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**THE LETTERS OF SIMON  
TAYLOR OF JAMAICA  
TO CHALONER ARCEDEKNE,  
1765–1775**

**Edited by Betty Wood  
with the assistance of T.R. Clayton and W.A. Speck**

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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## **EDITORIAL NOTE**

This collection includes all the letters written by Simon Taylor to Chaloner Arcedekne and his brother-in-law, Benjamin Cowell, between 1765 and 1775. It does not include the periodic enumeration and description of the enslaved people on Golden Grove Estate and Batchelors Hall Pen. The letters are published in their entirety and no attempt has been made to 'modernize' Taylor's often-inconsistent spelling. Wherever appropriate, however, punctuation marks and paragraph breaks have been inserted in the text to assist the reader.

## INTRODUCTION

Between 1765 and 1801 Simon Taylor, one of the most important landowners in Jamaica, wrote regularly to Chaloner Arcedekne, an absentee proprietor who lived in Heveningham Hall in Suffolk. There is a gap in the correspondence between 1775 and 1781, so that the first decade's letters can be presented, as they are here, on their own.

According to Richard Sheridan, one of the leading modern historians of the eighteenth-century Caribbean, Taylor 'may have exercised greater influence in Jamaica, and for a longer period, than any other individual'.<sup>1</sup> Born in Jamaica in 1740, but educated like Arcedekne at Eton, Taylor served as a member of the Jamaican Assembly continuously from 1768 to 1781 and again from 1784 to 1810. Chaloner Arcedekne, born about 1743, also entered politics, being a Member of Parliament for Wallingford from 1780 to 1784 and for Westbury from 1784 to 1786. He was associated with Lord Shelburne and voted with the opposition in the years 1780 to 1782. He supported the Rockingham and Shelburne ministries, but opposed the Fox–North coalition, voting against Fox's India Bill. He was returned in 1784 as a Pittite, but left politics two years later for reasons that can only be surmised. Perhaps he was sensitive about the growing commitment to the abolition of the slave trade among his associates. For as owner of Golden Grove plantation on Jamaica he was one of the more prominent slave-owning MPs. Taylor looked after his interests on the island as his letters reveal. Whilst writing to him concerning the management of his Jamaican estates, Taylor frequently commented to him about the current state of domestic politics in the island and issues involving the imperial connection with Britain. These detailed and often highly picturesque letters form without question the most important collection of private correspondence appertaining to the political history of Jamaica in the period they cover. They clearly confirm Sheridan's insistence on the significance of Simon Taylor, though he was unaware of their existence. They have come to light in recent years among the Heveningham Hall manuscripts now preserved in Cambridge University Library where they are catalogued as the Vanneck papers.

The editors are grateful to the Trustees of the Heveningham Hall manuscripts for granting permission to transcribe and publish these letters.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Sheridan, 'Simon Taylor, sugar tycoon of Jamaica, 1740–1813', *Agricultural History*, 45 (1971), p. 286.

## THE LETTERS

### 1. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 26 March 1765

I hope this will find you safe arrived in England after a speedy and agreeable passage and that you will find all your friends is well in your part of the World [torn]. Came from Leeward last Sunday Evening & have not as yett had an Opportunity of seeing your Mother & aunt<sup>1</sup> but am inform'd they are very well. This serves also to acquaint you that have sent to Messrs. Hilton & Biscoe<sup>2</sup> p. this Convoy an Invoice of the Weights of fifty Hdds.<sup>3</sup> of Sugar ship'd on Board the *Morant* Capt. Raffles<sup>4</sup> and fifty Hdds. ship'd on board the *Brilliant* Capt. Millar. I have also sent them the Bills of Lading you will be pleased to order the necessary Insurance on them. Mr. Graham<sup>5</sup> and I have advised them also.

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Kearsay (or Kersey) (d. 1778) was a widow when, probably in the mid-1730s, Andrew Arcedekne hired her as his housekeeper. Andrew Arcedekne, who was born in 1681, was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1710 but there is no record of his having been called to the Bar. If, as seems likely, he was a Roman Catholic this would have been an avenue denied him. In 1716 Arcedekne emigrated to Jamaica where he patented land in St Thomas in the East. In the same year he became the Island's Attorney-General, a post he held for a year. Arcedekne's political career began in 1718 when he was elected as a Member of the House of Assembly for St Catherine. He finally relinquished his seat in the Assembly in 1757. Two children were born to Andrew Arcedekne and Elizabeth Kersey, Anne, born in 1738 or 1739, and Chaloner, born in 1743 or 1744. Elizabeth remained in Jamaica after Andrew's death in 1763 until her own death fifteen years later. Vere Langford Oliver, *CARIBBEANA; Being Miscellaneous Papers Relating to the History, Genealogy, Topography and Antiquities of the British West Indies*, 6 vols (London, 1910-), II, p. 175; 'English commemorative sculpture in Jamaica', *The Jamaican Historical Review*, 9 (1972), p. 46; Land Patents, XVI, fo. 98, Island Record Office, Spanish Town. The aunt referred to here was Elizabeth Kearsay's widowed sister, Frances Harris. The two women shared a house in Spanish Town.

<sup>2</sup> A merchant house based in London.

<sup>3</sup> A common abbreviation for a hogshead, which was a barrel or cask used for the transportation of liquids, such as rum, and dry goods, such as sugar. A hogshead might contain anywhere from 50 to 140 gallons. There were similar variations in the weight of the dry goods that could be packed into any particular hogshead. This was why bills of lading, which were necessary for securing insurance from English-based firms as well as for ascertaining the value of particular cargoes, always included the volume or weight of every hogshead transported.

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin Raffles was the father of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. The latter was born on the merchant ship *Ann*, captained by his father, off Port Morant, on 7 July 1781. In June 1797 the death was reported in Falmouth, Jamaica, of 'Captain Raffles of the ship *Sebastina*'. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, IV, p. 270.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Graham (1735-1797) was born in Scotland and emigrated to Jamaica in 1752. Despite his youth he was appointed Receiver General of the island as the deputy for his

You will I hope by my next receive the [torn] hdds. ship'd on board the *Kingston* Capt. Ellis on which you will be pleased to order also the necessary Insurance in case You Chuse to Insure all they are all three very good ships. I am inform'd Ellis seems unwilling to send up to the Rivers Mouth for Sugars but will endeavor to oblige all the ships that gett any Sugars to fetch them as I apprehend it will be more for your advantage to ship them at the Rivers mouth than at Port Morant as it saves Carriage.

I have heard several times lately from Mr. Kelly.<sup>6</sup> He acquaints me every thing is very well at Golden Grove.<sup>7</sup> The weather very good and that he is making Sugar very fast & very good. Intend going up the beginning of the next Month and seeing how every thing is and will acquaint you.

Mr. Kelly writes me you ordered him to Ship two hundred casks which you may depend shall be done by the very first ships. I am in hopes from the favourableness of the Weather for your Estate that we I mean your Attorneys will be able with the greatest Conveniency to your affairs to assist you [torn] for this will certainly be a heavy year on you for you for Expences in the prosecuting the grand Matter which I really think there cannot be the least doubt of your happily accomplishing.

Mr. Laing<sup>8</sup> is at present at Leeward at his Estate. He sent you the Negroes I think twelve Women.

absentee relation, Thomas Graham, a post he held until 1764. In 1763 Graham married Simon Taylor's sister Anne, and either in 1764 or 1765 the brothers-in-law formed a mercantile business that lasted until 1770 or 1771 when Graham returned to Scotland. Between 1766 and 1768 Graham sat as a Member of the House of Assembly for St David's. In 1770 or 1771 he inherited the estate of Ardoch, in Scotland, from his kinsman Nicol Bontine and changed his name to Robert Bontine of Ardoch. Back in Scotland he secured something of a reputation as a poet; his most famous work being entitled 'Doughty Deeds'. Graham corresponded regularly with Simon Taylor and also forged a close relationship with Simon's brother, Sir John Taylor (see note 109 below). Towards the end of his life, Graham was elected as a Member of Parliament for Stirlingshire (1795–1796). For more details see R.B. Cunninghame Graham, *Doughty Deeds: An Account of the Life of Robert Graham of Gartmore, Poet and Politician, 1735–1797 Drawn from his Letter-Books and Correspondence* (London, 1925).

<sup>6</sup> John Kelly, who also owned a jobbing gang, was the main overseer on Golden Grove. He held this position until the 1780s. The will of a John Kelly was proved in Jamaica in 1805, but it cannot be conclusively established that this was the same John Kelly. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 117.

<sup>7</sup> The sugar plantation in St Thomas in the East that, despite the doubts raised about his legitimacy, Chaloner finally inherited from his father in the mid-1760s.

<sup>8</sup> Malcolm Laing (1718–1781) was born in Britain and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. The exact date of his emigration to Jamaica is uncertain but once there he established himself as a successful merchant. In the early 1770s Laing sat as a Member of the Assembly for St Thomas in the Vale. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, II, p. 176; III, p. 577.

Your Cosin Robin Arcedekne<sup>9</sup> is at present very ill with the Gout in his Stomach.

The Assembly met the nineteenth Agreeable to the proclamation. Our Friend young Mr. Price<sup>10</sup> was Unanimously Chosen Speaker and demanded the priviledges which the Governor<sup>11</sup> Granted. The Assembly next desired that he should cancel the decree as they could not proceed to business while under such a Stigma on which he has prorogued it to the sixteen of September I apprehend to gett advices from Britain to know how he shall proceed. The Country is all this time without taxes. Where it will End God knows. The Number for the Governor was four against thirty two Exclusive of the Speaker. Will send you p. Miller the proceedings [tom]. I was not at the Contest myself and came from North side the day after the prorogation.

All your friends here are very well and ardently wish you Success. You may depend on my doing every thing that I think can be conducive to Your Interest which I will take as much care of as my own you may be assured will Render you every Service in my power [tom]. Sincerest wishes for your prosperity and success and beg our Compliments to your Brother and Sister<sup>12</sup> and shall at all times be excessive proud to serve you and them to the utmost of our Abilities and if any thing occurs that you can profitably want from hence be kind enough to acquaint me.

<sup>9</sup> It is unclear whether Robin Arcedekne had been born in Jamaica or had emigrated to the island.

<sup>10</sup> Charles Price Jr, who succeeded his father as second Baronet, was one of the most influential figures in mid-eighteenth-century Jamaican politics. For many years he represented St Catherine's in the Assembly and in the 1760s served as its Speaker. He was centrally involved in the 'privilege controversy' of the mid 1760s. (See note 11 below.) The Price family was listed among Jamaica's largest landowners and their main plantation, Worthy Park, was one of the island's premier sugar estates. For more details see Michael Craton, *A Jamaican Plantation: The History of Worthy Park, 1670-1970* (London, 1970).

<sup>11</sup> William Henry Lyttelton (1724-1808), subsequently Baron Lyttelton of Frankley, was educated at Eton College and St Mary's Hall, Oxford and called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1744. Between 1744 and 1755 he served as the Member of Parliament for Bewdley in Worcestershire. He was appointed Governor of South Carolina in 1755, a post he held until his relocation to Jamaica in 1762. Lyttelton served in Jamaica until 1766, when he was named as Britain's ambassador to Portugal. He was the author of *An Historical Account of the Constitution of Jamaica* (1764). For more details of the 'privilege controversy' referred to by Taylor, see George Metcalf, *Royal Government and Political Conflict in Jamaica, 1729-1783* (London, 1965), pp. 160-167; T.R. Clayton, 'Sophistry, security and socio-political struggles in the American Revolution; or, why Jamaica did not rebel', *The Historical Journal*, 29 (1986), pp. 319-344; and Jack P. Greene, 'The Jamaican privilege controversy, 1764-1766: an episode in the process of constitutional definition in the early modern British Empire', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 22 (1994), pp. 16-52.

<sup>12</sup> Malcolm Cowell was married to Chaloner Arcedekne's sister, Anne.

## 2. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Yallahs Bay, 16 April 1765

On my way down to Town I mett Mr. Allpress,<sup>13</sup> Who acquaints me that Capt. Millar is coming up this afternoon to sail tomorrow which occasions this Short letter to you to acquaint you have sent a Bill of Lading of 50 Hdds. of Sugar to Messrs. Hilton & Biscoe shipt on Board the *Friendship* Capt. Thompson who will sail the 22 Instant. I will certainly send you the Invoice p. the very first Vessell that sails not having time to make it now.

Was up at Golden Grove for three days and have the pleasure to acquaint you, you are making as fine Sugars there as it is possible for Sugar to be and you will make a very fine Crop in case the dry weather continues. You have not lost a Mule or Steer yet since the Crop began and every thing in my opinion is in very good order and your Negroes happy.

Shall send you 50 Hdds. p. the *America* Capt. Lauchlan McLean and 50 p. the *Kingston* Capt. Ellis. You will give your orders to Messrs. Hilton & Biscoe in case you chuse to Insure them.

I desired Mr. Kelly to Distill two puncheons<sup>14</sup> of Rum for your own use and to ship them on Board Capt. Raffles shall also send you a Turtle by him and one by Capt. Thompson and shall make an agreement with all the Capts. that gett sugar from me to carry you home one as they are allways an agreeable present to make to your Friends. Am in hopes we shall send you home a great deal of Sugar and whenever gett some more Negroes hope your Estate will Nett you as much as your most sanguine Expectations can amount to at least it shall not be my fault if it does not.

Reed was with me a few days ago about O'Brian's Negroes.<sup>15</sup> I shall be at Spanish Town on Wednesday and see your Mother and Mr. Laing about it and will acquaint you the Result as also every thing we can find regarding it in the office and the people at Windward will follow your directions.

<sup>13</sup> A highly successful planter, Samuel Allpress sat in the Jamaican Assembly as one of the members for Vere. Subsequently he would secure a seat on the island's Royal Council. Jamaican Assembly (1765) Public Record Office, Kew, CO 140/44, ff. nn.; Jamaican Assembly, Minutes, CO 140/46, p. 265.

