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978-1-108-02441-9 - Lady Nugent's Journal: Jamaica One Hundred Years Ago

Edited by Frank Cundall

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### Lady Nugent's Journal

The husband of Maria, Lady Nugent (1771–1834) was Governor of Jamaica from 1801 to 1806. Her diaries were not written for publication, and therefore offer a valuable and frank record of people and situations she met with in Jamaica. They were published privately after her death, and are here reproduced from the 1907 edition. The Jamaica diary covers a period of uncertainty in the West Indies due to the Napoleonic Wars. While generally avoiding politics, she comments on colonial society and planter life. Her initial view of slaves altered as rumours of uprisings made her fear for her young children. She also expresses concern about the sexual exploitation of slaves by planters, as being bad for both parties. The latter part of the work covers in less detail her return to England, and the period she spent in India where her husband had been appointed commander-in-chief.

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# Lady Nugent's Journal

*Jamaica One Hundred Years Ago*

EDITED BY FRANK CUNDALL



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JAMAICA ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

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MARIA, LADY NUGENT

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# LADY NUGENT'S JOURNAL

JAMAICA ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

REPRINTED FROM A JOURNAL KEPT BY  
MARIA, LADY NUGENT, FROM  
1801 TO 1815, ISSUED FOR  
PRIVATE CIRCULATION  
IN 1839

EDITED BY  
FRANK CUNDALL, F.S.A.  
SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN OF THE INSTITUTE OF JAMAICA

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

PUBLISHED FOR  
THE INSTITUTE OF JAMAICA  
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TO  
LADY SWETTENHAM  
ON HER MARRIAGE AT HALFWAY-TREE, JAMAICA, TO  
SIR JAMES ALEXANDER SWETTENHAM, K.C.M.G.,  
CAPTAIN-GENERAL AND GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF  
IN AND OVER THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA  
AND ITS DEPENDENCIES,  
IN AUGUST, 1905,  
ONE HUNDRED YEARS AFTER THE  
DEPARTURE OF LADY NUGENT FROM JAMAICA,  
THIS REPRINT IS DEDICATED

Cambridge University Press

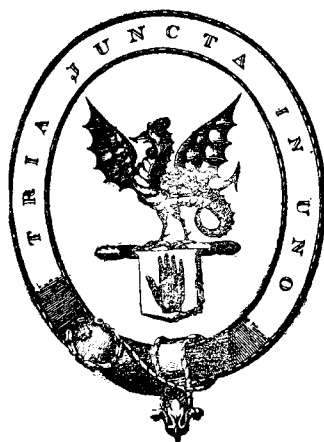
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BOOK-PLATE OF SIR GEORGE NUGENT

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## PREFACE

OF the numerous books which have been published about Jamaica during the two and a half centuries of British occupation Lady Nugent's "Journal" is undoubtedly one of the most interesting. If every lady who has resided at King's House, since the days when Katherine, the ill-fated wife of Sir Charles Lyttelton, dispensed hospitality there for a few short months, had kept a diary like Lady Nugent's, we should be in the possession of a most valuable series of notes for a history of the development of the social life of the colony.

Lady Nugent's diary, we learn from internal evidence, was written for her pleasure and that of her children, and was not intended for publication, making, as it does, the frankest of references to private matters. But the two simple volumes (which were printed in London in 1839 for private circulation only, and are accordingly rarely met with) give a fuller insight into domestic matters in Jamaica, especially those surrounding the Governor and his circle, than we obtain in other writings.

In publishing a reprint of these journals it has been thought advisable to omit some parts which are trivial, some which it is needless to repeat (e.g. "The morning as usual," "N. rode out and I wrote," "Only our own family

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at dinner," "To bed at eight,") and much concerning the daily health of her children, which can be spared from a book intended for public perusal.

