartern Samuel Sherman

Militia Assistant Surgeon: AW Maitland

District Prison (Black River) Surgeon: AW Maitland.

1846:

This issue did not contain any returns of properties.

College of Physicians and Surgeons, Qualified Practitioners,
being fellows, Manchester:

Maitland, Andrew Wright, Lic Ap. Cy. London

Militia St Elizabeth Assistant Surgeon: AW Maitland.

1851:

Magistrate: St Elizabeth John Maitland

Surgeon: A Maitland also physician to the poor.

1860 Voters:

St Elizabeth, Cooper, John M.

1861:

Magistrates St E, John Myers Cooper, Black River

1878 Trade Directory.

St Elizabeth,

Black River, Maitland AK, propr Mt Charles Pen.

Wedderburn, AA Inspector of Constabulary.
Goshen, Cooper Wright, postmaster and planter of Santa Cruz
Wright JC prop Friendship Pen.
Lacovia, Tomlinson, WJ, propr Cornwall Pen.

1878 Directory of Properties:

Ashton, J. W. Earle proprietor, Black River
Mount Charles, A. K. Maitland proprietor, Black River
Farm, J. M. Cooper proprietor, Middle Quarters
Giddy Hall, J. M. Cooper proprietor, Middle Quarters
New Shaftson, A. N. Sinclair proprietor and manager, Bluefields

1891: St Elizabeth,

Middle Quarters, Cooper J & WS, Giddy Hall Pen
Balaclava: Sherman & Roberts, storekeepers

Handbook of Jamaica, 1881: (OP 38520.972.01)

This was checked , but contained nothing of detailed interest.

Search of Jamaica Site:

William Rhodes Petgrave Wright listed with descendants, b abt 1835
Wint, Mary met Mr John Webb, she b abt 1773
Militia 1808: Westmoreland Artillery Lt M Wright.
St Elizabeth Regt Ensign C Wright.

Seaman deaths:

1775, John Maitland, St Elizabeth, master of the "Atlantic".

Royal Gazettes 5/1/1793-27/4/1793

12/1/1793:

St Elizabeth Vestreyman: Andrew Wright

3/3/1793:

Hanover vestreyman: William Sinclair.

23/3/1793

On Tuesday the 22nd a subscription purse, for two years old, two mile heats, was run for over the Race course at Lacovia, by Mr. Andrew Wright's Bay Colt, and Mr. Salmon's Pepper Filly, Brunettes. The first heat was won by the Colt, but in the second he ran out of the course and was distanced

April 6, 1793

Kingston, Jamaica, West Indies

PERSONS LEAVING THE ISLAND:

Mar 20 Joseph Cameron, Trelawny

" Charles Murray, St. Thomas in the East

" Archibald Sinclair, ditto

" John Synes, St. Mary

Apr 3 Robert Boyd, Westmorland

Alexander Burton, Kingston

May 4, 1793

Kingston, Jamaica, West Indies

PERSONS LEAVING THE ISLAND:

William Sinclair, Hanover

13/4/1793:

The following is a copy of an Address from the Grand Inquest of the county of Cornwall, at the Assize Court, held in and for the said county, on Tuesday the second day of April, 1793, before the Honourable George Murray, Esq., one of the Assistant Judges of the Supreme Court, and one of the Justices of the Cornwall Assize, and his Associates, then sitting in the said Court of Assize, presented by them to the Court, previous to their being discharged:

Jamaica - Westmoreland

WE, the Grand Jurors for the County of Cornwall, having had presented to us, by the Honourable the Custos, a letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, announcing that war had been declared by the supreme authority of France against his Majesty's kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and its dependencies, beg leave to return our thanks for the communication, and to express our perfect attachment to our King and happy Constitution, and readiness to exert our utmost abilities in the defence of the same; and that we will collectively, as well as individually, use every endeavour to detect and apprehend all suspicious and seditious incendiaries who may attempt to disturb the peace and unanimity of this island, or this county in particular. -

James Wedderburn, Foreman. J. Hering, Wm Brown, D. Connell, Hugh Fraser, Robt. Minto, John Simpson, Henry John Wisdom, Joseph Hardy, James Stewart, Robert Boswell, Thomas Minto, G.F. Clarke, Sam. Cuninghame, Matthew Henegan, David Innes, James Berry, F. R. Tomlinson, Archibald Duthie, Thomas Robertson, James Jack, John Graham, Andrew Black.

At the same Court, Thomas Bullman was indicted for speaking seditious words against the King and Constitution, and, after a most impartial hearing, he was found guilty, and sentenced to lie three months in jail, and on the King's birthday, to stand one hour in the pillory.

June 29, 1793

Kingston, Jamaica, West Indies

PASSENGERS ARRIVED:

On the Alexandre, Mr. D'Aguilar, Mr. Cuthbert, Mr. and Mrs. Brodie, Mr. Dasseray[?], Mr. Brown, Mr. Alves, Mr. McIntosh, and Master Ballin.

On the Jupiter, the Hon. Major Maitland of the 62nd regiment, Major McLachlan of the 10th regiment, Captain Ramsay of the Royal Artillery, Mr. James Maitland, Mr. Charles Fuhr, Mr. John Kelly, Mr. M. Geohagan, and Mr. Hugh O'Connor.

1794 Died

At Martha Brae, on the 18th last, Captain Benjamin Wright, of Rhode Island. He was for a number of years a reputable Merchant at Savanna la Mar

9/9/94 promotions:, Hon. Thomas Maitland, 62nd foot;

SUGAR ESTATES IN CULTIVATION IN JAMAICA:

WESTMORELAND

Albany, Charlottenburg and Masemure - Anthony Charley

Belleisle - Heirs of Wm. Vickers (S. H. Morris)

Blue Castle - Samuel H. Morris

7. JAMAICA MAITLAND PARISH RECORD EXTRACTS

Films held by LDS at Exhibition Road, London (& Utah).

Examination of the St Elizabeth Parish records show many Maitlands, the earliest of which is our Francis (1). Index film no 1224314 refers to all the missing second generation shown on the original Maitland Tree. The Copy Registers are on film 1368561 (later ones on 1223998) and are photographs of the registers held by the Registrar General in Jamaica.

These are the original texts noted from the records. Where relevant, they are repeated under the individual concerned in their family file.

INDEX:

The significant baptismal entries indexed on film 1224314 are:

1720-1800	Rebecca D. Wright	1	8
1720-1800:	Francis M.	Vol 1	Folio 49
	Richard M.	1	54
1801-1825	Andrew Wright M	1	190
	John	1	190
	Francis	1	190
	Richard	1	190
	George	2	57
	Alexander	2	57
	Septimus	2	57

Numerous other entries are in the index: they mostly refer to slaves who have taken the owner's name.

Other entries of interest are:

Marriages:

1832 Emma Rebecca M.
1847 Andrew Wright M.

Burial:

1840 Octavius: ours was baptised in London: this is probably a
slave, named after Octavius. See below.
1856 Andrew Wright M.

COPY REGISTER:

Vol 1, folio 8 (1720-1800):

Rebecca Dunston Wright, daughter of Patty, a mulatto, lately a slave belonging to Mr Roderick Rose, three years old last May and baptised Nov 12 1752.

Vol 1, folio 35 (1720-1800):

1773 August 1, baptised, Elizabeth M., reputed daughter of Richard Parchment (?) by Sarah M., born 18 August 1772.

Also: William 28/12/1775, John 12/2/1782, Richard 14/1/1779, Nicholas 2/9/1785.

Vol 1, folio 49 (1720-1800):

1784 May 23: Francis Maitland baptised, reputed son of John Maitland by Rebecca Wright. Born 25

feb 1784. (Listed under Non White).

Vol 1, folio 54:

1788: Richard Maitland baptised, reputed son of John Maitland by Rebecca Wright. Born 4 August 1786.

Under "Persons non-white" category, crossed out, which appears not to be used any more.

Vol 1, folio 190 (1801-1825)

1814 April 12, at Giddy Hall

Andrew Wright M.)	
John M.	)	Children of Francis Maitland and
Francis M.	)	his wife Mistress.
Richard M.)	

Rebecca Wright	)	Slaves Belonging	(	Billy Wright
Jane M.	)	to Francis M.	(	Benjamin Brown
Fanny M.	)		(	Thomas Brown
Johnson M.	)		(	William Roberts
Louisa M.	)		(	John M.
Richard M.	)		(	Fanny Wright
Thomas Clark	)		(	Eliza Read (?)

Thomas Wright

Elizabeth Wright	(	Slaves belonging	Bify (?) Wright
Clarissa Wright	(	to Estate of	Mary Wright
Celia Wright	(	Andrew Wright	

Vol 1, folio 195:

1814 Dec 11 at Black River, Margaret Carpenter Honneywell, Sambo Woman, the property of Francis Maitland, aged 20 years.

Vol 2, folio 57:

3 baptism entries on 23/3/1821 for George, (Born 14/4/1818), Alexander (born 31/5/1819) and Septimus (born 20/1/1821) M. "... the son of Mr Francis Maitland, a free person of colour and Ann, his wife, reputed white, baptised 23 March".

Also baptised same day, 48 slaves belonging to Francis M.

1821 June 21:

94 slaves, the property of Mitcham & Silver Grove (best Guess)
baptised: many were called Maitland.

Several Maitland marriages were at Giddy Hall in the 1830's between people described as apprentices.

Francis M and Eliza Wright married at Giddy Hall by banns on 9/4/1837. Probably a slave, not ours. A negro called Francis M. was baptised in 1835, aged 50 years.

Edward M & Catherine Griffith, apprentices at Giddy Hall, baptised 24/7/1836. Several similar entries are shown.

On cursory reading, I found a number of burials of Wrights at Lacovia between 1789 & 1806. James Cooper Wright, buried 2/5/1806, had a daughter called Mary Frances by Ann, his wife, b: 14/6/1760.

Several early (1750's) Wright baptisms refer to Westmoreland.

Marriages (1223998):

Octavius M. and Christiana Williams 9 May 1850.

"Samuel Maitland and Camilla Beckford, both of Font(?) Hill married 18 October 1850."

John Bennet and Flora M. both of Burnt Savannah married 12 August 1842.

PORT ROYAL parish records (film 1291768):

James Maitland: born 21/10/1758, bap 6/11/1758, son of Frederick Maitland and Mary Arnot(?), a mulatto. (V1/11)

Buried 18/8/1760 by Frederick M at Palisades. (V1/161).

Elizabeth Maitland, born 30/11/1763, bap 1/1/1764, dau of Hon Frederick Maitland and Mary Arnot, mulatto. (V1/15)

John Maitland, born 19/3/1765, bap 20/7/1765, son of Hon Frederick Maitland and Mary Arnot, mulatto. (V1/16)

Charles Maitland bap 5/5/1814, free mestu(?) son of Charles Maitland and Maria Lucri???? (rem unreadable), (V1/83).

Burials (Palisades was the cemetery for Port Royal):

Ann Arnot, free mulatto, 8/10/1777 by Mary Arnot @ Palisades.

Mary Arnot, 27/11/1782, by Mary O'Niel(?) @ Palisades

Charlotte Cornwallis, 10/8/1783, by Tho' Little (?) @ Palisades.

Also found on same page as John M, William Cornwallis, born 26/12/1765, bap 14/3/1766, son of Hon William Cornwallis and Ann Arnot, mulatto.

Mary and Ann Arnot were probably sisters: no Arnots were found in Port Royal records. Other Cornwallis offspring in the index were:

James (V1/21), Charlotte (V1/28), James (V1/30), Priscilla (V1/39), Marcella (V1/50).

St Andrew Parish: (film 1291698) Mary Maitland, bap 28/6/1740, a quadroon child of Richard Maitland born of the mulatto slave of Mrs Laws.

Kingston PR:

William Maitland bap 25/8/1794, son of Milborough Merchant by John Maitland, mulatto.

"non white person": John Maitland Munro, b18/7/1809, reputed son of John Munro by Elizabeth

Hutchinson, ch 30/3/1811 at Sacridd?

Lacovia?. Next entry is for John Munro, about 33 years, free mulatto.

There is mention of a James Maitland, planter, dying in Jamaica in September 1773. (ref Scots Magazine, Issue 35 p 559, Nov 1773, National Library of Scotland checked June 1995). No trace has been found in the Jamaica microfilms.

Slave Manumissions:

Frederick Cowan manumitted by Francis Maitland for £140.

Louisa Wright Manumitted by Frank Maitland for £220

Bruce, William, a sailor belonging to the "Atlantic", bur 2/26/1775 in the church yard, St. Elizabeth. John Maitland is master of the ship. I, p. 334

8. SLAVE REGISTRATION RECORDS at the PRO.

Kew 22/1/95.

Also later by internet

Records in T71 164-177 covering 1817, 1820, 1823, 1826, 1829, 1832.

Records show the total number of males and females held, the changes since last record, and the manner of the change (birth, death or sometimes acquisition). The registers are under owners' names except where the register is made under an agent's name when the plantation name is sometimes quoted. The given name and the baptism names are often given. The records contain a differentiation between African and Creole origin as well as their racial mix.

Cause of death is given, varying from old age to dropsy, lockjaw (quite common) and other illnesses of the time. Mothers are usually given for the births.

The registration was taken on 28 June, but the records were usually signed up in September. Many references to Roses' and Wrights through years.

1817

T71/165:

Francis Maitland in St Elizabeth (f665): M45 F28 T73

Males:

Aqua (ch John Maitland)	Negro 40	Creole
Fortune (ch Richard M)	Negro 40	Creole
Jack Wright	Negro 50	Creole
Sammy	60	
Johnson (ch Johnson M)	60	African
Tom Jones	35	C
Scipio	30	C
Adam	50	A
Joe	25	C
Julius	60	A
Cumberland	60	A

Daniel	Mulatto	35	C	Graces, Runaway
Damion	N	30	C	Graces
Chester		30	A	
Pompey		60	A	
Thomas		30	C	
Jupiter		60	A	
Old Joe		65	A	
Prince		25	C	Charlotte's
Long George	30	A		
Frank	30	A		
Tom Brown	Sambo 25	C		Grace Green
Ben Brown	Sambo 25	C		Grace Green
George	Mulatto 20	C		Marina's
Handson?	N 20	C		
Harry	20	C		
Jacky	18	C		Nelly's
Tom Clark		18	C	Marina's
Billy (ch Billy Wright)	14	C		Nelly's
Quaco	12	C		Marina's
William (ch William Roberts)	12	C		Abba's
John		12	C	Charlotte's
Jupiter		11	C	Sophy's
Nash		10	C	
Quamina		11	C	Cuida's
James	10	C		
Iancho		10	C	Charlotte's
Ned		12	C	Sophy's
Nelson		12	C	Marina's
Nero		7	C	Marina's
McDonald		4	C	Marina's
Shortland		3	C	Sophy's
James	1	C		Jenny's
Andrew		1	C	Rose's
Dick (ch Richard Porker)	Sambo 3	C		Margaret Carpenter
Females:				
Nancy		25	C	Phabe's
Rose		20	C	Marina's
Little Sue	18	C		
Jenny (ch Jane Maitland)		30	C	
Cuida	35	C		
Bess (ch Bessy Wright)	45	C		
Phabe	45	C		
Charlotte		45	A	
Mary Ann		60	A	
patience		50	A	
Cretia		50	A	
Eve		55	A	
Juba (ch Fanny Wright)	50	A		
Margaret Carpenter	Sambo 45	C		

Margaret Carpenter	Sambo	18	C		Sophy's
Charity (ch Fanny Maitland)		55	C		
Grace Green		45	C		
Maria (ch Maria Wright)		45	C		
Melly		35	C		
Cynthia (ch Louise Wright)		45	C		
Marina		40	C		
Abba (ch Rebecca Wright)				45	C
Sophy				40	C
Fanny		40	C		
Ruthy		18	C		Marina's
Hagai		8	C		Charlotte'S
Flora		5	C		Charlotte's
Charlotte (ch Charlotte Parker)	Sambo	3	C		Jenny's
Alice (ch Alice Blake)	Quadroon	7	C		Margaret Carpenter's
		5	C		Margaret Carpenter's

T71/65 f278:

Francis Maitland & George Roberts as owners in Manchester: M39 F39/78

Males:

Remus	Negro	35	C	Mars	40	A	
Charles		30	A	Garick?	40	A	
Brown		35	A	Philip	35	A	
Baines		40	A	Anthony	35	A	
Robert		35	A	Duke	50	A	
Cato		35	A	Warwick	40	A	
John		40	A	Jamaica	45	A	
Congo Henry		25	A	Walter	30	A	
Mark		40	A	Quashie	35	C	
Pitt		35	A	Kingston	35	A	
Dawson		45	A	Creole Henry	22	C	Sue
Guy		18	C	Marcus	12	C	Dolly
Hamlet		10	C	Ned	11	C	Sue
Chance		8	C	Cinda			
Bob		10	C	Cinda			
Jonathan		8	C	Dolly			
Trim		7	C	Abba			
Cauer		6	C	Rose			
Porter		5	C	Sue			
Lincoln		5	C	Lavinia			
Simon		5	C				
Davy		4	C				
George		4	C	Cinda			
Edward		3	C	Dolly			
Traveller		1	C	Lavinia			

Females:

Ceuba	45	A	Abba	45	A
Jane	45	A	Venus	45	A
Hone	40	A	Frankey	35	A

Hope	10	--		30	--
Dolly	40	A	Olive	35	A
Yanou	40	A	Hannah	40	A
Sue	45	A	Rose	45	A
Betty	35	A	Judy	45	A
Cinda	35	A	Catalani	35	A
Lavinia	35	A	Sarah	30	A
Eley	25	C	Couba		
Fanny	25	C	Kate		
Celia ch Celia Wright	25	C	Dolly		
Lettuce	18	C	Rose		
Ruthy	20	C	Abba		
Penny	16	C			
Agnes	22	C	Couba		
Sabina	16	C	Abba		
Prue	10	C			
Mimba	10	C			
Sappho	8	C	Lavinia		
Mary	7	C			
Cynthia	8	C			
Leah	6	C	Javies		
Wansa	3	C			
Eve	2	C	Lavinia		
Juliana	1	C	Eley		
Rachel	1	C	Agnes		
Kitty	6mths	C			
Margaret	20	C	Sue		

T71/165, f764.

George Roberts as owner, St Elizabeth:

Females:

Julian Ch Olivia Reed Sambo 22 C
 Bessy Sambo 1 C Julian, Olivia Reed

Males: 0, Females: two.

T71/166:

Thomas Wright (f984): M2

Lewis Wright (f982): M1

Elizabeth Wright (f1047): 4

Francis Brooke Wright: 1 (John Wright guardian).

William Plant in right of his late wife Mary Ann Wright dau of John Wright: 3 (signed by John Wright).

Mary, Alexander and William Rose quoted in index.

1820

T71/167:

Francis Maitland as attorney to **George Roberts**, sole owner, 4.

Francis Maitland as owner:-

(f465)

Last Return: M F ()

This Return: M47 F31 (78) Bths since last 2, Deaths 4.

Males:

Charleton	Negro	1.5	C	Little Eve	Birth
David Mulatto		35	C	Runaway on 11 th March 1817	Sold out of Spanish Town workhouse on 25 th August 1817 under name of James.
Chester	Negro	30	A	Sentenced to transportation as an incorrigible runaway at a assizes at B River	25 th April 1820.
Frank	Negro	33	A	Died	April 1 st 1820

Female:

Marina	Negro	14	C	Rose	Birth
Mary Ann	Negro	60	A	Died	Jan 19 1819
Crolia	Negro	50	A	Died	Feb 20 1819
Margaret Carpenter			Sambo	45	C manumitted in consideration £40 by deed dated 1 March 1818
Grace Green	Negro	58	C	Died	Feb 22 nd 1820
			Increase	Two	Decrease seven

Francis Maitland & George Roberts as owners:-

Last Return: M23 F18 (40)

Males:

Foy	Negro	2.5	C	Jane,	Birth
Dawson	Negro	2.5	C	Clarissa Wright,	Birth
William	Negro	7m	C	Sinclia,	Birth
Dorcas's Inf	Negro		C	Dorcas,	Birth
Mitcham	Negro	35	A	Died	January 1818
Will	Negro	a63	A	Died	August 1818
Dorcas inf	Negro	8d	C	Died	31 March 1820

Females:

Juliet	Negro	45	A	Died	6 Feb 1820
Grace	Negro	90	C	Died	13 March 1820.
			Increase	4,	decrease 5.

This Return: M24 F16 (43) Bths 4, Dth 5. (f463)

Also:

John & Ann Wright (f713): M41 F38 M43 F41, B6 D2
Francis Brooke Wright: F1 (sig John W.).
Elizabeth A.B. Wright: M2 F2 M2 F3 (John W as attorney).
Sophia Jones(?) Wright: M1 F2 M2 F2.
Charles Wright: M1 F1 M1 F1.
Nathaniel Wright: M14 F9 M14 f10.
Lewis Wright: M1 M1.
Thomas Wright: M2 M3.
Alexander Rose (f517): M29 F21 M20 F19, B5 D8.
Alexander Rose (as guardian for George Rose) (f518): M4 F3 M4 F2.

Mary Rose (f534): M4 F4 M5 F4.

Alexander Rose was also executor for Alexander Girdwood.

1823

T71/168:

Francis Maitland, St Elizabeth:- (f431)

Last Return: M43 F25 (68)

Males:

Sammy	Negro	63	C	Died 3 rd Aug 1820
Pompey	Negro	63	A	Died 7 th October 1820
Old Joe	Negro	68	A	Died 1 November 1820
Aqua	Negro	44	C	Died 24 April 1821
Joe	Negro	30	C	Died 26 July 1822
Jack Wright	Negro	56	C	Died 19 th April 1823
Frederick	Sambo	30m	C	Louisa Wright Birth
Henry	Negro	3m	C	Charity
Wellington	Negro	9m	C	Fidelius
Grant	Negro	12	C	Myrtilia mother, Purchase
Isaac	Negro	9	C	Myrtilia mother, Purchase
Peter	Negro	9	C	Myrtilia mother, Purchase
Tommy	Negro	5	C	Myrtilia mother, Purchase
James	Negro	1	C	Myrtilia mother, Purchase
Arcky	Negro	2	C	Sally, mother purchase

Females:

Patience	Negro	54	A	Died June 1821
Alice	Quadroon	10	C	Died 4 Aug 1822
Bess	Negro	51	C	Died 4 May 1823.
Fidelia	Negro	35	A	Purchase with her and Wellington 27 1823 in the name of Timothy B Mulling
Sally	Negro	40	C	Purchase with Arky, Kitty, Sylvia her children 8 April 1823. Stood in the name of Margaret ? St E.
Kitty	Negro	7	C	Sally, Purchase
Silvia	Negro	2	C	Sally, Purchase
Myrtilia	Negro	35	A	Purchase with her children Eve, Grant Plato?, Isaac, Tommy & James 12 April 1820, stood in the name of Mary Rose.
Eve	Negro	15	C	Myrtilia, Purchase
Sophia	Negro	2.5	C	Charity, Purchase
Abby	Negro	2	C	Jenny
Lottery?	Negro	3m	C	Charlotte Parker.

This Return: M46 F31 (77) Bths since last 5, Deaths 9.

Francis Maitland & George Roberts, St Elizabeth:-

Last Return: M24 F16 (40)

Males:

Francis Maitland Negro 1-9 C Jane
 Dorcas male Inford Negro 8d C Dorcas, D 20 March 1821
 Syphax Negro 41 A Died 10 November 1821
 Jack Negro 46 A Died 1822
 Females:
 Dorcas Negro 1-3 C Clare
 Bessy James Negro 1-2 C Ameila
 Violet Powell Negro 8m C Dorcas
 Olive Wint Negro 4m C Jane.

This Return: M23 F20 (43) Bths 6, Dth 3.

George Roberts as owner, Manchester:

Males:

Frank Wright Negro 37 C Removed from St Elizabeth Females:
 registered then by Francis
 Eliza Reid Sambo Maitland as attorney for George
 Bessy Smith Sambo Roberts
 Mary Smith Sambo.

Males 1, Females 4.

Note: this was while George Roberts was probably in London after getting married in November 1816.

Mary Rose:-

Last Return: 9, This 5. 7 sold to Francis M 21/3/1823.

Also:

John Wright, attorney for Mrs Elizabeth Jessop (late his dau) & Miss Eliza Wright
 Charles Wright: 1 John Wright - attorney (guardian?) of sons Henry Warren? and George Wright on death of their mother? Sophia Jane W - difficult to read).

1826

T71/169:

A return of Slaves in the Parish of St Elizabeth in the possession of **George Roberts & Ann Maitland** as owners 28 June 1826:-

Last Return: M23 F20 (43)

This Return: M23 F16 (39) Bths 3, Dth 7.

Males

Name	Colour	Age	African/Creole	Remarks	Increase/Decrease Cause Cause
Oxford	Negro	2	Furto	Ann Wright mother	By Birth
John James Negro		1.5		Amelia Mother	By Birth
Chas Williams	Negro	1/2		Dormus mother	By Birth
Mick Negro	59	African	died	June 24 th	1824
Bill Negro	59	??	Died	July 29 th	1824
Moses Sambo	79	Creole	Died	Aug 1	1824

remains

Mary Wright Negro 69 Creole Died Mar 25 1823

Juno Negro 29 Creole died Dec 14th 1823

Elizabeth Wright Negro 73 Creole died Mar 23 1825

Charity Negro 54 African died Jan 18 1826

Increase 3 decrease seven.

I George Roberts do swear that the above last return is a true perfect and complete Cert 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 joint owner with Ann Maitland considered as permanently settled worked or employed in the parish of St Elizabeth on the 28th day of June in the year of our lord 1826 without fraud deceit or evasion so help me God. George Roberts.

George Roberts & Ann Maitland in Manchester 28 June 1826:

Males by last return 39

Females 46

Total last Return 85

Males

		yr/mthe		
Allen Morgan	Negro 2-6	Creole	Lettice mother	By Birth
Joe	Negro 0-8	Creole	Elsey mother	By Birth
Billy Williams	Negro 0-9	Creole	Agnes Mother	By Birth
Anthony	Negro 0-11	Creole	Sarah mother	By Birth
Anthony	Negro 0-11	Creole	Died Oct 24 th 1824	
Mars	Negro 48	African	Died Apr 14 th 1825	
Joe	Negro 44	African	Died Jan 13 th 1826	

Females

Louisa Wheatle	Mulatto 2-4	Creole	Cynthia mother	By Birth
Sally Green	Negro 1-7	Creole	Lavinia mother	By Birth
Abba	Negro 0-7	Creole	Ruthy mother	By Birth
Dolly Caple	Negro 0-5	Creole	Cecelia mother	By Birth
Eve	Negro 0-3	Creole	Lethin mother	By Birth
Sue	Negro 52	African	Died July 5 th 1824	
Judy	Negro 52	African	Died July 27 th 1824	
Abba	Negro 54	African	Died Jan 20 th 1826	

Number of Slaves on the 28th day of June 1826: Males 40

Females 48

Total 88

Births since last return nine

Deaths since last return Six.

John Salmon as Attorney to **Giddy Hall**:-

(f685) Last Return: M46 F31 (77)

Males:

Frederick	Sambo 2	C	Manumitted
Archy	Negro 3	C	Death
Fidelia's child	Negro 2m	C	Fidelia Birth & Death
Joe Wallace	Negro 73	A	Death

Sammy	Negro	C	Henrietta Salmon b 25 Feb 1825
Rose's child	Negro 6d	C	Rose Birth & Death

Females:

Louisa	Negro 41	C	Manumitted
Hannah	Negro	C	Fanny Maitland, B 31 March 1825
Rose	Negro 27	C	Death

Increase 4, Decrease 7.

Manumitted:

25/7/1823 Frederick Cowan £140 Francis Maitland & ux

31/5/1824 Louisa Wright £220 Frank Maitland & ux

This Return: M44 F30 (74)

Others:

John & Ann Wright:- M44 F44 - M40 F45

(f834) William Wright as guardian to his dau Francis Brook Wright - 1F WW as guardian to infant son of Elizabeth Jessop (his dau) deceased 5.

George Rose: 7 (in 1823 registered by Executor of Alexander Rose).

William A Rose: 1

Mary Rose: 5.

Margaret Rose: 10.

John & Ann Wright: M44 F44 M40 F45.

William Wright as guardian to his dau Francis Brook Wright: F1.

William Wright as guardian to infant son of Elizabeth Jessop (his dau), deceased: 5.

Thomas Wright: 2.

Charles Wright: 1.

George Wright: 3.

Charles Wright: 4 11.

Nathaniel Wright: 27.