<sup>14</sup> A puncheon was a cask, or barrel, that was used for the shipping of both liquids and dry goods. Usually it contained eighty-four gallons.

<sup>15</sup> No further information about either person has been located.



### 3. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 18 April 1765

Inclosed one Copy of 2 off mine to you one of March 26 and the other of 14 Instant and Copy of the Invoices of 50 Hdds. of Sugar on the *Morant* Capt. Benjamin Raffles 50 Hdds. on Board the *Brilliant* Frigate Capt. Millar 50 Hdds. on board the *Friendship* Capt. Thomson. I had not time to send you weights of those on board the *Friendship* by Millar but have sent them now Annex'd. I sincerely wish them safe to hand and that they will fetch a good price I am sure they would here.

[Notes that he has delivered the turtles mentioned in the previous letter to Thompson and Raffles.]

Have not been able yett to go to Spanish Town on Acct. of the Rainy weather we have had these three days past which am afraid will putt you back at Golden Grove. When was there Mr. Kelly told me that the Crop would be very late being able to keep only one mill about by which he was afraid in Case the Rains fell heavily in May he would destroy some of the Stock in taking it off and reduce the Rest low which would putt us back with the Materials for the Still House and advised the Hiring of some Negroes so as to keep all the Coppers about. I was of the same opinion myself especially as there are a great many Canes still to cut and in case we are very late this year it will infallibly occasion a very great loss in the plant or make us very late in putting about in the year 1767 which may make a very great difference both in the quantity and quality of your goods. I am sure for my own part have been a very great sufferer by being allways backward with my plants and Oxford Estate having turned out so well for many years past is in my opinion owing to nothing but their being allways very early but did not chuse to do it without consulting Mr. Laing who agreed that we should hire some Negroes. I wrote Mr. Kelly accordingly to hire some if he could gett any and at the most moderate price. I assure were your Estate my own I would do it for am certain it will be an advantage to you.

I have engaged fifty more Hdds. to send you on Board the *Susanna* Capt. John Baird who loads at Manchioneal and have sent up a stock of Herrings (Rice for your new Negroes) and several little things which altho they were not instantly wanted yett would be in the course of a Month or 5 weeks on board her as she carried them up without Freight.

I wrote Mr. Laing has sent you up twelve women but find he sent up twenty four. They were well looking but about 4 of them a little weak but will do very well. You could not have got the like from any of the factors here under £52 apiece.

Mr. Kelly sent us down about 14 days ago ten Hdds. of your Sugar

which sold here for 33/- p. ct.<sup>16</sup> I apprehend also that Sugar will rise with you as we hear here the Crops in the Windward Islands are fallen very short and I am certain this Island falls from 15 to 20,000 Hdds. short indeed if was to say more believe I should be right. All your friends here are well and desire to be remembered to you. Mr. Graham likewise sends you a few lines Inclosed. I have not heard whether Kelly has as yett ship'd the two puncheons of Rum on Board Raffles but am pretty sure he will not forgett it.

PS Mr. Kelly when was up askt for some Ale as he says your Friends who sometimes come like it. I have therefore sent him a Cask but told him could make no Custom of it as it was a thing Seldom Askd but I am hopefull it will not be thrown away as he is usually very industrious and draws [*illegible*]. Am persuaded the Crop will please you.

#### 4. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Lyssons,<sup>17</sup> 23 April 1765

I wrote you a long letter a few days ago by the Vessell that carries this which hope you will receive safe. I am extreamply sorry to inform you of the Dismal flood of Rain we had in this parish Thursday night last the 16 Inst. which has play'd the Devil with almost all the Estates in this parish. The following Acct. I had from Mr. Kelly the day before yesterday from Golden Grove. That five of the Bridges a Wain the flood gate little House were carried away and the Dam very much hurt the whole Estate was under water except 2 Hills next to Stokes Hall,<sup>18</sup> 2 Steers all the small stock on the Estate drown'd, a White man of Carters<sup>19</sup> was near drowning asleep below stairs that they miss 2 Mules & 7 head of Cattle from the Pen on the Estate. He had not heard from Batchelors Hall<sup>20</sup> when he wrote. All the salt provisions on

<sup>16</sup> A common abbreviation for a hundredweight, or 120 pounds.

<sup>17</sup> Lyssons Plantation, in St Thomas in the East, belonged to Simon Taylor. It was named for Nicholas Lycence, one of Jamaica's earliest settlers. Frank Cundall, *Historic Jamaica* (London, 1913), p. 250.

<sup>18</sup> Stokes Hall, an estate of just over 800 acres, was in St Thomas in the East. B.W. Higman, *Jamaica Surveyed: Plantation Maps and Plans of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, designed by Dennis Ranston (Jamaica: Institute of Jamaica Publications, 1988), pp. 231–232.

<sup>19</sup> Ambrose Carter, who owned a plantation in St Thomas in the East.

<sup>20</sup> Chaloner Arcedekne owned Batchelors Hall, a cattle pen in St Thomas in the East that supplied Golden Grove. For a discussion of Jamaican pens and pen-keepers see Verene A. Shepherd, 'Pens and pen-keepers in a plantation society: aspects of Jamaican social and economic history, 1740–1845', (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1988).

the Estate spoilt the same is the Case with Every Estate in the River the Roads are allmost impassable.

I am so far in my way to your Estate and will give you a more distinct acct. by Raffles who sails in a few days. Tom Cussans<sup>21</sup> has lost £500 of Cattle from Winchester pen<sup>22</sup> there are three large River Courses through Rossell every water Work in the parish has mett with some damage great part of Amity Hall<sup>23</sup> Guttering is carried away & Stanton's Estate allmost ruin'd. It is inconceivable what devastations it has made. All my Cane pieces on my Lower Estate were under water. Scott<sup>24</sup> has suffred greatly indeed there is not an Estate in the parish but is very much injured. It is a very great loss to you for you had the appearance a fortnight ago of making the largest Crop that was made from one Estate in this Island. It was not so violent at Yallahs but they had a great Rain there.

Your Overseer Kelly has a Touch of the Fever. I shall be up in the Morning and will do every thing in my power to gett your Mill about again as soon as possible for fear we should have such another Salution in May. All your Staves Copperwood & Empty Puncheons on the Estate were carried away & the Trash Houses very much hurt.

I heard tonight from your Mother who was very well as also your Aunt.

[Notes that he has 'sent on board with this a very fine young Turtle'.]

## 5. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Lyssons, 30 April 1765

I wrote you the 23 p. Thompson acquainting you of a prodigious flood of Rain that has been in this parish 16 Instant. The following is a copy of what I wrote

[Repeats account in previous letter.]

Since the above was at Golden Grove and find the flood has been very

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Cussans, the son of Thomas and Mary Cussans, was born in Jamaica in 1739. He matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, in the spring of 1755. Upon his return to Jamaica he soon became one of the island's most eminent sugar planters. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 265.

<sup>22</sup> Cussans inherited Winchester Pen, in St Thomas in the East, from his father; *ibid.* Chaloner Arcedekne bought it from him in 1773. (See Letter 61).

<sup>23</sup> The Cussans family owned Amity Hall plantation, in the valley of Plantain Garden River. Higman, *Jamaica Surveyed*, pp. 233–234.

<sup>24</sup> George Scott, the owner of Hordley Plantation. He married the daughter of John Cussans, Thomas Cussans's brother. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 265.

great there. We were well advanced in the Crop or it would have hurt you excessively. What is very extraordinary there was very little Rain with the flood at your Estate and it Rained so hard at Port Morant and Morant Bay as to sink all the Ships boats in less than two hours. It has tore up the Canes from their Roots and in some places heaped up the Trash three or four feet high over the Standing Canes and on many places where they had been cutt carried it intirely off. The Timber for the Still house was carried away most part and is now lying in yours and Duckingfield Hall<sup>25</sup> Cane pieces. It is Surprising you did not meet with more loss of Cattle and Negroes the latter being obliged to gett upon the Tops of their houses to save themselves. I think that Duckingfield Hall has suffred more than you for being Lower down. Your Trash lodged in their Canes whereas on the other side Holland<sup>26</sup> lies so low Amity Hall Trash went clear over their Canes.

We have thank God gott the Mill about again and are making tolerable good Sugar. I was obliged to hire 30 Negroes to gett the Canes off for by Lying tore up by their Roots they will not by and by make Rum. I would indeed if possible have hired more Negroes to keep all the Coppers flush but could not gett them to hire for the Canes are so entangled they take double the quantity of Cutters than if they were standing. I hope after all we shall make a pretty good Crop.

The Smallpox is among your Negroes 7 or 8 lying now down. They are at Lewis's penn and very good care is taken of them and the pock is favourable so hope they will do well. You buried a very fine fellow a Driver named Humphrey within a few days ago. If you think proper intend purchasing 24 Men about Christmas for it will be impossible to keep up the Estate at such great Crops as it ought to make without it except by pushing your Negroes too much and killing them which am sure will not be for your advantage.

I have sent to Hilton and Biscoe a bill of Lading for 2 Puncheons of Rum shipt on Board Raffles. They did not gauge them at the Estate so can not tell you the Quantity of Gallons, distilled on purpose for yourself marked CA N1 & 2 which wish safe to your hands.

*[Notes that he has sent a turtle to Hilton and Biscoe.]*

I forgott to tell you, you lost only one Steer at Batchelors Hall your

<sup>25</sup> Duckenfield Hall consisted of roughly 2,400 acres. The estate, which was owned by the absentee planter Nathaniel Phillips, was located in the valley of Plantain Garden River, across from Holland and Golden Grove.

<sup>26</sup> At this time John Kennion owned Holland Plantation. Simon Taylor purchased the estate from him in 1771. (See Letter 54).

Carpenter that built the Roofs of your Curing and Boiling House was [*illegible*].

## 6. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 15 June 1765

Inclosed send you the Copys of my several letters to you of 10 April 23 & 30 do. and hope to hear soon from you that those several ships are safe arrived and that the quality of the Goods answers your Expectation. The reason you did not hear since that time from me is because I was obliged to go down to Savannah La Mar to take care of Mr. Richards<sup>27</sup> Estates. Mr. Graham wrote to Messrs. Hilton and Biscoe and sent them the Bills of Loading of fifty Hhds. of Sugar on the *America* Captain Lauchlan Mclean. I herewith send you the invoice of them. He will certainly sail before the 25 of next Month. To save the double Insurance Mr. Laing also acquaints me he sent you advice to insure fifty Hhds. on board the *Charming Nancy* Captain William Foster who could only take 20 on board. Inclosed is also an Invoice of the Goods on board him. I likewise send you inclosed the Invoice of fifty Hhds. on board the *Kingston* Capt. Ellis both which ships sail the 1 of next Month at furthest. We shall also putt on board the *Susanna* Capt. Baird about thirty Hhds. I hope she will be able to sail before the 25 of next Month. We shall not be able to send you any Rum by her for the flood and Rainy weather has hurt your Estate Exceedingly in so much that upwards of two hundred and twenty acres which were to cut when the flood came on have made no more than fifty Hhds. of Sugar and your Crop is now done having made about three hundred and seventy Hhds.

It was excessively lucky you had so much made when the flood came on. All your neighbours are much worse off than you. I assure you it has not been owing to any neglect but by reasons which is out of our power to prevent. You have a very good appearance of a Crop next year and we will endeavour to put about as soon as we did this to gett it off.

Your Sugars that came to this Markett sold very well at 33 & 33.6.9 & 34/-. I hope they will turn out as well with you. I would advise you not to be in a hurry in selling them for this Island falls 20000 Hhds. short this year. In St Marys where they had the greatest appearance of a Crop the Rainy weather prevents their going about and Zachary

<sup>27</sup> Probably George Richards, a merchant and planter, who was brother-in-law to Thomas and John Cussans. J.H. Lawrence-Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions of the British West Indies from the Earliest Date* (London, 1875), p. 97.

Bayly<sup>28</sup> told me two or three days ago that he Expected to have made at his Estate there 1000 Hhds. but would now compound for 600.

I have paid Mr. Laing for the 24 Women you had from him so he will not draw on you as you Expected.

Your Old Correspondent John Burke<sup>29</sup> has sent out a power of Attorney to Reisset, Jeffray & Yelloly<sup>30</sup> against your Father's Estate and you for a Ballance due by the Old Gentleman and by you for two pipes<sup>31</sup> of Wine. I apprehend he will call on you. If they call on me will pay it to prevent their being able to say any ill natured thing which they may be very inclinable to do.

I had a very long talk two days ago with Robert Arcedekne<sup>32</sup> who advised me in regard about Obrians Negroes which was to putt the proof on Reed in every particular and not to let the Marshall Come on the Estate which I told Kelly off. He told me if Dawkins<sup>33</sup> brought an ejection for the Land at the Riversmouth to plead the Law for quieting possession which is a Law of this Country for that he himself can prove 20 odd years possession and also told me he did not believe they could ever recover it from you.

There was a Gentleman from Ireland one Squire Burke<sup>34</sup> came over

<sup>28</sup> Zachary Bayly (1721–1769) was one of the richest and most influential planter-politicians in mid-eighteenth century Jamaica. His landholdings included around 1,100 acres in St Thomas in the East and 300 acres in St Andrew Parish. At his death he also owned six plantations in St Mary Parish (Trinity, Tryal, Bayly's Vale, Brimmer, Nonsuch, and Unity) as well as roughly 3,000 acres in pens. He bequeathed Nonsuch and Unity plantations to his nephew, Bryan Edwards. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, pp. 42, 378.

<sup>29</sup> One of the Irish branch of the family still contesting the validity of Andrew Arcedekne's will.

<sup>30</sup> Merchants based in Kingston.

<sup>31</sup> A measure of liquid capacity equal to approximately 126 gallons.