Lady Nugent (or Mrs. Nugent, as she then was) evidently made up her mind to eschew politics, the references to political affairs being very brief and occasionally very tantalizing. This is to be regretted, for she might have given us valuable information upon political affairs during the period in which her husband controlled the destiny of Jamaica (1801-1806). Her views on slavery and the condition of the slaves are of considerable interest.

Brief extracts from the portion of her journal dealing with her stay in England have been added, and a few notes have been included from the two volumes of journals kept in India, which were printed at the same time as the Jamaica volumes.

With respect to the illustrations, the portraits of Lady Nugent and Nurse Flora and the view of Government Pen are copied from the plates which, together with an elevation of King's House, formed the illustrations of the original volumes. One wonders whether Nurse Flora and Government Pen are her own productions or those of her instructor in drawing, Mr. Morelle, who had been "only a cook." To these have been added the portrait of Sir George Nugent, copied from an engraving by Woodman after a painting by Downman, to which Lady Nugent makes reference in the latter part of her Journal; a portrait of Admiral Duckworth, who was then naval Commander-in-Chief at Jamaica, and is frequently mentioned in the Journal; portraits of Lady Nugent's father and mother; views of King's House (Spanish Town), Admiral's Pen, and Bryan Castle,

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in Jamaica, and of the office of Lady Nugent's father in Perth Amboy; an illustration of a negro John Canoe, and Sir George Nugent's book-plate. A map of the island of the period of the Journal has also been included, as well as a plan prepared in order to show the places which she and her husband visited, on his tours of inspection.

In order to interfere as little as possible with Lady Nugent's story the notes in the text have been confined to those of a biographical and topographical character. The other notes have been inserted in the form of an introduction, with a view to supplementing the information given by Lady Nugent on Jamaica a hundred years ago. A few obvious misprints in the original Journal have been corrected.

The index contains the name of every person of importance in the colony at the period—naval, military or civilian.

The Editor's thanks are due to Mr. G. F. Judah of Spanish Town for much assistance in the identification of persons and properties in Jamaica, to Professor Hull of Cornell University and Mr. William Nelson, of Paterson, for information with regard to Lady Nugent's parentage, and to the Honourable Cortlandt Parker, of Newark, New Jersey, for portraits of General Skinner and his wife.

It is hoped that the Journal may prove of interest to Jamaicans and others to whom Jamaica history appeals, especially to Lady Nugent's countrymen in America.

F. C.

INSTITUTE OF JAMAICA,  
KINGSTON, JAMAICA.  
*September, 1906.*

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CHRONOLOGY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE  
LIVES OF SIR GEORGE AND LADY NUGENT,  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO JAMAICA

1757. June 10. George Nugent born.  
1771. Maria Skinner (Lady Nugent) born.  
1773. July 5. N. appointed ensign in 39th Foot.  
1777. Sept. N. joined 7th Royal Fusiliers at New York.  
1778. April N. promoted captain in 57th Foot.  
1782. May 3. N. obtained majority in 57th Foot.  
1783. N. promoted colonel in 97th Foot.  
End. N. returned to England.  
1787. N. aide-de-camp to Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Marquis of Buckingham).  
1789. *Revolution in France and in San Domingo.*  
1790. N. became captain and lieutenant-colonel of Coldstream Guards.  
1793. N. elected M.P. for Buckingham.  
Feb. 1. *France declared war against England.*  
N. accompanied the Guards to Holland  
N. raised "Bucks Volunteers" (afterwards 85th Light Infantry) and appointed colonel Nov. 18.  
1794. N. went to Walcheren.  
Oct. *Williamson made Governor of San Domingo.*  
1795. *Spanish portion of San Domingo ceded to France.*  
1796. Oct. 5. *Spain declared war against England.*  
1797. March. *Toussaint l'Ouverture appointed to command troops in San Domingo.*  
Nov. 15. N. married at Belfast Maria, daughter of Courtlandt Skinner, late of New Jersey.  
1798. Aug. *San Domingo evacuated by British.*  
1799. July N. Adjutant-General in Ireland, and represented Charleville, co. Cork, in last Irish Parliament.  
1801. March  
April 1. N. appointed Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Jamaica.  
May 25. Embarked at Portsmouth on *Ambuscade*.  
June 29. Passed the tropic.  
July 20. Anchored at Port Royal, Martinique.  
28. Sighted Jamaica.