1829

T71/173:

John Salmon as Attorney to Ann Maitland @ Giddy Hall Pen:-

Last Return: M44 F30 (74)

Males:

John	Mulatto 1-10Creole	Charlotte Parker	By Birth
George Miles?	Mulatto 4D Creole	Catherine Maitland	By Birth
Oxford	Negro 55 Creole	1827	By Purchase
John Painfort	Negro 80 African		By Death
Francis Maitland	Negro 30 Creole		By Death
John Keane	Negro 60 Creole		By Death

Females:

Rosanna	Negro 2-3-6 Creole	Catherine Maitland	By Birth
Venus	Negro 2-9-0 Creole	Henrietta Salmon	By Birth
Bessy Brown	Negro 1-6-0 Creole	Fanny Maitland	By Birth

This Return: M43 F33 (76) Bths 5, Dths 4

T71/177:

Francis Maitland & John Salmon as Attorney to Ann Maitland @ Giddy Hall Plantation:-
(f113)

Last Return: M43 F33 (76)

Francis	Mulatto	2y7m	C	Charlotte Porter, Birth
Bob	Black	2y6m	C	Henrietta Salmon, Birth
Roderick Dhue	Mulatto	8m	C	Charlotte Porter, Birth
George Wylie	Black	6m	C	Catherine Maitland, Died Lockjaw
Peter	Black	10	C	Myrtila, Died Fits
James	Black	6	C	Myrtila, Died Lockjaw
George Wylie	Mulatto	30	C	Sarah Maitland, Died Coco Bay
Thomas Wallace	Black	28	C	Eliza Wright, Died fits

Females:

Mary Ann	Black	2y6m	C	Henrietta Salmon, Birth
Eleanor Brown	Black	1y8m	C	Fanny Maitland, Birth
Hannah Smith	Black	1y	C	Henrietta Salmon, Birth
Fanny Wright	Black	80	A	Died old Age.

This Return: M44 F35 (78) Bths 6, Dths 6.

Francis M here probably Francis (2).

George Roberts & Ann Maitland as joint owners:- (f273)

Last Return: M25 F16 (41)

This Return: M23 F14 (37) Bths 2, Dths 6.

Males:

Augustin Horne	Sambo	0-2	Creole	Betha Spanner?	By Birth
Francis Maitland	Negro	9-0	Creole	By Death	
James Roberts	Negro	48	African	By Death	
Thomas Wright	Negro	74	Creole	By Death	

Females:

Virginit Stoness	Sambo	2	Creole	By Birth
Behaveour Wright	Negro	58	Creole	By Death
Prair Numad?	Negro	2-9	Creole	By Death
Sarah Darling	Negro	2-0	Creole	By Death

Executors to Alexander Rose (Dcd) (f288): M24 F 18 M25 F18.

George Rose for his wife: 0 M9 F7 (from William Rose). Guardian for Rebecca Rose: 2.

William A Rose: M2 F2.

Ann Wright (f514): M8 F5 8T.

Mrs Ann Wright trustee: M33 F38 M26 F 34 (many given away).

Charles Wright: M5 F8 14T.

Attorney of Frances Brooke Wright: 1 0.

George Raby Wright: M3 F1 M2 F2.

Nathaniel Wright: M13 F13 M17 F13.

Slave Compensation - St Elizabeth, Jamaica: NDO 4-4
Slave Compensation Records (NDO4-4) show compensation (incl interest) paid to slave owners in mid 1830's (1836 mostly).

No reference to Maitlands.

Several Wrights and Rose's appear.

Margaret Rose: £309-17s-10d + £10-8-7

George Raby Wright: £86-15-9 + £4-1-3 Pd 7/3/1836 no619.

William A Rose: £113-13-6 + £5-6-10 No620

Margaret Wright: £26-12-2 + £1-4-6 No670

Nathaniel Wright & his wife Elizabeth: £887-16-0 + £54-0-6 No832.

Manumissions:

25/7/1823 Frederick Cowan £140 Francis Maitland & ux

31/5/1824 Louisa Wright £220 Frank Maitland & ux

Project Gutenberg's Miss Sarah Jack, of Spanish Town, by Trollope

#16 in our series by Anthony Trollope

This etext was produced by David Price, email ccx074@coventry.ac.uk, from the 1864 Chapman & Hall edition "Tales of All Countries" edition.

9. LAND GRANTS:

Found in UK PRO:

CO137/28, pps 197-203, 225-249. White families introduced to the Island of Jamaica under Acts of 2/12/1719 & 27/11/1752.

William Roberts, carpenter

Richard Jackson, 6/5/1742, parcel of land about 300 acres near
Manchioneal Bay, St Thomas of Act 15/5/1736.

John Downie, 22/5/1746, 100 acres in Portland
16/11/1749, 300 acres in Manchioneal.

CO137/162, January 1825, land grants between 1805-24.

Feb 1806: Edward M. Angell, 300 acres, St Elizabeth.

Jan 1806: Jno R Jackson, 271 acres in Port Royal.

30/1/1807: Jno R Jackson, 135.5 acres in Port Royal.

26/1/1819 (or 0): Benjamin Angell, 300 acres in Manchester.

RESEARCH by JACKIE RANSTONE

Jamaica, 1998

14/10/98:

Failed to get copies of aerial surveys 1941 & 1953 - try UK O.S.
OS supplied copies.

Checked INVENTORIES in the Archives:

1675-1818, nil relevant.

CROP ACCOUNTS:

Giddy Hall, ref 1B/11/4/62, f.10. - see above.

10. Delaroché Family & Giddy Hall

Thomas Delaroché

Thomas Delaroché Burial: May 22, 1776, Giddy Hall, (White)

His eldest son, Sampson, left Carisbrook Estate, St E to his daughter; the estate later passed to John, one of his nephews.

His second son, John was buried at Giddy Hall 27/12/1779; he was the owner of 955 acres in 1754.

He left several coloured children.

His nephew William, the son of brother William, owned Giddy Hall in 1793; William by then resident in Thornbury, Gloucester.

There are some deed in the Gloucester Record Office pertaining to William Delaroché. The first is a deed dated November 10, 1793 by which William grants Giddy Hall, St. Elizabeth to Joseph Longman of Thornbury for ten shillings. The deed identifies him as the nephew of John Delaroché mentioned in John's Will, and the second and youngest son of William Delaroché, John's brother.

The second deed, dated November 22, 1793, grants the property from Joseph Longman back to William Delaroché for ten shillings.

The following lands are listed as part of Giddy Hall:

400 acres patented Feb 11, 1764 in the name of Richard Groom.

250 acres patented August 12, 1689 in the name of Thomas Spencer.

300 acres patented in 1697 in the name of Elisabeth Jones.

950 acres of land situated in Luana Mountains cutting and bounding northerly on land belonging to Henry Louis Esq. Easterly on Robert Smith. Southerly on David Fyffe, and Westerly on lands belonging to Matthew Smith Senior Esq.

George Rolph was witness to both deeds.

1811: Smith Thomas, Fonthill and Hapstead 606/ 1,128

Smith John, Mount Charles 66/ 12

Smith James L., Hazle Grove 52/ 50

Smyth Francis George, Goshen and Longhill 379/ 1,447

Smyth Alexander, deceased, Ballynure 125/ 42

JG: 7/8/1813:

Westmoreland, July 10 1813:

For sale Carisbrook Pen,, in the Parish of St Elizabeth, containing about 1275 acres with 145 negroes and 227 head of stock, consisting of cattle and horsekind, the property of the late John Delaroché esq. For particulars apply to John Wright of the Parish of St Elizabeth or the subscriber.

William Forbes.

1816: John Delaroché at Carisbrook 150 slaves, 250 stock

Descendants of Thomas Delaroché

Thomas Delaroché was born Abt. 1704. He married Sarah (Delaroché). She was born Abt. 1704,
Burial: May 22, 1776, Giddy Hall, St. Elizabeth (Source: B0037 St. Elizabeth Parish Register I &
II, 1707-1825, I, p. 334.) Race/nationality/color: White

Children of Thomas Delaroché and Sarah (Delaroché) are:

1/1. Sampson Delaroché, born December 01, 1729; died May 1777.

Baptism: July 26, 1732, St. Elizabeth (Source: B0037 St. Elizabeth Parish Register I & II,
1707-1825, I, p. 5.)

Burial: May 15, 1777, Lacovia, St. Elizabeth (Source: B0037 St. Elizabeth Parish Register I &
II, 1707-1825, I, p. 335.)

Fact: 1777, The burial record lists his name as "Simpson"
He married Elizabeth (Delaroché).

Occupation: 1777, Clerk of the Vestry, Lacovia, St. Elizabeth

Race/nationality/color: White

Child of Sampson Delaroché and Elizabeth (Delaroché) is:

2/1. Sarah Delaroché, born November 16, 1767.

Baptism: June 13, 1768, St. Elizabeth (Source: B0037 St. Elizabeth Parish Register I & II,
1707-1825, I, p. 29.) Residence: 1785, Parish of Olveston, England

She married George Rolph 1785, son of George Rolph. He died 1815.

More About George Rolph:

Residence: 1785, Thornbury, England

Marriage Notes for Sarah Delaroché and George Rolph:

From Gloucester Record Office, a marriage settlement:

George Rolph to Miss Sarah Delaroché 28 Dec 1785

Marriage contract: December 28, 1785, Gloucester Record Office

(Source: B992 Gloucester Records Office, D340A\T108.)

Status of bride/groom: Spinster

George Rolph the younger of Thornbury.....Sarah Delaroché late of the parish of Saint
Elizabeth in the Island of Jamaica but now of the parish of Olveston, spinster an infant
under the age of twenty one....only child and heiress at law of Sampson Delaroché late of
Saint Elizabeth in the Island of Jamaicaplantation or estate called Carrisbrooke in
the said parish of St Elizabeth with the stock of negroes cattle buildings and
appurtenances.....also of a certain legacy or sum of seven hundred pounds

Jamaican currency given to her by the will of her late uncle John Delaroché late of the
said Island of Jamaica deceased to be paid to her at twenty one years or marriage and also
of a considerable sum in the hands of William Salmon late of Saint Elizabeth in the Island
of Jamaica but now residing in England being the savings and gain of the plantation since
Sampson Delaroché died.....

Children of Sarah Delaroché and George Rolph are: (Source: B652 Thornbury,

Gloucestershire, Parish Registers.)

3/1. George Rolph, born June 26, 1789 Baptism: August 06, 1789, Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England

3/2. William Rolph, born August 20, 1791. Baptism: October 03, 1791, Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England

3/3. George Rolph, born May 07, 1793. Baptism: June 24, 1793, Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England

3/4. Annis Rolph, born July 29, 1794. Baptism: September 18, 1794, Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England

3/5. Susannah Rolph, born December 20, 1796. Baptism: January 22, 1797, Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England (Source: B650 English records researched by John Chappell.)

3/6. Susannah Rolph, born August 06, 1799. Baptism: September 09, 1799, Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England

3/7. George Rolph, born October 08, 1800. Baptism: November 20, 1800, Thornbury, Gloucestershire

1/2. Mary Delaroche, born May 03, 1731.

Baptism: July 26, 1732, St. Elizabeth (Source: B0037 St. Elizabeth Parish Register I & II, 1707-1825, I, p. 5.)

1/3. John Delaroche, born Bet. 1732 - 1744;

died December 1779.

He met Sarah Brown. She was born Abt. 1748.

John is being attached as a child here, based on (1) "John" being the Uncle of Sarah, (2) being buried at Giddy Hall, (3) death before 1785

(4) bearing no legitimate heirs.

Addressed as: Esquire

1754 John Delaroche 955 acres St Elizabeth

Burial: December 27, 1779, Giddy Hall, St. Elizabeth (Source: B0037 St. Elizabeth Parish Register I & II, 1707-1825, I, p. 336.)

Race/nationality/color: White

Will: August 03, 1778

Children of John Delaroche and Sarah Brown are:

(Source: B0037 St. Elizabeth Parish Register I & II, 1707-1825, I, p. 54.)

2/1. Catherine Delaroche, born Bef. April 08, 1773.

Fact: "reputed daughter of John Delaroche"

Race/nationality/color: Not white

2/2. John Delaroche, born Bet. 1773 - 1779.

Baptism: June 25, 1788, St. Elizabeth

Other facts: "reputed son of John Delaroche Esq., deceased"

Race/nationality/color: Not white

1/4. William Delaroche (Thomas) was born Abt. 1742.

He married Frances Clarke June 02, 1767 in St. Elizabeth (Source: B0037 St. Elizabeth Parish Register I & II, 1707-1825, I, p. 295.). She was born Abt. 1742. Residence: 1767, St. Elizabeth

More About Frances Clarke: Residence: 1767, St. Elizabeth

Ceremony by: Thomas Coxeter, rector of Vere Marriage license: 1767

Children of William Delaroche and Frances Clarke are:

2/1. John Delaroche, born Bet. 1768 - 1769.

Baptism: 1769, St. Elizabeth (Source: B0037 St. Elizabeth Parish Register I & II, 1707-1825, I, p. 30.) Fact: There is no month and day on the baptismal record, and no date of birth

Residence: Bet. 1790 - 1792, St. Elizabeth

Residence (2): Bet. 1797 - 1799, Gloucestershire, England

He married Martha Shapland September 14, 1789 in Marshfield, Gloucestershire, England (Source: B772 British newspapers, Sept. 19, 1789, Vol XL (No2135), Felix Farley's Bristol Journal.), daughter of John Shapland and Martha (Shapland). She was born Bet. 1767 - 1774 in Marshfield, Gloucestershire, England (from C1851)

In the 1811 Almanac (the first containing the names of property-owners) John is listed as the holder of Carisbrook, St. Elizabeth, with 142 slaves and 200 stock. When the Almanac next lists proprietors in 1815 the numbers are 150 slaves and 250 stock.

1818: est of John Delaroche, Carisbrook.

The 1822 Almanac lists the holder of Carisbrook as Donald Cameron with 103 slaves and 343 stock. Cameron was dead by 1824, and his estate had evidently not yet been settled. There were 70 slaves and 95 stock. In 1919 John Dennis, a testator in St. Elizabeth, was resident at Carisbrook.

1825 & 1830: Coote & Delaroche at Longwood.

More About Martha Shapland:

Census: 1851, St Andrews Parish, Bristol, England.

Lodger, widow, Fund Holder, age 84

In same house:

Mary A. Coote, Lodger, Widow, 58, Annuitant, Carisbrook Jamaica,

Children of John Delaroche and Martha Shapland are:

Source: B0037 St. Elizabeth PR I & II, 1707-1825 x p nn,

3/1. John Shapland Delaroche, born May 27, 1790;

Baptism: July 10, 1790, St. Elizabeth private baptism (Source, I. p. 57.)

Baptism (2): February 02, 1792, St. Elizabeth, received in Church and recorded in Register I, p. 57.) died January 1813, 23 years, in Burial Register

Burial: January 28, 1813, Carisbrook, St. Elizabeth (Source, I, p. 347.) Addressed as: Esquire Race/nationality/color: White

3/2. Martha Shapland Delaroche, born June 05, 1791.

Baptism: February 02, 1792, St. Elizabeth (Source: I, p. 62.)

Race/nationality/color: White

3/3. Mary Ann Delaroche,

born August 18, 1792 in Carisbrook, St. Elizabeth (birthplace found in 1851 Census)

Baptism: March 22, 1793, St. Elizabeth (Source: I, p. 65.).

She married ? Coote; died Bef. 1851.

The 1822, 1824, and 1833 Almanacs list "Coote & Delaroche" as holders of Longwood in St. Elizabeth. The number of slaves there was 29, 29, and 26 respectively. The number of stock 321, 345, and 198.

Census: 1851, Bristol, England.

Lodger, widow, Annuitant, age 58. Race/nationality/color: White

3/4. (male) Delaroche, born Bet. 1793 - 1795.

3/5. (male) Delaroche, born Bet. 1794 - 1796.

3/6. Joseph Delaroche, born February 24, 1797.

Baptism: June 04, 1797, Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England (Source: B650 English records researched by John Chappell.)

He married Rebecca (Simons) October 23, 1817 in St. Elizabeth (Source: I, p. 318.).

Marriage license: 1817 Status of bride/groom: Widow

The Almanacs for 1820, 1822, and 1824 list him as the owner of Rowington, Clarendon.

The number of slaves was 69, 65, and 63 respectively. The number of stock was 131, 136, and 23.

Addressed as: Esquire

More About Rebecca (Simons):

She was born Abt. 1786, and died March 1826.

Age: 1826, 40 years

Burial: March 23, 1826, Vere by Revd John Smith (Source: B0024 Jamaica PR Burials I & II, 1826-1844, I, p. 309 #1.)

Residence: 1826, Clarendon

Child of Joseph Delaroché and Rebecca (Simons) is:

4/1. Frances Burt Kelsall Delaroché, Baptism: August 04, 1819, Vere in a private baptism by G. C. R. Fearon, rector (Source: B0063 Vere PR I, 1694-1825, I, p. 140.) died August 08, 1819 in Rowington Park, Clarendon.

Burial: August 10, 1819, the Church yard, Vere by G. C. R. Fearon (Source: B0063 Vere PR I, 1694-1825, p. 215.)

3/7. Charlotte Delaroché, born February 27, 1798

Baptism: April 11, 1798, Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England (Source: B650 English records researched by John Chappell.); died August 04, 1819 in Rowington Park, Clarendon. Burial: August 05, 1819, the Church yard, Vere (Source: B0063 Vere Parish Register I, 1694-1825, I, p. 215.)

3/8. Frances Delaroché, born February 25, 1799.

Baptism: March 27, 1799, Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England (Source: B650 English records researched by John Chappell.)

2/2. Frances Delaroché, born August 15, 1770

Baptism: April 08, 1773, St. Elizabeth (Source, I, p. 35.)

Fact: 1773, The St. Elizabeth Baptism Register spells her name "Francis"

She married Philemon Galindo November 13, 1789 in St. Augustin's Church, Bristol, England (Source: B650 English records researched by John Chappell.). He was born 1770.

Notes for Philemon Galindo:

By later marriages he was the father of Juan and Philip. See Philip's Diary at Galindo diary.

Occupation 1: 1799, Actor

Occupation 2: 1836, Commandant of Bocatoro

Residence: 1799, Bristol, England

Children of Frances Delaroché and Philemon Galindo are:

3/1. [male] Galindo, born Bef. July 14, 1790;

Baptism: July 14, 1790, St. Augustin's church, Bristol, England

Burial: August 31, 1790, St. Augustin's church, Bristol.

3/2. Charlotte Delia Galindo, born Abt. 1794.

She married John Bragge 1814.

Children of Charlotte Galindo and John Bragge are:

4/1. Charles William Bragge.

- 4/2. John Delaroché Bragge.
4/3. Mary Frances Bragge.
4/4. Caroline Portia Bragge.
- 3/3. Portia Galindo, born Abt. 1798;
Burial: April 13, 1850
- 2/3. William Delaroché, born December 22, 1771;
died June 1800.
Baptism: April 08, 1773, St. Elizabeth (Source: I, p. 35.)
Burial: June 11, 1800, Almondsbury, Gloucestershire, England
(Source: B650 English records researched by John Chappell.)
Occupation: 1797, Gentleman
Residence: 1793, Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England
Residence (2): 1797, Parish of Olveston, County of Gloucester,
Diocese of Bristol, England
He married Elizabeth Gillam August 14, 1797 in Olveston, Gloucestershire, England (Source:
B650 English records researched by John Chappell.).
Marriage license: 1797
Status of bride/groom: Spinster

There are some deed in the Gloucester Record Office pertaining to William Delaroché. The first is a deed dated November 10, 1793 by which William grants Giddy Hall, St. Elizabeth to Joseph Longman of Thornbury for ten shillings. The deed identifies him as the nephew of John Delaroché mentioned in John's Will, and the second and youngest son of William Delaroché, John's brother.

The second deed, dated November 22, 1793, grants the property from Joseph Longman back to William Delaroché for ten shillings.

The following lands are listed as part of Giddy Hall:

400 acres patented Feb 11, 1764 in the name of Richard Groom.

250 acres patented August 12, 1689 in the name of Thomas Spencer.

300 acres patented in 1697 in the name of Elisabeth Jones.

950 acres of land situated in Luana Mountains cutting and bounding northerly on land belonging to Henry Louis Esq. Easterly on Robert Smith. Southerly on David Fyffe, and Westerly on lands belonging to Matthew Smith Senior Esq.

George Rolph was witness to both deeds.

More About Elizabeth Gillam:

Residence: 1797, Almondsbury, County of Gloucester, Diocese of Bristol, England.

DELAROCHE MARRIAGE CONTRACT

[This is the text of the first page of the marriage settlement between George Rolph and Sarah Delaroch(e), referred to in Delaroché 1]

This Indenture of three Parts made the twenty eighth day of December in the Twenty sixth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King defender of the Faith and so forth And in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty five Between George Rolph the Younger of Thornbury in the county of Gloucester Gentleman of the first part Sarah Delaroch late of the Parish of Saint Elizabeth in the Island of Jamaica but now of the Parish of Alveston in the said County of Gloucester Spinster an infant

under the age of twenty one years (only child and heiress at Law and next of kin of Sampson Delaroch late of the said Parish of Saint Elizabeth in the said Island of Jamaica Esquire Deceased) of the second part and William Salmon of the Parish of Saint Elizabeth in the said Island of Jamaica Esquire now residing in England and William Osborne of Kingston in the Parish of Thornbury aforesaid Gentleman of the third part. Whereas a marriage hath been agreed upon and is intended shortly to be had and solemnized between the said George Rolph and Sarah Delaroch And Whereas the Estate and Fortune of the said Sarah Delaroch consist of a certain Plantation or Estate called Carrisbrooke in the said Parish of Saint Elizabeth in the said Island of Jamaica with the stock of Negroes Cattle Buildings and Appurtenances thereon and thereto belonging and appertaining and which on the Decease of the said Sampson Delaroch descended upon and came to her as his only child and heiress at Law and next of kin Also of a certain legacy or sum of Seven Hundred Pounds Jamaica Currency given to her by the will of her late Uncle John Delaroch late of the said Island of Jamaica Esquire deceased to be paid at her age of Twenty one Years or time of marriage which should first happen And also of a considerable Sum of Money now in the hands of the said William Salmon being the savings out of the gains and produce of the said Plantation and Estate since the decease of the said Sampson Delaroch to the present time after deducting and paying thereout the Charges and Expences incurred by reason of the Education Board Maintenance and Support of the said Sarah Delaroch And Whereas upon the Treaty for the said intended marriage it was by and with the Privity and good liking of the said William Salmon proposed and convented and agreed to by the said George Rolph and Sarah Delaroch That in consideration of the Grant and Release hereby or intended to be hereby made by the said George Rolph of the Messuage or Tenement Closes Lands and Hereditaments hereinafter particularly described to for and upon the several uses intents and purposes hereinafter expressed and declared of and concerning the same She the said Sarah Delaroch (in addition to her personal Estate and fortune intended for the said George Rolph and which he will become entitled to by the Rights of Marriage) should absolutely convey and assure the said Plantation or Estate with all the appurtenances thereto belonging (save and except such part or parts thereof as being personally the said George Rolph will so become entitled by the Rights of Marriage) unto and to the use of the said George Rolph his Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns according to the nature and qualities of the same respectively But that in regard the said Sarah Delaroch being under the Age of Twenty one Years and therefore 'till her arrival to such age incapable of effectuating such conveyance and assurance to the said George Rolph aforesaid It hath been further agreed on the Treaty for the said intended marriage with such privity and consent as aforesaid That the Grant and Release hereby made or intended to be made by the said George Rolph of the Messuages or Tenements Closes Lands and Hereditaments hereinafter particularly described to for and upon the several uses intents and purposes hereinafter thereof expressed and declared shall be subject and liable to the proviso or condition hereinafter contained for making void the same Grant and Release by the said George Rolph in Case of the said Sarah Delaroch's death under the age of twenty one years or of her neglecting after attaining that age to make such conveyance and assurance of her said Estate in Jamaica to the said George Rolph his heirs or assigns as is hereinafter mentioned Now this Indenture Witnesseth that for and in consideration of the said intended marriage and in pursuance and performance of the said recited agreement made on the Treaty thereof in this behalf And for the conveying settling and assuring of the said message or Tenement Closes of Ground Lands and Hereditaments hereinafter particularly mentioned and described To for and upon the several uses ends intents and purposes and under and subject to the proviso Declaration and Agreement hereinafter mentioned expressed and declared of and concerning the same And also for and in consideration of the sum of ten shillings of lawfull money of Great Britain

11.HISTORICAL SOURCES and OTHER EXTRACTS

Printed 16/3/09

Caribbeana by Vere Langford Oliver (1910).

Also on the Cambridge University Library, Royal Commonwealth Society Library Collection,

Vol 1: Andrew Wright:

Mitcham, Co Surrey, Parish Record Burial:

1806 Feb 24: Andrew Wright esq aged 54 years late of the Parish of St Elizabeth & Mitcham Penn in the Island of Jamaica.

He has a high stone tomb, formerly enclosed with iron railings to the east of the church and on the top there is the inscription " Here lies interred the body of Andrew Wright esq formerly of this Parish and late of the Parish of St Elizabeth and of Mitcham Pen, in the Island of Jamaica, who departed this life on the 18th February 1806, aged 54 years. For his great partiality to this place (ed: Mitcham Surrey) he named his Pen in Jamaica Mitcham.

The iron railings were removed from his tomb in 1883 by order of the Mitcham Burial Board. His baptism is not recorded in the register.

In his will dated 21 January 1806, proved in PCC 5th March the same year (265 Pitt), he is described as Andrew Wright of St Elizabeth co Cornwall, Jamaica, esq, and of Great Tower St, London. He mentions: to my son in law John Pusey Wint of St Elizabeth, to my Relation and Godson Andrew Wright Booth of the Parish of Vere esq at 21 years; to my wife Elizabeth Mary Wright; to my reputed daughters Ann Wright and Elizabeth Wright, born of the body of Ruth Sinclair, at the ages of 21 years; my Trustees John Chambers of St Elizabeth aforesaid, Jeremiah Snow of Broad St, Ratcliffe highway co Middlesex, hatter, said John Pusey Wint, and James Cross of Southwark, Gent, my Pen and Plantation at St Elizabeth called Mitcham. He directs that if the said Ann and Elizabeth Wright go to Jamaica unmarried that they should forfeit all benefit under this will.

The will is a large one and fills 13 pages in the register.

Vol 2. "Deeds Relating to the West Indies"

#79 John Hyde, Geo Healey and Ebenezer Maitland, all of London, plantations in St Andrew, Jamaica, signatures of Hyde and Healey. 1783.

1783 Mch 26 Indenture between John Hyde of St George, Hannover Sq only son and heir and residuary legatee of John Hyde of Cornhill Merchant, and Geo Healey of the one part and Ebenezer Maitland of the other, Lease for a year of the Constant Spring plantation by Hyde to Maitland (Coleman Deeds). (2 found in 1811: St Andrew's and St George's. Constant Spring in St Andrew owned by Hon Geo Cuthbert, 417 slaves and 206 stock)

Wills proved in Jamaica:

Alexander Sinclair	1746	John Sinclair	1741
Andrew Wright	1746	John Wright	1741, 1745
Bazilla Wright	1746	Nathaniel Wright	1738
Mary Wright	1748	Robert Wright	1748

Brooks of St Elizabeth - Pedigree

1. George Brooks of Burnt Ground m. Sarah Tharp Petgrave, dau of William Burt Wright of Enfield, J and his wife Frances. Born 1784/5 married 13/4/1807, died 13/6/1855-57 bur Snowden, Jamaica.
2. Frances Brooks married 11/3/1817 William Burt Wright in Westmoreland (brother of Sarah Tharp P Wright). He died 20/2/1821 aged 30.

Walcot Burial Ground, Bath: the sister of Capt Patrick Sinclair, RN and relict of a former naval officer at Jamaica.

Vol 3 p122: 1777 ref Unity in St James/Trelawney sale to John Morse & Tho Smith.

Will of George Brooks legacy to Ann Sherman, widow of Nich. Sherman and other daus of Mary Powell, free mulatto "who lives with me" "each a negro woman"

Extract of will of Wm Williams 1761: "... To that vile rogue and impostor Gershom Williams pretending to be a son of mine, ls to buy him a halter wherewith to hang himself...."

Parish Church of Brompton (on the North Wall of nave) (London)
In memory of Elizabeth Mary Pusey, dau of Benjamin Pusey of Cherry Hill and Cherry Garden Estate in the Parish of St Dorothy, Jamaica. Relict of Samuel Wint, esq of Spanish Town and Andrew Wright, esq of Mitcham Pen St Elizabeth of the same Island. She was interred in the cemetery of this church 6th August 1821 aged 78 years. This tablet is erected in her memory by John Pusey Wint esq, her son.

Note following: Benjamin Pusey was M(ayor) for St Dorothy 1738, 48 & 49.
Refer Andrew Wright will for son (in law).

Will in PCC (Jamaica) 1805 Reb(ecca) Wright 484 Nelson.

Vol 4 - Extracts from the Columbian Magazine

1797 Nov: died st Golden Grove Estate (Trelawney) Mr Robert Maitland, millwright.

1797 Sept: died at Falmouth, Mr William Sinclair, shopkeeper.

1799 July: married Robert Sinclair, esq, to Miss Mary Herriott.

1796 Dec: Alex. Wright died at Palmetto Grove, St Mary's

1798 Sept: James Wright married Miss Redwas in Vere.

1798 Sept: Robert Benstead Wright esq, St Elizabeth.

Vol 5: nil

Vol 6: From Family Bible of Sarah Tharp Petgrave Brook, (now in possession of Miss Mabel Nembhart, 1918).

Entries: GB born 22/5/1781, SB born 13/6/1784

Married 19/6/1807, Southampton, J.

Elizabeth Frances Brooks b 15/7/1808, Burnt Ground. St Elizabeth

George Brooks, born 3/12/1809, Blenheim, Vere.

Nicola Brooks born 11/5/1815, died 12/7/1815 at sea.

Sarah Brooks born 26/9/1816, died 6/10/1816, London.

Charlotte Augusta Brooks born 14/12/1817, 41 Dorset St, Portman Sq.