<sup>32</sup> Robert Arcedekne was Chaloner Arcedekne's cousin. In the mid-1760s he sat in the House of Assembly as one of the members for St Ann. Arcedekne's main residence was in St Mary's Parish, where he owned a plantation worked by 212 slaves. He also held another property in St Catherine's that was worked by six slaves. When he died in 1768 he left bequests to his brother Nicholas and his sister Margaret Foster, both of whom lived in Ireland; the bulk of his estate went to his cousin, Nicholas Bourke. Jamaican Assembly (1765) Public Record Office, Kew, CO 140/44, ff. nn.; Inventory of Robert Arcedekne, 1 June 1769, 8 June 1769, Inventories, Island Record Office, Spanish Town, XLVI (1769), fos 216–218, 224; Will of Robert Arcedekne, 8 December 1768. Island Record Office, Spanish Town, Wills, XXXVIII, fo. 39.

<sup>33</sup> Born in 1728, Henry Dawkins was a member of one of Jamaica's oldest immigrant families. His grandfather, who had settled there in the 1660s, established the basis of the family's fortune. By the time he was in his thirties, Henry Dawkins was one of the island's wealthiest planters. He owned seven sugar plantations and, together with his two younger brothers, claimed around 25,000 acres of land in the Parishes of Clarendon, Vere, St Catherine, and St Thomas in the Vale. Dawkins subsequently settled in England. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, pp. 42, 95; Higman, *Jamaica Surveyed*, pp. 92–95; Richard B. Sheridan, 'The wealth of Jamaica in the eighteenth century', *The Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 18 (1965), pp. 292–311.

<sup>34</sup> It is unclear precisely which member of the Bourke family Taylor was referring to here.

about three weeks ago as some people say to take possession of Golden Grove. I caution'd Kelly about him but since that time they say he came to take possession of Robin's Estate.<sup>35</sup> They have since smuggled him out of the Island I am inform'd.

Manning your Brothers Overseer at the Swamps died about 8 days ago. Watson who was your Bookkeeper at GG succeeds him.<sup>36</sup> Jack Hibbert<sup>37</sup> went up with Kelly two days ago there. I am told they make near 100 Hhds. there this year which am very glad of for nothing can give me greater pleasure than hearing of the prosperity of you or any of your relations.

I saw your Mother and Aunt two days ago who were both very well.

A Boy that lived with Sir Henry Moore<sup>38</sup> came over here and told me and others that he mett your Man Ned who it seems is an old acquaintance of his in London and says he saw you very well for which am extreamly glad.

I hope you had an agreeable passage as well as so speedy a one and that you and all your affairs go on as you would wish. God grant you success.

Neither McGlashen,<sup>39</sup> nor the old woman of the Ferry have spoken to me since you went off but their claim on Fontanbell in all probability they will forgett.<sup>40</sup> I saw Dr. Gregory<sup>41</sup> two days ago who desired his compliments to you. All your Friends here are well and should be very glad to hear from you.

My Sister <sup>42</sup> lost her little girl about six weeks ago.

<sup>35</sup> Robin Arcedekne.

<sup>36</sup> Swamps Plantation was in St David's. Inventory of Andrew Arcedekne of Parish St Cat. Esq., Inventories of Estates, Island Record Office, Spanish Town, XLV (1765), fos 58–63. No further information has been located about either Manning or Watson.

<sup>37</sup> Jack, or John, Hibbert was the younger brother of the eminently successful merchant, Thomas Hibbert (see note 53 below). He emigrated to Jamaica from England in 1754.

<sup>38</sup> Sir Henry Moore (1713–1769), a native of Jamaica, served as the island's Governor between 1755 and 1762. In 1762 he was appointed to the Governorship of New York, a post he filled until his death seven years later. For more details see Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1909), XII, pp. 801–802.

<sup>39</sup> Probably Duncan Charles MacGlashen, who owned the Rhine Plantation in St Thomas in the East. In 1774 he also purchased Blackheath Plantation in Westmoreland. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, pp. 296–297. The 'old woman' referred to by Taylor was a Mrs Wyllie. (See note 119 below.)

<sup>40</sup> It is unclear precisely what claim Taylor was referring to here.

<sup>41</sup> Matthew Gregory (1693–1779) was elected to the Jamaican House of Assembly as one of the Members for St James in 1718 and 1722. In 1726 he sat as a Member for St Ann. In addition to his activities as a medical practitioner, he also pursued a career as a planter on his Swansea estate. In 1765 he was involved in assessing the inventory of Andrew Arcedekne's Jamaican property. Lawrence-Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 46; Inventories of Estates, Island Record Office, Spanish Town, XLV (1765), fos 58–63.

<sup>42</sup> His sister Ann, who had married Robert Graham in 1763.

## 7. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 11 July 1765

Inclosed is a Copy of mine to you p. the *Lady Juliana* who I hope is safe arrived.

I a few days ago had a letter from my Friend Mr. John Hope<sup>43</sup> who acquaints me he saw you very well. Mr. Laing being very desirous to see how your Rum would turn out in England told me he had given orders to Kelly to ship you thirty Puncheons on Board the *Susanna* Capt. Baird who is now lying at Manchioneal. I apprehend he has wrote you p. this same conveyance and concerning it he also told me he had wrote to you as the Crop fell short off all our Expectations he had sent you the Bill of parcells of the 24 Negroe Women I wrote you by the *Juliana* I had paid for you if it was convenient to pay it to his Correspondent Chandler.<sup>44</sup>

I had made the agreement with Beans & Cuthbert<sup>45</sup> who Mr. Laing bought the Negroes to pay them by a discount of my money they had in their Hands but Mr. Laing chose this way as he has wrote to you about it. I was afraid it would push you but he on that told me he had wrote you to pay it over to Chandler provided you could spare it without putting yourself to any inconvenience.

I shall go up in about fourteen [days] to Windward to see your Estate and my own we have had very rainy weather there for some time past.

We are in the midst of politicks here the Governor having dissolved the Assembly. McCulloch<sup>46</sup> went to your Mother with Ben White<sup>47</sup> and told her they intended putting you up as a Candidate for Spanish Town and went so far as to advertise you standing. A few days after they went again to her and told her old Dr. Brodbelt<sup>48</sup> intended standing who would deliver up his seat in your favour whenever you came over on which she wrote to me. I went over and she told me as they had advertised you as a candidate. She thought you ought to stand as it would look silly that if you had only five or six Votes it was

<sup>43</sup> A member of Jamaica's eminent Hope family.

<sup>44</sup> It is unclear whether Chandler was a Jamaican or a British-based correspondent of Laing's.

<sup>45</sup> A partnership based in Kingston that was heavily involved in the slave, sugar, and rum trades.

<sup>46</sup> A lawyer based in Kingston.

<sup>47</sup> No further information about White has been located, except that at this time he was not listed as being a member of either the Assembly or the Royal Council.

<sup>48</sup> Dr Francis Rigby Brodbelt (1746–1795) was a medical practitioner in Spanish Town. In 1795 he was awarded the silver medal of the Medical Society of London. Edward Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770–1820* (Oxford, 1978), p. 247; Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III (supplement), p. 38; Frank Cundall, *Lady Nugent's Journal* (London, 1934), p. lx.



sufficient and she should be content. On which I told her I would do every thing I could and went out and wrote letters to all the Freeholders and sent them about the next morning. I found old Brodbelt had told every one he intended to resign as soon as ever you came to the Country in your favour which was the thing that carried his Election. There were also Candidates for Spanish Town Mr. Price Mr. Long<sup>49</sup> & James Lewis<sup>50</sup> who was the Clerk of the Assembly against them Mr. Harvie<sup>51</sup> Mr. Brodbelt and Councillor Jones.<sup>52</sup> Messrs. Price Harvie and Brodbelt were Returned and inclosed is a letter from your Mother who will I apprehend give you the whole story.

There was also a very Strong opposition in this Town. Old Hibbert<sup>53</sup> Charles Hall<sup>54</sup> and David Milner<sup>55</sup> opposed Tom French,<sup>56</sup> Jasper Hall<sup>57</sup> and me. Poor Tom French lost it after a great struggle Jasper Hall had 102, I 99, Old Hibbert 92 Dr. Milner 82 Tom French 79 & Charles Hall 64 votes. Hibbert is so angry to find himself the lowest of the list

<sup>49</sup> Edward Long (1734–1813) was born in England but his family had owned lands in Jamaica since the 1660s. Following his father's death in 1757, Long moved to Jamaica and the next year he married Mary Ballard Beckford, the wealthy heiress of Thomas Beckford and the widow of John Palmer. Long's brother Robert gave him a share in the family estate of Longville in Clarendon Parish. Long had influential family connections in London. His uncle was Beeston Long (1710–1785), the founder of Long, Drake and Long, one of the premier sugar factors in mid-eighteenth century London. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 54. (See note 186 below.) Edward Long served as a judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court until 1769 when he was forced to return to England because of ill-health. He is best known for his *History of Jamaica*, 3 vols (London, 1774).

<sup>50</sup> During the 1760s and 1770s Lewis sat in the Assembly as one of the Members for St Catherine's. He died in England in 1800 and was buried at Westbury-on-Trym, near Clifton. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, II, p. 309.

<sup>51</sup> Probably William Harvie, of St Dorothy, who subsequently sat as a Member of the Assembly for St Dorothy. Lawrence-Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 339.

<sup>52</sup> It is unclear to whom Taylor was referring because at this date no one named Jones was listed as a being a member of the Royal Council.

<sup>53</sup> Thomas Hibbert (1710–1780) was the son of Robert Hibbert, a Manchester merchant, and his wife Margaret. He emigrated to Jamaica in 1734, where he quickly established himself as one of the wealthiest merchants in Kingston. In 1760 Hibbert purchased Aqualta Vale, an estate of some 3,000 acres. He was elected as a Member of the Assembly for the Parishes of St George and Portland, and during the mid-1750s he filled the position of Speaker. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, IV, pp. 193, 194, 325.

<sup>54</sup> Little is known of Hall, other than that he was an eminent planter whose estates included a pen at Mount Prospect, Liguanea. Possibly he was a kinsman of Jasper Hall (see note 57 below). Charles Hall died at Mount Prospect in 1795. *Ibid.*, I, p. 320.

<sup>55</sup> Milner owned Wheelersfield, a sugar plantation in St Thomas in the East.

<sup>56</sup> During the 1760s and early 1770s French sat as a Member of the Assembly for Kingston. His landholdings included 640 acres in St Andrew Parish, which he used mainly as a pen. Records of St. Andrew Parish, 1754; Public Record Office, Kew, CO 137/28, pp. 191–196.

<sup>57</sup> Between 1764 and 1770 Jasper Hall sat as a Member of the Assembly for Kingston. He also served as the Receiver General of Jamaica and at the time of his death, in 1778, was the Speaker of Assembly. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, V, p. 326.

that out of pique he talks of resigning as soon as the Assembly meets.

Zachary Bailly promised to return 20 Members but has been very much disappointed. There is a Contest in almost all the parishes but the Old members will gain the Majority. Old Price<sup>58</sup> stands for St. Mary's Bayly says he will spend one of his Estates to oppose him talks of quitting his seat to be in the Assembly himself he is much affronted at the inclosed advertisement.<sup>59</sup> I hope to God there may be some way found out to settle matters when the new Assembly meets. The Governor himself goes about pretending to show Instructions he has received from home which approve of his conduct tho people hear apprehend he has other orders or he would not be so anxious to exclude the old members to gett an Assembly to his mind. Numberless are the papers printed both for and against the Conduct of the Assembly.

All your Friends are well & desire to be kindly remembered to you.

[Notes that he will send Arcedekne a turtle 'by McLean who sails in a few days'.]

Mr. Graham & my Sister are at Northside.

### 8. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 23 July 1765

Inclosed is a Copy of mine to you p. the *Jamaica* Capt. Hamilton.

Mr. Bullock<sup>60</sup> shewed me a Letter from you to him by which I find you are well which gives me infinite Pleasure Inclosed I send you the Power which you wanted from Dr. Gregory & Foster March. I was obliged to go up to Amity Hall with it to witness it having only got in the Twentieth. I hope you will suffer no manner of inconvenience by not having it before. Mr. Bullock did not receive your Letter untill the Seventeenth Instant so it was out of my Power to dispatch it soon. I hope you meet with all the Success you can wish. I am sorry to see by a Letter from Mr. Way<sup>61</sup> they have got the Attorney General from you.

I was at your Estate where everything is very well & great preparations making to build the Still house, great part of the Timber is ready & Carter<sup>62</sup> is very busy quarring Stones. I do not believe it will be entirely

<sup>58</sup> Charles Price, Sr, the owner of Worthy Park and one of Jamaica's wealthiest sugar planters. (See note 10 above.)

<sup>59</sup> The advertisement is not included in the bundle of correspondence for 1765.

<sup>60</sup> Edward Bullock, a Kingston lawyer. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, pp. 38, 54.

<sup>61</sup> It has proved impossible to identify Way.

<sup>62</sup> Apparently a self-employed white artisan who was frequently employed by Taylor.

finished for the next Crop but will be able to get the Fermenting part up & distill in the old house but you may depend if possible will get the whole done.

Your Rum falls also short by the flood having destroyed all the Liquor in the Cisterns of the Stillhouse & the Molasses given to the Norrward man from whom you had your Staves. I am in hopes we shall have a few puncheons more as your Negroes are Holling & Mr. Kelly intends planting with the Tops very early so he will grind of the Canes for Rum. He also intends as the Land he is holling is excessive rich to cut the Plants while very young & bring them in next year as Rattoons. I do apprehend you will have a great deal more & much better Sugar from them You have a very great quantity of Canes to cut this ensuing year & provided we meet with no accident will make a very large Crop.

I hope you will be kind enough to let us buy 24 good able Negro men about Christmas. Am certain they will pay for themselves by the greater quantity of Sugar you will make for if we get them shall be almost able to keep both the Mills about all night & one all day & be able to take off the Crop in a reasonable time. It was excessive lucky that your Mill went about so early last year for if you had not put about untill the middle of January as the other Estates in your neighbourhood did you would have been a hundred & odd Hhds. shorter than you are now. Am very creditably informed Amity Hall where there are upwards of 420 Negroes will not ship upwards of 280 hhds. & Duckingfield Hall not so much. Capt. McLean by whom this goes has only received 49 Hdds. instead of the fifty he signed Bills of Lading for, by some mistake of the Wharfinger at Portmorant 1 hhd. for Mclean was shipt. on board Capt. Forster & tho' I have repeatedly spoken to the different Masters of the Droggers who use Port Morant have not been able to get it down for him.