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## CHRONOLOGY

1801. July 29. Landed at Port Henderson, and went to Spanish Town.
- Sept. 12. Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour died.
28. Visited Clifton, in Liguanea.
- Oct. 1. „ Papine and Hope.
3. „ Admiral's Pen.
9. Arrival of Admiral Montagu.
20. Assembly met.
- Dec. 12. prorogued.
28. *Le Clerc reached San Domingo.*
1802. Jan. 26. Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth arrived.
- Feb. 4. Visited Bushy Park and Spring Gardens.
10. „ Mr. Israell, in Clarendon.
11. „ Mr. Osborn's, in Vere.
12. „ Pusey Hall and Moneymusk.
13. „ Old Harbour.
24. „ Bog Walk and New Hall.
- March 5. Started on tour round island; visited Simon Taylor's.
6. Visited Albion.
7. „ Cow Bay and Montpelier.
8. „ Lyssons.
9. „ Bath.
10. „ Golden Grove.
11. „ Holland: the Moro.
12. „ Amity Hall and Merton.
13. „ Castle Comfort: the Bog.
14. N. visited maroons at Moor Town.
16. Visited Spring Gardens.
18. „ Kildare and Charlestown.
21. „ Fort Brunswick, Fort George (Port Antonio), Annotto Bay, Agualta Vale, Hopewell.
23. „ Nonsuch.
24. „ the Ramble.
26. „ St. Ann's Bay: Seville.
27. *Treaty of Amiens.*
31. Visited Arcadia.
- April 2. „ Bryan Hall.

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## CHRONOLOGY

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1802. April 4. Visited Falmouth.  
           9.     ,,    Ironshore : Montego Bay.  
          14.     ,,    Knockalva.  
          15.     ,,    Paradise.  
          16.     ,,    Savanna-la-Mar.  
          17.     ,,    Black River.  
          19.     ,,    Lacovia.  
          20.    N. visited Accompong.  
          21.    Visited Derry.  
          22.     ,,    Porus.  
          23.     ,,    Woods : Parnassus.  
          24.     ,,    Old Harbour: home.  
          26.    Arrival of French officers from San Domingo.  
       May 6.    Went to Stony Hill.  
          24.    Review of 2nd West India Regiment.  
       July 12-22. Visited the Decoy, in St. Mary.  
       Aug. 24-27.   ,,    New Hall.  
       Sept. 15.    Aide-de-camp of Le Clerc arrived from San Domingo.  
       Oct. 12.    Birth of a son (George Edmund Nugent).  
       Nov. 1.     *Le Clerc died in San Domingo.*  
       Dec.       Downes Skinner died.  
   1803. Jan. 12.   Incorporation of the town of Kingston.  
       March 14.   Visited Berkshire Hall : the Decoy.  
          22.     ,,    the Ramble.  
       April 22.   Returned home.  
       May 12.    French officers arrived from San Domingo.  
       June 22.    News of war with France and Holland.  
       Aug. 1.     French Deputies from San Domingo arrived.  
       Sept. 8.     Birth of a daughter (Louisa Elizabeth).  
          25.    N. made lieutenant-general.  
   1804. April 4.   Arrival of Admiral Dacres in command of the station.  
       June 9.     Visited Stony Hill.  
       July 7.     Went to Mount Salus.  
       Aug. 13.    King of Mosquito Indians arrived.  
       Sept. 9.     Returned to Spanish Town.  
       Oct. 8.     *Dessalines declared Emperor of Haiti.*