Died Robert Benstead Wright, brother 19/11/1820

Died 20/2/1821(?) William Burt Wright, drowned in Bathroom.

(MI for Jamaica, Kingston Parish Church, gives: William Butt(as transcribed) Wright esqr, late Merchant of Kingston, obt 20 February 1821, Aet 30, Erected by his wife.)

MI for Kingston also: Wright, Alexander, died 30/6/1864, aged 23.

Wright, Susanna died 15/5/1857 aged 90.

St Catherines Cathedral:

Children of John & Ann Wright, Robert born 1786, Mary Frances born 1791, Edward born 1790, died 1792.

WEST INDIA COMMITTEE

A Group of merchants with interests in Jamaica who gathered to protect their interests in the latter half of the 18thC and first half of the 19thC, after which they became moribund.

A "pressure group" of London merchants with interests in the West Indies, formed about 1769 and included several Maitlands: Richard, Robert and Alexander. They were from time to time members of the committee between 1769 and 1805. A Mr Fuller was a member in 1770, and referred to as "agent for Jamaica".

Pimento: source of Allspice. 11d/lb in 1825.

(records At Archives of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 26, Russell Sq, London (0207862 8844)).

The minutes of the Committee show several Maitland interests.

1769 members:

Richard,

Robert prob 1709/10 - 1789 of Kings Arms Yard, Coleman St, City of London.

or: his son, 1744 - 1810 of Blue Stile (Maitland House), Greenwich & Basinghall St West India Merchant.

Alexander M. prob. 1715 - 1775 of Stoke Newington, & City of London, Merchant.

1770 discussions re rum trade etc. Maitland-Fuller also a member "agent for Jamaica".

1772 Beckford appears

->1777 Maitlands in committee.

1803 Agreement re Sugar Sale conditions, signed by inter alia, Edward & Alexander Maitland.

1801-03 Mr Maitland on committee

1803-05 Robert Maitland on committee, prob 1744 - 1810 of Blue Stile (Maitland House), Greenwich & Basinghall St West India Merchant.

On West India Planters and Merchants, Maitland on 1787 list A number of books relevant to us in listing.

More on this subject is shown in the file on John Maitland.

Jamaica Hurricane of 3 October 1780

(found in PRO CO142?)

It is said, a mighty wave rose out of the boiling sea and swept over the coast for a mile.

The morning of October 3, 1780, dawned crisp and clear - a typical Jamaican day. In the southwestern part there was a slight wind and a few intermittent showers, but all in all things were calm and looking to remain so. By midday, all that changed. Here is how the Governor, Colonel John Dalling described this change of events in his official report to London:

"The sky on a sudden became very much overcast. and an uncommon elevation of the sea immediately

followed. Whilst the unhappy settlers at Savanna-la-Mar were observing this extraordinary Phenomenon, the sea broke suddenly in upon the town, and on its retreat swept every thing away with it, so as not to leave the smallest vestige of Man, Beast, or House behind." (Black, 1965, p. 109).

That was only the beginning of the destruction. The catastrophe Dalling described above was followed by what many called the most devastating hurricane to have hit the island up to that point in its history. By midday buildings on the southwest coast of the island began to sway back and forth as if they were balancing on a tightrope. Fires broke out and spread. By 4 p.m. the full force of the hurricane had arrived and the town of Savanna-la-Mar lay directly in its path. It is said, a mighty wave rose out of the boiling sea and swept over the coast for a mile. Along with the debris of the homes and businesses, two ships and a schooner were carried along and left stranded among mango trees.

By nightfall, not one building was left standing in the town or for 30-40 miles on either side. In addition, all building in the parishes of Westmoreland, Hanover, and some in parts of St. James and St. Elizabeth, were demolished.

Property owners were unable to identify their estate boundaries. Slave provision grounds were demolished. Trees and plants were blown away and flattened, mountains and valleys, denuded, the majority of its population, drowned or crushed to death.

Rivers were running through new channels; large lakes were seen in districts which a day before had been covered in cane fields; huge rocks were hurled down from the highest mountains; deep ravines formed across the roads, which were everywhere impassable (Gardner, History of Jamaica).

In the days that followed, husbands looked for wives, mothers for sons, sisters for brothers, to no avail. It is impossible to tell just how many lives were lost. The dead lay unburied and disease began to spread.

The destruction of the food crops resulted in a famine, and because the American War of Independence was being waged, none could be imported from the nearby colonies. Thousands of slaves starved to death.

In Kingston citizens raised 10,000 pounds to help their countrymen in the west. The British government sent an additional 40,000 pounds. The damage, however, was estimated at 700,000 pounds.

Plato the Wizard

FOLKLORE PINS the devastation of this western town as the work of the runaway slave known as Plato the Wizard, from beyond the grave. Just before his 1780 execution, the renowned obeahman pronounced a curse on Jamaica - predicting that his death would be avenged by a terrible storm set to befall the island before the end of that same year.

It is said that Plato and his band of other runaways kept the parish of Westmoreland in a state of perpetual alarm from his stronghold in the Moreland Mountains. Plato warned that whoever dared lay a finger on him would suffer spiritual torments. It is not surprising that no slave would set traps for Plato even though the reward for his capture was great.

Plato, who like Tacky was an example of the type of spirit slavery could not hold, did have one weakness - rum, and it was to prove his downfall. During a time when his usual supplies were curtailed as a result of a massive hunt on for his arrest, he arranged with a watchman he knew well, to go out and get him some rum. The watchman decided to use the rum as bait. It was easier than he expected. Soon after he handed Plato the rum, he fell into a drunken stupor and right into the watchman's trap. Plato was captured, tried and immediately sentenced to death. In response, he coolly cursed and everything in sight as a dreadful power is said to have

descended on him. Plato terrified the jailer who tied him to the stake by announcing that he had cast an obeah spell on him and he did not have long to live. Soon after Plato's death, the jailer fell ill and died. Before the year was over, Plato's other curse came true - the island was hit by what was described as the "most terrible hurricane that ever spread death and destruction even in West Indian Seas." The region where Plato the Wizard had roamed free and died in betrayal was hardest hit.

Wrath of Plato's Spirit

Jamaica was not the only island to suffer the effects of the hurricane of 1780. Martinique lost 7,000 people and Barbados, 4,300. Jamaica was ravaged again by another massive hurricane in the following year. Over a hundred ships were driven ashore, and all newly-planted provision grounds, destroyed.

More hurricanes followed in that decade alone - 1784, 1785, 1786. Could it be that Plato's spirit continued to hover over the island?

Hurricanes also swept Jamaica in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the following years: 1804, 1815, 1818, 1830, 1832, 1844, 1874, 1879, 1880, 1903, 1916, 1917, 1944, 1951 (Charlie which damaged Kingston, Port Royal and Morant Bay) 1963, (Flora) and 1988 (Gilbert)

Sources: Gardner, W. J. (1971). A History of Jamaica. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.; Robertson, C. (1987) Fight for Freedom. Kingston: Kingston Publishers Ltd.; Black, C.V. (1965) The Story of Jamaica. London: Collins.

From Colonial Office files, CO137/79:

I am sorry to be under the disagreeable necessity of informing your Lordships of one of the most dreadful calamities that has happened to this colony within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. On the morning of the 2 instant, the weather being very close, the sky sudden became very much overcast, and an uncommon elevation of the sea

.....

Then the quotation given above

.....

This most dreadful catastrophe was succeeded by the most terrible hurricane that ever was felt in this country, with repeated shocks of an Earthquake which has almost totally demolished every building in the Parishes of Westmoreland, Hanover Part of St James and some parts of St Elizabeth's and killed, members of the white Inhabitants as well as of the negroes. The wretched inhabitants are in a truly wretched situation not a house standing to shelter them from the inclement weather not clothes to cover them, every thing being lost in the general wreck. And what is still more dreadful Famine staring them in the face.

Kingston merchants £10000 value of different kinds of provisions etc.

W/mland £950000 loss. Hanover 1/4 property lost.

from Governor Dalling to Lord George Germaine.

Letter dated 8 Oct to General Dalling (extract).

... The weather had appeared very indifferent for some days before, but that morning the wind became more violent than usual, with a most terrible swell of the sea, which by after noon, increased to such a degree, that it has not left the wreck of six houses on both the bay & Savanna and not less than 300 people of all colours were drowned or buried in the ruins,...

Line of destruction, from Bluefields northwards.

Signed by inter ALIA. Thos Thistlewood. Thos & John Tomlinson.

Letter from John Campbell of Salt Spring, Hanover.
Letter from Montego Bay re destruction.
From the PRO, Kew, CO137/79 Page 41 on:
A report on the October 3 1780 Hurricane, Jamaica.

Extract from the Supplement to the Kingston Gazette, 14 Oct 1780.

St Jago de la Nega, Oct 12.

At Savanna la Mar on the afternoon of Tuesday the 3rd Instant, about 3 o'clock, the wind began to blow very hard from the South-east, accompanied with heavy rain and by four had acquired such strength as to tear the trees up by the roots and strip houses of their shingles. Between five and six the sea began to rise and continued for near an hour to swell to a most amazing height, over flowing the ill fated town of Savanna la Mar and the low lands adjacent. From this time until eight o'clock, the force of the wind and the impetuosity of the waves, overthrew and demolished every house in that unfortunate place, and buried most of the inhabitants in the ruins. A little after eight it began to abate, but never the less continued to blow very hard until midnight, when the wind veered round to the westward. No pen can describe the horrors of the scene which morning presented to the sight of the few who survived to lament the fate of their wretched neighbours; the earth strewed with the mangled bodes of the dead and dying, some with broken limbs, who, in that situation, had been tossed about during the storm, and afterwards left on the wet, naked earth to languish out the night in agonies with nor hand to help, or even pity them. Humanity recoils at the contemplation of such unheard of calamities; and every feeling heart must melt at the dear recital.

The names of the unhappy sufferers which we have yet been able to learn are: The Comptroller of that Port, Mr McDowal, Dr King, his wife and two assistants, Misses Forbes and Dallas, and four children, Mr Nesbit a carpenter, Mrs Allwood and three children, Mrs Gibson and two children, Mr John Foltzgerald, Dr Lightfoot, Mr William Antrobus junr, Messrs Aaron Touro and Moses Nunes, and the nephew of the latter, Miss Pesoa, a child of Mr Payne, Mr W McLean, his wife and children, Mr Slap, Mr Little, three quadron children, and a great number of negroes. We are informed by Gentlemen who are just arrived from that quarter, that bodies of eighty white persons have already been found, and many more are expected to be dug out of the ruins, and it is thought not less than 400 whites and negroes must have perished in and about Savanna-la-Mar.

The ships Henry, Princess Royal and Austin Hall, then at Anchor in the harbour, with two or three Doggers, were driven from their moorings, and carried a considerable way up into the Morass from whence it will be impossible to get them off. The Princess Royal had four anchors out, and the crew were attempting to get out a fifth, when the wind carried it fairly off the deck some distance into the sea. One of the ships went over the Fort, the parapet of which, at other times is about fifteen feet above the level of the water. The Trimmer, a packet from Rattan, which lay at Bluefields, was likewise sent ashore, but all hands were saved, though some belonging to the other vessels were lost.

Throughout the whole Parish of Westmoreland, from the best information we can obtain, there is not a dwelling house, outhouse or a set of works on any of the estates left standing. The Canes, Corn, Plantain trees and every production of the earth destroyed. At one estate, Blue Castle, report says, that 200 negroes were killed in a boiling house whither they had fled for shelter: along the sea coast many dead bodies scattered about, probably driven ashore from some wreck, meet the eye of the passenger and one uniform scene of desolation and devastation overspreads the face of that part of the country.

From St Elizabeth, our accounts are much more favourable. Some estates there have suffered, but in a far less degree than those in Westmoreland, Hanover and St James, over which the greatest force of the hurricane seems to have passed. At Black River. a few houses are

overthrown, but none of any consequence. Some plantain walks, cane and corn pieces are likewise destroyed.

A letter from Lucea says that upwards of 400 persons, white and black, perished in that Town and neighbourhood.

A Gentleman from Savanna-la-Mar gives the following relation of the fatal catastrophe of that devoted town.

On Tuesday the 3rd Instant about one o'clock in the afternoon, the gale began from the S.E. and continued increasing with accumulated violence until four when it veered to the South and became a perfect tempest, which lasted in full force till near eight; it then abated. The sea, during the last period, exhibited a most awful scene; the waves swelled to an amazing height, rushed with an impetuosity not to be described, on the land, and in a few minutes determined the fate of all houses on the bay. Those whose strength or presence of mind enabled them to safety in the Savanna took refuge in the miserable remains of the habitations there, most of which were blown down, or much damaged by the storm, as to be hardly capable of affording a comfortable shelter to the wretched sufferers. In the Court House, forty persons, whites and of colour, sought an asylum, but miserable perished by the pressure of the roof and sides, which fell upon them. Number were saved in that part of the House of Mr Finlayson, that luckily withstood the violence of the tempest, - himself and another Gentleman, had by it (?), when the wind forced open the door, and carried away the whole of the lee side of it, and sought safety under the wall of an old kitchen, but finding they must inevitably perish in the situation, they returned to the house, determined to submit to their fate. About ten, the water began to abate, and at that time a smart shock of an earthquake was felt. All the small vessels in the bay were drove on shore and dashed to pieces. The ships Princess Royal, Captain Ruthwin, Henry Richardson and Austin Hall, Austin were forced from their anchors, and carried so far into the morass, that they will never be got off. The earthquake lifted the Princess Royal from her beam ends, righted her, and fixed her in a firm bed; this circumstance has been of great use to the surviving inhabitants for whose accommodation she now serves as a house.

The morning ushered in a scene too shocking for description - Bodies of the dead and dying scattered about the watry plains where the town stood, presented themselves to the agonizing view of the son of humanity whose charity lead him in quest of the remains of his unhappy fellow creatures! The number who have perished, is not yet precisely ascertained, but it is imagined 50 whites and 150 persons of colour are lost. Among them are numbered Dr King his wife and four children, his partner, an assistant, Mr Nesbit, a Carpenter and 24 negroes, all in one house. Dr Lightfoot, an Mr Antrobus were found dead in the streets. In the whole parish, it is said, there are not five dwelling houses, and not one set of works remaining; the plantain walks all destroyed; every canepiece levelled; several white people, and some hundreds of negroes killed.

In the adjoining parish of St Elizabeth, altho' the face of the country wore a less horrible aspect than at Westmoreland, much damage was done and several lives lost.

Our accounts from Lucea, though not particular, are terrible indeed - the Town, except two houses, those of Messrs A & D Campbell and the adjoining tenement of Mr Lyons, levelled to the ground; many lives lost, and in the whole parish of Hanover, but three houses standing - not a tree, bush or cane to be seen - universal desolation prevails! Of the wretched victims to this violation of the course of nature, we can only as yet name Messrs Aaron & Salmon Dias Fernandez, two ancient Gentlemen of the Jewish nation, one aged 81, the other 80, of respectable and venerable characters. Three young ladies, Misses Samuels, at Green Island - The elegant house of John Campbell Esquire at Salt Spring; Kendall and Campbell town; and of that of Mr Chambers, at Batchelors Hall, no longer adorn that rich and fertile parish - Captain Darling, Mrs Darling, and Mr Maxham, were dragged out, barely alive, from the ruins of an arch that supported a flight of steps, under which they had sheltered themselves - Fourteen or fifteen people of colour were buried in a store that fell in upon them.

Jamaica Society - Beckford
A Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica (Beckford)
- Circa 1790 -

Excerpted from: Beckford, William, Esq., A Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica, London, 1790. Vol I & II.

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Excerpts transcribed by David Bromfield .

Pens and Pen-keepers:

(ref: Vol II, pp 167 - 175)

The farms, or pens as they are denominated, are replete with pastoral imagery; and the appearance of immense droves of horned cattle, that expatiate at large over the unbounded pasture, or that are seen to browse in the different enclosures, which are surrounded by the prickly penguin, or the logwood fences, afford a pleasing spectacle to him who has not been used to behold the carpet of nature thus giving the means of labour to the industrious, and wholesome provision to the wealthy. Upon one range of land is observed an immense quantity of horses, and of mules, from the foal at the side of its dam, to the colt that is impatient of the bit; or the mule that is soon to feel the trammels of the mill, or the pinchings of the crook, but which now are seen to frolic and to bound over the resounding sod, to dash through the stagnant pond, to scour across the dusty road, and at last to bury themselves amidst the cooling shadows of the forest.

Over another region are seen to wander the heat-enduring sheep; and gathered together into a social stock, they nibble thus collectively the level lawn, which hardly seems to afford them a scanty bite, but upon which they produce their fertile burthens twice a year, and load the wholesome banquet with their flesh, which is of a very particular and delicate taste. Of their hair indeed no use is made; for even English sheep degenerate, and lose their wool in a short period of time in that intemperate climate; and yet it is remarked that the Creole flocks will not thrive upon the mountains, where the dews are frequent, and the air is chill, in any comparison of advantage with those that are bred and fostered upon the plains.

Of their coats a kind of camblet might certainly be made; but, as the subordinate ideas of comfort and of use are sacrificed in Jamaica to the manufactory of sugar and of rum, it will take some time before any reformation can be made in the operations, or the customs, of the country.

The pen-keepers in Jamaica are generally found to be, if not the most opulent, at least the most independent, of those who cultivate the soil. Their capitals indeed are not so large as those possessed of sugar-plantations; but then their risks are few, and their losses, except in buildings and provision-grounds, in consequence of storms, are very trifling.

The proprietor who lives upon his pen has almost all the material necessaries, and many of the subordinate comforts of life immediately within his reach; and I do not believe that there are many people in any country, of the same rank and capital, that either do, or can afford to entertain with more abundance and hospitality.

Their herds will supply them with beef and veal; both of which, if the pasture be good, and they are allowed a sufficient time to fatten, would not be at all inferior, if the meat in that climate could have the advantage of keeping, to the same provisions in England. And I cannot help remarking in this place, that I have seen as fine cattle in Jamaica as I have ever beheld in any country; and it seems likewise extraordinary, that the breeding and the young flock are in general in very high condition, although they are raised upon pastures the feeding of which is so

very short that a stranger would hardly think they could afford the least bite whatever: but then the sod is exceedingly thick, the grass of a nutritive quality, and the vegetation rapid.

Upon some pens there are from two to three thousand horned and other cattle; and of the former species there are many of considerable size, insomuch that it is not uncommon to see an ox at the slaughterhouse that shall exceed twelve hundred weight. The price of working steers is from twelve to twenty pounds currency, but sometimes more, and sometimes less; that of mules, from twenty-five to thirty-five per head currency: and when a pen can make such large return, it is more economically productive than a sugar-estate.

The pen-keeper kills his own mutton and pork, both of which are decidedly superior to the flesh of sheep and hogs in England. The flavour of the first is mild, and pleasant; and that of the last is equally good throughout the year.

He raises his own poultry of every kind: he has fish, land-turtle, and crabs, in abundance; and every species of wild-fowl, at particular seasons of the year, in profusion. He has wild-boars and pigeons from the mountains; and fruit, without the necessity of purchase, or the pains of cultivation. Sugar indeed he must buy, as likewise rum, if he have not, as many have, a plantation; and as for other liquors, and the more refined luxuries of life, with them his means, his savings and economy, may easily supply him. A man of this description is the one in Jamaica who is the most independent, and consequently the most happy. The pens in the mountains, and those upon less lofty elevations, very widely differ, in prospect and appearance, from those in the plains.

Upon the former, the grass is oftentimes long and nash; and they are often subject to a dreadful inconvenience, the want of water; and when the drought shall be excessive, and the cattle are consequently obliged to be driven to some river at a considerable distance, the mortality is oftentimes excessive; but as it is but seldom that, in such situations, the seasons are for a long time withheld, a misfortune of this kind can only be considered as an uncommon calamity, and as one that is not to be compared to the hurricane that devasts and sweeps away productions of a sugar-plantation.

Upon mountain-land the Guinea-grass is cultivated in preference to that which is flat: it is generally planted in the spring, at a distance of six or eight feet; it grows considerably through the rainy season, and in October and November it blossoms. The cattle are then turned into it, to eat it down: they shake out the seed; the stalks become dry, and are then cut: the stubble is consumed by fire, from the vegetative properties of which the young grass springs up, and in a short time becomes one entire carpet, the verdure of which has a very brilliant, and a pleasing appearance.

A piece of Guinea-grass in the month of November, when observed either upon the mountains, more gentle elevations, or even upon flat land, affords a variety of interesting scenes, and which are varied according to situation, time, and growth.

In a young state, when it begins to cover the ground, the colour of the grass is particularly brilliant; and when the drops of dew hang trembling upon their pensile leaves, or the silken threads of the cobwebs are spread over the verdant surface, or when, broken by the brushing tread of some straggling heifer that has found its way into the inclosure, they float, like gossamer, through the air, the lover of nature cannot help observing with delight these incidental changes which chance so frequently occasions.

This production, I think, appears to most advantage when it is in the state I have just described, and interests more, as adding beauty to a picture, when it is seen cultivated upon gently-swelling hills, which insensibly lose their depressions upon the plains.

When a piece of this description is dotted over by straggling trees, or clumped in particular situations by the bastard cedars, which are singular ornaments of the Jamaica farms, or is darkened by the shadows which are spread by the deep and spiced leaves of the pimento, it is hardly possible to conceive any natural scenery more rich and beautiful; and if there be cattle

or sheep observed, or cropping the herbage, or recumbent in glooms, these living objects of rural profit and delight cannot help giving a double interest to the surrounding scenery. Upon some pens there is but little water for the use of the cattle, excepting such as is confined in ponds, and the resources of which are often precarious; but yet I have heard it remarked, and I rather think with seeming justice, that they fatten more kindly where they drink of what is stagnant and muddy, than of that which is flowing and pellucid.

Planters, Attorneys, Overseers, etc:

(Ref: Vol II, pp 364 - 380)

The attorney draws 6 per cent upon the produce of the plantation; makes an allowance, according to its extent and revenues, to a person to keep the books of the property, and to do in his absence such business as the overseer, from a different line of occupation, is either incompetent to, or has not leisure to superintend. He appoints the overseer, and affixes his salary according to his pretensions and his skill; and among this class of people I have seen and been personally acquainted with some, that are an honour to their profession, and who would make as responsible agents as those by whom they have been, in a subordinate capacity, employed.

The attorney who manages for the proprietor in England, derives his emoluments from the produce of the property, and charges 6 per cent for every thing he makes, and every thing he sells; and if he be not scrupulous in his trust, he may likewise draw many other advantages from his situation, which some have not scrupled to take. He may order the states to supply him with corn, may direct their carts to carry it; may be from thence supplied with mules for his servants, and with provisions and delicacies for himself; and may likewise order the attendance of any Negroes he may prefer, to wait upon him in menial capacities: and all this he may do, and all this is often done, without any ceremony or compensation.

If he have extensive concerns, he is followed about the country with a retinue of carriages, of servants, and of horses, which shake the ground as they thunder along; and when he arrives upon the plantation, the command goes forth, to catch and kill; the table is covered with profusion, and few are suffered to go empty. I had almost said sober, away.

There is not a profession in the country so much sought after as this; and if it be not the most honourable, it is certainly the most profitable, and that in which is often the greatest mediocrity of talents: for a situation that individually does not either require thought, or insist upon action, may be equally exercised by the vacant and inactive. The only things required, are confidence and protection from home, an hospitable way of life in the island, a costly table, a full cellar, and good attendance; and if you have besides an easy carriage, and an ambling horse, "all the rest shall be added unto you."

The business of an attorney, when residing upon the plantation, is to attend the overseer in a circuitous visit of the cane fields, and to obtain from him a calculation of what they may produce; and as his emoluments arise from the magnitude of the crops, his interest will point out the means of making them productive; and hence the exorbitant expence of hired labour will be added, to swell the list of payments under which the planter already labours, and for which, in seasons of storms and famine, he may find it very difficult, if not impossible, to provide: the attorney having the means of payment in his own hands, may say "that charity begins at home," and provides for his own wants before he considers those of his employer.

He makes it a point to be upon good terms with the captains of ships, and all those in short who have an opportunity to report favourably of him to his constituents in England; and according to the extent of his concerns, will be his consequence, and the respect that will be shown to him in the country.

Of this description of persons there are many who hold the first places in the community. and who

are independent legislators, useful magistrates, and men of property; and who are besides attentive and just to the interest of their employers, and respectable both in public and private life: but yet I must still say, that I do not think even the best of them are so successful in the management of a property which they conduct under a mortgagee in possession, as when they hold the direction under the appointment, and confidence, of the planter alone; and I must still observe, that the latter will be in general found to be the best steward of his own affairs, as his own interest would be so much blended with his conduct; and his Negroes would more cheerfully obey his orders than attend to those of strangers; and they will go forward with warmer hopes of a redress of their complaints, to him who is so much a party in their content and welfare, than they would to one who has the same motives to direct him.

When a merchant and a planter shall have found it necessary to enter into terms for their mutual government and safety, I think it always bad policy, and ruinous to both, when the latter is deprived of the possession and management of his estate. The former might appoint an attorney to see his rights ascertained, and that justice be in the first instance done to his claims respecting the consignments, the payment of contingencies, and for whatever sums he is, from the nature of the connection, become responsible: but the actual possession and superintendence should still continue in the proprietor of the soil; for there is hardly a situation more deplorable than one of this last description, when he is obliged to turn out of his own house, without any provision being made for his wants, to make room for a man who was perhaps only the day before his servant and dependent.

If the creditor could only know the heart-felt miseries, and the neglect and insult which the planter sustains, when, in consequence of debts accumulated by the dreadful visitations that have descended from the hand of God, or the unfeeling rapacity and inhumanity of man; - if the rigorous could only feel what he endures at being ejected from his home, deprived of his attendants, and struggling under disease, and without a common subsistence to procure the means of life, he would startle at the power which the law, or an unguarded confidence, has given him; and would ultimately find, that his views of interest or importance would hardly compensate the reproach with which his rigour would be attended.

I would recommend it to the planter, to consider how very serious a thing it is, to become indebted to a merchant of an illiberal and parsimonious turn of mind; and to be particularly cautious how he entrusts him with a security that is of great magnitude compared to a small advance. That he should be just and punctual, his interest will point out the necessity, as well as the advantage: but it is much better to suffer at once a pecuniary humiliation and distress, than to behold a weight in continual pence above him, when he has every reason to think that it will, some time or other, descend and crush him.

The merchant wants no caution to remind him of his interest: if he meet with disappointment, he has recourse to his security at last; and by advancing money upon pledges of land in Jamaica, I have never heard that one has ultimately been a loafer: but the instances of ruin to the planter under such bonds have been too frequent to require proof.

It will not, I hope, be imagined that I wish to throw the most distant reflections upon merchants of credit and honour: they are beyond my reach, and would look down with contempt upon him who could have the injustice to revile them. My remarks and strictures therefore will only apply to those of a different cast; and to them, if any such there be, I will not even condescend to make an apology.

When the proprietor takes upon himself the management of his own plantation, there are many little circumstances which he attends to as objects of amusement, which an attorney might possibly consider as irksome and disgusting; and who thinks, and perhaps wisely, that he very fully discharges his duty if he superintend the gross of affairs, without entering into those minutiae which, being trifles, are better neglected.

The planter is in general too fond of trying experiments; and his private caprice cannot fail to

injure his public views. If a man be clear of debt, and is contented with what he has, the community ought to think itself obliged to every individual who may make them. He is the only person who can be injured by the miscarriage; and by his failure of success no creditor is hurt: but in those of a contrary description, the straight road of management will more certainly conduct to ease or wealth.

Every planter entertains a good opinion of his own management; and being sanguine in his expectations, he is of consequence very frequently deceived. He is tempted, in proportion to this expectations, to purchase Negroes and stock; and hence increases his debts, which were before oppressive: whereas, if he would be satisfied with what the strength and condition of his estate would give him, without clogging its wheels with unnecessary expence, he might be enabled to wipe off annually some portion of his encumbrances; and when the merchant finds that his correspondent provides with punctuality for the interest, and reduces, from year to year, however little, the principal sum, his confidence will probably increase, and he may be disposed to make allowances for seasons of hurricanes and droughts.

As the planter seems to be the spring of action in the West Indies, his manners have an effect upon those of the country. Every one pretends to be, more or less, a man of business; and trifles appear of consequence to those who are not habituated to the practice of regular and systematic occupation.

For the interested bustles of life, for that industry that begets wealth, and that circumspection that knows how to keep it, there is not a character in the world less adapted than a West Indian. Unsteady in thought, and desultory in action, he knows not how to combine his ideas for use, nor to direct their exertion to a given point. His warmth of temper is not followed by a coolness of judgement; but then I have seldom known the heat of passion to conduct him to revenge. Too indolent for the exertions of the mind, his body seems to partake of its languor; and though his spirits will sometimes lead him to the highest flights of extravagance, yet will reflection often sink him to the lowest despair. His disposition is, in some instances, not unlike that of a Frenchman, who is as easily elevated, as soon depressed. He is seldom a miser, and more often a spendthrift than barely generous; and when he is impunctual, I should rather attribute it in many instances to a want of arrangement, and a foresight of contingencies, than to the failure of an honest principle.