I have since the above been favoured with yours p. Mr. James Pinnock<sup>63</sup> of 23d May. I have not yet got the Watches from him as soon as get them will carry them to your Mother & also a Letter for her & the other for Mr. Thomas.<sup>64</sup>

I by this Conveyance send Messrs. Hilton & Biscoe Bills of Lading for 28 hhds. of Sugar & nine puncheons of Rum shipt on board the *Susanna* Capt. Baird who sails tomorrow. I but this very instant received them so cannot send the Weights of the Sugar or the Gage of the Rum but you will certainly receive it by my next which will be shortly.

<sup>63</sup> A member of the prestigious sugar planting family. (See note 86 below.)

<sup>64</sup> It has proved impossible to identify Thomas.

### 9. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 2 September 1765

Annex'd is a Copy of my last to you of 23 July p. the *America* Capt. Lauchlan McLean since which was last week favoured with yours of 10 & 20 June acquainting me you had receiv'd mine of 26 March and that you had already made Insurance on the Sugars on board the *Brilliant* and *Morant*.

I received a letter from Messrs. Hilton and Biscoe that Thompson was arrived about ten days before I received yours. I intirely agree with you in making insurance it being so low and not worth running the Risk of £1000 or 1500 for the sake of 3 p. ct.

I have a real pleasure in acquainting you your Overseer Kelly continues his diligence and Industry and behaves extreamly well indeed I see no one whatsoever goes on better.

You will see by the weights that the Sugars gone home to you averages above 1600 Nett after deducting the Fare of the Hhds. and they were all made of Philadelphia staves which are reckoned to be the best here and were purchased out of a Brigg that came to Mr. Richards<sup>65</sup> to Manchioneal; Amity Hall Duckingfield Hall & Wheelersfield.<sup>66</sup> Hdds. and Puncheons were made of the same Lumber and there was none of this Country staves mixed with them.

You may depend will gett in a large quantity of Ground Provisions on your Estate as I know the great service of it in case of high winds or hurricanes. I am very sure you have a large quantity in having long ago recommended it to Mr. Kelly and he told me he had both putt in himself and made all the Negroes putt in a large quantity. I am extreamly glad that you seem to intend putting on some more Negroes and in Expectation of them we have already made a plantain walk to have plenty whenever they come for nothing encourages Negroes more than great plenty of provisions and it is an utter impossibility for negroes to work without a Belly full.

You will find there are 297 Hdds. shipt you and 11 Puncheons of Rum and we had at one time very great Expectations of Shipping you near 200 More and should have done it but for the flood for you had 330 Hdds. made and 200 Acres of Cane to Cutt when it came on which made only 48 Hdds. the receiver in the Boiling house every Six hours had notwithstanding all the [*illegible*] between 4 and 5 inches of Mudd.

I saw Carter five or six days ago. He told me the foundation of the Cattle Mill was done and three or four Courses above You may depend will do every thing in my power to gett it Completed if possible before Christmas. You may depend that the Fermenting part which is the most wanted shall be done altho the weather has been very bad and

<sup>65</sup> George Richards.

<sup>66</sup> Wheelersfield was the plantation owned by David Milner.

still continues so We have had more Rain since the Month of May last than we had 3 years before.

I do not apprehend that your Antagonists will go on with their Appeal as they have not filed it yett. I hope you have Received your Power of Attorney which I sent you from Dr. Gregory and March.<sup>67</sup> I hope you will go on with your usual prudence in regard to the Compromising it so that they may not be able to make any manner of handle of any thing you do as they may want to intrap you. I am sure you have had very great experience of their deceit and dark designs and if they apprehended they had any Chance they would not desire a Compromise but strip you of every thing.

The Assembly was dissolved in July last and a new one Called the 13 of August. They also were not able to proceed to business. Our Friend young Charles Price was again Chose Speaker who when presented to the Governor would not demand the usual Privilidges on which the assembly was adjourned for a day, and the day they mett the Governor sent the Provost Marshall ordering the Attendance of the House who accordingly waited on him and he again demanded of the Speaker if he would make application for the usual privilidges and on his Refusal the Assembly was dissolved. Inclosed I send you Copys of the Speeches the Governor made. It really is very unhappy that the Assembly and Governor do not agree the dammed Original Breach being for so infamous a thing.

I hope we shall have a more favourable Administration for America than the last has been for if they go on in the same Methods as the last Ministry did we shall be utterly ruin'd. The Stamp Master is not yett arrived tho daily expected. There is law come out and in favour of the Publick officers.

Your Cousin Bourke<sup>68</sup> absolutely declares he will never intermeddle in any Publick affairs. The Chief Justice had his Quictus sent him about a fortnight ago. Bourke on that sent the Governor his Commission as an

<sup>67</sup> Matthew Gregory (see note 41 above) and Foster March. Andrew Arcedekne had appointed them as his executors. Inventory of Andrew Arcedekne of Parish of St Cat. Esq., Inventories of Estates, Island Record Office, Spanish Town, XLV (1765), fos 58–63.

<sup>68</sup> Nicholas Bourke, who emigrated to Jamaica around 1740, was also Robert Arcedekne's cousin. In 1748 he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Thomas Fearon (see note 145 below). Bourke's political career began in 1754 when he was elected to the Assembly as a Member for Kingston, a seat he held until 1756. In 1757, 1768, and 1770 he was elected one of the Members for Clarendon, and in 1761 for Portland. Bourke was closely involved in the constitutional crisis of the mid-1760s, and almost certainly was the author of *The Privileges of the Island of Jamaica Vindicated: With an Impartial Narrative of the Late Dispute between the Governor and House of Representatives, Upon the Case of Mr. Olyphant, A Member of that House* (Jamaica, 1765, London, repr. 1766). In 1770 Bourke served briefly as the Speaker of the Assembly. When he died the following year his estate, which was valued at around £34,000, included two sugar plantations, two cattle pens, a house in Spanish Town, and 497 slaves. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 261; V, pp. 260, 261; Greene, 'The Jamaican privilege controversy', pp. 31–32.

Assistant Judge, as did also Prevost<sup>69</sup> May<sup>70</sup> and Will James Hall.<sup>71</sup> Beach<sup>72</sup> is now Chief Justice & Iredell<sup>73</sup> Will Harvey<sup>74</sup> Seymour Gwyn<sup>75</sup> and Zachary Bayly Judges in the Room of those who have resigned. I likewise hear the Governor has issued two Noli Prosequi on two Different Actions brought by Samuel Jebb<sup>76</sup> against Douglas<sup>77</sup> the Collector.

As you say it is very dangerous for young fellows to think of Matrimony when Hansons case is so very recent and fresh in our memories, but still people will not take any warning. There is now an Action of the very same Nature depending between young Archbould<sup>78</sup> Mr. Price's Nephew and one Miss Newton.<sup>79</sup> It was my opinion a very bad sentence on Hanson and may open the way to a great many iniquitous Suits. As I am writing of marriage I cannot forgett to acquaint you there is a Report that on friday last a Licence was taken out for our friend Rose Price<sup>80</sup> and one Miss Patrick<sup>81</sup> a Writing Master's Daughter at Spanish [Town] and without a

<sup>69</sup> In the mid 1760s and early 1770s Prevost sat in the Assembly as one of the Members for St Dorothy. *Jamaican Assembly (1765)*, Public Record Office, Kew, CO 140/44, ff. nn.

<sup>70</sup> Rose Herring May (1736/37–1791), an eminent planter, was a long-serving member of Jamaica's Royal Council. His local political responsibilities included acting as the Custos of Vere and Clarendon Parishes. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, I, p. 261; Lawrence-Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 103. Originally a Custos Rotulorum was a magistrate placed in charge of the petty sessions records of an English county. In Jamaica the office was more akin to that of the Lord Lieutenant of a county. The Custos was the head of the magistracy in his parish and all new Justices of the Peace were appointed either on his recommendation or with his consent.

<sup>71</sup> During the 1760s and early 1770s Hall sat in the Assembly as one of the Members for St Andrew. *Jamaican Assembly (1765)*, Public Record Office, Kew, CO 140/44, ff. nn. *Jamaican Assembly, Minutes*, April 1770, *ibid.*, 140/46, 265.

<sup>72</sup> Thomas Beach, who died in 1774. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, V, p. 277.

<sup>73</sup> In 1766 Thomas Iredell became Attorney General of Jamaica. He was also appointed to the Royal Council and served as its President between 1775 and his death, at the age of seventy-six, in 1796. He was described by Governor Lyttelton as 'a Gentleman of very fair Character and Good Fortune in this Island'. Governor Lyttelton to LsT 12 September 1765, Public Record Office, Kew, CO 137/33.

<sup>74</sup> Harvie, whose main residence was in St Dorothy, subsequently sat in the House of Assembly as one of the Members for St Elizabeth. Lawrence-Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 339.

<sup>75</sup> It has proved impossible to locate any further information about Gwyn.

<sup>76</sup> It has proved impossible to locate any further information about Jebb.

<sup>77</sup> In 1767 Governor Elletson sought to remove James Charles Sholto Douglas from his post as Collector of Customs for Jamaica on the grounds of maladministration. (See Letter 13.)

<sup>78</sup> Probably Henry Archbould (1742–1805), who owned Constant Spring Plantation in St Andrew. By 1770 he had moved to England, where he died in 1805 and was buried in Bath. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, II, pp. 230, 338, 340.

<sup>79</sup> No further information has been discovered about Miss Newton.

<sup>80</sup> Charles Price's brother. In the 1760s he sat as a member of the Assembly for St Thomas in the Vale. *Jamaican Assembly (1765)* Public Record Office, Kew, CO 140/44, ff. nn. In 1788 he succeeded his brother as third and last baronet. Lawrence-Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 65.

<sup>81</sup> No further information has been discovered about Miss Patrick.

Shilling but that Rose sett out the next day for the Red Hills with his Black wife. I should be very sorry he should play the fool so egregiously as there has been some coolness between his father and him for some time past about other matters and in all probability this will so much incense the Old man that he will disinherit him for when he takes a thing into his head he is absolutely inflexible.

Your friend Capt. Lee<sup>82</sup> is very well. I told him you expected he would write to you and that you desired me to give him a Puncheon of Rum. He desired I would get one distilled for him which I promised him to do.

In regard to Tradesmen on the Estate will be very easy to find a place to putt them untill they can Run up a Comfortable House for themselves & your Bookkeepers for it has no occasion to be very large and then they will be able you build you a House for yourself according to your own liking for you can gett Carpenter and Mason Negroes to hire just as well as the Tradesmen can and if they can make money still it certainly will be worth your while to save yourself.

I am now building a Sett of works in that Manner and would have built your Still House so too had it not been from the Scarcity of Negroes and the difficulty of getting the Stones an absolute impossibility of getting it done before Christmas. You have occasion to send only a Carpenter and a Mason as they will save difficiency. It will be a very small expence to you. It would be the best way to write to any Acquaintance in Scotland to send them from thence.

There has been three Bills in Chancery filed since you went in Which you are a party one by Chovett vs. Furnell<sup>83</sup> in order to gett a Sale of some land in St. Elizabeth this is an Amicable one and is of no manner of Consequence the other by Furnell & next Friend vs. Gregory & March this is on Acct. of Maverley's<sup>84</sup> Estate for which your father was a Trustee. I spoke to Bob Lee<sup>85</sup> who is the Sollicitor on the other side and he has promised to Lend us his bill to take a Copy of it to putt in the Answer. I do not apprehend it can hurt you at all as Pinnock<sup>86</sup> and Chovett came to a Compromise and

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Possibly Peter Furnell, who in the mid-1750s was recorded as owning land in St Andrew. Records of St Andrew Parish 1754, CO 137/28, pp. 191–196.

<sup>84</sup> Possibly John Maverly, who in 1754 was recorded as being a landowner in St Andrew. Records of St Andrew Parish, 1754, Public Record Office, Kew, CO 137/28, pp. 191–196

<sup>85</sup> Robert Cooper Lee was one of mid-eighteenth-century Jamaica's most eminent lawyers. By 1782 he had moved to London, where he died in the early 1790s. His will was proved in 1794. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, II, p. 276; V, p. 220.

<sup>86</sup> Probably Philip Pinnock, the Speaker of the Jamaica House of Assembly from 1774 to 1778 and Custos of St Andrew Parish. Pinnock owned over 2,500 acres of land in St Andrew and was one of Jamaica's most eminent sugar planters. He squandered most of the wealth he made from sugar and was virtually a pauper when he died. *Ibid.*, p. 155; Lawrence-Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 239.

Paplay<sup>87</sup> has been in the possession of the Estate ever since Mrs. Chovetts death and whatever is recovered Paplay must certainly in my Opinion be accountable for. The other is filed by Buckly<sup>88</sup> and you are a party by your Father having been a guardian to Miss Stoaks.<sup>89</sup> This also I do not apprehend can affect you but will fall upon Stokes Hall.

Our Mutual Friend Malcolm Laing has a Brother named Chisholm who was Master of a Ship. He has been making Interest among his Friends to gett him another Ship & to be station'd at Morant Bay. I have agreed to take 1/8. He desir'd me to acquaint you he would be very glad if you would also hold a part and also your Brother in Law. He has also wrote to your Friend Mr. Perrin<sup>90</sup> to be concerned. She would always be able to bring out all our Provisions and perhaps some other Freight which would Load her out and she could allways be dispatch'd to sail from hence the beginning of May. I do not think you can lose any thing by it and our friend Malcolm would esteem it a very particular act of Friendship. I know Capt. Chisholm he having this year loaded at Savanna La Mar and Mr. Laing Chartred him out but as his present owners have no acquaintance nor Consignment from this Island they are not fond of Sending out a Ship on a Venture for freight.