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## CHRONOLOGY

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|-------|-------|-----|---|
| 1804. | Dec.  | 18. | Assembly prorogued.   |
| 1805. | Feb.  | 19. | Duckworth left and Dacres succeeded him.                                      |
|       | March | 10. | Went to Port Henderson.   |
|       | April | 1.  | Martial law declared.   |
|       |       | 19. | Martial law ceased.   |
|       | May   | 24. | Martial law declared.   |
|       | June  | 22. | Martial law ceased.   |
|       |       | 28. | Lady N. and children embarked at Old Harbour on board <i>Augustus Cæsar</i> . |
|       | July  | 6.  | Passed Grand Cayman.  |
|       | Sept. | 4.  | Landed at Weymouth.   |
|       |       | 7.  | Reached London.   |
|       |       | 29. | Visited Stowe.  |
|       | Oct.  | 17. | Returned to London.   |
|       | Nov.  | 2.  | Visited Stowe.  |
|       |       | 18. | Visited Oxford.   |
|       |       | 19. | Visited Bath.   |
|       | Dec.  | 18. | Returned to Stowe.  |
| 1806. | Jan.  | 15. | Returned to Town.   |
|       | Feb.  | 20. | N. left Jamaica.  |
|       | May   | 3.  | N. reached England.   |
|       |       | 26. | N. transferred to colonelcy of 6th Royal Regiment of Foot.                    |
|       | Oct.  | 9.  | Went to Exeter.   |
|       | Nov.  | 28. | N. made a baronet.  |
| 1807. | Jan.  | 29. | Returned to London.   |
|       | April | 27. | Went to Stowe.  |
|       | May   | 9.  | N. elected M.P. for Aylesbury.  |
|       | Dec.  | 5.  | Birth of a son (Edmund).  |
|       |       | 26. | Infant son died.  |
| 1808. | Jan.  | 21. | Returned to London.   |
|       | April | 18. | Went to Tunbridge Wells.  |
|       | July  | 11. | „ Stowe.  |
|       |       | „   | Dublin.   |
|       |       | „   | Glasgow.  |
|       |       | „   | Edinburgh.  |
|       | Oct.  |     | Lady N. purchased Westhorpe House.  |
|       | Nov.  | 14. | Went to Westhorpe.  |
| 1809. | June. |     | N. assumed command of Kent district.  |
|       | July. |     | Went to Ramsgate.   |
|       |       |     | Superintended transmission and return of Walcheren Expedition.                |

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1809. Oct. 18. Returned to Westhorpe.  
           Nov. 16. Birth of a daughter (Emily).  
 1810. Jan. 2. Visited Stowe.  
           4. Lady N.'s mother died.  
 1811. March. N. appointed Commander-in-Chief in India.  
           June 15. Birth of a son (Charles Edmund).  
           July 27. Embarked on *Baring*—East Indiaman.  
           Aug. 14–16. Madeira.  
           Sept. 16. Crossed the line.  
           Oct. 22. Sighted Table Mountain.  
               23–28. South Africa. Stop with Governor, Sir J. Cradock.  
 1812. Jan. 14. Landed at Calcutta.  
           March 22. Miniature by Chinnery.  
           April 4. Lady N.'s brother (General Skinner) arrived.  
           June 1. Sir G. sat for picture.  
           July 1. Commenced tour up Ganges.  
 1813. June 4. N. made a full general.  
           Aug. 9. Back at Calcutta.  
               19. News of Lord Buckingham's death.  
           Oct. 4. Lord Moira, the new Governor-General of Bengal and Commander-in-Chief of the forces in India, arrived.  
               6. Sir G. resigned.  
               12. Sir G. invested with the Order of the Bath.  
           Dec. 28. Left Calcutta.  
 1815. Jan. 15–19. Ceylon.  
           March 27 to April 4. Cape.  
           April 30. St. Helena.  
           May 6. Ascension.  
               N. made a G.C.B.  
 1819. N. made an honorary D.C.L. of Oxford.  
 1819–32. N. represented Buckingham in Parliament.  
 1834. Oct. 24. Lady N. died.  
 1839. "Journals" privately printed.  
 1846. Nov. 9. N. made a field-marshal.  
 1849. March 11. N. died at Waddesdon House, Little Marlow.