It is somewhat singular, that there is hardly an instance of a Creole who has excelled in the liberal professions, or in works of genius: and for this it would be difficult to account, were it not in some manner apparent from their natural indolence, and aversion to one steady and unremitting pursuit. Of one quality they are certainly possessed, and that is hospitality; and which may, some measure, cover their other failings: nor do I think that their generosity is often the handmaid of ostentation.

Their lives are certainly full of vexation and trouble: their means depending upon the favour of the climate, and the preservation of a capital so liable to incidents and mortality, make them look for danger when remote, and anticipate misfortunes that may not happen. They live well while they have the means; and think, perhaps too much, upon the entertainment that they are to give their friends: and this anxiety of making welcome, and of crowding their table with profusion, and of drinking, very frequently, to excess, is a custom that prevails too much among all classes of people in the country.

The women in Jamaica superintend the domestic affairs, and provide for the necessaries and comforts of the table. Their occupations are always unpleasant, and they too often meet with causes of disgust. In that island they suffer much, submit to much, and lead a life of toil and misery, which the most commendable patience, and the most amiable resignation, cannot brook, though doomed to bear.

The overseer has many advantages of comfort, which his employer cannot share. He has few wishes, and few cares: his provisions are found him. and those he enjoys without expense or trouble. His

profession does not subject him to labour, nor his situation make him responsible: he may be discharged indeed for mal-practices, but cannot be punished for neglect, excepting in cases of notoriety which call aloud for public example. He directs the management of the property, if he have a sensible driver and obedient Negroes, with ease to himself; and his daily orders recur, and are executed, without investigation, and without punishment. If the gross of business be well attended to, he is not difficult about trifles. He takes his daily rides into the cane pieces, to see that the work goes on with regularity and dispatch; and when he is absent, the book-keeper attends; but the driver is person whom he trusts. In crop-time he does not continue much in the field, but gives his particular attention to the works, and takes care that the Negroes are not idle, and that they do not waste, or steal, the produce. These remarks apply to a person of character and diligence; nor have I had any personal connection with any people of this rank, whose honesty I could impeach, or whose industry upbraid.

Upon some plantations there are many white people engaged; and the full establishment will be found to consist of the overseer, with a salary from 100 pounds sterling, to two, three, or more; a distiller, with 40 pounds; two book-keepers, with 30 pounds or 20 pounds; a mason, a carpenter, a blacksmith, and perhaps a cooper and wheelwright, at different rates, from indentured servants at 50 pounds a year, to 100 pounds or more. For these the overseer provides; and these he directs and superintends in their different avocations. Upon some properties there is besides a doctor, upon a fixed salary; but otherwise he is allowed to 5 shillings currency per head for every Negro, and finds the medicines himself.

The above is a large establishment; and the average of estates in the island are contented with an overseer at 100 pounds a year, and one, or at most two book-keepers: but every white man will stand the property in the full amount of his salary besides. Where there are many servants, there will be but little work; and that which is expected to be done by many, will be frequently at last left undone by one. Besides, the lower classes of white people in Jamaica are unworthy of confidence and power: they are idle, drunken, worthless, and immoral; and it is chiefly owing to the infamy of their example, that the Negroes become idle, and turn out thieves and villains. Until therefore a reformation can be made in the manners of those with whom the slaves are so much connected, it will be impossible to enact any salutary and efficient institutions for their better government, for the decency of their conduct, the improvement of their minds, or the enforcing the comfortable and the moral duties of obedience.

PEN KEEPERS & SLAVERY - Shepherd

Extract from:

"Slavery without Sugar in Jamaica's Plantation Society.

Some Implications for Enslaved and Enslavers."

Verene A. Shepherd (2000)

i): Some Implications of Penkeeping for the Enslavers:

By 1782, according to W.J. Gardner's estimate, Jamaica probably had 300 pens owned by both independent pen-keepers and by sugar planters who had established their own 'satellite' livestock farms (some of which incorporated food production) to serve the needs of their estates. Whatever the objectives of their establishment, both types of pen owners had helped to diversify the Jamaican economy by the end of the 18th century and lessened the island's dependence on external sources of supply for some plantation inputs, particularly within the context of the articulated mercantilist ideology of the imperial power. Edward Long, a sugar planter and author, well-qualified to comment on Jamaica's 18th century economy, having spent some 12 years

in the island from 1757-1769 at the height of the sugar plantation system consistently supported the idea of a self-sufficient agriculture in Jamaica, though not to the extent of dismantling the mercantilist system drastically as he later revealed in the amendments to his original volumes published in 1774. He advocated the expansion of the area of white settlement to include areas unsuited for the cane but suitable for other types of farming and grazing, a reduction in dependence on external trade, especially with North America and diversification of the economy with attention to foodcrops, coffee, cattle and horses. He went to great lengths to articulate his views on the local livestock industry. Indeed, he regarded the restoration of the local livestock industry, started by the Spanish and initially destroyed by the English colonizers, as so essential a project that he urged legislative action

...to encourage the island breed and throw gradual restraints upon ... importation; by which means, beef might possibly, in course of a few years, return to a more moderate price... thus might be saved many thousand pounds now paid for foreign salted beef, which is neither so wholesome, nutritious, nor pleasing ... as fresh meat.

But was it possible for penkeepers in Jamaica to compete with foreign suppliers and service the island's needs for livestock? Long himself admitted that there were obstacles to diversification and self-sufficiency. Among the obstacles he identified were i) planter conservatism as reflected in their reluctance to dismantle the traditional economic relations dictated by the mercantilist system; ii) the reluctance of white settlers to live in interior locations; iii) the tendency of white settlers to look to the sugar industry, rather than any alternative husbandry, for upward social mobility; iv) the failure of the sugarocracy to give wider support to local efforts of diversification, many lobbying instead for the restoration of traditional trading relationships with North America, rejecting local products as inferior and alternative lines of trade as expensive. In fact, it is clear that while some locally-born whites and free-coloureds participated in non-sugar economic activities, such activities remained marginal to sugar production and subject to the imperatives of sugar production. In his seminal work on the development of creole society in Jamaica, Brathwaite reiterated Long's sentiments, concluding that "at every step...the creatively 'creole' elements of the society were being rendered ineffective by the more reactionary 'colonial'". Their conclusions seemed to be that despite the fundamental importance of local penkeepers within Jamaica's colonial economy, they could not support the island's total needs for livestock.

What factors other than those articulated by Long and Brathwaite kept the island dependent on external sources of work animals, despite the existence of local livestock farms? What were the socio-political implications for the independent penkeepers of their inability to realize the full potential of their occupation? I offer the following six tentative explanations: competition from Spanish Caribbean islands, the virtual ineffectiveness of local opposing voices, the existence of relatively small pens with low livestock density, market behaviour of the local buyers, the heavy dependence of pen-keepers on the sugar sector and the persistent colonial mentality of the creole producers. Each is explored below:

i): Competition from Spanish America:

The passing of the British Free Port Act of 1766 had opened up Spanish trading to Jamaica. This Act sanctioned a branch of colonial trade that had hitherto been conducted in a clandestine manner. It facilitated the import and export of certain types of goods at certain ports in the British Caribbean by small vessels from neighbouring foreign colonies. This did not, however,

represent a departure from the Navigation Acts which still attempted to control the trade of staple commodities and English manufactures. The Free Port Act was designed to allow only trade in goods which did not compete with the products of Britain and her colonies. The slave trade, North American supplies and the carrying trade between the mother country and her colonies remained firmly in British hands. In Jamaica, Lucea, Savanna-la-mar, Kingston and Montego Bay were declared free ports in 1776 and with the passing of the Act and the opening up of ports other than Kingston, the Spanish trade with Jamaica was revived.

ii): The virtual ineffectiveness of local opposing voices:

The existence of the trade with Spanish America was a controversial issue in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Jamaica. The opponents of the trade blamed it for the failure of a larger number of small settlers to engage in penkeeping. The proponents argued that its continuation was vital to the better regulation of the price of beef and plantation stock. But the trade continued despite the opposition. At first, the numbers imported were small. Between 1729 and 1739, for example, 124 horned cattle, 1,500 horses, 4,285 mules, 243 asses, 129 horses and 825 sheep, or an annual average of 826 animals had been imported, primarily from Cuba and Puerto Rico. A total of 14,456 was imported in the following decade and averaged £11,000 per annum. The same level of importation in 1773 was estimated at £16,000. By 1825, the annual number imported cost £11,836. The largest share of the total expenditure on imported livestock in the eighteenth century was spent on mules. Between 1729 and 1749, a total of 10,477 mules was imported. In 1774, when 745 mules were brought in, the cost to the island was £11,175 sterling.

Edward Long elaborated on two reasons that necessitated the import of mules, asses, horses, and cattle, and emphasized that once these were removed, the trade would end. The first obstacle to Jamaican self-sufficiency, he explained, was a lack of "... a sufficient stock of industrious inhabitants to have been employed in breeding the number of these animals proportioned to the annual consumption". The second was the absence of:

... the patriotic endeavours and subsidies of the Assembly, as well as for encouraging such breeding farms, as for making good roads in every district, at the public charge, whereby the internal parts of the country must have been settled and improved with greater facility and the waste of cattle in great measure prevented.

One of the reasons put forward by Long for the failure of more settlers to engage in penkeeping was the fear of overproduction and a consequent price fall. Long records that

... many persons have been deterred from engaging their time and capitals in this way; imagining that a glut would be the consequence and the price of cattle and mules would be lowered because the Spanish breed are imported and sold at a cheaper rate than they can afford and make a suitable profit.

In addition, the lack of a 'creole consciousness' and the existence of prejudice against local products which were vital to encourage the local industry, impeded Jamaica's progress towards the development of a 'domestic economy'. Thus Long's view that "... most men have a prejudice in favour of foreign articles, despising their own far superior in value" might not have been too far off the mark. He however fails to recognize the economic fact that import substitution cannot be feasible where local producers are unable to produce goods competitively, and where government policies protect foreign suppliers.

Some of the pen-keepers themselves echoed Long's sentiments. In a petition to the Governor

in 1790, the pen-keepers in the St. Ann vestry complained of

...the distressing Prospect arising in the Community in general ... and this Parish ... in Particular of the trade carried on between the Spaniards of Cuba and a few of the trading or commercial Persons of this country from the vicinity of the coasts which facilitates the impolitic Intercourse.

Like Edward Long, they stressed that the trade posed an obstacle to the expansion of the pen-keeping industry

...which is being partly discontinued by the Introduction of Spanish Horses, mules, mares, and neat cattle, subject to no Impost or Duty whatever, and that at a time when we are paying Taxes towards the support of Government from the time of sale.

As the Spaniards were underselling local producers, Spanish cattle, horses, and mules were generally about one-third to one-half cheaper than local breeds. Spanish American horses could fetch as low a £10 sterling each, for example. Local breeds cost much more as their cost of production was higher.

The drain of capital occasioned by the import trade from Spanish America was a matter of concern towards the end of the eighteenth century. According to Long, "... vast amounts of our small hammered silver rials [ryalls] and pistorins are constantly exported together with dollars for purchasing mules and cattle". Planters even sold some of their rum internally in order to obtain cash to purchase Spanish stock. This "... in every respect", said Long, "... seems to be a traffick extremely pernicious to the island and it is from this consideration probably that it has been more connived at by the Spaniards than any other". He urged that immediate steps be taken to end this 'pernicious trade'. Two solutions were first, for the Assembly to impose a tax on imported stock and, second, for local pen-keepers to give credit -say of six to nine months - to enable the poorer proprietors to defray the cost of their purchase out of the rent or succeeding crop.

Up to 1816, however, neither solution seems to have been adopted. The matter of taxation was especially problematic and Long's call for a tax to be imposed on foreign stock was echoed by pen-keepers all over the island. In 1816, for example, the pen-keepers of St. Elizabeth and Manchester petitioned the House of Assembly to impose a tax on imported stock on account of the hardships they suffered from the allowance of foreign imports. The St. Elizabeth graziers, supported by those in Manchester, complained that:

... from late large importation of horned or neat cattle, mules and horses, the stock of the native breeder and grazier has become almost unsaleable, more particularly in respect of mules, there having been scarcely a spell of mules disposed of this season in the whole pen] district

The complaints of the penkeepers were referred to a Committee of the House of Assembly and in 1817 'An Act for laying a duty on all horses, mares, geldings, mules, and horned cattle, imported into this island, except from Great Britain and the United States of America', was effected. The duty initially levied on each head of cattle was £11.70 but this was increased to £12 in the 1830s after repeated agitation by the penkeepers that the stock duties be raised. By 1843 the duties seemed to have been lowered, with those on neat cattle being once more just around £11 0s. 0d. per head.

The petitions of the penkeepers may not have had led to the level of tax increase desired; and members of the House of Assembly continued to disagree over the cattle duty and even towards the end of the century, the matter was still not satisfactorily settled. But it should be stressed that the very imposition of an import tax on imported stock in the 19th century was testimony to the changing political situation among which was the declining power of the sugar interests in the Jamaican Assembly.

It is evident that the lack of a high social standing in white society [in contrast to the sugar planters], of political power and an effective lobby in the House of Assembly clearly worked to the penkeepers' disadvantage. Indeed, the economic relations between planters and penkeepers while reciprocal in some regards, nevertheless, contained an exploitative element. The House was dominated by sugar planters who, naturally, advanced their economic self-interest; this explains their failure to acquiesce to the growing petitions of the graziers for an increase in the duty imposed on Spanish livestock. They responded to economic imperatives rather than any blind support for local producers. This is clear from their argument that there was a great price differential in the horses, mules and cattle purchased from Spanish America, even after adding the profits of the middlemen merchants. They sought the cheapest markets when procuring these. Indeed, the very nature of the sugar plantation system, despite Jamaica's slight deviation from the classic model, made any non-economic considerations irrelevant. The sugar industry was primarily export-dependent; it needed to control operational costs, and sugar planters naturally sought plantation inputs from the cheapest sources.

iii): The existence of relatively small pens with low livestock density:

Jamaica's relatively small pens with low livestock densities were incapable of meeting sugar estates' total livestock needs, estimated at over 700,000 in the late 18th century, and were unable to compete with external suppliers. Climatic and other physical environmental factors restricted their expansion in the period of slavery. Additionally, pens were not necessarily allowed to develop on lands eminently suitable for pasture. The greater commitment to the sugar industry meant that estates tended to develop on the flat, coastal lands and the interior plains. As the sugar economy expanded and created competition for landspace between agrarian units in the island, pens were unable to maintain the required acreage of pasture and livestock population to supply the market. Pens were, sometimes, confined to marginal interior lands. Even where estates went out of production due to changes in the climate [as in St Catherine where deforestation caused extremely dry conditions], abandoned estates lands were not necessarily turned over to pasture.

Even with restricted space, the absolute numbers of pens in Jamaica, around 400 by the end of slavery, may have been sufficient to supply the total livestock needs of the island's sugar had they devoted all land space to pasture or maintained larger herds. The mean size of pens was 824.58 acres in the period 1780-1845 [with a range from 300-3,750 acres]. This was large by island standards; but not all of this land was suitable for pasture. Of the total of 1,248 acres comprising Shettlewood Pen, for example, 68.26% was devoted to grass; and the average in grass for most pens was even lower. Pens were organized as self-sufficient units, much like sugar estates, and so had land devoted to buildings, provision grounds and forestland for timber.

iv): Market behaviour:

The fact that the potential earning power of small settlers engaged in livestock farming was undermined by the behaviour of the sugarocracy was another contributing factor. Some planters

produced livestock on their estate or satellite pen, or bought from cheaper Spanish-American suppliers. Thus, although theoretically the sugar economy was capable of acting as a dynamic factor in the development of the local livestock industry, such dynamism was not directed entirely towards the pen sector.

v): The heavy dependence of pen-keepers on the sugar sector.

Although they had maintained an independent economic dynamic in the pre-sugar era, by 1740, penkeepers were heavily dependent on the sugar sector. Livestock farmers relied on the sugar planters to purchase their output such as animals and ground provisions. The section of the sugar estate market to which independent penkeepers had access, however, fluctuated according to the state of the market for sugar. This precariousness of the market caused many livestock farmers to diversify their economic activities in an effort to cushion the effects of a low demand and thus a low price for working animals. The precariousness of the sugar market, particularly in the 19th century, caused many pens to intensify their diversification efforts, often incorporating pimento, logwood, coffee and food production. This contributed to the comparatively low livestock density and drew off slave labour for activities unconnected with livestock husbandry. The lack of a larger number of monocultural pens, therefore, had important implications for the supply of livestock in the island. Furthermore, the need to maintain a larger number of slaves than was usual for livestock husbandry (usually a ratio of one slave to 50 head of livestock was adequate but in Jamaica the ratio was higher) increased the production costs on the pens. The estates had a high import co-efficient in foodstuffs; some planters established their own supplementary food-producing units and the existence of the slave provisioning system combined to limit the portion of the food market to which independent pens had access.

vi): The persistent colonial mentality of the creole producers:

The penkeepers in Jamaica evinced no blind adherence to what Brathwaite has termed 'creole society'. Jamaica's colonial society, despite its diversified landholding class, was also culturally dominated by the planter-class. Despite the obvious development of a creole society to which Brathwaite refers, white norms prevailed among the islands European and free-coloured elements. Resident white and free-coloured penkeepers aspired to the values of white elite society which aped English, metropolitan culture. This was reflected in their lifestyle, the education of their children in the metropole and their trek to Britain as soon as their financial circumstances permitted. Thus, the ownership and operation of livestock farms, while generating goods for the local, 'creole' market, did not necessarily imply a commitment to creole [as opposed to white metropolitan] ideals on the part of penkeepers. Indeed, as soon as financial circumstances permitted, some penkeepers themselves became a part of the absentee proprietary class in Britain. Many independent penkeepers were former overseers and attorneys who used their accumulated wages to gradually buy stock and re-sell to the estates. The possibility of this route to property-ownership meant that there were always men available for such supervisory positions, freeing wealthy penkeepers to become absentees.

The internal differences among the resident proprietors also served to reinforce the divisions in creole society. Brathwaite has duly noted that small settlers remained scattered, separate and without any consciousness of themselves as a group. He ascribes this primarily to their lack of political power and increasing marginalisation in creole society. However, the internal class and ethnic diversities even among particular groups of small settlers are other crucial factors. Pen-keepers, for example, comprised traditionally antagonistic sections - white and free-coloureds, creole born and metropolitan born, small entrepreneurs and larger more profitable proprietors - among whom there was no common social goals outside of the context of their similar aspirations to the socio-economic status of the sugar barons. Furthermore, resident

sugar planters and resident pen-keepers were economically linked, yet socially separated, with the latter aspiring to the social status of the former. Consequently, to have been born in Jamaica and to participate in the production of locally-produced plantation inputs and to display a colonial mentality at the same time was entirely possible in colonial Jamaica; there was no necessary dichotomy.

These realities did not signal the end of penkeeping in Jamaica; on the contrary, the number had reached 400 on the eve of emancipation, with pens continuing to provide an alternative location and way of life for enslaved peoples.

BRETT ASHMEADE-HAWKINS

See also [Jamaica Maitlands, Cooper line](#).

My Godfather is Russell Pulford Earle, the son of the late John Calder Earle of Mitchum Estate and the nephew of the late Charles Earle of Ashton Pen. I have quite a lot of family history on Ashton Pen and also some on Mount Charles.

My family owns a house in Miami and I spend several months a year there, but I also own a cattle and citrus plantation in Belize and I live there for the rest of the year. I'm actually planning to sell up soon and buy a coffee plantation, 4,000 to 5,000 feet up in the mountains of Costa Rica. The climate is so much cooler there. I usually go down to Jamaica for a week or so every year.

19 Oct 2006 20:44:35 -0400

In 18th Century Jamaica the Sugar Planters thought themselves a cut above the Coffee Planters and the Penkeepers, much as the Nobility in England thought themselves a cut above the Gentry. Ironically the greater wealth of the Sugar Planters in Jamaica eventually allowed most of them to become absentee proprietors in Britain, while the more modest fortunes of the Coffee Planters and Penkeepers kept them in Jamaica. By the 1830s four-fifths of the Sugar Planters in Jamaica has become absentees, while at the same time two-thirds of the Coffee Planters and four-fifths of the Penkeepers remained resident in the Island. This meant that the Coffee Planters and the Penkeepers now formed the majority of the Plantocracy and their political power and social prestige now matched that of the remaining Sugar Planters and the great Planting-Attorneys. During the late 19th Century and early 20th Century as the sugar industry in Jamaica continued to decline and many sugar and coffee plantations were either abandoned or converted to cattle estates, the social status of the Penkeepers reached its highest peak. By the early 20th century many of the remaining sugar estates were now amalgamating and they were increasingly owned by companies and run by a new managerial class imported from Britain. Thus the Old Plantocracy, as the late historian Ansell Hart put it, was being replaced by a New Plantocracy. In contrast the old-fashioned Penkeepers, as individual owners of estates, were now seen as the upholders of tradition and the true Landed Gentry of Jamaica.

By the 1960s the Penkeeper was almost a mythical figure in Jamaican society, seen as the equivalent of the English country squire. He became a sort of living stereotype. An elderly White Jamaican gentleman, well-bred and well-mannered, usually educated in England and more British than the British, sometimes bluff and often befuddled, living in an old decaying Great House in the countryside, with his horses and his dogs, enjoying polo and shooting, and reminiscing endlessly about boarding school in England, garden-parties at King's House and the last Royal

visit to Jamaica.

These old-time Planters and Penkeepers were an anachronism in the New Jamaica, where they were increasingly no longer appreciated or wanted. When I was a child in Jamaica during the 1960s there were still a lot of them about, having lunch at the Country Clubs, attending Polo Matches and Gymkhanas, exhibiting at the annual Agricultural Shows. Quaint elderly figures with their solar topees and panama hats, their white linen suits, leaning on their canes and their shooting sticks. Now they are almost all dead and gone and Jamaica is a poorer place for it. The tradition of a separate kitchen, detached from the main house and connected by a pillared covered walkway, continues in Jamaica to this day. I know many old town houses and country houses in Jamaica where this is still the case. My first experience of this was in January 1967 when we stayed with Tony Hart's aunt at Overton House in Montego Bay. It was a lovely old 19th Century

[\[iii\]](#)

colonial mansion set in about three acres of manicured lawns.

I attach for you a photo of an old print of Government Penn, near Spanish Town, drawn by Lady Nugent in 1803, which gives an excellent view of a Great House with a pillared, covered walkway connecting it to the separate outside Kitchen. I have photographs of many other old Great Houses in Jamaica showing the same arrangement.

Thank you for the photograph of the interior of Mount Charles Great House in 1899. I must tell you that any 18th and 19th Century interior views of plantation houses in Jamaica are extremely rare. It is interesting to see the Jamaican colonial furniture in the photo. There is a glimpse of a Planter's chair, a Windsor armchair, a Card Table and a Half-Moon table, all typical examples of the sort of Early 19th Century Jamaican furniture that you would expect to find in any Great House in the Island. I'm sure that John Cross would love to see this photo, given his expertise on Jamaican furniture.

TROLLOPE'S SPANISH TOWN:

Miss Sarah Jack, of Spanish Town, Jamaica

by Anthony Trollope

There is nothing so melancholy as a country in its decadence, unless it be a people in their decadence. I am not aware that the latter misfortune can be attributed to the Anglo-Saxon race in any part of the world; but there is reason to fear that it has fallen on an English colony in the island of Jamaica.

Jamaica was one of those spots on which fortune shone with the full warmth of all her noonday splendour. That sun has set;--whether for ever or no none but a prophet can tell; but as far as a plain man may see, there are at present but few signs of a coming morrow, or of another summer.

It is not just or proper that one should grieve over the misfortunes of Jamaica with a stronger grief because her savannahs are so lovely, her forests so rich, her mountains so green, and her rivers so rapid; but it is so. It is piteous that a land so beautiful should be one which fate has marked for misfortune. Had Guiana, with its flat, level, unlovely soil, become poverty-stricken, one would hardly sorrow over it as one does sorrow for Jamaica.

As regards scenery she is the gem of the western tropics. It is impossible to conceive spots on the earth's surface more gracious to the eye than those steep green valleys which stretch down to the south-west from the Blue Mountain peak towards the sea; and but little behind these in beauty are the rich wooded hills which in the western part of the island divide the counties of Hanover and Westmoreland. The hero of the tale which I am going to tell was a sugar-grower in the latter district, and the heroine was a girl who lived under that Blue Mountain peak.

The very name of a sugar-grower as connected with Jamaica savours of fruitless struggle, failure, and desolation. And from his earliest growth fruitless struggle, failure, and desolation had been the lot of Maurice Cumming. At eighteen years of age he had been left by his father sole possessor of the Mount Pleasant estate, than which in her palmy days Jamaica had little to boast of that was more pleasant or more palmy. But those days had passed by before Roger Cumming, the father of our friend, had died.

These misfortunes coming on the head of one another, at intervals of a few years, had first stunned and then killed him. His slaves rose against him, as they did against other proprietors around him, and burned down his house and mills, his homestead and offices. Those who know the amount of capital which a sugar-grower must invest in such buildings will understand the extent of this misfortune. Then the slaves were emancipated. It is not perhaps possible that we, now-a-days, should regard this as a calamity; but it was quite impossible that a Jamaica proprietor of those days should not have done so. Men will do much for philanthropy, they will work hard, they will give the coat from their back;--nay the very shirt from their body; but few men will endure to look on with satisfaction while their commerce is destroyed.

But even this Mr. Cumming did bear after a while, and kept his shoulder to the wheel. He kept his shoulder to the wheel till that third misfortune came upon him--till the protection duty on Jamaica sugar was abolished. Then he turned his face to the wall and died. His son at this time was not of age, and the large but lessening property which Mr. Cumming left behind him was for three years in the hands of trustees. But nevertheless Maurice, young as he was, managed the estate. It was he who grew the canes, and made the sugar;--or else failed to make it. He was the "massa" to whom the free negroes looked as the source from whence their wants should be supplied, notwithstanding that, being free, they were ill inclined to work for him, let his want of work be ever so sore.

Mount Pleasant had been a very large property. In addition to his sugar-canes Mr. Cumming had grown coffee; for his land ran up into the hills of Trelawney to that altitude which in the tropics seems necessary for the perfect growth of the coffee berry. But it soon became evident that labour for the double produce could not be had, and the coffee plantation was abandoned. Wild brush and the thick undergrowth of forest reappeared on the hill-sides which had been rich with produce. And the evil re-created and exaggerated itself. Negroes squatted on the abandoned property; and being able to live with abundance from their stolen gardens, were less willing than ever to work in the cane pieces.

And thus things went from bad to worse. In the good old times Mr. Cumming's sugar produce had spread itself annually over some three hundred acres; but by degrees this dwindle down to half that extent of land. And then in those old golden days they had always taken a full hogshead from the acre;--very often more. The estate had sometimes given four hundred hogsheads in the year. But in the days of which we now speak the crop had fallen below fifty. At this time Maurice Cumming was eight-and-twenty, and it is hardly too much to say that misfortune had nearly crushed him. But nevertheless it had not crushed him. He, and some few like him, had still hoped

against hope; had still persisted in looking forward to a future for the island which once was so generous with its gifts. When his father died he might still have had enough for the wants of life had he sold his property for what it would fetch. There was money in England, and the remains of large wealth. But he would not sacrifice Mount Pleasant or abandon Jamaica; and now after ten years' struggling he still kept Mount Pleasant, and the mill was still going; but all other property had parted from his hands.

By nature Maurice Cumming would have been gay and lively, a man with a happy spirit and easy temper; but struggling had made him silent if not morose, and had saddened if not soured his temper. He had lived alone at Mount Pleasant, or generally alone. Work or want of money, and the constant difficulty of getting labour for his estate, had left him but little time for a young man's ordinary amusements. Of the charms of ladies' society he had known but little. Very many of the estates around him had been absolutely abandoned, as was the case with his own coffee plantation, and from others men had sent away their wives and daughters. Nay, most of the proprietors had gone themselves, leaving an overseer to extract what little might yet be extracted out of the property. It too often happened that that little was not sufficient to meet the demands of the overseer himself.

The house at Mount Pleasant had been an irregular, low-roofed, picturesque residence, built with only one floor, and surrounded on all sides by large verandahs. In the old days it had always been kept in perfect order, but now this was far from being the case. Few young bachelors can keep a house in order, but no bachelor young or old can do so under such a doom as that of Maurice Cumming. Every shilling that Maurice Cumming could collect was spent in bribing negroes to work for him. But bribe as he would the negroes would not work. "No, massa: me pain here; me no workee to-day," and Sambo would lay his fat hand on his fat stomach.

I have said that he lived generally alone. Occasionally his house on Mount Pleasant was enlivened by visits of an aunt, a maiden sister of his mother, whose usual residence was at Spanish Town. It is or should be known to all men that Spanish Town was and is the seat of Jamaica legislature.

But Maurice was not over fond of his relative. In this he was both wrong and foolish, for Miss Sarah Jack--such was her name--was in many respects a good woman, and was certainly a rich woman. It is true that she was not a handsome woman, nor a fashionable woman, nor perhaps altogether an agreeable woman. She was tall, thin, ungainly, and yellow. Her voice, which she used freely, was harsh. She was a politician and a patriot. She regarded England as the greatest of countries, and Jamaica as the greatest of colonies. But much as she loved England she was very loud in denouncing what she called the perfidy of the mother to the brightest of her children. And much as she loved Jamaica she was equally severe in her taunts against those of her brother-islanders who would not believe that the island might yet flourish as it had flourished in her father's days.