Your Mother sent me 4 days ago a small cask of Old Rum for you and desired me if possible to putt it on board the Man of Warr which I have done Capt. Gower having been kind enough to take it on board. I likewise had the pleasure of seeing both her and your Aunt on Saturday who were both very well. Mr. Graham & his wife are both very well and desire their compliments to you and sincerely wish you may be able to settle all your Affairs to your Satisfaction. By yours of 2<sup>d</sup> June I find you have received the acct. of the flood that happened at Windward.

I had a letter from Mr. Kelly the day before yesterday who writes me the Estate is in very good order but he wants me up so intend setting out on the 6th instant. You have no Negroes run away but a Raskal named Philip who run away the night of the flood. Mr. Kelly tells me he is a very old Offender so if you approve of it whenever we catch him we will bring him to a triall. He commonly stays for a year or two at a time out when he takes it in his head to walk and therefore I think he should be made an Example of.

<sup>87</sup> Probably George Paplay, a merchant-planter who in 1764 and 1765 was a Member of the Assembly for St Thomas in the East. Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623–1775* (Aylesbury, 1974), p. 294.

<sup>88</sup> No further information has been discovered about Buckly.

<sup>89</sup> It is unclear which Miss Stoaks (or Stokes) Taylor was referring to.

<sup>90</sup> William Perrin, the owner of Retrieve Plantation in St Andrew Parish.



**10. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 11 November 1765**

The inclosed is a copy of my last to you p. the *Africa* Man of war since which have been deprived of any from you altho the day before yesterday I Received a Letter from Messrs. Hilton and Biscoe and am sorry to find neither Ellis nor the *Charming Nancy* are arrived tho I hope long before this they will. Also the *America* and *Susanna* are come to port. They complain of the sugars and say there is near  $1/3$  foot in every Hhd. occasioned by their being shipt too green. It I must own surprises me much for of the Sugars from your Estate that were sold her we had not the least complaint from any one and did not reduce one single Cask. I apprehend that as you will chuse that the first sugars of your ensuing crop should go home we will keep them six weeks on the Rangers before we send them down to be shipt and then I hope it will not be in their powers to complain as in that time they must be thoroughly cured.

The weather at your Estate has been very bad from the beginning of Sept. untill now. I was there about the 10 of that month and never saw an Estate in finer order. I recommended much to Mr. Kelly to putt in a good store of Ground provisions but he told me without more Negroes it really was impossible to putt in much considering the many different things he was obliged to do together having about twenty of the best hands constantly carrying lime and sand and filling the wains with Stones etc.

I went also to Batchelors Hall penn and assure you the old Man there surprised me much with quantity of fine pasture you have there with so few Negroes. Mr. Kelly told me you had ordered all the Cows to be sold off but seventy as you did not apprehend you had pastures for more there. There was a few old Mares which he told me you have ordered to be sold. They are very little worth and we can gett no one to buy them. In all there were 217 Head of Cattle etc of all sorts. I told them not to sell any Cattle except it might be an old Cow that is past breeding untill they gott to the length of 300 Head of Horned Cattle and then to sell only some of those marked AGA for I apprehend there is a full sufficiency of Pasture to keep 150 Breeding cows there provided there should be 10 or fifteen more New Negroes putt on and then you will find that that place will ease the Contingencies of your Estate greatly as you will allways be able when you have that number not only to supply Golden Grove but also to sell 1200 or 1500 $\text{£}$  worth annually from thence.

We had a Brig arrived here some time about three or four weeks ago from Guinea and as you were in excessive want of Negroes I thought you never could have a better opportunity of getting them than out of her especially as it was in our power to give you a Choice &

to let you have all Men. I consulted your Mother and Mr. Laing about it and on letting them know in what manner I should manage it they redely came in to my sentiments by which you will in reality have a twelve Months credit for them without interest and the work of them during that time. The great thing besides that induced me to do it also was that directly on their going to the Estate they should sett about putting in a very large Coco piece by which in case of a Hurricane you will next year have provisions on the Estate to supply every Negroe you have even if there should not be a plantain tree left standing. And the next Consideration was that of having hands to Ram the Cisterns of the Stillhouse which would prevent drawing any of the Seasoned hands off from the keeping the Plantation in order and at any Rate before the Crop could be taken off to any advantage and in time you would be obliged to putt on some more. I am confident they will be the means of making more sugar this ensuing Crop than will amount to the prime cost of them. The way I took to get you the best on board was, I desired four different Gentlemen and also Kelly to go on board and chuse each of them as many fine Men as they each could and on calling them together for to chuse the best out of them. Am very confident there could not have been a better choice made out of any Ship that has been these three years in this Island. The terms of payment which I made with the Capt. for ourselves were one third down on the sailing of the Vessell, one third in the Month of Aprill, and one third in Bills at 8 months sight on the sailing of the Ship which being the easiest payment shall include yours in that payment which will be payable as the Ship will sail in about the beginning of January & in all probability have 2 Months passage home they will not become due before October or November & in case we had bought Negroes from any one whatsoever they must have been paid for in May & interest after a Month. I really assure you I never bought Negroes on so advantageous terms for myself & you may depend on my doing every thing for you with as great a regard for your Interest as I would for my own.

Your Mother and Aunt whom I had the pleasure of seeing about three weeks ago were very well. Tom Cussans came over a little while ago he told me you was very well and that people in England seem'd to look on your relations there in the same light as they did here and that your affair would be as happily settled there as it was here. For my part I think it impossible to go against you. I hope November will be as favourable to you in England as it was in Jamaica.

I am just now inform'd that all the Vessels your Sugar went by are arrived you will then have received by the *America* the power from March & Gregory to you.

Sam Allpress was this moment with me he desires his Compliments

to you and received your letter. He says will answer it soon. The Governor has not yett called an Assembly. We hear from N. America nothing but resignations of the Stamp Officers and declarations that they will not submit to it. God knows how it will end.

Mr. & Mrs. Graham have been both ill but are now gott better and gone to the North side for a change of Air. You must have heard that at the Windward Islands they have burnt all the Stamps.

N B You will begin your Crop at Golden Grove about the 15 of next month. I saw Carter 3 days ago. He told me he expected the Walls of your Fermenting part of your Still House were finished the 8 and Stevens<sup>91</sup> the Carpenter was with him. He tells me every thing is framed and he will go forward, that the Estate will not wait a moment on this.

### 11. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 9 December 1765

Annexed is my last to you of 11 November by way of Bristol since which have been favoured with yours of 8<sup>th</sup> August and am sorry to find that Messrs. Hilton and Biscoe have sold your sugars at such a low price. The Sugars we sold here were not better in quality and sold from 33/- 33/6 and 34/- p. Ct., which makes a very great difference. I think they might have waited especially as Sugars were on the rise.

We about a fortnight ago had an Alarm of a Rebellion in St. Marys when Matt. Byndloss<sup>92</sup> and my Overseer were both murdered by a parcell of new Negroes belonging to the Overseer of Whitehall and Ballards Valley, who about two o' Clock in the morning on the 25 of last November sat fire to the Trash houses of Whitehall on which the Overseer ran down there in his Shirt to endeavour to putt out the fire and ordered a Boy to bring him his horse. Matt. Byndloss and Ballard Beckfords<sup>93</sup> widow who were in the House gott both up on the alarm of fire soon as which fourteen or 15 Coromantees broke into the House and killed Byndloss. Mrs. Beckford saved herself by running down to the works from whence she gott among the canes and was carried to Nonsuch<sup>94</sup> where Bayly happened to be.

My Overseer gott up on the Alarm of fire and went to Whitehall just after the Negroes had gott the Arms that were in the House and

<sup>91</sup> It seems probable that Stevens was a self-employed carpenter.

<sup>92</sup> Matthew Byndloss was born in 1721, the son of Paulniss and Catherine Byndloss. During the mid-1750s he served as a Member of the Assembly for St Ann. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, pp. 261, 263.

<sup>93</sup> Ballard Beckford (1709-1764) was a member of the wealthy and influential Beckford family. He held extensive estates – in 1750 they totaled just over 6,000 acres – principally in St Mary's Parish.

<sup>94</sup> Zachary Bayly owned Nonsuch Plantation.

in alighting from his Horse received a large parcell of Shott from one of the rebels in his side and fell dead on the ground. They then cutt off his Head and marched down to the Valley as the Overseer and White people were going unarmed to help extinguish the fire but the rebels making a great noise singing their Warr song in the Intervall made them imagine it was a rebellion and that it was best to return back to the House for arms which they did and in a few minutes after were attackt there. The Negroes endeavoured to sett fire to the House but could not and having their head man killed went to the trash Houses and sett them on fire and march'd back to Whitehall and from there into the woods. There were instantly parties sent after them who came up with eight that day & found five of the rebels had killed themselves and the party killed the other three another party took one prisoner who impeached many old Negroes among the rest one Blackwall<sup>95</sup> head Boiler on Whitehall who was burnt. Another of them was taken up in this Town who has impeached all the Coromantees on Albion<sup>96</sup> Trinity<sup>97</sup> and the Frontier<sup>98</sup> and that their design was to have broke out a Month after Christmas and to have attackt the fort at Port Maria to gett arms and powder and from thence to go to Sixteen mile walk where there were many of their Countrymen and that the Negroes at Scots Hall were to have joined them. That it broke out was occasioned by the New Negroes declaring that they would wait no [longer]. There is a report that there was to have been some disturbances at Westmoreland. I do not find that any of the Negroes at Windward had any knowledge of it.

I shall go up in a fortnight to spend Xmas at Lyssons and will be over at Golden Grove. I had a letter from Mr. Kelly who writes three weeks ago they had very bad weather there which has lodged most of your Canes and that he should go about as this day that the bad weather has hindered the Still House going on. I will endeavour to have it of service to you this year if I send up my own Carpenter to do it for you was a great sufferer by the old one last year. Indeed there has not been such a wett year as this has been for many years past & still I am in hopes for a fine Crop for you as the Canes were old before they lodged.

<sup>95</sup> Blackwall had been tried and acquitted for complicity in the Jamaican slave rebellion of 1760. W.J. Gardner, *History of Jamaica to 1872* (London, 1909), p. 141.

<sup>96</sup> Sir Alexander Grant, an eminent London-based merchant, owned Albion plantation. David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 11, 151.

<sup>97</sup> Trinity Plantation was another of Zachary Bayly's estates; Higman, *Jamaica Surveyed*, pp. 116–118.

<sup>98</sup> Robert Stirling, a Scottish immigrant, acquired Frontier Plantation in 1742. Alan L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740–1800* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), p. 72.

Kelly also writes me that he had turned away the Doctor and when I come up will let you know the reasons. The case is, I believe, that Kelly is rather haughty to the white people and overbearing but to give him his due he takes great care of the Negroes and manages your Estate excessive well insomuch as it is in as fine order as any Estate in the West Indies and is very capable and Industrious and I really believe has your Interest intirely at heart and I really do not know a person in the Island so capable of managing it as he is. Therefore it is better to let him have Doctor of his own choosing to reside on the Estate provided he is capable.<sup>99</sup>

Inclosed is a letter from your Mother. I saw both her & your Aunt a few days ago. They were very well. She sent me a Small Box of papers for you which I have given to Capt. Davis to send to you and gott him to promise to take great care of it.

Thwaites arrived yesterday and Ford<sup>100</sup> with him. We have no Assembly yett. I do apprehend the North American Affairs make a great noise at home and from the disposition there seems to be there they are absolutely resolved not to submit to the Stamp law. We have a report that Mr. Lyttelton<sup>101</sup> has desired to be recalled and that Coll. How<sup>102</sup> will succeed him here.

My next will bring you your Accts. made up to the 9th of this month. I shall show all the Vouchers to your Mother. Fagan<sup>103</sup> is very importunate for his money. He makes a very large Ballance due him for taxt Bill in Chancery. What he wants is to have the Acct. settled and he would let it be provided it was on Interest. I shall go to Spanish Town tomorrow and Consult your Mother and Mr. Laing about settling it for any Chancery day he could apply to the Chancellor to order payment when we would be obliged to pay it and it may be not intirely convenient to you to raise so large a Sum at once for you have been

<sup>99</sup> The replacement doctor, who stayed on Golden Grove for several years, was a Dr Hayward.

<sup>100</sup> The Hon. Gilbert Ford. Ford, who came of a Bristol family, served as Jamaica's Attorney-General and in 1764 secured a seat on the island's Royal Council. He died in 1767. Report of Governor Lyttelton of the State of Jamaica, Public Record Office, Kew, CO 137/33, fos 55-56; Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 43.

<sup>101</sup> See note 11 above.

<sup>102</sup> It is unclear which Col. How Taylor was referring to, but given his distinguished military career it might have been William Howe (1729-1814), fifth Viscount Howe. For more details see Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, X, pp. 102-105.

<sup>103</sup> John Fagan who during the 1750s and early 1760s, and possibly even earlier, had acted as an attorney for Andrew Arcedekne. Case: Arcedekne vs T.[homas] Hall with appeal affidavit and authentication by C. Knowles, Governor of Jamaica, 11 April 1755, National Library of Jamaica, Kingston, Ms. 1035. Clearly Fagan was close to the Andrew's branch of the Arcedekne family because in 1768 Robert Arcedekne left a bequest of £500 CMJ to his 'special friend John Fagan'. Will of Robert Arcedekne, 8 December 1768, Island Record Office, Spanish Town, Wills, XXXVIII, fo. 39.

at large Expences with one thing or another this year and ought to have a full sufficiency of cash to carry on the appeal as they would be very glad if possible to distress you.

PS I hope to be able to send you 100 Hdds. of Sugar in the beginning of March.

## 12. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 29 November 1766

The foregoing is a Copy of my last to you since which have not received any from you neither indeed did I expect any as you were in Germany. I hope this will meet you returned & that your health is perfectly establisht and that you will have no more sickness at least for many years to come.