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## INTRODUCTION

THE WEST INDIES, 1801-1805

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE NUGENT was Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica from the 27th of July, 1801 to the 20th of February, 1806.

War with France had been continuous since 1793 ; but long before 1801 British naval supremacy had been established. British merchant ships carried on nearly all the trade, and their rivals had been swept from the sea. Martinique and St. Lucia had been captured from France, Trinidad and Tobago from Spain, against whom Great Britain had made good her title to British Honduras; Guiana and Curaçoa were taken from Holland, besides other minor conquests ; and in 1799 Sir Hyde Parker had in eight months taken no less than 47 armed vessels and 225 merchant-men.

In July, 1801, there can have been little fear in Jamaica of foreign aggression other than the privateering raids that were then ever present. On October the 1st of that year the preliminary articles of peace were signed in London, and on the 27th of March, 1802, they were ratified by the Peace of Amiens. England gave up many of her West Indian conquests, but her naval supremacy remained.

The brief interval of peace was utilized by Napoleon in the disastrous attempt to reconquer Haiti, many allusions to which occur in Lady Nugent's Journal. A short summary of the confused history of that unfortunate island at that period is given below.

In 1803 war with France began again, and at the end of 1804 Spain joined her. The British recaptured most of the conquests given up by the Peace of Amiens.

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Sir John Duckworth (whose name is frequently mentioned in the Journal) reported in November, 1803, that his squadron had taken forty-two vessels and destroyed two privateers in the last two months, and he was frequently the recipient of votes of thanks from various bodies in the island.

In 1805 French and Spanish privateers gave some trouble. In April Villeneuve captured an English convoy of fifteen ships, valued at five million sterling.

In that year Jamaica was on tenter-hooks of apprehension of French invasion, while Nelson chased Villeneuve out to the West Indies and back again ; or, as a local poet wrote—

The combined fleet, with near 12,000 men,  
Which sail'd from Europe—has—sail'd *back* again,

and Dacres, the commander-in-chief on the station, detained for its protection four of the six ships of Cochrane's squadron which had come out in chase of Missiessy, and Nelson had hoped would reach him at Barbados.

Lady Nugent, however, seems to have understood better the principles of the "Blue-water School," for she writes in her Journal: "In fact, the security of this island depends mainly on our superiority at sea and the vigilance of our squadrons."

Lady Nugent left Jamaica in June, 1805, but General Nugent was still governor at the time of Trafalgar. The news reached the island on the 28th of December. January 10th was appointed a day of general thanksgiving, and great rejoicings took place ; but it is surprising that the island which paid worthy tribute to Rodney, and commemorated his victory by a dinner on the 12th of April for upwards of a quarter of a century, has allowed Nelson's memory to go unrecorded save for a tablet in Fort Charles, at Port Royal, telling of his sojourn there in early days, and, quite recently, the naming of a battery after him.

While commenting on naval affairs it may be mentioned that William James, the author of the well-known "Naval

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History," lived in Jamaica, and practised as a proctor in the Vice-Admiralty Court. He returned to England in 1812, and did not commence his history till 1819.

The poem given below is a specimen of Jamaica verse-making of the time. It appeared in the *Royal Gazette* in June, 1805.

### LINES ON THE EXPECTED INVASION OF JAMAICA

Sons of Britannia! wield the lance,  
Defend Jamaica's isle,  
Repel the rebel hordes of France,  
Nor let them touch its soil.

Fan in your breasts the gen'rous flames  
That feed the patriot's fire;  
Your country calls—your country claims—  
The noblest deeds inspire.