"It is because you and men like you will not do your duty by your country," she had said some score of times to Maurice--not with much justice considering the laboriousness of his life.

But Maurice knew well what she meant. "What could I do there up at Spanish Town," he would answer, "among such a pack as there are there? Here I may do something."

And then she would reply with the full swing of her eloquence, "It is because you and such as you think only of yourself and not of Jamaica. that Jamaica has come to such a pass as this. Whv is

there a pack there as you call them in the honourable House of Assembly? Why are not the best men in the island to be found there, as the best men in England are to be found in the British House of Commons? A pack, indeed! My father was proud of a seat in that house, and I remember the day, Maurice Cumming, when your father also thought it no shame to represent his own parish. If men like you, who have a stake in the country, will not go there, of course the house is filled with men who have no stake. If they are a pack, it is you who send them there;--you, and others like you."

All had its effect, though at the moment Maurice would shrug his shoulders and turn away his head from the torrent of the lady's discourse. But Miss Jack, though she was not greatly liked, was greatly respected. Maurice would not own that she convinced him; but at last he did allow his name to be put up as candidate for his own parish, and in due time he became a member of the honourable House of Assembly in Jamaica.

This honour entails on the holder of it the necessity of living at or within reach of Spanish Town for some ten weeks towards the close of every year. Now on the whole face of the uninhabited globe there is perhaps no spot more dull to look at, more Lethæan in its aspect, more corpse-like or more cadaverous than Spanish Town. It is the head-quarters of the government, the seat of the legislature, the residence of the governor;--but nevertheless it is, as it were, a city of the very dead.

Here, as we have said before, lived Miss Jack in a large forlorn ghost-like house in which her father and all her family had lived before her. And as a matter of course Maurice Cumming when he came up to attend to his duties as a member of the legislature took up his abode with her.

Now at the time of which we are specially speaking he had completed the first of these annual visits. He had already benefited his country by sitting out one session of the colonial parliament, and had satisfied himself that he did no other good than that of keeping away some person more objectionable than himself. He was however prepared to repeat this self-sacrifice in a spirit of patriotism for which he received a very meagre meed of eulogy from Miss Jack, and an amount of self-applause which was not much more extensive.

"Down at Mount Pleasant I can do something," he would say over and over again, "but what good can any man do up here?"

"You can do your duty," Miss Jack would answer, "as others did before you when the colony was made to prosper." And then they would run off into a long discussion about free labour and protective duties. But at the present moment Maurice Cumming had another vexation on his mind over and above that arising from his wasted hours at Spanish Town, and his fruitless labours at Mount Pleasant. He was in love, and was not altogether satisfied with the conduct of his lady-love.

Miss Jack had other nephews besides Maurice Cumming, and nieces also, of whom Marian Leslie was one. The family of the Leslies lived up near Newcastle--in the mountains, that is, which stand over Kingston--at a distance of some eighteen miles from Kingston, but in a climate as different from that of the town as the climate of Naples is from that of Berlin. In Kingston the heat is all but intolerable throughout the year, by day and by night, in the house and out of it. In the mountains round Newcastle, some four thousand feet above the sea, it is merely warm during the day, and cool enough at night to make a blanket desirable.

It is pleasant enough living up amongst those green mountains. There are no roads there for wheeled carriages, nor are there carriages with or without wheels. All journeys are made on horseback. Every visit paid from house to house is performed in this manner. Ladies young and old live before dinner in their riding-habits. The hospitality is free, easy, and unembarrassed. The scenery is magnificent. The tropical foliage is wild and luxuriant beyond measure. There may be enjoyed all that a southern climate has to offer of enjoyment, without the penalties which such enjoyments usually entail.

Mrs. Leslie was a half-sister of Miss Jack, and Miss Jack had been a half-sister also of Mrs. Cumming; but Mrs. Leslie and Mrs. Cumming had in no way been related. And it had so happened that up to the period of his legislative efforts Maurice Cumming had seen nothing of the Leslies. Soon after his arrival at Spanish Town he had been taken by Miss Jack to Shandy Hall, for so the residence of the Leslies was called, and having remained there for three days, had fallen in love with Marian Leslie. Now in the West Indies all young ladies flirt; it is the first habit of their nature--and few young ladies in the West Indies were more given to flirting, or understood the science better than Marian Leslie.

Maurice Cumming fell violently in love, and during his first visit at Shandy Hall found that Marian was perfection--for during this first visit her propensities were exerted altogether in his own favour. That little circumstance does make such a difference in a young man's judgment of a girl! He came back full of admiration, not altogether to Miss Jack's dissatisfaction; for Miss Jack was willing enough that both her nephew and her niece should settle down into married life. But then Maurice met his fair one at a governor's ball--at a ball where red coats abounded, and aides-de-camp dancing in spurs, and narrow-waisted lieutenants with sashes or epaulettes! The aides-de-camp and narrow-waisted lieutenants waltzed better than he did; and as one after the other whisked round the ball-room with Marian firmly clasped in his arms, Maurice's feelings were not of the sweetest. Nor was this the worst of it. Had the whisking been divided equally among ten, he might have forgiven it; but there was one specially narrow-waisted lieutenant, who towards the end of the evening kept Marian nearly wholly to himself. Now to a man in love, who has had but little experience of either balls or young ladies, this is intolerable.

He only met her twice after that before his return to Mount Pleasant, and on the first occasion that odious soldier was not there. But a specially devout young clergyman was present, an unmarried, evangelical, handsome young curate fresh from England; and Marian's piety had been so excited that she had cared for no one else. It appeared moreover that the curate's gifts for conversion were confined, as regarded that opportunity, to Marion's advantage. "I will have nothing more to say to her," said Maurice to himself, scowling. But just as he went away Marian had given him her hand, and called him Maurice--for she pretended that they were cousins--and had looked into his eyes and declared that she did hope that the assembly at Spanish Town would soon be sitting again. Hitherto, she said, she had not cared one straw about it. Then poor Maurice pressed the little fingers which lay within his own, and swore that he would be at Shandy Hall on the day before his return to Mount Pleasant. So he was; and there he found the narrow-waisted lieutenant, not now bedecked with sash and epaulettes, but lolling at his ease on Mrs. Leslie's sofa in a white jacket, while Marian sat at his feet telling his fortune with a book about flowers.

"Oh, a musk rose, Mr. Ewing; you know what a musk rose means!" Then she got up and shook hands with Mr. Cumming; but her eyes still went away to the white jacket and the sofa. Poor Maurice had often been nearly broken-hearted in his efforts to manage his free black labourers; but even that was easier than managing such as Marion Leslie.

Marian Leslie was a Creole--as also were Miss Jack and Maurice Cumming--a child of the tropics; but by no means such a child as tropical children are generally thought to be by us in more northern latitudes. She was black-haired and black-eyed, but her lips were as red and her cheeks as rosy as though she had been born and bred in regions where the snow lies in winter. She was a small, pretty, beautifully made little creature, somewhat idle as regards the work of the world, but active and strong enough when dancing or riding were required from her. Her father was a banker, and was fairly prosperous in spite of the poverty of his country. His house of business was at Kingston, and he usually slept there twice a week; but he always resided at Shandy Hall, and Mrs. Leslie and her children knew but very little of the miseries of Kingston. For be it known to all men, that of all towns Kingston, Jamaica, is the most miserable.

I fear that I shall have set my readers very much against Marian Leslie;--much more so than I would wish to do. As a rule they will not know how thoroughly flirting is an institution in the West Indies--practised by all young ladies, and laid aside by them when they marry, exactly as their young-lady names and young-lady habits of various kinds are laid aside. All I would say of Marian Leslie is this, that she understood the working of the institution more thoroughly than others did. And I must add also in her favour that she did not keep her flirting for sly corners, nor did her admirers keep their distance till mamma was out of the way. It mattered not to her who was present. Had she been called on to make one at a synod of the clergy of the island, she would have flirted with the bishop before all his priests. And there have been bishops in the colony who would not have gainsayed her!

But Maurice Cumming did not rightly calculate all this; nor indeed did Miss Jack do so as thoroughly as she should have done, for Miss Jack knew more about such matters than did poor Maurice. "If you like Marion, why don't you marry her?" Miss Jack had once said to him; and this coming from Miss Jack, who was made of money, was a great deal. "She wouldn't have me," Maurice had answered.

"That's more than you know or I either," was Miss Jack's reply. "But if you like to try, I'll help you."

With reference to this, Maurice as he left Miss Jack's residence on his return to Mount Pleasant, had declared that Marian Leslie was not worth an honest man's love.

"Psha!" Miss Jack replied; "Marian will do like other girls. When you marry a wife I suppose you mean to be master?"

"At any rate I shan't marry her," said Maurice. And so he went his way back to Hanover with a sore heart. And no wonder, for that was the very day on which Lieutenant Ewing had asked the question about the musk rose.

But there was a dogged constancy of feeling about Maurice which could not allow him to disburden himself of his love. When he was again at Mount Pleasant among his sugar-canes and hogsheads he could not help thinking about Marian. It is true he always thought of her as flying round that ball-room in Ewing's arms, or looking up with rapt admiration into that young parson's face; and so he got but little pleasure from his thoughts. But not the less was he in love with her;--not the less, though he would swear to himself three times in the day that for no earthly consideration would he marry Marian Leslie.

The early months of the year from January to May are the busiest with a Jamaica sugar-grower, and in this year they were very busy months with Maurice Cumming. It seemed as though there were actually some truth in Miss Jack's prediction that prosperity would return to him if he attended to his country; for the prices of sugar had risen higher than they had ever been since the duty had been withdrawn, and there was more promise of a crop at Mount Pleasant than he had seen since his reign commenced. But then the question of labour? How he slaved in trying to get work from those free negroes; and alas! how often he slaved in vain! But it was not all in vain; for as things went on it became clear to him that in this year he would, for the first time since he commenced, obtain something like a return from his land. What if the turning-point had come, and things were now about to run the other way.

But then the happiness which might have accrued to him from this source was dashed by his thoughts of Marian Leslie. Why had he thrown himself in the way of that syren? Why had he left Mount Pleasant at all? He knew that on his return to Spanish Town his first work would be to visit Shandy Hall; and yet he felt that of all places in the island, Shandy Hall was the last which he ought to visit.

And then about the beginning of May, when he was hard at work turning the last of his canes into sugar and rum, he received his annual visit from Miss Jack. And whom should Miss Jack bring with her but Mr. Leslie.

"I'll tell you what it is," said Miss Jack; "I have spoken to Mr. Leslie about you and Marian."

"Then you had no business to do anything of the kind," said Maurice, blushing up to his ears.

"Nonsense," replied Miss Jack, "I understand what I am about. Of course Mr. Leslie will want to know something about the estate."

"Then he may go back as wise as he came, for he'll learn nothing from me. Not that I have anything to hide."

"So I told him. Now there are a large family of them, you see; and of course he can't give Marian much."

"I don't care a straw if he doesn't give her a shilling. If she cared for me, or I for her, I shouldn't look after her for her money."

"But a little money is not a bad thing, Maurice," said Miss Jack, who in her time had had a good deal, and had managed to take care of it.

"It is all one to me."

"But what I was going to say is this--hum--ha. I don't like to pledge myself for fear I should raise hopes which mayn't be fulfilled."

"Don't pledge yourself to anything, aunt, in which Marian Leslie and I are concerned."

"But what I was going to say is this; my money, what little I have, you know, must go some day either to you or to the Leslies."

"You may give all to them if you please."

"Of course I may, and I dare say I shall," said Miss Jack, who was beginning to be irritated. "But at any rate you might have the civility to listen to me when I am endeavouring to put you on your legs. I am sure I think about nothing else, morning, noon, and night, and yet I never get a decent word from you. Marian is too good for you; that's the truth."

But at length Miss Jack was allowed to open her budget, and to make her proposition; which amounted to this--that she had already told Mr. Leslie that she would settle the bulk of her property conjointly on Maurice and Marian if they would make a match of it. Now as Mr. Leslie had long been casting a hankering eye after Miss Jack's money, with a strong conviction however that Maurice Cumming was her favourite nephew and probable heir, this proposition was not unpalatable. So he agreed to go down to Mount Pleasant and look about him.

"But you may live for the next thirty years, my dear Miss Jack," Mr. Leslie had said.

"Yes, I may," Miss Jack replied, looking very dry.

"And I am sure I hope you will," continued Mr. Leslie. And then the subject was allowed to drop; for Mr. Leslie knew that it was not always easy to talk to Miss Jack on such matters.

Miss Jack was a person in whom I think we may say that the good predominated over the bad. She was often morose, crabbed, and self-opinionated. but then she knew her own imperfections, and forgave those she loved for evincing their dislike of them. Maurice Cumming was often inattentive to her, plainly showing that he was worried by her importunities and ill at ease in her company. But she loved her nephew with all her heart; and though she dearly liked to tyrannise over him, never allow herself to be really angry with him, though he so frequently refused to bow to her dictation. And she loved Marian Leslie also, though Marian was so sweet and lovely and she herself so harsh and ill-favoured. She loved Marian, though Marian would often be impertinent. She forgave the flirting, the light-heartedness, the love of amusement. Marian, she said to herself, was young and pretty. She, Miss Jack, had never known Marian's temptation. And so she resolved in her own mind that Marian should be made a good and happy woman;--but always as the wife of Maurice Cumming.

But Maurice turned a deaf ear to all these good tidings--or rather he turned to them an ear that seemed to be deaf. He dearly, ardently loved that little flirt; but seeing that she was a flirt, that she had flirted so grossly when he was by, he would not confess his love to a human being. He would not have it known that he was wasting his heart for a worthless little chit, to whom every man was the same--except that those were most eligible whose toes were the lightest and their outside trappings the brightest. That he did love her he could not help, but he would not disgrace himself by acknowledging it.

He was very civil to Mr. Leslie, but he would not speak a word that could be taken as a proposal for Marian. It had been part of Miss Jack's plan that the engagement should absolutely be made down there at Mount Pleasant, without any reference to the young lady; but Maurice could not be induced to break the ice. So he took Mr. Leslie through his mills and over his cane-pieces, talked to him about the laziness of the "niggers," while the "niggers" themselves stood by tittering, and rode with him away to the high grounds where the coffee plantation had been in the good old days; but not a word was said between them about Marian. And yet Marian was never out of his heart.

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And then came the day on which Mr. Leslie was to go back to Kingston. "And you won't have her then?" said Miss Jack to her nephew early that morning. "You won't be said by me?"

"Not in this matter, aunt."

"Then you will live and die a poor man; you mean that, I suppose?"

"It's likely enough that I shall. There's this comfort, at any rate, I'm used to it." And then Miss Jack was silent again for a while.

"Very well, sir; that's enough," she said angrily. And then she began again. "But, Maurice, you wouldn't have to wait for my death, you know." And she put out her hand and touched his arm, entreating him as it were to yield to her. "Oh, Maurice," she said, "I do so want to make you comfortable. Let us speak to Mr. Leslie."

But Maurice would not. He took her hand and thanked her, but said that on this matter he must be his own master. "Very well, sir," she exclaimed, "I have done. In future you may manage for yourself. As for me, I shall go back with Mr. Leslie to Kingston." And so she did. Mr. Leslie returned that day, taking her with him. When he took his leave, his invitation to Maurice to come to Shandy Hall was not very pressing. "Mrs. Leslie and the children will always be glad to see you," said he.

"Remember me very kindly to Mrs. Leslie and the children," said Maurice. And so they parted.

"You have brought me down here on a regular fool's errand," said Mr. Leslie, on their journey back to town.

"It will all come right yet," replied Miss Jack. "Take my word for it he loves her."

"Fudge," said Mr. Leslie. But he could not afford to quarrel with his rich connection.

In spite of all that he had said and thought to the contrary, Maurice did look forward during the remainder of the summer to his return to Spanish Town with something like impatience, it was very dull work, being there alone at Mount Pleasant; and let him do what he would to prevent it, his very dreams took him to Shandy Hall. But at last the slow time made itself away, and he found himself once more in his aunt's house.

A couple of days passed and no word was said about the Leslies. On the morning of the third day he determined to go to Shandy Hall. Hitherto he had never been there without staying for the night; but on this occasion he made up his mind to return the same day. "It would not be civil of me not to go there," he said to his aunt.

"Certainly not," she replied, forbearing to press the matter further. "But why make such a terrible hard day's work of it?"

"Oh, I shall go down in the cool, before breakfast; and then I need not have the bother of taking a bag."

And in this way he started. Miss Jack said nothing further; but she longed in her heart that she

might be at Marian's elbow unseen during the visit.

He found them all at breakfast, and the first to welcome him at the hall door was Marian. "Oh, Mr. Cumming, we are so glad to see you;" and she looked into his eyes with a way she had, that was enough to make a man's heart wild. But she not call him Maurice now.

Miss Jack had spoken to her sister, Mrs. Leslie, as well as to Mr. Leslie, about this marriage scheme. "Just let them alone," was Mrs. Leslie's advice. "You can't alter Marian by lecturing her. If they really love each other they'll come together; and if they don't, why then they'd better not."

"And you really mean that you're going back to Spanish Town to-day?" said Mrs. Leslie to her visitor.

"I'm afraid I must. Indeed I haven't brought my things with me." And then he again caught Marian's eye, and began to wish that his resolution had not been so sternly made.

"I suppose you are so fond of that House of Assembly," said Marian, "that you cannot tear yourself away for more than one day. You'll not be able, I suppose, to find time to come to our picnic next week?"

Maurice said he feared that he should not have time to go to a picnic.

"Oh, nonsense," said Fanny--one of the younger girls--"you must come. We can't do without him, can we?"

"Marian has got your name down the first on the list of the gentlemen," said another.

"Yes; and Captain Ewing's second," said Bell, the youngest.

"I'm afraid I must induce your sister to alter her list," said Maurice, in his sternest manner. "I cannot manage to go, and I'm sure she will not miss me."

Marion looked at the little girl who had so unfortunately mentioned the warrior's name, and the little girl knew that she had sinned.

"Oh, we cannot possibly do without you; can we, Marian?" said Fanny. "It's to be at Bingley's Dell, and we've got a bed for you at Newcastle; quite near, you know."

"And another for--" began Bell, but she stopped herself.

"Go away to your lessons, Bell," said Marion. "You know how angry mamma will be at your staying here all the morning;" and poor Bell with a sorrowful look left the room.

"We are all certainly very anxious that you should come; very anxious for a great many reasons," said Marian, in a voice that was rather solemn, and as though the matter were one of considerable import. "But if you really cannot, why of course there is no more to be said."

"There will be plenty without me. I am sure."

"As regards numbers, I dare say there will; for we shall have pretty nearly the whole of the two regiments;" and Marian as she alluded to the officers spoke in a tone which might lead one to think that she would much rather be without them; "but we counted on you as being one of ourselves; and as you had been away so long, we thought--we thought--," and then she turned away her face, and did not finish her speech. Before he could make up his mind as to his answer she had risen from her chair, and walked out of the room. Maurice almost thought that he saw a tear in her eye as she went.

He did ride back to Spanish Town that afternoon, after an early dinner; but before he went Marian spoke to him alone for one minute.

"I hope you are not offended with me," she said.

"Offended! oh no; how could I be offended with you?"

"Because you seem so stern. I am sure I would do anything I could to oblige you, if I knew how. It would be so shocking not to be good friends with a cousin like you."

"But there are so many different sorts of friends," said Maurice.

"Of course there are. There are a great many friends that one does not care a bit for,--people that one meets at balls and places like that--"

"And at picnics," said Maurice.

"Well, some of them there too; but we are not like that; are we?"

What could Maurice do but say, "no," and declare that their friendship was of a warmer description? And how could he resist promising to go to the picnic, though as he made the promise he knew that misery would be in store for him? He did promise, and then she gave him her hand and called him Maurice.

"Oh! I am so glad," she said. "It seemed so shocking that you should refuse to join us. And mind and be early, Maurice; for I shall want to explain it all. We are to meet, you know, at Clifton Gate at one o'clock, but do you be a little before that, and we shall be there."

Maurice Cumming resolved within his own breast as he rode back to Spanish Town, that if Marian behaved to him all that day at the picnic as she had done this day at Shandy Hall, he would ask her to be his wife before he left her.

And Miss Jack also was to be at the picnic.

"There is no need of going early," said she, when her nephew made a fuss about the starting. "People are never very punctual at such affairs as that; and then they are always quite long enough." But Maurice explained that he was anxious to be early, and on this occasion he carried his point.

When they reached Clifton Gate the ladies were already there; not in carriages, as people go to picnics in other and tamer countries. but each on her own horse or her own pony. But they were

not alone. Beside Miss Leslie was a gentleman, whom Maurice knew as Lieutenant Graham, of the flag-ship at Port Royal; and at a little distance which quite enabled him to join in the conversation was Captain Ewing, the lieutenant with the narrow waist of the previous year.

"We shall have a delightful day, Miss Leslie," said the lieutenant.

"Oh, charming, isn't it?" said Marian.

"But now to choose a place for dinner, Captain Ewing;--what do you say?"

"Will you commission me to select? You know I'm very well up in geometry, and all that?"

"But that won't teach you what sort of a place does for a picnic dinner;--will it, Mr. Cumming?" And then she shook hands with Maurice, but did not take any further special notice of him.

"We'll all go together, if you please. The commission is too important to be left to one." And then Marian rode off, and the lieutenant and the captain rode with her.

It was open for Maurice to join them if he chose, but he did not choose. He had come there ever so much earlier than he need have done, dragging his aunt with him, because Marian had told him that his services would be specially required by her. And now as soon as she saw him she went away with the two officers!--went away without vouchsafing him a word. He made up his mind, there on the spot, that he would never think of her again--never speak to her otherwise than he might speak to the most indifferent of mortals.

And yet he was a man that could struggle right manfully with the world's troubles; one who had struggled with them from his boyhood, and had never been overcome. Now he was unable to conceal the bitterness of his wrath because a little girl had ridden off to look for a green spot for her tablecloth without asking his assistance!

Picnics are, I think, in general, rather tedious for the elderly people who accompany them. When the joints become a little stiff, dinners are eaten most comfortably with the accompaniment of chairs and tables, and a roof overhead is an agreement de plus. But, nevertheless, picnics cannot exist without a certain allowance of elderly people. The Miss Marians and Captains Ewing cannot go out to dine on the grass without some one to look after them. So the elderly people go to picnics, in a dull tame way, doing their duty, and wishing the day over. Now on the morning in question, when Marian rode off with Captain Ewing and lieutenant Graham, Maurice Cumming remained among the elderly people.

A certain Mr. Pomken, a great Jamaica agriculturist, one of the Council, a man who had known the good old times, got him by the button and held him fast, discoursing wisely of sugar and ruin, of Gadsden pans and recreant negroes, on all of which subjects Maurice Cumming was known to have an opinion of his own. But as Mr. Pomken's words sounded into one ear, into the other fell notes, listened to from afar,--the shrill laughing voice of Marian Leslie as she gave her happy order to her satellites around her, and ever and anon the bass haw-haw of Captain Ewing, who was made welcome as the chief of her attendants. That evening in a whisper to a brother councillor Mr. Pomken communicated his opinion that after all there was not so much in that young Cumming as some people said. But Mr. Pomken had no idea that that young Cumming was in love.

And then the dinner came, spread over half an acre. Maurice was among the last who seated himself; and when he did so it was in an awkward comfortless corner, behind Mr. Pomken's back.

..... and far away from the laughter and mirth of the day. But yet from his comfortless corner he could see Marian as she sat in her pride of power, with her friend Julia Davis near her, a flirt as bad as herself, and her satellites around her, obedient to her nod, and happy in her smiles.

"Now I won't allow any more champagne," said Marian, "or who will there be steady enough to help me over the rocks to the grotto?"

"Oh, you have promised me!" cried the captain.

"Indeed, I have not; have I, Julia?"

"Miss Davis has certainly promised me," said the lieutenant.

"I have made no promise, and don't think I shall go at all," said Julia, who was sometimes inclined to imagine that Captain Ewing should be her own property.

All which and much more of the kind Maurice Cumming could not hear; but he could see--and imagine, which was worse. How innocent and inane are, after all, the flirtings of most young ladies, if all their words and doings in that line could be brought to paper! I do not know whether there be as a rule more vocal expression of the sentiment of love between a man and woman than there is between two thrushes! They whistle and call to each other, guided by instinct rather than by reason.

"You are going home with the ladies to-night, I believe," said Maurice to Miss Jack, immediately after dinner. Miss Jack acknowledged that such was her destination for the night.

"Then my going back to Spanish Town at once won't hurt any one--for, to tell the truth, I have had enough of this work."

"Why, Maurice, you were in such a hurry to come."

"The more fool I; and so now I am in a hurry to go away. Don't notice it to anybody."

Miss Jack looked in his face and saw that he was really wretched; and she knew the cause of his wretchedness.

"Don't go yet, Maurice," she said; and then added with a tenderness that was quite uncommon with her, "Go to her, Maurice, and speak to her openly and freely, once for all; you will find that she will listen then. Dear Maurice, do, for my sake."

He made no answer, but walked away, roaming sadly by himself among the trees. "Listen!" he exclaimed to himself. "Yes, she will alter a dozen times in as many hours. Who can care for a creature that can change as she changes?" And yet he could not help caring for her.

As he went on, climbing among rocks, he again came upon the sound of voices, and heard especially that of Captain Ewing. "Now, Miss Leslie, if you will take my hand you will soon be over all the difficulty." And then a party of seven or eight, scrambling over some stones, came nearly on the level on which he stood, in full view of him; and leading the others were Captain Ewing and Miss Leslie.

He turned on his heel to go away, when he caught the sound of a step following him, and a voice saying, "Oh, there is Mr. Cumming, and I want to speak to him;" and in a minute a light hand was on his arm.

"Why are you running away from us?" said Marian.

"Because--oh, I don't know. I am not running away. You have your party made up, and I am not going to intrude on it."

"What nonsense! Do come now; we are going to this wonderful grotto. I thought it so ill-natured of you, not joining us at dinner. Indeed you know you had promised."

He did not answer her, but he looked at her--full in the face, with his sad eyes laden with love. She half understood his countenance, but only half understood it.

"What is the matter, Maurice?" she said. "Are you angry with me? Will you come and join us?"

"No, Marian, I cannot do that. But if you can leave them and come with me for half an hour, I will not keep you longer."

She stood hesitating a moment, while her companion remained on the spot where she had left him. "Come, Miss Leslie," called Captain Ewing. "You will have it dark before we can get down."

"I will come with you," whispered she to Maurice, "but wait a moment." And she tripped back, and in some five minutes returned after an eager argument with her friends. "There," she said, "I don't care about the grotto, one bit, and I will walk with you now;--only they will think it so odd." And so they started off together.

Before the tropical darkness had fallen upon them Maurice had told the tale of his love,--and had told it in a manner differing much from that of Marian's usual admirers, he spoke with passion and almost with violence; he declared that his heart was so full of her image that he could not rid himself of it for one minute; "nor would he wish to do so," he said, "if she would be his Marian, his own Marian, his very own. But if not--" and then he explained to her, with all a lover's warmth, and with almost more than a lover's liberty, what was his idea of her being "his own, his very own," and in doing so inveighed against her usual light-heartedness in terms which at any rate were strong enough.

But Marian here it all well. Perhaps she knew that the lesson was somewhat deserved; and perhaps she appreciated at its value the love of such a man as Maurice Cumming, weighing in her judgment the difference between him and the Ewings and the Grahams.

And then she answered him well and prudently, with words which startled him by their prudent seriousness as coming from her. She begged his pardon heartily, she said, for any grief which she had caused him; but yet how was she to be blamed, seeing that she had known nothing of his feelings? Her father and mother had said something to her of this proposed marriage; something, but very little; and she had answered by saying that she did not think Maurice had any warmer regard for her than of a cousin. After this answer neither father nor mother had pressed the matter further. As to her own feelings she could then say nothing, for she then knew nothing;--nothing but this, that she loved no one better than him, or rather that she loved no one else. She would ask herself if she could love him; but he must give her some little time for that. In

the meantime--and she smiled sweetly at him as she made the promise--she would endeavour to do nothing that would offend him; and then she added that on that evening she would dance with him any dances that he liked. Maurice, with a self-denial that was not very wise, contented himself with engaging her for the first quadrille.

They were to dance that night in the mess-room of the officers at Newcastle. This scheme had been added on as an adjunct to the picnic, and it therefore became necessary that the ladies should retire to their own or their friends' houses at Newcastle to adjust their dresses. Marian Leslie and Julia Davis were there accommodated with the loan of a small room by the major's wife, and as they were brushing their hair, and putting on their dancing-shoes, something was said between them about Maurice Cumming.

"And so you are to be Mrs. C. of Mount Pleasant," said Julia. "Well; I didn't think it would come to that at last."

"But it has not come to that, and if it did why should I not be Mrs.C., as you call it?"

"The knight of the rueful countenance, I call him."

"I tell you what then, he is an excellent young man, and the fact is you don't know him."

"I don't like excellent young men with long faces. I suppose you won't be let to dance quick dances at all now."

"I shall dance whatever dances I like, as I have always done," said Marian, with some little asperity in her tone.

"Not you; or if you do, you'll lose your promotion. You'll never live to be my Lady Rue. And what will Graham say? You know you've given him half a promise."

"That's not true, Julia;--I never gave him the tenth part of a promise."