I was since my last at Golden Grove and have now the pleasure to congratulate you on your works being intirely finisht except hanging the Stills which they were about then and am pretty positive that by this time that Jobb is also finisht. I assure you you have now a sett of the best works in the West Indies and capable of making you 800 Hdds.

The windy weather in August & October has lodged a great many of your canes but you have a great many to cutt, and I really believe that you will make more Sugar this coming Crop than ever you made before.

Kelly tells me he wants a Dozen Mules which I am now looking out to purchase for you. If I can gett Creole ones the difference in price will not exceed 50/- more than the Spanish ones and one can know they are young. Kelly and the Dr. agree perfectly well and seem to be very good friends He also acquaints me that he takes very good care of the Negroes. In short there are no Complaints from thence and every thing seems to go on very well.

Your Neighbour there Mr. James McQueen<sup>104</sup> of Duckingfield Hall did 4 days ago in this Town [file] the Bill in Chancery that I wrote you Robin advised me to file to perpetuate the Testimony that your Father was 20 years in possession before Dawkins's Attorneys claimed the Land is going on with him and I have found out a very material Evidence for you, one Mr. Pickersgill<sup>105</sup> who acquaints me your father had a penn at [illegible] Savanna [illegible] & Negroes on the land, that

<sup>104</sup> It appears that McQueen was either a manager of Duckenfield or one of the attorneys for its absentee owner, Nathaniel Philips.

<sup>105</sup> It has proved impossible to identify the Mr Pickersgill referred to here.

he himself gave in for it at the Vestry in the year 1754. I shall gett his deposition as soon as possible as he is an Old Man.

Your Friend Ford<sup>106</sup> your Mother acquaints me is against you and has been one of those that pusht Dawkins on to Contest the Matter. John Morse<sup>107</sup> of Monument yard has also been very industrious and has given Dawkins a Sett of Instructions how to carry on the Suit. The way I came to knowledge of this is these Instructions were sent to Zachary Bayly by Dawkins who carried them to little Peters the Old man that lives at Mrs. Reynolds<sup>108</sup> to know if he knew any thing of the matter, who desired them to lett them stay with him and he would endeavour to Recollect what he had ever known of the Matter but as soon as ever Bayly was gone brought them to your Mother for her to gett a Copy made out to arm you against your Title. You may assure your self no time shall be lost to gett the Bill filed and have every step taken to defeat them.

Young Charles Price vacated his Seat in the Assembly on the meeting which was the 10<sup>th</sup> Instant. My Brother Jack<sup>109</sup> and Hampson Thomas<sup>110</sup> were the Candidates but Thomas carried it by a Motion of Old Price to inquire into the Effects of the Law for dividing the Island into 3 Counties which alarmed the People in this Town much and united all the small Voters in Spanish Town against any Kingston man as they termed him. Every thing goes on very smooth now but am very certain Stephen Fuller<sup>111</sup> will be dismiss as agent every body being very angry at his Conduct which they think wrong and perfidious this by the bye a few days will make it publick. There is now a Committee on foot to inquire into his Conduct. There is nothing now stirring, business very dull and no money.

I am afraid I shall be obliged to draw on you for about £800 this Currency in about three weeks. You may depend if I can any way in

<sup>106</sup> Presumably Gilbert Ford.

<sup>107</sup> Like Simon Taylor, Morse combined planting and mercantile interests. In 1750 he was recorded as having 8,526 acres of land in Jamaica and by 1763 was Register in the Jamaican Court of Vice-Admiralty. Morse's business partnerships included one with Zachary Bayly, and by the mid-1770s, another in London with Thomas Smith. Morse died in England in 1780 or 1781. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, I, p. 231; III, pp. 95, 122.

<sup>108</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify either Peters or Mrs Reynolds.

<sup>109</sup> John Taylor (1745–1786) created first Baronet in 1778. His wife Elizabeth was the daughter and heiress of Philip Haughton of Orange Grove in Hanover Parish. Although Taylor lived principally in London, he owned lands in Jamaica and it was whilst on a visit to his Jamaican estates in 1786 that he died in Kingston. He was buried at Lyssons Plantation and subsequently his brother was interred alongside him. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 63; Cundall, *Historic Jamaica*, p. 250.

<sup>110</sup> Hampson Thomas was a Member of the House of Assembly for St Catherine.

<sup>111</sup> Fuller, a merchant and the brother of Rose Fuller, had been appointed as Jamaica's Agent in London in 1764 and he continued to serve in that capacity until 1794; L.M. Penson, *The Colonial Agents of the British West Indies* (London, 1924), pp. 164, 228.

the world possibly avoid it I will, and nothing but the greatest necessity will make me do it as I know you cannot have a great deal at home from the Weight of the £5000 to Your Cousin and the Supplies you have sent out.

In case you do not come out before I hope we shall be able after the Crop to sett about your House which we have not been able yett to do and most of the Bricks you sent out have been used in hanging the Still making the Tanks and windows of the Still House except you chuse the House to be of Brick we can very easily get Stone on the Spott for it which will save the Expenche of Bricks and last longer.

Your Mother & Aunt are very well. I saw them yesterday. Both my Brothers Jack & Graham are very well as is also my Sister.

### **13. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 24 January 1767**

The Annex is a Copy of my last to you since which have been favoured with yours of 20 October and 12 November wherein you acquaint me that you received a letter from me your Accts. desiring me to pay myself out of any of your effects and not to buy any more Negroes untill you are out of debt.

I hope you found the accounts right for if there is any mistake or any thing you do not rightly apprehend be kind enough to lett me know it and I will endeavor to putt it in a Clearer light. As to paying myself out of any of your Effects do not lett any matters between you and me give you the least concern for I shall allways be happy in endeavouring to serve you and you may assure yourself you can att all times command me to utmost extent of my Credit or Fortune.

In Reguard to buying Negroes I must acquaint you that your Mother some time ago told me that she heard John Kelly your Overseer had sold twenty Negroes that were seasoned in plantain Garden River to Tom Cussans that she wisht they had been bought for Golden Grove. I told her you had given orders not to buy any more Negroes before you came over. She on that told me that Kelly had some more to sell that I must buy them that she should have a great deal of money to pay for she did not chuse to pay Interest by which I apprehend the Old Lady is to make you a present of them. They are about thirty and I am to go up the fifth of next month and then to gett them valued. I shall see the Old Lady before I go and lett you know what she says.

In regard to the orders for Clothes for the Negroes and Cork Provisions I desired John Kelly to send me down a list of what he should want on which he told me he would send to you a list for as he had received so many things last year he should want very few things this year and some time afterwards he acquainted me that he had



wrote to you and on asking him at Christmas he told me he had wrote to you by Capt. Ellis. It is not of any Great signification as Provisions are in Generall as Cheap here as in Ireland and you have as much Iron work as will serve you for the year.

Am glad you have taken a share in Chisholms ship as our Friend Malcolm takes it excessive kind and we shall allways be able to dispatch him the second ship so that there is not great danger of our losing much by it.

I assure I you I am heartily glad Mr. Littelton did not chuse to Come back to this Country. I think he has done much wiser in going to Portugall Am sorry that Mr. Elletsons<sup>112</sup> conduct is not much approved of in Erasing the Record. It is very certain that he never would have gott an Assembly to do business with him had he not done it so it was rather a matter of force on him than his own Choice. Indeed some of our Resolutions are rather too Sanguine but they certainly are our Constitution, but it seems as if the Parlia. are determined to suppress all Liberty in America. Coll. Clarke<sup>113</sup> if he goes on in Litteltons arbitrary schemes will have but a very indifferent time of it here.

Mr. Elletson and his Council of state have lately thought they had a mighty power lodged in them and took it in their Heads to take up Douglas for refusing to deliver up to their appointment all the Collectors Books papers cash etc. but he aplyed for a Habeas Corpus which was heard in open Court and he released from his imprisonment.

By your second letter of 12 November I received the agreeable News of your papers being Executed and that you hope in a very short time to send them out either to Mr. Laing or me to gett old Robin<sup>114</sup> to sign them and then to Record them. I believe he will make no manner of difficulty.

I am very glad to find that the Parliament has putt a Stop to the Corn distillery it will certainly enhance to Value of our dark Sugars and raise also the price of Rum both which articles has been at very wretched prices these two or three years last past.

I was at Windward the whole Christmas and was twice at Golden

<sup>112</sup> Roger Hope Elletson (1727–1775) was born in Jamaica, the son of Richard Elletson, owner of Hope Estate. He was educated at Eton College and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he matriculated in 1746. Upon his return to Jamaica, Elletson was elected as a Member of the Assembly for Port Royal and in 1757 appointed to the Royal Council. In 1767, upon Governor Lyttelton's departure from Jamaica, Elletson was promoted to the office of Lieutenant Governor, a position he held until 1768. In 1754 his younger brother Thomas married Simon Taylor's sister Susan, or Susannah. Thomas died in 1760, Susan died on an unknown date before 1760. Roger Hope Elletson died whilst on a visit to England in 1775. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 42.

<sup>113</sup> It has proved impossible to locate any further information about Clarke.

<sup>114</sup> Robin Arcedekne.

Grove where every thing is going on as well as any thing can possibly do altho the very great rains we have had these two years putt us back so we could not go about untill after Christmas. There are about 70 Hdds. made of exceeding good Sugar indeed preferable to any I ever saw at this time of the year before You will make I am pretty certain a great deal more than last year provided there is no weather to take the Canes off. I intend sending you about 100 in Thompson who will be the first ship, about the same quantity in Chisholm who will sail before the first of May and in the whole about 400 Hdds. If the Crop answers my Expectations you will gett 50 or 60 more for I hope the Rum will do a great deal more this year than it has done these many years before, indeed if it does not it will be the distillers fault for there is every thing now convenient for making it.

Your Penn is also in very good order and your Cattle increase fast. I had some thought of selling some off the Steers but the fear of a Wett Crop has made me alter that Resolution for fear of any Accidents having so many Canes to cutt. Indeed I hope after this year that your Rum and the Penn will pay all your Contingencies so you will gett your Sugars clear. The Reason it will not this year is because the tradesmans Bills must be paid and there has been a great deal of work done to your Stills which Guy<sup>15</sup> could not do and we were obliged to employ Taylor<sup>16</sup> from Port Morant.

I shall send you your acct. made out to the 31 of December by the very first London ship that sails from this place. You will find you have been lucky in Reguard to your Negroes having a Decrease of only 4. It is true 14 have died but then you have saved ten children. They are all in High Spiritts.

We must soon as possible sett about a sort of House for the White people otherwise we shall lose them all, for was obliged to take down the old Cattle Mill where they slept for the Stones and since they have slept again below one has died and the other two been near it. Kelly and the Doctor who sleep above stairs are in perfect health and still agree. I assure you the Negroes thrive under his care.

I have been absolutely forced to Draw on you a Bill of Exchange dated 2 February for £500 stg. to the order of Reisset, Jaffray & Yelloly which hope you will be kind enough to Honor. You may assure yourself that no thing could have induced me to do it but my Friend and Relation Doctor Taylor<sup>17</sup> was sued and it was to stop the Rendition

<sup>15</sup> One of the slave artisans on Golden Grove.

<sup>16</sup> Taylor has proved impossible to identify, but the context in which his name is mentioned suggests that he was not related to Simon Taylor.

<sup>17</sup> Possibly John Taylor, a beneficiary of Simon Taylor's will. Will of Simon Taylor, Late of the Parish of St Andrew, Esq., made 2 December 1808, codicils made, 18 October 1811, proved 27 April 1813. Wills, Island Record Office, Spanish Town, LXXXVII, fos 1–34.

and prevent his Negroes being taken up and sold that made me do it for He would take nothing but money down or Bill. It gives me the greatest uneasiness that I was obliged to draw it on you for I could not borrow it here or would not have troubled you, indeed as it is at 90 days Sight. I hope some of your Sugars will be att home before the Bill becomes due. You may depend I shall draw no more for the Crop coming in will make Sugars a little Brisk again.

#### 14. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 2 March 1767

Annex is my last to you of 24 January which I now confirm since which have been favour'd with yours of 26 November and hope that Capt. Furnell is arrived as I sent by him a Duplicate of the letter desiring Insurance if you thought proper on 42 Hdds. of Sugar p. the *Sally*, Capt. Cummings (and also acquainting you of the safe arrivall of your Man Nedd) and also to lett you know that I had sent you 2 Puncheons of Rum distilled for your own use on board Cummings. I hope he is safe arrived long ere this. I am afraid poor Ellis is drowned as we have no manner of Acct. of him here but whatever is his Fate I hope your goods on board him are insured.

I received a letter and an Invoice from Perry & Co.<sup>118</sup> of Cork p. the *Munificence* Capt. Falconer who brought your Irish Provisions and delivered them all safe at my Estate which I sent up from there to the Rivers mouth and Mr. Kelly since acquaints me that he has received by one Capt. Tarbutt your goods from London but I cannot find that either Kelly or I have any letter or Invoice of them.

I hope that you never will again have any Occasion to build another Sett of works at the old Land of Golden Grove as I am confident these unless some very unlucky Accident should happen will take off 800 or 900 Hdds.

In my last I wrote you about a Conversation between your Mother and me about Kellys Negroes. I waited on her again when she told me to buy them. I shewed her your letter ordering that I should not buy any more on your account, on which the Old Lady by your Aunts and my persuasion did at last agree to purchase twenty and make you a present of them on which I went up and bought them for £1200 hundred pounds. They were markt with your mark and tolled to you, and the Old Lady has paid the money and wishes they may turn out well. I hope you will not think I acted wrong in this. I bought before I received your letter 12 fine Creole Mules and sent them up. I do not apprehend you will want any these three years to come.

<sup>118</sup> No further information has been located about the partners in this company.