What! shall this Isle defenceless fall  
A vile usurper's prey?  
O! rather may we perish all  
Than crouch beneath his sway.

Sons of Jamaica! Britain's sons!  
The fiends of discord brave:  
Grasp firm your swords, point sure your guns,  
And meet them on the wave.

O teach, O teach, the daring foe,  
Who threaten'd Britain's shore,  
That British hearts, where'er they go,  
Are lions to the core.

Instruct them that the men they dread  
On England's flow'ry plain,  
Do not in valour aught exceed  
Those on the Western main.

I see, I see, the haughty foe  
Presume to stride our shore,  
I see him sink beneath our blow—  
Then seen, then heard, no more.

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## THE AFFAIRS OF HAITI, 1791-1806

As a Committee of the Jamaica Assembly reported in 1805, "the troubles of St. Domingo . . . originated in the bosom of the legislature of the Mother Country."

Before the outbreak of the French Revolution, in 1789, Haiti\* had advanced further in the art of cultivation than any other West India island; but the majority of the French planters, "flushed with opulence and dissipation, had arrived at a state of sentiment the most vitiated and manners equally depraved. The creole slaves looked upon the newly imported Africans with scorn, and sustained in their turn that of the mulattoes, while all were kept at a distance from the whites." †

On the 15th of May, 1791, the National Assembly decreed equal rights between whites and mulattoes. The blacks (instigated probably by the mulattoes) rebelled; but the rebellion was suppressed with the assistance from Jamaica of Admiral Affleck and H.M.S. *Blonde* and *Daphne*. The commissioners sent out from France to place matters on permanent footing did nothing, and returned.

On the 24th of September, 1791, the National Assembly annulled the decree of May, and the mulattoes and blacks joined in a fresh rebellion.

On the 4th of April, 1792, the National Assembly annulled the decree of the 24th of September, 1791, reaffirmed the principle of the decree of May, 1791, and sent out three fresh commissioners (Santhonax Polverel, and Ailhaud), with 8000 National Guards, to enforce the regulations.

\* Haiti is the native name for the island which was called Hispaniola by the Spaniards. The French sometimes called their colony in the western part San Domingo. Haiti was the name adopted by the founder of the black republic, and is now applied to the western end as distinct from the eastern portion of San Domingo. The whole island is called at times either Haiti or San Domingo.

† *The Black Empire of Haiti*, Rainford. London. 1805.



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The whites objected. Two governors in succession were sent home to France and guillotined. The third resisted. The commissioners enlisted the blacks and mulattoes, offering them freedom and plunder against the whites, and bloody results ensued. Many planters emigrated to the United States, England and Jamaica. One in particular, De Charmilly, influenced the English Government to send instructions to the governor of Jamaica, major-general Williamson, not only to protect the French *émigrés*, but to send an expedition to take possession of such parts of Haiti as were willing to come under the British flag.

For five years, 1793–1798, England occupied stations in Haiti. The commissioners withdrew to France, but the intrigues of the French planters, the ravages of fever, and, finally, the power of Toussaint l'Ouverture, compelled evacuation.

Toussaint l'Ouverture (his cognomen, being due, it is said, to his valour in causing a gap in the ranks of the enemy) was an extraordinary man. A pure negro, born a slave, he made his way by character and ability. He ruled Haiti for four years with such success that, in spite of the previous wars and devastations, he obtained an agricultural crop equal to one-third of the best year of the French planters.\* He took steps to establish freedom of worship, formed an efficient police with the assistance of white men, framed laws and maintained peace not only in Haiti, but also nearly throughout San Domingo.

It is significant, however, to note that he, the first negro in command of a number of Africans in anything like a state of civilization, felt the need of enforcing labour in the fields by military supervision.

On the 1st of October, 1801, preliminary articles of peace between England and France were signed, and Napoleon selected Haiti as a place of employment for his soldiers.