"Well, he says so;" and then the words between the young ladies became a little more angry. But, nevertheless, in due time they came forth with faces smiling as usual, with their hair brushed, and without any signs of warfare.

But Marian had to stand another attack before the business of the evening commenced, and this was from no less doughty an antagonist than her aunt, Miss Jack. Miss Jack soon found that Maurice had not kept his threat of going home; and though she did not absolutely learn from him that he had gone so far towards perfecting her dearest hopes as to make a formal offer to Marion, nevertheless she did gather that things were fast that way tending. If only this dancing were over! she said to herself, dreading the unnumbered waltzes with Ewing, and the violent polkas with Graham. So Miss Jack resolved to say one word to Marian--"A wise word in good season," said Miss Jack to herself, "how sweet a thing it is."

"Marian," said she. "Step here a moment, I want to say a word to you."

"Yes, aunt Sarah," said Marian, following her aunt into a corner, not quite in the best humour in the world; for she had a dread of some further interference.

"Are you going to dance with Maurice to-night?"

"Yes, I believe so,--the first quadrille."

"Well, what I was going to say is this. I don't want you to dance many quick dances to-night, for a reason I have;--that is, not a great many."

"Why, aunt, what nonsense!"

"Now my dearest, dearest girl, it is all for your own sake. Well, then, it must out. He does not like it, you know."

What he?"

"Maurice."

"Well, aunt, I don't know that I'm bound to dance or not to dance just as Mr. Cumming may like. Papa does not mind my dancing. The people have come here to dance and you can hardly want to make me ridiculous by sitting still." And so that wise word did not appear to be very sweet.

And then the amusement of the evening commenced, and Marian stood up for a quadrille with her lover. She however was not in the very best humour. She had, as she thought, said and done enough for one day in Maurice's favour. And she had no idea, as she declared to herself, of being lectured by aunt Sarah.

"Dearest Marion," he said to her, as the quadrille came to a close, "it is an your power to make me so happy,--so perfectly happy."

"But then people have such different ideas of happiness," she replied. "They can't all see with the same eyes, you know." And so they parted.

But during the early part of the evening she was sufficiently discreet; she did waltz with Lieutenant Graham, and polk with Captain Ewing, but she did so in a tamer manner than was usual with her, and she made no emulous attempts to dance down other couples. When she had done she would sit down, and then she consented to stand up for two quadrilles with two very tame gentlemen, to whom no lover could object.

"And so, Marian, your wings are regularly clipped at last," said Julia Davis coming up to her.

"No more clipped than your own," said Marian.

"If Sir Rue won't let you waltz now, what will he require of you when you're married to him?"

"I am just as well able to waltz with whom I like as you are, Julia; and if you say so in that way, I shall think it's envy."

"Ha--ha--ha; I may have envied you some of your beaux before now; I dare say I have. But I certainly do not envy you Sir Rue." And then she went off to her partner.

All this was too much for Marian's weak strength. and before long she was again whirling round

with Captain Ewing. "Come, Miss Leslie," said he, "let us see what we can do. Graham and Julia Davis have been saying that your waltzing days are over, but I think we can put them down."

Marian as she got up, and raised her arm in order that Ewing might put his round her waist, caught Maurice's eye as he leaned against a wall, and read in it a stern rebuke. "This is too bad," she said to herself. "He shall not make a slave of me, at any rate as yet." And away she went as madly, more madly than ever, and for the rest of the evening she danced with Captain Ewing and with him alone.

There is an intoxication quite distinct from that which comes from strong drink. When the judgment is altogether overcome by the spirits this species of drunkenness comes on, and in this way Marian Leslie was drunk that night. For two hours she danced with Captain Ewing, and ever and anon she kept saying to herself that she would teach the world to know--and of all the world Mr. Cumming especially--that she might be lead, but not driven.

Then about four o'clock she went home, and as she attempted to undress herself in her own room she burst into violent tears and opened her heart to her sister-- "Oh, Fanny, I do love him, I do love him so dearly! and now he will never come to me again!"

Maurice stood still with his back against the wall, for the full two hours of Marian's exhibition, and then he said to his aunt before he left--"I hope you have now seen enough; you will hardly mention her name to me again." Miss Jack groaned from the bottom of her heart but she said nothing. She said nothing that night to any one; but she lay awake in her bed, thinking, till it was time to rise and dress herself. "Ask Miss Marian to come to me," she said to the black girl who came to assist her. But it was not till she had sent three times, that Miss Marian obeyed the summons.

At three o'clock on the following day Miss Jack arrived at her own hall door in Spanish Town. Long as the distance was she ordinarily rode it all, but on this occasion she had provided a carriage to bring her over as much of the journey as it was practicable for her to perform on wheels. As soon as she reached her own hall door she asked if Mr. Cumming was at home. "Yes," the servant said. "He was in the small book-room, at the back of the house, up stairs." Silently, as if afraid of being heard, she stepped up her own stairs into her own drawing-room; and very silently she was followed by a pair of feet lighter and smaller than her own.

Miss Jack was usually somewhat of a despot in her own house, but there was nothing despotic about her now as she peered into the book-room. This she did with her bonnet still on, looking round the half-opened door as though she were afraid to disturb her nephew, he sat at the window looking out into the verandah which ran behind the house, so intent on his thoughts that he did not hear her.

"Maurice," she said, "can I come in?"

"Come in? oh yes, of course;" and he turned round sharply at her. "tell you what, aunt; I am not well here and I cannot stay out the session. I shall go back to Mount Pleasant."

"Maurice," and she walked close up to him as she spoke, "Maurice, I have brought some one with me to ask your pardon."

His face became red up to the roots of his hair as he stood looking at her without answering. "You would grant it certainly," she continued, "if you knew how much it would be valued."

"Whom do you mean? who is it?" he asked at last.

"One who loves you as well as you love her--and she cannot love you better. Come in, Marian." The poor girl crept in at the door, ashamed of what she was induced to do, but yet looking anxiously into her lover's face. "You asked her yesterday to be your wife," said Miss Jack, "and she did not then know her own mind. Now she has had a lesson. You will ask her once again; will you not, Maurice?"

What was he to say? how was he to refuse, when that soft little hand was held out to him; when those eyes laden with tears just ventured to look into his face?

"I beg your pardon if I angered you last night," she said.

In half a minute Miss Jack had left the room, and in the space of another thirty seconds Maurice had forgiven her. "I am your own now, you know," she whispered to him in the course of that long evening. "Yesterday, you know--," but the sentence was never finished.

It was in vain that Julia Davis was ill-natured and sarcastic, in vain that Ewing and Graham made joint attempt upon her constancy. From that night to the morning of her marriage--and the interval was only three months--Marian Leslie was never known to flirt.

"MORANT BAY REBELLION"
ADDRESSES TO HIS EXCELLENCY EDWARD JOHN EYRE

Letter from the Parish of St. Elizabeth
St Elizabeth's, February, 1866.

To His Excellency E. J. Eyre, Esquire, &c.

The Magistrates, Clergy, and Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Elizabeth, feel it a great duty which they owe to your Excellency to express to you, at this time especially, their conviction that to you the Island is indebted for the checking and putting down the Rebellion, which, commencing in Saint Thomas in the East, unless for the prompt measures and energy exhibited, we believe, would have spread death and misery through the Island.

Your Excellency, by wise and immediate action, has saved our families from worse than death. It will be our duty to impress on our sons and on our daughters that to you they owe life and honour. Your own heart will tell you as a husband, and a parent what you have done for us. Our hearts say, may God reward you, and deliver you from all your enemies.

Your Excellency we hesitate not to tell you that we have no faith in the present calm; we know not what will come, or how soon services such as you have rendered us may be required again. We trust such Counsels and action as lately preserved us, may not be wanting in a like emergency. With every good wish towards yourself and Mrs. Eyre, with whom we sincerely sympathise, and for your family. we shall ever be.

Your Excellency's
Grateful and faithful friends,
(Signed)

John Salmon	J. Isaacs	Charles Isaacs
Robert Smith	William Finlason	M. Myers
Arthur P. Rowe	F. Hendricks	A. J. Hendricks
John Finlason	Thomas Doran	W. G. K. Boxer
John W. Earle , J.P.	Sol. Myers DaCosta	T. Salmon Maxwell JP.
Nathaniel Stevens	Stephen B.Parchment	Henry Labor
William Weller	John Calder, J.P.	Louis Lindo
William Simpson, J.P.	Samuel Anderson	William Lewis
John A. T. Calder	Alfred J. Wray	Abraham J. Hyam
John Clarke	R. P. White	Thomas Wetherby
George E. Levy	H. M. Belenfante	Edwin Levy
Frederick Alberga	Joseph Peart	Isaac R. Dacosta
E. T. Allen	J. R. Tuckett	B. Wells
Stephen Peynado, J.P.	E. A. Sherlock	N. R. Hyam,
C. P. D.W. O'Francis Nangle		
F. A. Petgrave	Myer Polack	
Thomas W. Petgrave	Stephen Bondsell	Thomas A. Bagueie
W. A. Roberts	H. C. Taylor	J. R. Tomlinson
J. Sinclair	Raynes W.Smith, J.P	John C. C. Thompson
Robert Watson, jnr	George G. Nicholson	William Smith
Thomas McDaniel	W. H. Coke, J.P.	J. E. Kerr, J.P
Arthur Beswick, J.P.	William Freckleton	George Beswick
John A. Roberts	William Doran	Elias Quallo
J. M Muschett	John Blake	Henry Thomson
G. W. Cator	M. H. Smith, Island Curate	
N. J. Heath	J. R. Usher	John Hudson, J.P.
Peter Byone	D. Sullivan, J.P.	Daniel Fogarty
A. A. Finlason	William Sullivan	Thomas McTaggart
Henry McDonald	C. J. Monteath	W. E. Bennett
J. W. Bean	William Bean	John O'Sullivan
John Shaw	J. J. Gruber	William B. Crawly
John M. Cooper , J.P.	Francis Maxwell, J.P.	

His Excellency's Reply
To the Honorable John Salmon, I. Isaacs, C. Isaacs, R. Smith, W. Finlaison, (sic) Esquire, &c,
&c, &c.

Mr. Custos, Reverend Gentlemen, and Gentlemen,

Accept my grateful thanks for your warm hearted address expressing your appreciation of my
services in putting down and preventing the spread of the late rebellion.

It is a very great gratification (sic) to me to know that whatever may be the misrepresentations

I am subjected to by a section of the English public and press, the colonists of Jamaica who have the best means of estimating the emergency which existed and of understanding the limited resources available to meet it, recognized both the necessity and the justice of the course adopted, and that that course was crowned with success.

I deeply regret to learn that you have no faith in the present calm, but I fervently trust, that through the naval and military protection afforded by Great Britain, and by and the watchful vigilance of the colonists themselves, any further recurrence of disturbances may be averted, and that in the course of time the excitement or ill feeling which have existed or yet exist may gradually subside and a renewed state of confidence be restored between the different classes of the community

For your good wishes and sympathy towards myself and family, I thank you most heartily

(signed) E. EYRE.

Flamstead, 1st March, 1866.

Extracted from a typewritten book entitled; Addresses to his Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esquire, 1865, 1866.

Birmingham Central Library, Birmingham, West Midlands, England Local Studies, 6th floor, Shelves at; A 972.92, Eyre. (Has just been relocated to the Black History Collection section, same floor)

Background to the book:

The names of the inhabitants appear as two vertical columns on page 54, same on page 55.

This book has hundreds more inhabitants listed from other parishes in Jamaica (but not Kingston and others). On a visit to the Public Records Office, London a few years ago, I quickly searched their 'Original Correspondence' files (I think!) and noted that they have the original documents to the above book in original handwritten form, some but not all, showing the 'original' signatures. I would imagine the above book was written using a selection of those original documents from the Public Records Office.

Reading through the book one learns that Edward Eyre was the Governor of Jamaica at the time and had been slated by some of the British public and press for not keeping the black people under control in Jamaica, whereby they believed the famous 'Morant Bay Rebellion' riots started. He apparently quickly deployed the British Army, Navy and Maroons etc. to quell the troubles. The white colonist inhabitants who had feared for their lives, wrote to him expressing their thanks. Contributed by Robert Hodgson

Individuals of part-African or African descent named in

12. Acts of the Jamaican Assembly 1760-1810

Printed 16/3/09

by Edward Crawford

These Private Acts of the Jamaican Assembly relating to people of African or part-African descent from 1760 to 1810 have been extracted by Edward Crawford from the list of Jamaican Assembly Acts at the Public Record Office, Kew, London. Apart from those which involved legal rights of individuals I have added a few cases where those of African descent were named in the Acts of the Assembly for different reasons.

From 5.1.1762 the Jamaican Assembly placed restrictions on the maximum amount of money and property (£2,000) that could be left to those of African or part-African descent. Though this was contrary to the principle of English common law, which gave absolute discretion to dispose of property, it was agreed by the Privy Council. (The Privy Council had the right to veto any act of American Colonial Assemblies.) However, many exceptions were made by the Assembly to this Act and they nearly always involved the children of a wealthy and powerful man. These private Acts giving exemptions are varied in the form that they follow. Sometimes they give a parish and sometimes not, sometimes a father and sometimes not, sometimes the relationship between the people mentioned in the document is plain and sometimes not. There should always be a date. Each session of the Assembly ran from end of October to Christmas Eve and each Bill had three readings. Where the Assembly sits at an odd time it is during a war or when there is an emergency. My dating of the Acts is not entirely consistent as between the three readings of the Act and its final passing into law. Most frequently it is the last reading.

The term "with certain restrictions" is almost invariably used. These restrictions relate to political rather than property rights as the individuals named and their offspring do not have the right to most specified offices in Jamaica or to sit in the Assembly. They may also be debarred from appearing as a witness in court against white men unless they had been assaulted or robbed. It should be remembered that at the time the vast majority of the population in Britain had no political right to vote so this may not have been seen as such a grave disadvantage though their inability to bear witness in court, which did not happen to the politically disenfranchised in England, must have been regarded as a very significant handicap. In a very few cases it seems the Act did not use the term "with certain restrictions". It will be noted that there were only five such Acts after 1794 and the years of the great slave revolt in San Domingo. There are none after 1802 though the reason or reasons for this are still unclear to me.

In nearly every case it is said that the individuals given rights have been baptised in the Church of England and educated so they will probably appear in the baptismal records. All the cases mentioned must involve people of high social status and large property. No one else would have sufficient importance or wealth to ask for their private affairs to be regulated by the legislature and for them to gain exemptions from the law. For this reason the fathers mentioned, when they are mentioned, can almost certainly be identified from other sources. To take one example at random William Patrick Browne [C0139/23 (138)] is listed among the 147 subscribers to the Civil & Natural History of Jamaica published in 1756.

Finally for those unfamiliar with the terms, there is the vocabulary of a racially obsessed society which uses specialised words for people with different racial origins. A mulatto is someone with one white and one black parent, a quadroon someone with three white grandparents and a mustee (or octoroon) someone with seven white great grandparents. There are also words for intermediate origins such a sambo for someone with three black and one white grandparent. However such an individual would probably not have had the prestige and influence to be the subject of one of these laws and I cannot find one.

The Acts themselves are quite long-winded. If using them for genealogical purposes the original text should be examined as further information might be found. For further general historical information about these laws see Samuel J. and Edith F. Hurwitz, "A Token of Freedom: Private Bill Legislation for Free Negroes in Eighteenth Century Jamaica" William and Mary Quarterly 3rd

bill legislation for free negroes in eighteenth century Jamaica, William and Mary Quarterly, 31 ser., 24 (1967), 423-31, this is on line as an image.

For further lists of the freed see {Census of 1730 - CO137/19 (pt.2)/48; Census of 1774- CO137/70/88; Census of 1788 - CO.137/87; "Mulattoes, Quads, Negroes able to bear arms," Add. Mss. 12,435, British Library, London; St. Andrew Parish Register, 1666-1780, St. Catherine Parish Register, 1667-1764, Manumissions, vols. 5 & 7, Jamaica Archives; Wills, vols. 1 - , Island Record Office; Kingston Parish Register, 1722-1774, Island Record Office Armoury, Spanish Town, Jamaica.}. This last list of documents is thanks to Dr. Trevor Burnard of Brunel University. ERC

Some Acts of the Jamaican Assembly from 1760 to 1810

(The number in brackets immediately after the PRO reference is the number of the Jamaican Act and is important if seeking to get a photocopy of the page from the PRO. The Acts themselves are handwritten in large heavy bound volumes. Typos, errors and any omissions are my responsibility.) The general form of the Act was "to entitle to the same Rights and Privileges with English subjects, with certain restrictions" but I have generally left this out. A few acts name those freed, though seldom with a surname, for loyalty. From the evidence here these never get these rights and privileges.

CO139/21 (12) Anne Petronella Woodart, spinster, a free mulatto. 14.11.1760

CO139/21 (25) Foster, Pembroke, George, Cuaffee, Billy a mulatto, Blackwall, Billy, Yankee, Philip, London, Moll, Quaco, Nero, Congo, Molly Beckford, Silver Jemmy and Will to be set free paid £5 and £5 a year hereafter for being loyal in a slave rebellion. 18.12.1760

CO139/22 (44) Robert Penny and Lucy Penny the reputed children of Robert Penny esq deceased of the parish of St Catherine by Anne Forrord, a free mulatto woman. 24.11.1762

CO139/22 (47) An Act for making free a negro man slave called Jack Pearson belonging to the estate of William Ricketts esq deceased. 1.12.1763 (Helped in suppressing a slave rebellion.)

CO139/22 (49) Charles Price a free mulatto, 21.12.1763

CO139/22 (52) Milbe Johnson, Catherine Johnson his wife free mulattoes, his daughter Mary Elizabeth Johnson, 1.12.1763

CO139/22 (58) Mary Morris of Kingston a free quadroon and Charlotte Sterling, reputed daughter of Robert Sterling esq, 30.12.1763 (see Act 591)

CO139/22 (68) To free Cato, the negro slave of Arthur Forrest. 9.11.1764 (He betrayed a slave conspiracy.)

CO139/22 (73) John William Hicks a free quadroon of St Thomas in the East, 18.12.1764

CO139/22 (76) John Davidson of the parish of Clarendon a free mulatto man. 12.8.1766

CO139/22 (86) Elizabeth Frances Freeman Ripley, Cleopatra Freeman Ripley, Susannah Freeman Ripley, Ann Freeman Ripley, Mary Freeman Ripley, Elizabeth Freeman Ripley reputed daughters of John Ripley by Emma Freeman, a free negro woman and Henry Freeman Ripley the reputed son of the late John Ripley and William Gibson the reputed son of James Gibson of the parish of Kingston pastry cook by the said Cleopatra Freeman Ripley. 12.8.1766

CO139/22 (87) Elizabeth Tickle of the parish of Kingston, a free mulatto woman 12.8.1766

CO139/22 (88) Elizabeth Diston of the parish of Kingston, a free mulatto woman and Ann Cossley, Mary Cossley, John Cossley, Richard Cossley and Peter Cossley, the reputed sons and daughters of John Cossley esq of the said Elizabeth Diston. 12.8.1766

CO139/22 (89) Frances Willey of the parish of St Andrews a free mulatto woman and Mary Willey, the daughter of Frances Willey begotten by William Willey in wedlock and Charles McGlashan and Jean McGlashan the reputed son and daughter of Duncan McGlashan, practitioner in physic by the same Mary Willey. 12.8.1766

CO139/23 (113) Act to free two Negro men slaves and compensate their owners Yorke, belonging to the estate of Ballard Rickford and Cuaffee belonging to Charles James Sholto Douglas. 21.12.1767

the estate of Barrard Bickford and Charles belonging to Charles James Sholto Douglas. 21.12.1767
(For services in a slave rebellion, Yorke defended his mistress James and Cuaffee betrayed a conspiracy.)

CO139/23 (138) To enable William Patrick Browne esq of the parish of St John to dispose of his property as he shall think fit notwithstanding the Act of 1762. 31 12.1768

CO139/24 (153) to entitle Anne Shermore, widow and relict of Nicholas Shermore a white man and Jane Brooks, Mary Brooks, Priscilla Brooks, Martha Brooks and Ruth Brooks, the reputed daughters of George Brooks esq of the Parish of St Elizabeth by Mary Powell a free mulatto woman and James Brooks, Richard Brooks, Joseph Brooks and Edward Brooks, the reputed sons of the said George Brooks and Mary Powell, 23.12.1769

CO139/25 (nothing)

CO139/26 (204) Dugald Clark of the parish of St Thomas in the East a free mulatto man the reputed son of Robert Clark late of the parish of Hanover. 21.12.1771 (see 538)

CO139/27 (225) An act for making free a mulatto man Will, belonging to the estate of William Jones and paying to the Hon. Archibald Sinclair & Richard Welsh the value of the said mulatto man . 16.12 1772. (He discovered the murderer - a mulatto, Sam - of a white man. The murderer was burnt alive.)

CO139/28 (238) Anne Tingley, a free mulatto woman, Susannah Scott the reputed daughter of William Scott by the said Anne Tingley, Florence Blechynden, Mary Blechynden, Edward Blechynden and Richard James Blechynden, the reputed sons and daughters of Fulton Blechynden, gentleman of Kingston to the said Anne Tingley, 11.12.1773

CO139/29 (271) "An act for making free and rewarding a Negroe woman slave named Attea, the property of the heirs of George Williams esq deceased and for paying for her value. Passed nem con. 10.11.1774

CO139/29 (272) An act to entitle, Mary Smith, Henrietta Cooke Smith, William Smith and Pierce Cooke Smith reputed daughters and sons of William Smith of the parish of St Catherine's Gentleman, by Catherine Smith a free negroe woman. The Bill sponsors Mr Whitehorne & Mr Wheeler Fearon, Saturday 12.11.1774

CO139/29 (273) Frances Sadler, George Cunningham, Samuel Laing, Margaret Bright Sadler and Ann Sadler. The Bill sponsors Mr Richards & Mr Hibbert (no father mentioned.)

CO139/31 (289) Mary Stott a free quadroon woman, John Thomas Ross, Francis Ross, John James Ross & Allan George Ross reputed sons of Thomas Ross of the parish of St Catherine's, merchant. The Bill sponsors Mr Hibbert & Mr Pusey, 29 11 1774

CO139/31 (290) John Donaldson planter of the parish of Clarendon petitioned for same rights and privileges. 2.12.1774

CO139/31 (291) Edmund Hyde, Ann Hyde his wife, Dally Hyde, Sarah Hyde & Thomas Nicholas Swigle. No father mentioned. 15.12.1774

CO139/31 (292) Rebecca Souza, a mulatto & Rebecca Colt a mustee 16.12.1774

CO139/31 (293) Frances Clarke, Shirley Clarke, Ann Clarke, Robert Pawlett Clarke, Thomas Clarke and William Clarke reputed children of Robert Clarke of the parish of St Catherine's gentleman by Charlotte Pawlett a free mulatto woman. The Bill sponsored by Mr Iredell 23.12.1774

CO 139/31, (318) Eleanor Clifford, Mary Clifford, Frances Clifford, Martha Clifford, John Clifford Sarah Pennington daughter of Eleanor Clifford by a white man within two removes of white people all given full rights but not allowed to be members of the Assembly or council, 22.12.1775

CO 139/31, (319) Charity Harry a free mulatto woman (and any children that she has) to be entitled to the same rights, 5.11.1775

CO 139/31, (320) Elizabeth Goldson and her children Thomas Goldson, Elizabeth Goldson, William Goldson, John Goldson, Anne Goldson, George Spragge & Robert Spragge, 6.12.1775

CO 139/31, (321) Francis Jones, William Jones, John Jones, mustees the reputed children of John Jones esq deceased. Had with an estate, given total privileges. 6 12 1775

James esq. deceased. had with an estate, given total privileges, 6.12.1775

CO 139/31, (322) James Duany, 18.12.1775

No such acts in CO139/32 & 33

CO139/34 (357) Elizabeth Hutchinson a free mulatto, her children Robert Duff Lyttlejohn and John Lyttlejohn, the reputed children of Alexander Lyttlejohn merchant 21.12.1776, (under certain restrictions)

CO139/34 (358) Elizabeth Duncan mulatto, Elizabeth Hook, Mary Hook, Margaret Hook, Henry Hook, William Hook, Thos Hook and John Hook, reputed children of Duncan Hook, merchant, by said Elizabeth Duncan, of the Parish of Cornwall, 21.12.1776 (under certain restrictions)

CO139/34 (359) Eleanor Barnes free mulatto, her children Nathaniel King, Anne Hylett wife of Robert Hylett coppersmith, reputed children of John King esq, 10.12.1776

CO139/34 (360) Sarah Walter Bolt, free quadroon her children Edward Strudwick and Theodosia Strudwick reputed children of Henry Strudwick esq (decd.) and Samuel Richard Lewis, John Lewis, Susannah Lewis, Elizabeth Lewis, Louisa Ann Lewis children of said Sarah Walters Bolt by John Lewis esq 7.12.1776

CO139/34 (361) Jane Sypmson a free quadroon woman 21.12.1776

CO139/34 (370) Anne Martin a free quadroon woman of the parish of St Catherines 6.12.1777

CO139/34 (371) William Tucker, a free quadroon man of the parish of St Mary 7.11.1777

CO139/34 (372) Mary Williams, Elizabeth Williams, Janet Williams, Charlotte Williams, Margaret Williams, Catherine Williams, Sarah, Williams John Williams, Thomas Williams, George Williams, John Russell Williams reputed children of John Williams esq of the parish of St Anne's, 27.11.1777

CO139/34 (374) Judith Hutt, free mulatto woman, Elizabeth Davidson, Mary Davidson, Judith Millward Benjamin Millward, James Laing John Laing children of Judith Hutt, William Wynne son of Elizabeth Davidson & Samuel Walters of the parish of St Andrews and Mary Walters children of Mary Davidson 5.12.1777

CO139/35 (393) Frances Shawditch a free mulatto, of the parish of Kingston, William Dann, Grace Dann, Rebecca Knowles, John Fisher, Grace Fisher children of Frances. 11.12.1777

CO139/36 (422) Thomas Hanlon, John Hanlon, Felix Hanlon, Elizabeth Hanlon mulattoes reputed children of Patrick Hanloon by Julia Boone a free negroe woman 3.12.1778 (Parish of Kingston)

CO139/36 (423) Elizabeth Foord a free quadroon, Elizabeth Foord, Jean Foord, Margaret Foord 3.12.1778 (Parish of Kingston)

CO139/37a, (445) John Ashbourne a free mulatto, 23.12.1779

CO139/37a, (446) John Breary of the Parish of St Anne a free quadroon 14.12.1779

CO139/37a, (447) William Wagg of the Parish of Kingston a free quadroon 23.12.1779

CO139/37a, (449) Bryan Mackay a free quadroon the reputed son of William Mackay, 17.4.1780

CO139/37a, (450) Johannah Gaul of the parish of St Thomas in the East and her children and grandchildren John McDermit, Samuel McDermit, Charles McDermit and Jannet McDermit and Johannah Troup, Elizabeth Troup, Mary and Elizabeth McDermit. 30.12.1780

CO139/37b (460) Mary Good, Sarah Good, Thomas Good mulattoes and James Curtis, Thomas Merchant, Andrew Yuel and Elizabeth Yuel, quadroons, 1.12.1780.

CO139/37b (465) George Wilson, Sarah Wilson, Margaret Davies, John Wilson Dunn, Sarah Vidal, Richard Davies, Thomas Davies, George Davies and Sarah Davies are possessed of lands and negroes but by "an unfortunate accident of birth" are liable to same penalties as free blacks and are given rights. [Unusual formulation.] 16.12.1780.

CO139/37b (474) William Hiatt, John Hiatt, Edward Hiatt, Elizabeth Hiatt, Ann Hiatt and Eleanor Hiatt reputed children of John Hiatt esq, Parish of St Ann 30.12.1780.

CO139/37b (478) Richard Jacob, John Jacob, Elizabeth Jacob mulattoes, Catherine McPherson and Elizabeth MacPherson the reputed children of William McPherson, Parish of St David. 22.12.1780.

CO139/37b (479) James Cargill, free mulatto with some property, 12.1.1781.

CO139/37b (486) Susannah Mitchell free mulatto and her children James Mitchell Davies the reputed

CO139/37C (490) Susannah Mitchell free mulatto and her children James Mitchell Davies the reputed son of James Davies esq decd and John Napier, Peter Napier, George Napier, Rachel Napier and Susannah Napier the reputed children of George Napier of the parish of Clarendon.

CO139/37d (519) Edward Brown and Anne his wife, mulattoes of the parish of Clarendon 21.12.1782 who owns property in the parish

CO139/37d (532) John Breary "had a liberal education in Great Britain and is possessed of a considerable estate". 21.12.1782 - (see Act 446.).

CO139/37d (534) John, Benjamin, Thomas, William Charlton, Eleanor and Elizabeth Candy White, the reputed children of Benjamin White gentleman late of the parish of St Catherine, by Jane McDonald a free negroe woman. 19.12.1782.

CO139/37d (536) William Wright of Portland esq to settle his estate as he shall think fit notwithstanding the Act to "prevent exorbitant grants and devises to negroes". It is for Mary Wright, Susannah Wright, Rosamund Wright, George Wright, William Wright, White and Richard Else Wright. 22.2.1783.

CO139/37d (537) Thomas Wynter to settle his estate as he shall think fit notwithstanding the Act to "prevent exorbitant grants and devises to negroes". It is for William Rose Wynter and Mary Mede his natural children. 1.3.1783.