You must undoubtedly by the immense Expences you have been putt to on so many Accts. have made but little nett Profitts, but as most are now at an end I hope for the future you will find the Sweets of your Estate. Be confident I will not putt you to the least Expence I can avoid consistent with the Wellfare of the Estate. As for trifles for the Overseer as Keggs of Bisquits now & then Tea & single Refined Sugar they in the Whole amount in a manner to nothing and you know Kelly he would not be pleased if they were not sent when he writes for them and he goes on so very well and has kept your Stock and in Short every thing on the Estate in fine order and you will find at the same time it is thriving. I hope you have no manner of objection at their having been sent.

I hope this year that you will be able to lay up something as when I was up Viz. 11 of Febry. you had near 100 Hdds. made better Sugar than I ever before saw on the Estate and by a letter from Kelly of 23 Feby. he acquaints me that he had very fine weather and was taking the advantage of it.

You will Please give orders if you chuse to Insure 100 Hdd. p. the *Friendship* Thompson who will sail about the 8th or 10th of next month for 100 Hdds. on board the *Nancy* Capt. Chisholm who will sail about the 25 of next month also. I intend sending also 50 Hdd. p. the *Prince George* Capt. Taylor 50 p. the *Morant*, Capt. Raffles, and hope in about a month hence to write you of many more besides as by this time I shall be better able to inform you how the canes yield for to make the Calculation of what the Crop will be. The Cisterns did not work at all cleanly & when was up occasioned by their being new but as they are now seasoned hope they have mended for the man that is your distiller is reckoned as good a one as is in the Island and is very sober which very few are.

I have not seen Clarke since I received yours. I spoke to your Mother who knows nothing about his land. I shall be at Spanish Town this week and will search the Office and consult of old Robin also. The Old Mulatto Woman Mrs. Wyllie<sup>119</sup> at the Ferry by her Son in Law Dr. McGlashen has brought an Action on your Father's Administration Bond against you. Dr. Gregory sent it to your Mother who sent it to Robert Cooper Lee as your Sollicitor. I think she was very right in applying to Lee in Preference to McCulloch & Wootton<sup>120</sup> for he is infinitely cleverer than they who told me he would gett it putt off this Court and then we might see what can be done. We have all the Proceedings in Chancery and as Old Fagan is alive who tells me he knows every thing of the matter and that there is no manner of danger

<sup>119</sup> No further information has been located about Mrs Wyllie.

<sup>120</sup> A partnership based either in Spanish Town or, more likely, in Kingston.

of its affecting you I think it better to have it brought on than to be by. I shall also take an Abstract of the Whole Proceedings and send you which you may lay before Council in England and lett us know their Opinions.

I have all your Accts. made out and shall send them to you p. the *Standlinch* Capt. Barnett sat which time I shall write concerning them, his Bag is advertised to be taken down the day after tomorrow.

### 15. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 9 March 1767

The above is a Copy of my last to you p. the *Jenny* Cpt. McKeevia Liverpoole since which I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you. This serves to acquaint you that I have sent you enclosed your Accounts, viz. Golden Grove Accot. your Accot. Current & the different Accots. regarding Golden Grove that you may know on what accounts the sundry matters were paid to whom & for what, for the way I took that every thing might fully appear so as to be plainly understood & that you might know how your affairs stood & what wages were due.

I gave Kelly orders to pay off all the White People to the 31 December to draw on me for the money & to take their Receipts & send me which I have gott & shall leave in Spanish town with your Mother as I did last. You will please to peruse the Accounts & if there is any thing that you do not rightly understand you will please let me know. I will endeavour to explain them. Am sorry that the Contingencies are so high but you will plainly see that it is the Workmen's Bills that swell it & that there is very near 18 months wages on most of the White Peoples' Accots. There is also a Pipe of Wine for as I expected you out last year I kept both the Pipes that you might on your arrival here have Old Wine for yourself. I intend sending one of them to Kelly as you are not come out. A misfortune happened to the other on the wharfe where it was spoiled by the Negroes on which I acquainted the Wharfenger that I would not take it but that he must give me either £60 for it or procure another of the very best quality in the room. I also sent a Cooper & had a survey on the Cask by which it plainly appeared that it had been spoil'd. The man agreed to give a Pipe in the room which he has since refused but as the Cooper & my Clerk are Evidence on the survey I have sued him for £60 & make no doubt of recovering that Sum.

You will also please to remark that Dr. Troupe's<sup>121</sup> Accot. of £34.2.6

<sup>121</sup> There is no record of the medical services performed by Dr Troupe.

is included in the Disbursements made by John Kelly & also Nevill's<sup>122</sup> Accot. Of £36.13.4, which last on examining a second time I found that you had been charged £20 thereof last year & the remainder this, therefore I have made a remark that in your next Account Current the £36.13.4 shall be carryed to your Credit. I did not find it out untill it was wrote & fixed & I had not time as the Ships Bagg is to be taken away this Afternoon to alter it.

I have not been able to go to Spanish Town yet but propose going the 10th or 11<sup>th</sup> & as there is a Ship to sail in a fortnight I shall by her write you with regard to your affair with Mrs. Wyllie.

Kelly was in town two or three days ago. He informed me the weather was very well when he came down He is gone up again He tells me he has made about 180 hhds.

There is no news here every thing is very dull & no appearance of any thing of a price for Sugars & Rum I apprehend will be a very dull commodity here this year.

PS You will please to observe in the Accot. of Cattle you will see 16 Heifers sent to Swamps, they were sent by order of your Mother in payment as she told me of 40 Spanish Steers she bot. For GG in 1760 or 1761.

### 16. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 19 March 1767

Annexed is a Copy of my last to you of 9<sup>th</sup> Instant p. the *Standlinch* Capt. Burnett. This serves chiefly to cover the Copy of your Accots. that I sent you p. him, since when I have seen Robin<sup>123</sup> & Bourke<sup>124</sup> who last Saturday executed the deed from N Arcedekne<sup>125</sup> in presence of Malcolm Laing & myself. It could not be recorded as it was not proved by the Clerk that saw N.A. sign it, therefore it must go home again, which it is to do tomorrow by this same conveyance. They tell me they shall also send the Duplicate over by the *Nautilus*. They do not like it. One of their Understrappers where I happened to dine the same day, told me that you had not got Robin's<sup>126</sup> Tittle to his reversion & that John Bourke at home had no orders from Robin to offer it for the £1500 Stg. & that Robin will not sell it under ten thousand Sterl. now. I told them you did not want it nor would do any

<sup>122</sup> No further information has been located about Nevill or the services he performed on or for Golden Grove.

<sup>123</sup> Robin Arcedekne.

<sup>124</sup> Luke Bourke

<sup>125</sup> Nicholas Arcedekne.

<sup>126</sup> Robin Arcedekne.

such thing. What I thought if he would sell it for £500 stg. or so it would then be a matter of so small indifference to you that you might perhaps give that sum, besides that I intended to send you home this year so much Sugar as that you might make any Settlement you pleased on any Lady marry & then you would not give a single ryal for Robin's Reversion. I knew it would be carried back to him therefore spoke in that light manner altho I hope before now you have concluded the matter for the £1500 stg. I wrote you what the consequences of the refusal would be. Bourke I am certain has orders from Robin to offer it to you for that & now he is piqued at your refusal.

I have not been able to go to Spanish Town yet for Graham is out of town & this Ships sailing has obliged me to be constantly in town.

[Notes that he has sent *Arcedekne* a turtle 'p. the *Adventure* Capt. James Sewell'.]

I have not heard since my last from the Estate but afraid the weather is bad there as it is very wett this way. The price of Sugars is not yet broke here the factors wanting 32/- & the purchasers want to beat down the price to 30/- p. cent, so there is an intire stagnation of all business untill this matter is settled.

Your Mother & Aunt are very well. I heard from them two days ago.

### 17. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 8 April 1767

Annex is a Copy of my last to you since which no thing material has happened. This is chiefly to advise you that Capt. Thompson has gott on board only ninety Hdds. of your Sugar in place of 100 that I acquainted you I intended to ship on board him. I hope that it will make no very material difference. Capt. Chisholm has now gott on board about seventy Hdds. more of your Sugars as I am informed by a Master of a Vessell that putt some on board him, he will sail this month. You will also please to order insurance on 50 Hdds. on board the *Prince George* Capt. Fryer and 50 on board the *Morant Raffles*. Fryer will sail the beginning of May and Raffles about the 20 of that month.

I am informed your Canes do nott yield at all neither do any in the Parish as they did last year occasioned by the Continual Rains we have had there. I hope soon to advise you of more Sugar for the market is broke here so very low that I believe it will answer much better to send home Sugar than to sell here this year. Neither have we any advices how the marketts are with you as there has not been any Vessell from Europe here these two months.

I have sent a Bill of Lading of the 90 Hdds. of Sugar to your Brother in Law Mr. Cowell by this Ship and shall send another by the first Ship that sails and shall also write you more particularly by the *Nancy* Capt. Chisholm of a Scheme that I have for the new Ship that we are to be concerned in which I dare say you and all the Parties concerned in will agree to and by which it will be impossible but that she must make us Money.

I heard yesterday from your Mother and Aunt who are both very well.

**18. [Taylor & Graham] to Benjamin Cowell, Kingston,  
2 May 1767**

Annex is a Copy of our last to you. This serves chiefly to inclose you the weights of ninety Hdds. of Sugar shipt on board the *Friendship* by Capt. Charles Thompson who has been saild a fortnight from Morant Bay and who we hope is already arrived. We were in hopes also to have sent you the Bill of Lading for 100 Hdds. on board of Capt. Chisholm but have not yett received them from the Estate but that ship will sail in a Week at furthest. We shall begin to putt goods on board both Fryer and Raffles & hope also to dispatch them both this month.

Our ST<sup>127</sup> goes up tomorrow to Windward and when returns we shall acquaint you on what other ships we shall send the Remainder of the Sugar, & lett you know how the Estate goes on for our mutual Friend Mr. Arcedekne has acquainted our ST that he intends to return to the South of France and has left you his attorney in his absence. Therefore think it but our duty to inform you of every thing about his affairs here.

Our ST also drew a Bill on him for £500 Stg. on Acct. of what he was due us and as he is apprehensive that Mr. Arcedekne may be gone abroad before it arrives. Hopes it may meet with due Honor. It is in favor of Mr. David Reisset at 90 days sight. We shall also be obliged to draw on you for £500 stg. more this year as there is a demand of £1000 to be paid to one Mr. Fagan due this month for the Ballance of his Acct. who will take nothing but money or bills & Sugars are here in a manner unsaleable except of the very best quality and the price also very low which has made us take the Resolution of Shipping all the Sugars that are now or will be made home as we expect they will turn out better than by selling them here, except we can pass them off for any demand against Mr. Arcedekne.

<sup>127</sup> Simon Taylor.



[Notes that a turtle for *Arcedekne* was 'putt on board Capt. Chisholm'.]

### 19. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 2 May 1767

The above is a Copy of my last to you p. the *Friendship* Capt. Thompson since which I have received your several favors of 10<sup>th</sup> Decer. & 3<sup>d</sup> & 10<sup>th</sup> January. That of the 10<sup>th</sup> Decr. acquaints me that by that opportunity I should receive the papers relative to your Composition which you desire me to see Robin Arcedekne execute & that you suppose he will have no manner of Objection to have it enrolled. In regard to that matter I refer you to my letter to you of 19<sup>th</sup> March last wherein I acquaint you that both Laing & myself have seen both Robin & Bourke execute the papers but that it could not be enrolled because the Clerk who saw Nicholas Arcedekne sign it had not proved it & therefore that it must be sent home again, which it was one Copy p. the *Active* & the other is to go by the *Nautilus* who sails the 20<sup>th</sup> Instant. I did not receive any other papers by that Vessell & those came by some Ship that came to this port directed to Robin whereas your letter I did not receive above 6 days ago from Montego Bay.

Your next of 3<sup>d</sup> Jany. acquaints me that you had received several of my Letters & a Bill of Lading for the Sugars on board the *Sally* & that mine by the *Dreadnought* arrived first tho' the last in date for which I am very sorry on account of your Insurance but hear she is put in to Carolina so she is not lost & in all probability the Sugars on board her will come to a good market As for Ellis we shall I am afraid never have any more accounts of him. I am glad you got £10 sterling p. Cask insured on him, it is better than a total loss, which I apprehended.

I am very glad you find the Golden Grove Accots. right & are contented with them. I intend before the next Crop since I find it agreeable to you to sell off some of the Steers as that is the best time for selling and I did give orders to keep up some of the Old Cows marked AA to fatten & sell off to the Butchers.

I find you intend to return to the South of France from whence you came to execute your Deeds since you found so much benefit the last time you was there from that Air & that whatever Bills are designed for Europe & Supplies for the Estate are to be sent to your Brother who is to be your Attorney & that the Accounts are to be directed to you & the Bills of Lading to him. You may depend on my punctually executing your Orders & letting him know every thing that occurs.

I shall speak to John Archer<sup>128</sup> to get made out an Office Copy of

<sup>128</sup> Archer was the Island Secretary, the chief official in the Office of Enrolments. All deeds had to be recorded in the Office within three months of their execution. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 135.

all the Deeds & other Papers your father has been concerned in which was prevented by Robin. It is a very necessary thing & may be of very great service in many respects. Do you think it necessary to have the Titles of the Lands which your father bought & has again sold? I will also set about making out according to your desire a Sett of Books of all your father's Accounts & his Answers to all Bills in Chancery that he was concerned in on his own account & every other paper of consequence.

All our Politicks are now at an end as if there never had been any such thing. The impeachment against Lyttelton dropt & no more mention of him here than if there never had been any such person. I entirely agree with you in opinion against settling any Salary on any Governor for more than a year. I was against a stated Salary to Elletson. I shall certainly be against it for Monckton<sup>129</sup> who I hear is to be certainly our Governor & as these Animals come over here only to suck our Blood, after their turns are served they care not what becomes of us. Lyttelton's friends give out here also that he has carried nothing home with him, which is true for because he remitted all before that he could lay his hands on & the Country now owes him £4000 which he was very near losing & nothing but the injustice of not complying with a Law of the Assembly's own making & the apprehension of the shock it would give to all publick Faith & honor saved him.