On the 25th of January, 1802, General Le Clerc (Napoleon's

\* In 1788 San Domingo exported 83 million lbs. of coffee.

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brother-in-law) reached Haiti with 25,000 French soldiers. The Haitians resisted, and the savage war lasted nearly two years. Toussaint was treacherously taken prisoner—torn from his family by Le Clerc's order and shipped to France. He, "the most unhappy man of men," died in April, 1803, in the prison of Joux, near Besançon.

On the 1st of November, 1802, Le Clerc died, "leaving in the memory of his opponents a name blackened by the worst of crimes unatoned for by one single virtue," and the command devolved on Rochambeau (a planter), a worthy successor.

The leadership of the Haitians passed to Dessalines, who was both cruel and treacherous.

In July, 1803, war between France and England began again. A British squadron blockaded Haiti, and cut off French supplies.

On the 19th of November, 1803, Rochambeau capitulated to Dessalines. The British squadron captured three French frigates, twenty smaller vessels, and 8000 prisoners, and took them to Jamaica, where the cost of their maintenance was a source of much discussion between the Governor and the Assembly. Of the prisoners, about 1000 were on parole, and a source of much anxiety; the remainder were in "prison ships." This war cost France no less than twenty general officers and 40,000 men. The losses by fever were enormous.

On the 1st of January, 1804, Haiti declared her Independence, and on the 8th of October Dessalines was crowned as Emperor. The population was estimated at about 350,000, of whom 270,000 were agriculturists, 35,000 soldiers, the rest domestics, artisans, and the like.

Dessalines wished to restore to Haiti the prosperity it had enjoyed under Toussaint, but his rule was too bloody. He is said to have murdered 2400 people, white and coloured alike. Fear of disturbance spreading to Jamaica was very real. Haitian emigrants to Jamaica were considered dangerous; proclamations were issued against them by

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both Governor and Mayor and Corporation of Kingston, and many were shipped to New Orleans. So little did Dessalines realize his true mission as a negro leader that he tried to arrange with the British Government for the purchase of slaves, offering to open Haitian ports to British slave-ships.

He was murdered by a mulatto on the 17th of October, 1806.

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## CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF JAMAICA, 1801-1805

The House of Assembly consisted during Nugent's governorship of forty-three members. The names of the members in 1801, and the constituencies they represented, are given in the table below.

The franchise, established by the law of 1681, for appointing the members of the Assembly, was still in force in 1802—"Freeholders in the same parish where the election is to be made." At a by-election in 1804, in St. Andrew, seventy-nine freeholders voted, forty-six for the successful candidate. The House met in Spanish Town, usually from October to Christmas, the time of year when the planters could be absent from their estates with least inconvenience.

The House voted about £15,000\* a year for the maintenance of such roads as might be necessary to encourage settlers to cultivate lands at a distance from the sea. The money was paid in sums varying from £50 to £400 to groups of landowners for specific roads, the almost invariable result being that they reported in the following session that they had done the best they could with the money voted to them, but that they wanted more to complete the job. In those days a carriage road was made from Bull Bay, through Dallas Castle and Hall's Delight, to Hope. The road between Spanish Town and Kingston was under the direction of special commissioners. It is worthy of note that one reason that a squadron attended Nugent on his tours was that the state of the roads might render passage by sea desirable.

A survey of the island was made between 1800 and 1805 by James Robertson, and maps engraved on a scale of one inch to the mile, at a cost of £7500.† No regular cadastral

\* The sums mentioned in this chapter are all Jamaica currency, of which £1 was then only worth 12s. sterling.

† The three maps of the counties with a key map, on a scale of  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch to a mile, were published at a cost of twenty-one guineas the set.

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survey has ever been made of Jamaica, though the question has been considered, and estimates prepared varying from £66,000 to £100,000.