CO139/37d (538) Dugald Clarke of the parish of St Thomas in the East a free mulatto the reputed son of Dugald Clarke by Else Bayley a free mulatto, 1.3.1783 (see Act 204).

CO139/37d (539) John Ashbourne a free mulatto with considerable property in the parish of St Andrews, 21.12.1782 (a rewording of the original grant).

CO139/38 (548) Dorothy Manning, Thomas Manning, George Manning, free mulattos, of the parish of Clarendon 16.12.1783.

CO139/38 (549) Sarah Bonner, Grace Bonner, free quadroons, Mary Bonner, Elizabeth Frances Bonner, John Bonner and Frances Wilson, free mustees, 16.12.1783.

CO139/38 (551) Mary Pinnock a free mulatto & Charles Lord her son and William Thompson, Nancy Thompson, Molly Thompson and Archibald Thompson the reputed children of Archibald Thompson merchant of the parish of Kingston of the said Mary Pinnock, 16.12.1783.

CO139/38 (557) Grace Needham, a free mulatto, Elizabeth Dikeman her daughter, William Thompson son of Elizabeth Dikeman, Mary Macduffie and Malcolm McDuffie reputed children of Malcolm McDuffie, the parish of St Thomas in the East, 16.12.1783.

CO139/38 (559) Thomasina Rosslers, a free mustee woman, 16.12.1783.

CO139/38 (563) Anne Williams, Catherine Williams, Sarah Williams, Eleanor Williams, Elizabeth Williams, Thomas Williams, Martin Williams and George Williams reputed children of Martin Williams esq of the parish of St James by Eleanor Williams a free negro woman, 16.12.1783

CO139/38 (564) Patrick Duncan, Edmund Duncan, Sarah Duncan reputed children by Patrick Duncan, planter by Sarah Gray a free mulatto woman, 16.12.1783 (St Ann).

CO139/39 (504) Elizabeth Bowen, a free mulatto of the parish of Westmoreland and her son Patrick Bowen Murray a free quadroon, 23.12.1784.

CO139/39 (589) Patrick Duncan exempt from law to "prevent exorbitant grants and devises to negroes" (He can now leave his money to his children.).

CO139/39 (590) Jane Charlotte Beckford, a free mulatto woman, and George French and Edward French free quadroons her children, 23.12.1784.

CO139/39 (591) Sarah Morris free quadroon woman allowing her to leave her property to her natural daughter Charlotte Sterling despite Act to "prevent exorbitant grants and devises to negroes" and Charlotte Sterling to be given full rights and privileges. 23.12.1784 (see Act 58).

CO139/40 (602) Thomas Roper the younger and Joshua Roper, reputed sons of Thomas Roper esq of the parish of Portland, 23.12.1784.

CO139/40 (605) Act for Thomas Roper esq. To will or dispose of his estate despite Act to "prevent exorbitant grants and devises to negroes" 23.12.1784.

CO139/40 (608) An act to free two negro men, Greg and Isaac, the property of the Hon Simon Taylor

CO/139/40 (605) An act to free two negro men, Grog and Isaac, the property of the hon Simon Taylor esq of the parish of St Mary for their faithful services to the public. 23.12.1784.

CO/139/41 (620) James Allen Gorse & Jane Gorse of the parish of Westmoreland, free quadroons, reputed children of John James Gorse, practitioner in Physic and surgery to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions. 24.12.1785.

CO/139/41 (621) Jonathan James, a free quadroon man, John James, Montague James & Elen James and Jonathan James junior, John James junior, Anne James and William Rhodes James the sons and daughters of the said John James senior to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions. 24.12.1785.

CO/139/41 (622) Sarah Reade, Anne Reade, free quadroons, the reputed daughters of Laurence Reade of Kingston, merchant, deceased by Mary Barrow, a free mulatto woman also deceased to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 24.12.1785.

CO/139/41 (624) Susanna White, Charles White, James White free mulattoes and John Crawley White, Richard Crawley White and Catherine Gowie free quadroons of the parish of St George the sons and daughters of the said Susanna White and Alexander Gowie and Mary Anne White the lawful wife of the said John Crawley White and Mary White the daughter of the said John Crawley White to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions. 24.12.1785

CO/139/42 (649) Sarah Fisher of the parish of St Ann's, a free mulatto woman and Benjamin Hull, William Hull, James Hull, John Fisher Hull, Henry James Hull & Ann Sarah Hull, the reputed sons and daughters of William Hull of St Anns by the said Sarah Fisher and also Elizabeth Margaret Craig and Charles Robert Craig the reputed son and daughter of Robert Craig of the same place, planter, by the said Sarah Fisher to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions. 23.12.1786 (Unusually John Fisher Hull, Henry James Hull & Ann Sarah Hull, infants and all quadroons are to be sent to England to be bound apprentices and thus given a trade to keep themselves.).

CO/139/43 (654) Robert Hilton Anguin, Sarah Hilton Anguin, John Anguin & Frances Anguin free quadroons, the reputed children of John Anguin of the parish of St Annes by Frances Jones a free mulatto woman lately deceased to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions. 22.12.1787.

CO/139/43 (656) An act to enable John Anguin to leave his money to anyone of colour despite the past Acts of the Assembly. 22.12.1787.

CO/139/43 (660) John Lynch a free mulatto, Elizabeth his wife a free quadroon woman & Grace Anne Lynch, Elizabeth Banton Lynch, Mark Lynch, Eleanor Banton Lynch, Margaret Banton Lynch, Frances Jane Lynch, John Saunders Lynch, Benjamin Banton Lynch, Priscilla Lynch & William Lynch born in lawful wedlock to the said Elizabeth to the same rights and privileges under certain restrictions. 22.12.1787.

CO/139/43 (666) Penelope Brewer of the parish of St George a free mulatto woman and John Ashton, a free man of colour and Helen Ashton his wife, the daughter of the said Penelope Brewer to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions. 22.12.1787.

CO/139/43 (668) Repeats 649 above relating to the Hull family. 22.12.1787

CO/139/44 (nothing)

CO/139/45 (692) Anne Fleming of the Parish of the parish of St Andrew, a free mulatto woman to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 6.12.1788

CO/139/45 (693) Samuel Smith Facey and Lydia Facey, Elizabeth Facey, Dorothy Facey and Philip Facey free mulattos of the Parish of St Catherine's the reputed children of the late Sampson Facey of that parish and Elizabeth Bagnold, Mary Bagnold, Thomas Bagnold, Susanna Bagnold, Joseph Bagnold and John Bagnold the reputed children of Thomas Bagnold by the said Lydia Facey to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 6.12.1788

CO/139/45 (694) Richard Clarke of the parish of St Catherines and Rose Clarke of the parish of Port Royal, free quadroons, to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 6.12.1788

CO/139/45 (697) To enable John Russell to dispose of his estate as he shall think fit in favour

CO/139/43 (697) To enable John Russell to dispose of his estate as he shall think fit in favour of his natural children Alexander Russell a free mulatto and Isabel Russell, Elizabeth Russell and Jennett Russell, free quadroons. 6.12.1788

CO/139/45 (698) As above in 697 with the same names to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 6.12.1788

CO/139/45 (699) Alice Giles, a free quadroon woman of the parish of Kingston to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 6.12.1788

CO/139/45 (700) Theodore Leslie, Alexander Leslie, George Leslie, James Leslie, Jean Leslie, free mulattos the reputed children of George Leslie of the parish of Westmoreland to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 6.12.1788

CO/139/45 (701) George Cunningham, Samuel Laing and Margaret Bright Sadler, free mustees to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 6.12.1788

CO/139/46 (723) William Sylvester, George Sylvester, Edward Sylvester, Elizabeth Sylvester, Sarah Sylvester, Margaret Sylvester, Mary Sylvester and Martha Sylvester of the Parish of St James free mulattos and Edward Martin, Francis Martin, Elizabeth Martin and Jane Martin free quadroons the several children of the said Sarah Sylvester, Henry Gibbs, a free quadroon son of the said Margaret Sylvester and Henry Ward a free quadroon son of the said Martha Sylvester to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 19.11.1789

CO/139/46 (732) see. It gives the right of George Leslie to leave his money to those named in Act 700 above. 19.11.1789

CO/139/46 (733) Elizabeth Robertson of the Parish of Kingston, a free quadroon woman and her several children Sarah Stiles, Cuthbert Thornhill, Anne Robertson Gibbs, Walter Gibbs and Catherine Swainson, free mustees, to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 5.11.1789

CO/139/46 (734) Catherine Thomson, a free quadroon woman of County Surrey to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 20.11.1789

CO/139/46 (735) Frances Pedder of the parish of Kingston, a free quadroon woman and her several children James Ellis, Richard Ellis, Elizabeth Jane Campbell, Edward Rowley, Joshua Rowley, free mustees, to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 20.11.1789

CO/139/46 (749) Sarah Wallace of the Parish of Kingston, free mulatto, Jane Frazier and Elizabeth Delpratt free quadroons, daughters of the said Sarah Wallace and Michael Parker, Hannah Parker, Samuel Delpratt Campbell, John Delpratt Campbell, free mustees the several children of the Sarah Delpratt and William Steele, John Steele, Jane Steele and Thomas Charles Cadogan, free mustees, children of Jane Frazier and Elena Delpratt Allardyce, Martha Delpratt Allardyce, free mustees, children of the said Elizabeth Delpratt to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 20.11.1789

CO/139/47 (771) George Bedward of the Parish of Westmoreland to leave his estate to his grandson, George James Bedward a free quadroon, 10.12.1790

CO/139/47 (772) George James Bedward a free quadroon, to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 10.12.1790

CO/139/47 (774) Frances Bowen Baker of the Parish of Westmoreland, a free mustee woman and Robert Bowen Baker, John Wedderburn Baker, Francis Bowen Baker, William Baker, George Bridges Rodney Baker, Jane Baker and Frances Baker the several children of the said Frances Bowen Baker to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 10.12.1790

CO/139/47 (775) Mary Blake of the Parish of Kingston a free mulatto woman and James Blake and John Blake free mulatto men, the reputed children of Nicholas Blake decd; late of the parish of St Elizabeth, Margaret Dunbar a free quadroon, daughter of the said Mary Blake and Sabena Eleanor Tierney, Margaret Robertson, Francis William Robertson and Mary Anne Robertson the infant children of the said Margaret Dunbar to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 10.12.1790

CO/139/47 (776) Thomas McChie, Mary McChie, free mulattos, the reputed children of Robert McChie

CO/139/47 (770) Thomas McGhie, Mary McGhie, free mulattos, the reputed children of Robert McGhie of the parish of Trelawney by Sarah McGhie a free negro woman to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 10.12.1790

CO/139/47 (800) Susanna Freeman Ripley, Anne Freeman Ripley, Mary Freeman Ripley, Elizabeth Freeman Ripley, free mulattos, and Frances Ripley Edie, Thomas Edie, Ebenezer Edie, Alexander Edie, Ann Edie, free quadroons, the reputed children of Ebenezer Edie gentleman by the said Elizabeth Freeman Ripley to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 9.12.1791

CO/139/47 (801) Francis Green, Elizabeth Anne Green, Sarah Green, Margaret Green, Anne Darby Green, Catherine Green, Daniel Green, and John Henry Green, free mulattos, the reputed children of David Rodrigues Candingo of the parish of Kingston merchant by the late Anne Darby deceased, a free black woman, to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 9.12.1791

CO/139/47 (802) To enable John Heath of St Annes to leave his estates to his reputed children 9.12.1791

CO/139/47 (803) Charles McDermott, Mary McDermott, Catherine McDermott, Thomas McDermott, Jane McDermott, Elizabeth McDermott, free mulattos, the reputed children of Charles McDermott of the parish of St Anne by Mary Cyrus, a free black woman, to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 9.12.1791

CO/139/47 (818) Susannah Young of the parish of St Elizabeth, a free mulatto woman and her children William Salmon, John Salmon, Charles Salmon, Edward Salmon, Sarah Salmon, Anne Salmon, Susannah Salmon, free quadroons, to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 16.12.1791

CO/139/47 (846) Daniel Saa, a free mulatto, Thomas Saa the reputed son of the said Thomas Saa by Anne Parke a free mulatto woman to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 19.12.1792

CO/139/47 (858) Elizabeth Bailey of the parish of St Catherine, a free mulatto woman, and her several children Dennis Cooke, Charles Cooke, Catherine Cooke, Thomas Barnfield Tyndale, Mary Barnfield Tyndale, free quadroons to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 21.12.1792

CO/139/47 (859) Colinet Mcneil of the parish of St Mary, a free quadroon woman and her children John Nicholas Baker and Sarah Baker, free Mustees to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 21.12.1792

CO/139/47 (860) Eleanor Thomas and Juliet Thomas of the parish of St Catherine, free mulatto women and Edward Henry Lyon and Benjamin Lyon, free quadroons the children of the said Eleanor Thomas to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 21.12.1792

CO/139/48 (873) Thomas Drummond, Esther Drummond, Adair Drummond and John Drummond, free mulattos, reputed children of John Drummond of the parish of Westmoreland, practitioner in physic and surgery to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 6.12.1793

CO/139/48 (918) Robert Kuckahn, Edward Kuckahn, Samuel Kuckahn, William Kuckahn, Thomas Kuckahn, Jane Kuckahn, Mary Kuckahn, Anne Kuckahn, free mulattos, the reputed children of Jesser Samuel Kuckahn of the parish of St Andrews, to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 6.12.1793

CO/139/48 (919) Frances a free mulatto woman of the parish of Kingston and her children Robert Steinson, Alexander Steinson, Maria Steinson, Charlotte Steinson, Stewart Steinson, Fanny Steinson, free quadroons to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 6.12.1793

CO/139/48 (920) Ann Middleton of the parish of Kingston, a free mulatto woman, and her children Clotworthy Bruce, Rosanna Bogle, Anne Bogle, Archibald Bogle, George Bogle, Hugh Bogle and Janet Bogle, free quadroons, to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 6.12.1793

CO/139/48 (921) Thomas Young, Sarah Young and John Young of the parish of Port Royal, free quadroons, the reputed children of Richard Young, mariner, deceased late of that parish to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 19.12.1794

CO/139/48 (922) Anne Evans of the parish of Kingston, a free mulatto woman, and her several

CO/139/40 (922) Anne Evans of the parish of Kingston, a free mulatto woman, and her several children named Sarah Evans, Frances Cathamah, Anne Deane, Dorothy Henry free quadroons and Anne Deane Clark and James Deane Clarke, free mustees, the children of the said Dorothy Henry to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 19.12.1794

CO/139/48 (923) Sarah Spragges of the parish of Port Royal, a free quadroon woman and her several children Edmund Baillie Lemoin, Anthony Duart and Sarah Duart, free mustees, to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 19.12.1794

CO/139/48 (924) John Moncrieff of the Parish of St Mary's, a free quadroon man, a planter and Milborough his wife and their several children Mary Moncrieff, Benjamin Scott Moncrieff, Elizabeth Moncrieff, John Moncrieff, Jean Moncrieff, Milborough Moncrieff, Anne Maria Moncrieff to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 19.12.1794

CO/139/48 (926) Act for rewarding and making free a sambo man slave, George on the Lancaster estate. in the parish of St Elizabeth, property of the heirs of Sam Warren Foster decd. 19.12.1794

CO/139/48 (950) Anne Davis of the parish of St Thomas a free mulatto woman and her several children George Omealley, Bridget Omealley and Anne Omealley, the reputed children of John Omealley esq of St John in the Vale to all rights and privileges under certain restrictions 19.12.1794

CO/139/49 (1,097) William Ferguson, Richard Ferguson, Charles Ferguson, Thomas Ferguson, John Ferguson, Mary Ferguson, Sarah Ferguson, Elizabeth Ferguson, Catherine Ferguson, and Jean Ferguson, free mulattos, the reputed sons and daughters of James Ferguson of the parish of Trelawney. 13 12 1799

CO/139/50 (1,138) George Thompson a free quadroon, the reputed son of Robert Thompson of the parish of Kingston esquire and to John Thompson a free quadroon the reputed son of the said Robert Thompson. 26.1.1801

CO/139/50 (1,139) William Duncan, a free quadroon, the reputed son of Patrick Duncan , planter of the parish of St Anne, deceased, by Sarah Grey a free mulatto woman. 26.1.1801

CO/139/50 (1,179) John Douglas, Sholto Douglas, Archibald Douglas, Robert Douglas, Edmund Douglas, Catherine Douglas, and Elizabeth Douglas, free quadroons and the reputed children of Peter Douglas of the parish of St John in the county of Middlesex to the same rights and privileges under certain restrictions 7.12.1801

CO139/51 (1,213) John Davidson, Peter Davidson, James Davidson, Margaret Davidson and Janet Davidson, free quadroons and reputed children of Mary Hay a free woman of colour of the parish of St Mary to the same rights and privileges under certain restrictions. 18.12.1802

CO139/51 (1,240) To emancipate the slave Samuel Banbury under certain restrictions. 18.12.1802

CO 139/52-57 There are no more acts granting privileges up to the end of 1810. There are probably no more until the repeal of the Act of 1762. There is

CO139/56 Emancipation of Affleck, a servant of governor Eyre Coote, being taken to England and who by law is not allowed to leave the island as a slave.

13. Dr AW Maitland's Diary

Printed 16/3/09

Andrew Wright Maitland (1808-1856)

A medical notebook and diary and certificates were given to the United Medical and Dental Schools of Guy's & St Thomas's Hospitals by the Family in 1989. Now held by the King's College, London, Archives and seen by A Maitland 2/2003. It contains little of direct genealogical relevance.

Contains sketches of

Port Louis Harbour, Colombo?
Trinidad, Sunday July 16 1831

Principal contents of the diary (about A5, hardback) are notes on various patients seen by AWM while in practice in London and during his voyage from London to Colombo and return. There is also an abbreviated description of his voyage.

The Hector 293 tons, Bristol 1824, Capt. Richardson, 3 masted ship, square sail.

Entered Guy's Hospital on 5/3/1824, articled to Mr Stocker. Held a certificate of Theory & Practice at Guy's dated Oct 1827 & appears in the 1830 Register of Medical Pupils as no 515, subsequently a "dresser" to Bransby Cooper, nephew of Sir Astley Cooper (knighted 1820 after removing a wart from KG V's Nose). Bransby served in the Army in Canada and the Peninsular, was appointed Ass. Surgeon & then Surgeon in 1825. He died in 1853. Maitland left Gravesend Oct 17 1830 in the SS "Hector" as ship's Surgeon on a voyage to Isle of France (Mauritius) & Ceylon returning to Gravesend on Nov 2, 1831. He then took passage for Jamaica on board the brig "Volusia" on Nov 29, 1831 (arr 4/1/1832). He was appointed Ass. Surgeon to the St Elizabeth Regiment of Foot in Jamaica in 1834 & as a justice in Elizabeth County in 1838. Commissioned as Health Officer for the port of Black River (Cornwall County) in 1841 & elected to the Fellows of the College of Physicians & Surgeons in Jamaica in 1842.

Andrew Maitland died suddenly after his morning ride around Mount Charles Estate in 1856. He lived as a married man at Mount Charles estate which adjoins Giddy Hall. This property probably came to him with his wife, from the Burltons, Ann Tomlinson's mother's first husband's family.

Summary From Peter Rushbrook:

Entered Guy's Hospital on 5/3/1824, articled to Mr Stocker. Held a certificate of Theory & Practice at Guy's dated Oct 1827 & appears in the 1830 Register of Medical Pupils as no 515, subsequently a "dresser" to Bransby Cooper, nephew of Sir Astley Cooper (knighted 1820 after removing a wart from KG V's Nose). Bransby served in the Army in Canada and the Peninsular, was appointed Ass. Surgeon & then Surgeon in 1825. He died in 1853. Maitland left Gravesend Oct 17 1830 in the SS "Hector" as ship's Surgeon on a voyage to Isle of France (Mauritius) & Ceylon returning to Gravesend on Nov 2, 1831. He then took passage for Jamaica on board the brig "Volusia" on Nov 29, 1831. He was appointed Ass. Surgeon to the St Elizabeth Regiment of Foot in Jamaica in 1834 & as a justice in Elizabeth County in 1838. Commissioned as Health Officer for the port of Black River (Cornwall County) in 1841 & elected to the Fellows of the College of Physicians & Surgeons in Jamaica in 1842.

Andrew Maitland died suddenly after his morning ride around Mount Charles Estate in 1856 and his medical notebooks and certificates were given to the United Medical and Dental Schools of Guy's & St Thomas's Hospitals by the Family in 1989.

Remarks on board the Hector from London to the Mauritius and Ceylon. Left Blackwall on board the Hector Oct 16 1830. Gravesend 17th. Downs 20th, left 24th. Arrived the Northern Bank 27th. Arrived the Volusia from London Nov 14th 1830. Sailed from Northern Bank Nov 18th with all the Eastward bound fleet. Dec 7th saw Porto Santo. Dec 10th saw Palosse, one of the Canary Islands. Dec 28th saw San Antonio one of the Cape Verde Islands. Jan 16th saw Trinidad a ??? island. About this time the white biscuit was out. Feb 4th off Tristan da Cunha. Feb 10th saw a whaler. Feb 18th the harpooner South Seaman in company. Capt Hawk dined on board. Feb 21st fell in with Buenos Ayrean ship the Bien Koneida, Capt Boone bound for the Isle de France with mules - has lost 150 of them, 80 in one gale, 74 left. Supplied him with 3 barrels of beef etc and obtained

in return biscuit and flour etc. Required them to give notice of our safety at the Mauritius, ordinarily about 14 days sail from here. March 1st 1831 this day 103 days from Portsmouth and Gravesend 133. We calculated that we are 1100 from the Mauritius and consider it about 7 days sail. Saw Round Island Monday 14th. Anchored March 18th in Port Louis Harbour and underwent the ceremonial of ??? etc etc. Ship moored with 4 anchors. 19th arrived the Bien Koneida. Sunday 20th Landed all the Isle de France passengers in good health and spirits.. Sailed from Port Louis Saturday 9th 1831 at 5 pm, having been in harbour 3 weeks. Few old passengers came on board to say farewell. May 5th 1831 distance from Colombo 651 miles. 13th saw land and anchored. The first week we remained in this port, the heat was beyond anything that can be imagined. Friday 3rd June during a gale the ship broke from her anchoring chain and went to sea after having lost another. Nearly lost on Negombo Point. Returned Sunday June 5th 1831. Weather unsettled and squally. June 7th accident to a Cooley. June 11th weighed anchor from Colombo roads and stood off during the night to receive the Government Dispatches the next morning. Sunday 12th heaving guns from the fort to return to -- stood to sea. Passed about 3 weeks on there with Ms???. July (text June) 5th "Bacycost a Jackal???". July 20th to the southward of Isle of France weather becoming cold with almost incessant rain and heavy dews at night. July 25th 1 Brig and 2 ships in sight - July 28th - Spoke to Resource Capt Shuttleworth from Madras with troops bound for St Helena and London.

Aug 2nd Spoke to a sloop of war.

Aug 7th to 14th blowing strong gales with heavy squalls. Shipping much water and the ship labouring exceptionally. The bulwark of the main and quarter deck washed away and wind from NNW and W. 15th saw planks and different parts of a ship floating by. 16th Aug saw the Cape of Good Hope. 17th spoke to the Lady Gordon Capt. Harmer from Liverpool 72 days, last from the Cape of Hood Hope and reports that 2 Americans and 4 English ships were driven on shore during the gales in which we suffered = bound to Batavia = Aug 28th the weather from here been very cold now becomes more mild. We consider ourselves 4 days sail from St Helena where we ??? at for water and provisions as almost all the stock died in the gales including 12 pigs etc. Aug 30th distance from St Helena 157 miles and expect to see it this day. Aug 31st = wind since off the Cape moderate S and SSE generally ?? with small rain. All sail set possible =

Aug 30th caught 2 Cape pigeons.

Sept 1st saw St Helena. 2nd approached almost near enough to another but our boat unfortunately upset which ??? us that night. 3rd Friday anchored in the Sir Nibisia Bay about 8 pm ?? by the port Office??. And next morning went on shore at James Town at the invitation of Mr Carrol store-keeper who behaved in the most hospitable manner and obliged me to accept the use of his house to visit the Napoleon's Tomb = 12am arrived at Longwood saw the tomb and obtained two pieces of willow from an old soldier who has the care of the grounds = 6pm by aid of the crew of the Daniel South-Seaman we weighed anchor with a fair wind. Next morning we out of sight of the island = ships account £50 this having been the most extravagant port a ship can visit. Fowls not larger than a pigeon 4d each.

Pigs about 1 month old 16s

1 small bag of potatoes £1-1s

Sept 16th this day 27 miles north of the equator and 8 days from St Helena = and off Cape Agulhas to St Helena 14 days. 15th sail in sight = 6pm spoke the brig Indian of London from Liverpool out 32 days bound to the Cape of Good Hope and Batavia this vessel and the Lady Gordon belonging to the same owners.

17th this day 11 months from London.

16th and 17th becalmed and most unbearably not.

19th 2 ships in sight one outward and the other homeward bound = 15 16 17 18 19 becalmed and very hot = caught a shark and got the backbone cleaned. 20th wind all round the compass = 21st 2 sail in sight. PM1 ditto = met the NE trade in 10 ??.

Sept 29th weather become cooler.

Oct 1st saw the Gul?? Weed of the Sargasso = Oct 3rd caught 17 dolphins = 8th the salt provisions bought at St Helena so bad and old that it cannot be used. 10th Oct 5 sail in sight = 11th = strong wind from NE with squalls the very point of the compass we want to steer. 13th 4 months from Ceylon = 16th this day 12 months I left London. 17th = 12 months on board ship = 19th this day 45 days from St Helena. Saw at 6pm the Island of "Flores" and at 10pm that of "Coovs?" being the 2 most westerly of the Azores = one sail in sight "A Barque" supposed from her fast sailing to be a Packet = Our approach to England is now fully manifest by the climate being cold = 23rd strong breezes from the SW, running 8 and 8 1/2 knots per hour the wind being aft = 24th a vessel in sight running away as usual = 26th most miserably cold wet and squally with hail. 27th 6pm spoke to the Brig Eliza of Peterhead - had not seen land for 8 days = also passed at 4pm a large ship standing to southward = obtained soundings at 95 fathoms coarse sand and shell. 28th 1 schooner and a brig in site. 7pm spoke the schooner Diana from "Tante"? in the Mediterranean out 38 days bound for London. Oct 28 saw Start Point = Nov 2nd passed Gravesend and I quitted the ship and arrived London the same evening.

Also included 2 draft letters:

"Ship Hector off Dungeness"

Sir,

As I am I want of clothes and the weather is very cold I shall be obliged by your immediately setting about a pair of trousers for me of stout Oxford Mixture and the lightest colour you can obtain. They may be made according to my measure which you have and without linings. I have only one pair with me and they are much the worse of wear so that you will oblige me by having them ready against my arrival in London in about ----- we out from Ceylon.

June 13th = all well = have landed passengers AWM.

Mr Abluig? = having just arrived from India and being very much in want of boots I ask you immediately you receive this to put a pair of boots in hand for me to be made according to my measure which you have - of modern le? Substance and the upper leather not too thick the heel to be made square and a half tip on the outside and perhaps a very little larger than you have made for me.

14. A DETAILED HISTORY of St PAUL'S SHADWELL

By Alan Baxter and Associates

(Included as it was the residence of Richard Maitland, the progenitor of the Jamaican Family)

1 The beginnings

The remains of a guard tower suggest that The Highway, on the higher ground above the flood-prone area to the south, formed a main approach to Roman London from the east, but it seems unlikely that there was any significant settlement in the area up until the 16th century. The name

'Shadewell' was recorded as early as 1223, and could have derived from Shady (or Poisoned) Well, Shallow Well, or perhaps a corruption of St Chad's Well. Despite such early records, the area was sparsely inhabited, and in Tudor times it was covered with ditches feeding a tidal mill.

Shadwell developed as a notable settlement from around 1600. It was in this year that it was first mentioned in the baptism registers of St Dunstan's, Stepney, and its rapid growth is shown by its frequent recurrence in the registers thereafter. Its position was ideal for further growth, as Ratcliff immediately to the east was the nearest landfall downriver of London with a good road to the capital, and was a place of embarkation and disembarkation for travellers and sailors alike.

The majority of the land in Shadwell, from the site of the present Church in the west to the borders of Ratcliff in the east, and from the line later marked by Cable Street to the river, was owned by the Deans of St Paul's, who were inactive landlords. Nevertheless, in the early 17th century there was a considerable growth in marine industries and trades in the area, which caused a great increase in population and led to a house building boom. Over 60 fines were levied on Shadwell houses built illegally in the 1620s and 1630s along The Highway and the riverfront, and beside Fox's Lane which ran between them just east of where the present Church now stands.

By the time the Commonwealth government surveyed the Dean's lands in 1650 there were 703 houses in Shadwell, excluding the area west of Fox's Lane not owned by the Dean. Around 60% of the householders made their living on the river, as mariners or watermen etc, while another 20% were in trades reliant directly on shipping, such as shipbuilding or supporting crafts. 32 wharves lined the 400 yards of riverfront, while roperies, timber yards and smithies filled much of the land behind.