The town of Kingston was incorporated on the 12th of January, 1803, under the name of "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the city and parish of Kingston." It forthwith passed ordinances relating to the Sabbath, distilling and sale of spirits, markets, slaughter-houses, fishing in the harbour, streets, lanes, penguin fences, riding, driving, drays, wherries, churchwardens, treasurers, blacksmiths, seamen, crimps, hiring of slaves, hawkers, pedlars, higglers, and dogs. Bread cost 7½d. for a 16 oz. loaf. A chaise and horses from the eleventh milestone on the Windward Road to Kingston cost £2, to Morant Bay £6 10s. Internal posts went (i) to leeward [i.e. westward]: (ii) to the north side: (iii) to windward [i.e. eastward] and (iv) to St. Mary, St. George and Portland. The mail packet to England sailed once a month.

The Church of England was established by law: jurisdiction having been given to the Bishop of London in 1748, and in 1800 Ecclesiastical Commissioners were appointed in Jamaica. The island was divided into twenty parishes. Each parish had a rector, with stipend of £420 a year and rectory. The rectors were in sympathy with the planters, and in many cases, if not actually opposed to, were lukewarm in carrying out any attempt to educate or even Christianize the slaves. A most intolerant Act\* was rushed through the House on the 17th of December, 1802, forbidding any unqualified person from preaching to the negroes. Nugent approved it on the following day. Three Methodists applying to be qualified were refused by the magistrates who said they ought to be committed for daring to address the court. Another was sentenced to hard labour for a month for singing, which was declared to mean preaching. Another was sent to the workhouse. The Act was disallowed by the King in Privy

\* An Act to prevent preaching by persons not duly qualified by law.

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Council on the 23rd of April, 1804. The Assembly protested vigorously. Nugent was a religious man, and well aware, as the Journal records, of the lethargic condition of the clergy, but was probably unable to oppose the intolerance of the Assembly.

The principal newspapers were *The Royal Gazette* and the *St. Jago Gazette*, published in Spanish Town, and the *Cornwall Chronicle*, in Montego Bay. They consisted largely of extracts from English papers and advertisements. There was also a *Daily Advertiser*, published in Kingston; and the *Kingston Chronicle* was started in 1805.

The lavish hospitality of the period is well described in the Journal.

## THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, 1801

| CONSTITUENCY                 | NAMES OF MEMBERS    |                 |
|------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| St. Catherine . . .          | Philip Redwood      | E. P. Lyon      |
|                              | Wm. Mitchell        |                 |
| Port Royal . . .             | Fairlie Christie    | James Stewart   |
|                              | George Cuthbert     |                 |
| Kingston . . .               | Eliphalet Fitch     | John Jaques     |
|                              | Alexander Shaw      |                 |
| St. Andrew . . .             | John Dawson         | Thomas Kaylett  |
| St. Thomas-in-the-Vale . . . | Lewis Cuthbert      | Robert Ross     |
| St. Dorothy . . .            | Wm. Jackson         | Robert Ogilvie  |
| St. John . . .               | William Thompson    | John Quier      |
| Clarendon . . .              | John Henckell       | Joseph Israell  |
| Vere . . .                   | J. P. Edwards       | Alexander Schaw |
| St. Elizabeth . . .          | J. J. Swaby         | H. Spooner      |
| Westmoreland . . .           | W. R. Johnson       | C. Mitchell     |
| Hanover . . .                | Richard H. Reid     | T. P. Tharpe    |
| St. James . . .              | John Mowat          | John Perry      |
| Trelawny . . .               | James Stewart       | P. Smith        |
| St. Ann . . .                | Alexander Fullerton | James Henry     |
| St. Mary . . .               | Charles Grant       | T. Murphy       |
| St. George . . .             | Henry Shirley       | David Sherriff  |
| Portland . . .               | Charles Bryan       | J. S. Minot     |
| St. Thomas-in-the-East . . . | Simon Taylor        | { Kean Osborne  |
| St. David . . .              | Robert Telfer       | { (the Speaker) |
|                              |                     | William Ker     |