In a few decades Shadwell had developed piecemeal into a considerable settlement through speculative building, which had created a sprawl of houses and industries with no defined centre and little social organisation. At around 3% of the population, the 'middle class' in Shadwell was extremely small in comparison to the other Stepney hamlets. As late as 1640, the parish of Stepney had 41 officers, but there were none responsible for Shadwell. The area desperately needed social leadership and physical improvement.

2 Thomas Neal and urban development

Thomas Neal (or Neale) was a speculative builder, responsible for Neal Street and the Seven Dials area of the West End. In 1656 he built a chapel in Shadwell (described in 3 below), fulfilling the wishes of many local residents who felt that, with a population of around 6,000 people, the area needed a focal point for the community. His activity in Shadwell brought him into close friendship with William Sancroft, the Dean of St Paul's who had recovered the land after the Restoration, and who later became Archbishop of Canterbury. This close relationship allowed Neal to obtain the lease of Shadwell on extremely favourable terms in 1669, and he set about improving the area in the hope of increasing its value.

One of Neal's first successes was in 1670, when his influential friends allowed him to overcome numerous objections to splitting up the huge parish of Stepney. In spite of other previous and much more practical proposals for four equal parishes to be created, he gained separate parish status for the Shadwell Chapel. The new parish church, serving an area only 910 by 760 yards, was rededicated to St Paul in honour of the Dean of St Paul's who had been so favourable toward him. This victory gave Shadwell its own social structure centred around the parish church, with its own organisation of churchwardens to look after the community, ensure law and order, and levy

rates to fund local improvements.

Neal's commitment to the area continued until his death at the end of the century. In 1673 he rebuilt over 100 homes after they were destroyed by fire, replanning the area with wider streets and building a new quay along the river. In 1682 he rehoused over 1500 families after a massive fire in Wapping and Shadwell, laying out Dean Street as a new thoroughfare. Neal also obtained a charter to hold a market, which he built in 1681-82, so that his tenants did not have to travel to the City to buy and sell, the nearer Ratcliff market having founded. In 1684, he opened a water works that pumped water from the river to houses from East Smithfield to Stepney, and lasted until it was bought up by the London Dock Company in the early 19th century.

Thomas Neal's achievement was to turn the ramshackle, amorphous grouping of houses into a real community with a religious and social centre in its parish church, and a commercial heart surrounding its market. He greatly improved the attractiveness of the area, paving the way for it to become famous as a residence of sea captains during the 18th century.

3 The first church

The Chapel was built between 1656 and 1658 on land just outside the Dean of St Paul's estate, along The Highway on the high ground that never flooded. It was a relatively simple building, still owing much to the medieval past in its triple-gabled nave and aisles layout, though the individual features such as the round-headed windows were classical.

Some important elements of this original Church still survive in the present building, most notably the font. The pulpit was thought to be original by some historians, but a different type is shown on illustrations of the old interior. There also remain considerable items of furniture and plate from the old Church.

4 The eighteenth century

Shadwell continued to grow in the early part of the 18th century as most of the spare land was developed. A survey in 1732 noted over 1800 houses in the parish, many of which had degenerated into slums. Unskilled people flocked to the parish from as far afield as north east England and Ireland, looking for casual labour on the docks and wharves. The continuing increase in seaborne trade and naval expansion contributed to a growth in marine industries, including the roperies with their typical long, narrow sheds and walks, so evident on early maps.

Shadwell was famous for its many master mariners; over 175 were registered as living in the parish at one time or another. By the end of the century, St Paul's was known as 'the Church of the Sea Captains', and 75 were said to be buried in its vaults. Captain Cook was perhaps the most famous parishioner, though Thomas Jefferson's mother was also a regular worshipper before emigrating to America. The Church was the centre of community life in Shadwell, and attracted considerable bequests for its charitable works. Although not one of the more missionary churches in the area, it was nonetheless the scene for five of John Wesley's sermons between 1770 and 1790, including his very last.

Shadwell's maritime connections opened it up to the successive waves of immigrants that came to Britain from the later 17th century. Huguenots were among the first to arrive, and planted the ancient mulberry tree which still survives in the Rectory garden for their silkworms. Spanish and Portuguese Jews arrived later, and were known for their skills in metal working and casting. Germans and Scandinavians were also a strong presence in Shadwell, being mainly concerned with the timber trade and related businesses. The area was also notorious for its many taverns and

brothels, which did extremely well out of the sailors passing almost continuously through the area.

The industrialisation of the area slowly led to a decline in the social status of the inhabitants, and in their living conditions. J P Malcolm described Shadwell in the following terms in 1803:

Thousands of useful tradesmen, artisans and mechanics, and numerous watermen inhabit Shadwell, but their homes and workshops will not bear description; nor are the streets, courts, lanes and alleys by any means inviting. ...[the Church] is a most disgraceful building of brick totally unworthy of description.

The fabric of the Church suffered from the inability of the parishioners to pay adequately for its upkeep. The unstable south wall was rebuilt in 1735, but by the end of the century the local people could not raise enough money to perform vital repairs. When part of the ceiling fell down in 1811, the Church was declared unfit for use, and was closed for all services except christenings and burials.

5 The second church

With their Church in ruins, the relatively poor congregation had little chance of rebuilding it by themselves. A further hindrance was the opposition of some major local ratepayers, most notably the London Dock Company, to the added expense. In 1817, the parishioners finally succeeded in securing a special Act of Parliament to authorise rebuilding; the Act's wording recognised that although the population of the parish was estimated at 10,000, they were not very wealthy, 'the far greater part of them being labourers in the docks and on the River'. The architect chosen was John Walters, whose estimate for the new Church came to £14,000. The sale of the fittings and materials from the old building before demolition fetched only £223. 13s. 0d. and £419. 1s. 8d., respectively, leaving the local people with a considerable struggle to find the remainder.

Tradition maintains that the parish obtained a grant from the Church Building Commission to cover the cost of the new building. The Commission was established by Act of Parliament in 1818, to spend £1,000,000 in providing new Anglican churches, both as a memorial and thanksgiving for the victory at Waterloo, and 'lest a godless people might also be a revolutionary people'. Another Act added £500,000 to this in 1824. There is no reference to St Paul, Shadwell receiving a grant from the Commission in M.H. Port's comprehensive study, but one seems to have been made nevertheless. In the event, the building cost £27,000, ranking it as one of the more expensive of the time.

John Walters

John Walters was born in 1782, and learned his architecture under D. A. Alexander, the designer of the famously Piranesian Maidstone Gaol, most of what is now the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, and numerous dock and warehouse buildings in Wapping and elsewhere. Walters lived and practised in Fenchurch Buildings in the City, and was by all accounts a diligent, able and respected architect, with an almost fanatical interest in his vocation. As well as several buildings, he also had an interest in naval architecture and designed a diagonal truss to strengthen ships' hulls. Walters died in 1821 at the age of 39, the result of chronic overwork. He left a widow and a son, Edward (1808-72), who became a successful Manchester architect. Walters' first notable building appears to have been the Auction Mart in Bartholomew Lane, a fine design which was completed in 1809. Its exterior was rather Palladian, while the interiors were

inspired by Sir John Soane's Bank of England. St Paul's Shadwell (1819-20) was also in a classical manner, though this time leaning much more towards the Greek influences of Neoclassicism. The Gothic of St Philip's Chapel, Turner Street, Stepney (1818-20) was impressive for its time, although by the standards of later Victorian architects its detailing appears clumsy. This last building is very different to Walters' usual style, and in fact was probably mostly designed by his pupil Francis Goodwin, who had been a very prolific designer of Gothic churches for the Church Building Commission (see M. H. Port, pp. 71-72). All of the other buildings known to have been designed by John Walters have now been demolished. St Paul's, Shadwell therefore possesses particular interest as his only surviving building.

With the money in place to pay for the new Church, Walters' design was executed by J. Streater, as recorded on the west front. The building consisted of a central box-like main space with a projecting chancel at the east end, and a tower at the west end flanked by staircases to the galleries, and included a large crypt which extended under the entire Church and also eastwards and westwards under the Churchyard. The building was largely constructed out of yellow brick, with a stone plinth, and dressings of stone and stucco render, giving an appearance described by the Gentleman's Magazine as 'simply neat, and elegantly chaste'. It was apparently consecrated on 5 April 1820, although some sources give the year as 1821. The railings around the edge of the Churchyard appear to date from the early 19th century and were probably designed along with the Church itself.

Exterior

The Church is like a rectangular box with roughly equal projections at the east and west ends, which contain the tower and stairs, and chancel, respectively. The central box contains the main body of the Church, and is astylar, whereas the two projections are decorated by pilasters, with a pediment at the west end. The windows are also subtly different, with those on the upper part of the main body having individual cornices above their architraves, whereas those on the projections have plain architraves. Such minor details show the thoughtfulness of Walters as an architect.

The western projection of the Church has stone steps with metal railings leading to central panelled double doors flanked by round-headed niches, set in a tetra-style Tuscan pilaster portico supporting a triangular pediment, above which sits the base of the tower. Three tablets above the door and niches record the rebuilding of the Church and the names of Walters as architect and Streater as builder. The sides of this projection act as the flanks of the temple portico, with pilasters at the north and south corners and two rectangular windows one above the other. Where the flanks meet the main body of the Church are interesting gargoyles at cornice level, much decayed now but just discernible as fish or stylised dolphins, alluding to the Church's maritime connections.

The steeple rises through several stages from its square base above the pediment, moving from a square lantern with four pairs of corner columns supporting an engaged entablature, to a circular tempietto surmounted by inverted brackets supporting an obelisk. Bridget Cherry notes accurately that 'The stone steeple evokes Wren's St Mary-le-Bow via Dance's St Leonard Shoreditch'. The Gentleman's Magazine described it as 'peculiarly beautiful, and it is not too much to say, that in correctness of design, and in the simple harmony of its several parts, it scarcely yields to the most admired object of the kind in the metropolis'. Within it hang eight bells, six of which were recast from the peal of the original Church. The clock and its three clock-faces underneath the lantern would the south and north sides of the central box of the Church are virtually identical. They have two rows of five rectangular windows lighting the ground floor and the

galleries. The lower windows rest directly on a stone string course, and both rows are set within stone architraves, which have now been painted white. Each side is capped by a plain rendered frieze and cornice, at the same height as that on the west portico, with a the eastern projection is also decorated with Tuscan pilasters, with another tetra-style portico framing the rear outer wall of the chancel, this time without a pediment. The centre originally featured a door at ground level, with a blank wall above (perhaps originally decorated with a commemorative tablet), though in 1848 William Butterfield blocked up the door and inserted a tripartite round-arched window into the upper part of the wall (see 8 below). Either side of the central bay are niches with tablets above, similar to the west end; the north and south sides of this projection also match those on the west.

Interior

The west door gave on to a vestibule beneath the tower, with a room and a staircase to either side and a glazed partition leading into the main space. This measured about 96 feet by 36, smaller than was usual at the time, due to the relatively small size of the parish which the Church served, but it still featured four galleries, one on each side, supported on sixteen Tuscan columns. Three of the galleries remain today; the missing eastern one was semicircular, and contained the organ now in the western one. The western gallery was originally probably similar to the north and south ones, with much lower raking to the steps. The galleries originally also featured religious quotations stencilled onto the entablature above the columns - some parts of which are still discernible today.

The door in the east wall was screened from the rest of the Church by a semicircular partition underneath the gallery, in front of which was west-facing seating. The communion table salvaged from the earlier Church was placed in front of these, with the present pulpit to the south and a large reading desk to the north. The inner doors to the nave, and those to the gallery above, had groups of lozenge-shaped openings very similar to the balustrade motif that Walters had used at the Auction Mart and in the Church's communion rail.

The Church was probably fitted up with box pews throughout, much like the churchwardens' pews still present at the west end of the nave. The pews, the wall panelling, and the gallery fronts were of oak, painted 'in a pale stone colour; the Creed, &c. being written in golden letter on panels of a darker shade of the same' (Appendix 4). The original appearance of this panelling is still preserved in a hidden section behind the current western gallery (fig 20). Together with the light walls and ceiling, and clear glass throughout, this colour scheme would have made the Church appear much more light, airy and chaste than it does now. A large marble tablet was placed on the front of the western gallery commemorating the names of the officers and the date of the rebuilding - this was later moved to the western vestibule.

The roof

This is an interesting part of the Church, and remains substantially as it was built, apart from some modern metal clamps strengthening cracked members. The main roof structure consists of four interpenetrating trusses of slightly unorthodox design, which intersect over the centre of the domed ceiling which hangs beneath. The smaller chancel roof is of a similar arrangement, though simplified.

6 The Rectory and Church School (St Paul's Institute)

A charity school for the poor children of the parish, of which there were a great many, was established in 1696, and funded by bequests and benefactions. As such it was the earliest parochial charity school in London. It was housed in a building near the Church, but this had

become so dilapidated by 1816 that it had to be closed. The children were taught in rented rooms until 1829, when 'the schoolhouse was rebuilt upon a very handsome plan, corresponding with the style of the Church; and now forms the entire western end of the new Churchyard' (anonymous description, c.1829-48).

It is not known who provided the design for the Institute. It has long been held (e.g. in the Buildings of England, 2005, p. 40) that the Institute and the Rectory were built at the same time as the Church, again to the designs of Walters. Given the evidence above this does not appear to be the case for the Institute. It also seems unlikely that Walters was the designer of the Rectory, as an Act of Parliament was obtained for its rebuilding in 1826, five years after his death.

It appears that the new schoolhouse comprised the first two floors of what is now the St Paul's Institute. The style of these two storeys is very similar to that of many buildings erected at that time, especially in the pavilions at the north and south ends, and also matches the Neoclassical style of the Church. The upper storey in the centre is constructed with slightly different bricks, and would appear to have been added later in the 19th century, giving a slightly Victorian character to what must originally have been a typical Regency building. The unusually high undercroft is original to the 1829 building, and was used mainly as an extension to the burial space in the Church crypt, with which it apparently connects. The northern end of the building facing The Highway contains one set of double doors, behind which is a room understood to be where the local fire engine was kept.

Some maps show the school occupying only the northern half of the building in the mid 19th century, which would explain why there are two main entrances rather than one. The schoolhouse was described variously on maps as a 'National School', (1862), as a 'Vestry Hall' (1870) and as 'Shadwell Church School' (1885). The Education Act of 1890 removed the pupils to the local Board School, and the building was then known as the Church House. It was also used for adult education, for which purpose it was renamed the St Paul's Institute. The second floor room in the centre functioned as a gymnasium during this period.

7 The development of the docks in the nineteenth century

The early part of the 19th century saw the expansion of St Katherine's Docks from their original area, built in 1802-05 by the Tower, eastwards into Wapping and eventually into Shadwell itself in 1828-32. The construction of Shadwell Basin involved the demolition of many houses in Lower Shadwell, increasing the already acute overcrowding, which further worsened as more properties were taken over for warehousing. The increase in trade also brought another influx of low skilled labourers who earned a living through casual work, and spurred on the exodus of the dwindling middle class.

The construction of the first Shadwell Basin did not greatly affect the setting of the Church, but the New Basin dug in 1854-58 changed the area greatly. The London Dock Company were able to compulsorily purchase all the houses south of the Church, and part of the Churchyard itself, which was removed to allow construction of the dock and quay. Perceived movement of the Church walls (still evident today in the slightly bowed south wall) during the excavation of the New Basin forced the construction of the large buttressed retaining wall which still prevents the Churchyard from sliding into the water today. A plaque dated 1859 and set into the wall states that it belongs to the parish, though its upkeep is the responsibility of the London Dock Company. This duty has presumably devolved to the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, which now maintains Shadwell Basin. Where now the quay in front of the Church is an open space, from the

1850s until the later 20th century it was filled with low warehouses and workshops, which gave the Church an avowedly industrial setting when viewed from the south.

Butterfield's most important changes of 1848 involved the chancel, which was turned from a repository for the organ into a sacred space for the altar. The eastern gallery was removed and the organ was placed in a reordered western gallery with dark panelling and draught lobbies, while a rounded chancel arch was built across the eastern recess, supported on engaged stone columns set within the old walls to leave space for a narrow vestry and sacristy to each side, entered by new doorways. This arch clearly divided the Church into two spaces: nave and chancel, rather than the single united space it had been before; the division was further enhanced by lowering the chancel ceiling with a semicircular plaster vault of the same height as the new arch, and inserting in the east wall a tripartite window with equal round-headed lights, featuring stained glass by Ward and Nixon. The high-level windows on the north and south sides of the chancel were blocked by the new lower vault, though the glass and frames survived. The low-level chancel windows were used to light the vestry and sacristy. The eastern door, which so offended the Ecclesiologist, was also bricked up, and the communion table, now referred to as an altar, was placed against the wall.

Butterfield would also have replaced the old Georgian box pews with bench pews, probably like the ones with scalloped armrests still scattered around the edge of the nave and in the galleries. (These were replaced around 1914 or between the wars by neo-Georgian bench pews.) The pews, wall panelling and gallery fronts were either replaced or stripped and stained to a dark colour. The north and south galleries were rearranged so that the seats faced eastwards rather than into the body of the Church. The pulpit was moved to the north side of the Church, and the reading desk cut down into a clergy stall which stood on one side of the chancel, matched on the other side by a copy. A new movable lectern was designed, in typical Butterfield style, to match the round-arched motif he had just introduced in the chancel. The font from the old Church was brought back and placed at the west end, replacing the temporary basin on the communion table that had previously been used.

The Church was also given a decorative scheme to match its new appearance. The low round-headed chancel arch and the triple window had given the building a rather Byzantine air, and this effect was increased by the addition of a reredos featuring 'the Agnus Dei, and the evangelistic symbols, painted on a gold ground with Byzantine ornamentation'. The chancel arch itself was decorated with 'the monograms "I H C" and "X P C," in relief... picked out in colour'. Other, more gothic furnishings such as the side altar at present in the south aisle, and the Puginian gothic chairs that at one time flanked the chancel, were also apparently added at this time. The Ecclesiologist concluded approvingly that 'the whole effect of the church, with its chancel, is very religious'.

Butterfield's church alterations were heavily criticised in the 20th century, but it is worth remembering that his changes were so much less thorough than the wholesale rebuilding often undertaken by his contemporaries, as Paul Thompson noted:

[His] rearrangements have been very severely criticized. Nevertheless, what is remarkable is not that he adapted classical churches to the new liturgical needs, but that he respected their architectural character. This was so from the first example, St Paul's Shadwell, of 1848. Butterfield never attempted to gothicize or Byzantinize classical churches, like Scott, Street or Teulon; he was prepared to change them without imposing his own aesthetic tastes upon them.

It can be argued that Butterfield did actually go some way towards 'Byzantinizing' St Paul's, Shadwell, but Thompson is right to say that, relatively speaking, he was a much less interventionist re-orderer of fabric than was usual for his time. For an example of what could happen to a church in the Greek style in this period one need only look at St Mark's, North Audley Street, Mayfair, the nave of which was comprehensively rebuilt by Sir Arthur Blomfield in the 1870s. The relative ease with which the St Paul's was later restored to something close to its original layout is testament to Butterfield's more restrained approach.

9 Shadwell in the 20th century

There were some attempts to improve living conditions in the parish from the 1840s, when the first philanthropic missions appeared in this part of the East End. Slum clearances were being made as early as the 1860s, but in 1902 Charles Booth noted in his *Life and Labour of the People in London* that the parish of St Paul's had gained little from the efforts of outsiders and the clergy to improve the religious life and living conditions of most people there. The much larger slum clearance schemes of the London County Council in the first half of the 20th century had a bigger impact on the local environment, and led to the destruction of most of the unsanitary tenements that had been characteristic of the streets around the Church for centuries (fig 36).

Probably the most dramatic alteration to the area in this century was the creation in the 1920s of the King Edward VII Memorial Park to the east of Glamis Road, which entailed the demolition of a great many houses and the destruction of what had been the very heart of old Shadwell. At the time this was seen by most as an important step forward for an area which had almost no recreational or green space, and the setting of the Church from the south east was profoundly changed from urban to semi-rural.

The massive destruction wrought on the East End during the Second World War spared the Church, but destroyed its neighbour St James, Ratcliff, which was not restored (the two parishes were united in 1951). The St Paul's Institute received minor damage, while the Rectory was quite badly affected. Many of the parish records were also apparently destroyed in the raids. Most of the stretch of The Highway opposite the Church was badly damaged, and was partly replaced in the 1960s with the Glamis Estate.

The social make-up of the area remained solidly working class through most of the 20th century, mainly comprised of dock labourers, watermen and lightermen, and others working in industries and trades associated with shipping. The Government plan to move industry and jobs out of the East End to some of the New Towns in the 1950s and 1960s caused a fracturing of the old relatively stable society, and increased unemployment in the area to far above the national average. Unfortunately this coincided with the decline of the St Katherine's and London Docks, which had suffered even before the war from the trend towards larger ships that could no longer be accommodated so far upriver. Maritime trade migrated eastwards along with many jobs, until the advent of containerisation in the 1960s ruined the prospects of the docks altogether. Many of the London Docks were filled in and their surrounding warehouses destroyed, and the area slid into a state of widespread dereliction.

Throughout the 1960s, 70s and 80s there was a widespread feeling that Shadwell was 'dying', and there were several attempts to close the Church altogether, which were successfully fought off by a determined, though small, congregation. Their efforts enabled the Church to remain as part of the community, which was very slowly coming back to life with new housing schemes, many of them promoted by the London Docklands Development Corporation. The LDDC paid for many improvements to the Church in the 1980s, including the conversion of the crypt into a community centre, and

connecting Shadwell Basin to the Churchyard with a set of steps. In 1985-87 the warehouses and sheds around the west, north and east sides of the Basin were replaced by new housing, drawing on the old dockside typology of colonnades to relate to the water. The area south of the Church was left open, enabling a direct relationship with the water, and giving access from the dockside up the steps to the Churchyard.

10 Alterations to the Church in the 20th century

Butterfield's ecclesiological refurbishment was becoming quite unfashionable by the early years of the new century, and in 1914 the new vicar requested permission to take down the false chancel arch, remove the east window, and replace the pews. Not much appears to have been done before the

The Churchyard was cleared of most memorials in the 1920s and was used as a nature study area. A war memorial cross was erected by The Highway in 1923, but the Church itself had to wait until 1931 for action to be taken to purge most of Butterfield's changes. The chancel was 'restored' to its original shape, although the sacristy and vestry were too convenient to remove, and the stone columns flanking the chancel were retained. The dome was reformed and painted to give an 'evening sky' effect, following the admired children's chapel in the crypt of St Martin in the Fields. Butterfield's east window was, however, retained, although the original high-level chancel side windows were reinstated. A vestry area formed by wooden panelling in the eastern bay of the south aisle was also removed at this time, opening up the nave back to its original unified state. These changes can be seen marked on the drawings made by the architect, W. C. Waymouth.

Also in 1931, the northern staircase was removed from the west end to allow the conversion of the ground floor into a choir vestry, while creating a rectangular store room on the first floor. This was so well done that it is now impossible to tell that there was ever a staircase in that position. It would also appear that it was around 1931 when additional columns were added under the galleries at the east end so as to flank the side altars, as both a plan drawn up in 1923 and Waymouth's own plans

In 1956 the Church celebrated its 300th anniversary, and the occasion was used as an opportunity to raise money for repairs to the Church and the renovation of the Churchyard, crypt and Institute building. The amount required was £7,000, and supporters of the tercentenary appeal included John Betjeman, the former Prime Minister Earl (Clement) Attlee and, reflecting the parish's connection with Captain Cook, the High Commissioner for Australia. One of the most visible results of the campaign was the restoration of the Victorian rose garden within the Churchyard, which contained over 80 varieties. In 1964, the war-damaged east window was finally given new glass, by John Hayward. Also around this time, both the dark wooden columns supporting the gallery and Butterfield's light stone chancel columns, now vestigial, were given apricot marbling, and gilded capitals. This changed the character of the interior quite markedly, disrupting the previous dichromy of dark brown for all fittings, and light stone or off-white for all walls. The ceiling was also once again repaired, this time retaining the 1931 decoration.

In 1974 the choir stalls were removed from the chancel, and the pulpit moved back into the nave. Then six years later the London Docklands Development Corporation paid the full costs of a £103,000 refurbishment, including repairs to the steeple, a new path through the Churchyard to Shadwell Basin, and the conversion of the crypt into a youth training centre. The latter involved the removal of 200 lead-lined coffins from the crypt into the vaults under the western steps. In the Churchyard, the LDDC paid for the creation of a path through from The Highway to Shadwell Basin, and set up new railings in a similar style to the old ones to separate the grave areas

from the forecourt. In 1988 this phase came to an end with the construction of the steps down to Shadwell Basin.

The most recent alterations have included the installation of gas central heating in 1989, the refurbishment of the organ and the conversion of the crypt into a nursery in 1990, and the installation of concrete paving in the parking areas in 1994. Most recently of all, the tower and roof were repaired in the last few years, and in 2005 the plaster ceiling of the nave was restored.

11 The Church and Institute today

Having survived the depopulation of the parish resulting from the creation of Shadwell Basin and King Edward VII Memorial Park, the destruction of the Blitz, and subsequent policies of reducing housing density and removing industry, the Church in the 1980s and 1990s had to adapt to an increasingly non-Christian local population. Although the problem of a small congregation has greatly inhibited the religious life of the parish in the last few decades, the Church has nevertheless continued to be successful in reaching out to the local community. In addition to the Institute, which at one time housed offices for the Borough of Tower Hamlets, the Church has often been used for community purposes, and since 1984 the crypt has been used as a nursery and junior school. Most recently, in 2005, the arrival of a hundred parishioners relocated from Holy Trinity Brompton has provided a huge boost to the religious and communal life of the Church, and promises to have a great impact on its future as an institution.

12 The setting

The Church stands within the St Paul's Conservation Area. Initially the row of dock cottages east of the Churchyard was also included in the Conservation Area, but they now appear to have been removed. The dock cottages are Grade II listed, however, and still form part of the setting of the Church. North of them along The Highway are modern houses and flats of purple brick, which are sympathetic in their scale to the historic buildings nearby. The Conservation Area bestows protection on all trees within the Churchyard. In addition, the views towards the Church spire are protected by Tower Hamlets Council in its Unitary Development Plan (1998). To east and west, the immediate setting of the Church has not changed greatly in its essentials since the early 19th century. The green island of the Churchyard with the detached Church in its centre is still, as it always has been, an oasis in this tightly-packed urban area, with the spire making a handsome landmark for those travelling along The Highway. John Betjeman was very taken by the beauty of the Church's immediate setting, and noted that it was certainly designed to be seen in the round, flanked by complementary buildings and surrounded by trees and shrubs: 'The Church itself is different from a Wren Church in that the steeple is related to the Church as a building. Most of Wren's steeples are designed to be seen above the tops of houses, whereas St Paul's (Shadwell) steeple is part of the whole composition.'

Thankfully, many of the surrounding buildings and trees remain to this day, although much else has disappeared. In seeking to convey the importance of the Churchyard and its setting, it is worth quoting from the Statement of Significance of Shenstone & Partners, 2003: 'Positioned between the heavy traffic along The Highway and the tranquil pedestrian area around Shadwell Basin, makes this a prominent site and group of buildings, of local importance in both townscape and amenity terms, in addition to the architectural and historical qualities of the buildings themselves.'

In contrast to the immediate setting east and west of the Church, the areas to the north and

south have changed greatly in character since the construction of the Church. To the south the dense network of streets that characterised old Shadwell was swept away by the London Dock Company, although the sight of the Church from across Shadwell Basin (fig 56) makes a fine view. To the north, the dense agglomeration of houses and warehouses have been swept away and replaced by much more open development, in the form of the Glamis Estate. There is now a great contrast between the green urbanity of the St Paul's Conservation Area south of the road, and the rather more stereotypical and unsympathetic 'inner city' feel of the modern buildings to the north, especially the 1960s estate buildings.

The widening of The Highway and its use as a major east-west through-traffic route has had a major impact on the setting of the Church. It cuts St Paul's off from the northern part of the parish, and also harms the attractiveness of views towards it, as well as intruding on the peaceful atmosphere which the beauty and role of the Churchyard deserves.

From further away, the King Edward VII Memorial Park and Shadwell Basin New Entrance allow the Church to be framed to advantage from the river, where it appears to be in an almost rural setting. Unfortunately, however, the exceptionally unsympathetic tower of Gordon House on the Glamis Estate intrudes into this view from nearly all directions, greatly compromising the setting of the Church from further away. The problem is especially acute from the river, there it is the only building which disrupts an otherwise beautiful prospect.

15. Changes:

11/11/00: Add properties and Wright info.
4/4/2001: Add Wedderburn Properties
14/4/2001: Resaved HTML from Word
25/10/2001: West India Committee
2/11/2001: land grants added.
14/2/2002: Beckford description.
14/3/2002: edited and extra photo references.
17/4/2002: Jamaica visit.
15/5/2002: 1780 Hurricane description.
23/7/2002: edited, extra links
15/5/2003: added St Elizabeth Info.
7/7/2003: added 1784 Almanac re St Elizabeth & Westmoreland
8/2/2004: edited for better web layout.
26/5/2004: minor additions.
27/4/2005: more almanac extracts.
19/10/2006: Brett Ashmeade Hawkins emails
29/11/2006: more on BAH.
29/12/2006: reformatting and other additions
3/6/2007: Edited
22/11/2007: pens & slavery
13/3/2009: edited & combined with Jamaica Appendix. Layout reset.
19/1/2010: small changes