Your Gardner arrived safe here. I sent him over to Spanish Town, he ought to be very good for the price you give.

Your next is of 10th January & I shall give you in my next or I will send to your Brot. in law all that I can get or learn of the affairs of Compere.<sup>130</sup> I shall also if it is agreeable to you communicate every thing concerning your affairs to him for I understand by a Letter from him to Mr. Laing that this will meet you abroad where you are already gone. Laing shew'd me your letter to him in regard to the purchasing Robins annuity & the getting your mother to purchase. I believe she will do it for she told me she would lend you money to do it. I put Laing on the Scheme to propose to her if she consents whether it may not be of service to pretend to hear that you are going to be married soon to a lady of family & fortune which may make the Old boy Robin more inclinable to sell, for if he does not sell he certainly will leave it to Bourke's Children who are under age, and he would disinherit any

<sup>129</sup> Lieutenant General Robert Monckton (1726–1782). In 1761 Monckton had commanded the land forces that captured Port Royal in Martinique, which led to the surrender of Martinique, Grenada, St Lucia, and St Vincent to the English. Despite the hopes of Taylor and other eminent Jamaicans, Monckton was never appointed to the Governorship of Jamaica. For more details see Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIII, pp. 612–614.

<sup>130</sup> It has proved impossible to identify this member of the Compere family.

of them did he even think or imagine any of them would ever sell it to you. We could not put about tho' any such report without speaking first to the Old Lady about it & see how she will relish it as a matter of Nicety & what a person would not chuse to do without getting some advantage for you by it.

I go tomorrow up to Golden Grove & shall then see what is made & write to your Brother in regard to the rest of the Sugars to come home tho' I believe shall ship the whole home as the Price here is low & no buyers tho' if I can get your Tradesmen to take out their Accounts in Produce will do it. I am afraid must draw £500 stg. more on you to pay off Old Fagan for there is no money in the Country & will not take goods on any account, if can avoid I will. This year will pay off all your debts that I know of except your mother's demands who will not receive either principal or Interest.

Kennion<sup>131</sup> who has been here near three months has not as yet made his appearance. We are informed he came here in a hurry & left another Ship to bring out his Cloaths.

#### **20. To Benjamin Cowell, Lyssons, 9 May 1767**

Taylor & Graham wrote you a few days ago from Kingston p. the *Dawkins* since which time I have been up at Golden Grove and on my arrivall here find Capt. Fryers Ship underway therefore have only time to inclose you the Bill of Lading of 20 Hdds. of sugar Shipt on board him. I intended to putt 50 Hdds. on board him and 50 on board Raffles but the canes have yielded so very bad this year that we have fallen short both in quantity & every thing etc. Shall write you more fully p. Capt. Chisholm who sails in 4 or five days. We have been able to put but 20 Hdds. on board Raffles.

#### **21. [Taylor and Graham] To Benjamin Cowell, Kingston, 11 May 1767**

[Repeats information in previous letter about the amounts of sugar shipped.]

We enclose you the Bill of Lading for the 94 hhdts. on board the *Nancy* Capt. Chisholm & a second Bill of Lading of the 20 on board Fryer. Capt. Chisholm could take only 94 on board tho' we sent down the other 6 to him, so were obliged to put them on board the *Brilliant* Capt. Myall.

<sup>131</sup> John Kennion had been appointed to the Royal Council in 1761.

We are very sorry to inform you that the Canes at Golden Grove have turn'd out excessive ill this Year for notwithstanding we had 100 acres to cutt more this year than last we shall make near 100 hhdts. less & but little Rum for as the Cisterns were all new they wasted a great deal of Molasses in the seasoning them & did not then turn out the quantity of Rum.

We were in hopes of writing to you to order more insurances, but there are only 20 hdds. now on the Estate which we are to pay some tradesmen with for demands they have for building the works, and we are anxious to pay all the demands against Mr. Arcedekne this year except our own. There will be about 60 or 70 more hdds. to come home this year.

Our ST has also been Obliged to drawn on Mr. Arcedekne a Bill for £176.6.9¼ Stg. dated the 4<sup>th</sup> Instant in favor of Mr. John Archer at 90 days & a Bill for £130.11.8 Stg. dated the 11<sup>th</sup> Instant in favor of Mr. David Reisset also at 90 days. They are addressed to Mr. Arcedekne in his absence to you. Agreeable to Mr. Arcedekne's Instructions, there will be nothing more drawn this year for nothing but the excessive scarcity of money in this Country & every body being very pressing could have induced us to have drawn a shilling. We hope they will meet with due honor & as they are at a long sight hope they will put you to no inconvenience.

## 22. To Benjamin Cowell, Kingston, 3 October 1767

This serves chiefly to beg the favor of you to forward the Inclosed letter to Mr. Arcedekne, and acquaint you, that I have received your favour of 21 of July wherein you let me know that you had communicated the contents of mine to you p. Capt. Chisholm to Mr. Arcedekne.

In regard to Golden Grove when was up last, which was about five weeks ago, the Negroes had been very sickly, but were then on the mending hand but even then there were 36 in the Hott House<sup>132</sup> & 21 in the Yaws which is a very great drawback on the Estate especially as there had been a very great flood in May which had laid almost every part of the Estate under Water and the Caterpillars had very much hurt the young rattoons near the Riverside. They had then begun holling and had holed near 20 Acres. I hope we shall be able to gett in a plant from about 150 to 170 Acres, for a great deal of the Estate wants new planting, occasioned by building the Works which continually took a great many Negroes out of the field to bring stones & lime

<sup>132</sup> The plantation hospital.

having ever since Mr. Arcedekne left the Island, untill the beginning of the last Crop, had 6 Wains daily at work, & 8 & 10 Mules to bring those materialls & sand & last year Especially all the Negroes were six weeks employed in bringing Clay & ramming the Cisterns, which putt the Plantation work a good deal out of order in regard to putting in the Annual Plant & the new Negroes bought since Mr. Arcedeknes going off have been a good deal troubled with Yaws & some, as is allways the case in wett parts of this Island by which means we have had very little assistance from them.

We have not yett begun upon the House, tho have gott all the timber fallen on the Spott & the Lime burnt. The reason is because I want much to gett the plant in & putt in as much as possible to bring the Estate up & gett it in proper order again. In the meantime the Carpenters are squaring the timber & the Cattle employ'd in bringing bricks for the House, for from the plan & directions sent out, I do not apprehend any tradesman in this Country can build it of Stone.

Mr. Arcedekne wrote to me that Mr. Fisher<sup>133</sup> intended to sue the joint Bond that Mr. A. Arcedekne & Mr. Robert Delap<sup>134</sup> entered into in the Secretary's office, when said Cooke<sup>135</sup> administred on the Estate of Isaac Gale<sup>136</sup> & desired me to take Mr. Bullocks opinion on the Case & send it to you. I have not been yett able to do it for Mr. Cooke lives in St. Elizabeth untill I know what effects of Mr. Gales he has in his hand unaccounted for. I have wrote him a letter & he will be obliged to come up to attend the Councill, when the Assembly meets, which will be the 20 Instant & will then taken Mr. Bullocks opinion on the matter & send it to you.

In regard to the Claim Mrs. Wylie setts up against the Estate of Old Mr. Arcedekne for a Legacy left her by one Stapleton<sup>137</sup> & for

<sup>133</sup> The bond referred to here may have been one for £1,896 1s 10d that was dated 8 September 1749 and mentioned in the inventory of Patrick Taylor's estate that was drawn up in 1759. Patrick Taylor was Simon Taylor's father. 8 March 1759, Inventory of all and singular the Bonds Securities and Debts due to Patrick Taylor late of the Parish of Assembly Kingston, as they were sworn unto us by Andrew Arcedekne, Charles Mitchell & Mathew Gregory Esqs And the Honble Sir Simon Clark. Inventories of Estates, Island Record Office, Spanish Town, XXXIX, fo. 64. It has proved impossible to further identify Fisher.

<sup>134</sup> During the 1760s Delap represented St Elizabeth in the Jamaican House of Assembly.

<sup>135</sup> Francis Cooke, one of the Royal Councillors suspended by Governor Elletson, owned close to 2,000 acres of land in St Elizabeth.

<sup>136</sup> The Gales were one of Jamaica's most eminent families. Their wealth and prestige originated in the early 1670s, when Jonathan Gale patented 533 acres of land in St Elizabeth Parish. When he died in 1750 Isaac Gale owned 11,838 acres of land in Jamaica. His will, which was recorded in 1748, was proved two years later. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, II, pp. 58, 121, 308; IV, p. 95.

<sup>137</sup> No further information has been located about Stapleton.

which the Administration Bond was sued, there has as yett nothing been done in it, the Plaintiffs not having made any motion to come to tryall. I believe it will be dropt and end soon for Mr. Arcedekne has no money of that Estate in his Hands but one Mr. James is accountable for it, the Father of the Present Mr. Haughton James<sup>138</sup> in London & whose Estate is Lyable for it. It is a Sort of Litigious suit for there has allready been 2 Bills in Chancery about it, in the old Gentlemans lifetime & also an injunction in Chancery.

The next matter is in regard to the Land at Plantain Garden River mouth claimed by Mr. Dawkins. We have the Bill drawn ready to file & nothing prevents it but Mr. Robert Arcedekne wants to have a Conference with one Mr. Pickersgill, who is the principall evidence in Mr. Arcedeknes behalf he being the only man in Jamaica except Mr. R. Arcedekne that can prove a 20 Years quiet possession. As soon as that is over shall file it without delay & take out the Foreign Commission for one Mr. Burke,<sup>139</sup> who also knows the Land & send it to you to gett his evidence. When that is gott am hopefull we shall have no more Disputation on that Account and the only reason why Dawkins has delay'd filing his Bill, or bringing an ejection, is because he knows these Evidences will be against him, and as they are old People they will in a few years drop off. This Bill is intirely to perpetuate these peoples Evidences.

Mr. Kelly the Overseer on Golden Grove, acquainted me that he had wrote home to you for the Supplies for the Estate, so they will arrive in good time. I intend going there next week when return will acquaint you how every thing is there.

### 23. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 3 October 1767

I received both your letters the first dated the 20 Aprill from France the other the 23 of May, wherein you acquaint me that you was but a short time in England as you thought it was not desirable to depart from Europe before the returns of your papers you employ'd your time

<sup>138</sup> The James family had held properties in Westmoreland and Hanover parishes ever since the first English settlement of Jamaica. The family became connected with the equally eminent Haughton family of Barbados through the marriage of the Hon. Richard James (b. 1655) to Ann Haughton. Haughton James was born in Jamaica in 1738 and matriculated from St Mary Hall in 1755. He died in Spanish Town in 1797. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, II, p. 1; III, p. 51; IV, p. 209; Hugh Paget, 'The early history of the family of James of Jamaica', *The Jamaica Historical Review*, 1 (1948), pp. 260–273.

<sup>139</sup> Luke Bourke, a member of the family that challenged the legitimacy of Andrew Arcedekne's will.

in moving from place to place. I am heartily glad you found so much advantage by it.

The Lawyers on your side for the Bill to perpetuate the Evidence in regard to the land at the River's mouth are Gordon,<sup>140</sup> Bullock, Webley<sup>141</sup> and by Robin's advice one Mr. Brown.<sup>142</sup> It is ready and waits for nothing but Robins coming to town to have a conversation with Pickersgill to file. I believe he will be the only Evidence in this Country that can prove the quiet possession 20 years before any suit commenced. I agree intirely with you wishing all this matter was at an end but from what Robin says I believe you need not be very apprehensive of the event.

In regard to your Dwelling House the Timber is all fallen & the lime burnt and intend putting it on the Hill Matt Wallen<sup>143</sup> told you of. There is a very good Chaise road to it. Intended to have built it of stone but from the plan come out do not believe it will be possible. It is not yett begun for the great rains that brought down the River again as high to the full as in 1765 and the bad weather both before and after it together with the Negroes being very sickly after it the Estate run a good deal back and I thought it was better to bring things again into order & gett in a good plant before begun on it for can assure you though tradesmen are to find materialls they never the less are a very great disadvantage to an Estate by employing Wains & mules they must of course have Negroes to look after & follow them. You may rest satisfied it shall soon be sett about and every direction follow'd

<sup>140</sup> Thomas Gordon who, during the 1760s, sat as a member of the Jamaican Assembly for Port Royal and also served as the island's Attorney General. He had close ties with the Hibbert brothers by virtue of his sister Janet's marriage to John Hibbert (1732–1769) in 1760. Gordon died in 1780 or 1781, and his will was proved in the latter year. Jamaican Assembly (1765) Public Record Office, Kew, CO 140/44, ff. nn.; Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, II, p. 175; III, p. 193

<sup>141</sup> Probably Edward Webley, who during the 1760s sat in the Assembly as one of the members for St David's. In 1765, together with Scudamore Wynde (or Winde) (see note 198 below), Webley confirmed the contents of the inventory of Andrew Arcedekne's estate. Inventory of Andrew Arcedekne of Parish St Cat. Esq. by Edward Webley & Scudamore Wynde of Parish St Catherine as shown by executors Matthew Gregory & Foster March, 30 April 1765. Inventories of Estates, Island Record Office, Spanish Town, XXXV (1765), fos 58–63.

<sup>142</sup> Possibly William Patrick Brown, in the mid 1760s a member of the Assembly for St John. Jamaica Assembly, 19 March 1765–22 March 1765, Public Record Office, Kew, CO 140/44, ff., nn.

<sup>143</sup> For several years between 1750 and his death in 1797 Wallen represented the Parish of Port Royal in the Assembly. His properties included Mount Pleasant, an eighty-five-acre estate in St Andrew Parish. Wallen is best remembered not so much for his political career as for his botanical experiments. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, IV, p. 208; Douglas Hall, 'Planters, farmers and gardeners in eighteenth century Jamaica', The Elsa Goveia Memorial Lecture, 1987 (Kingston, Department of History, University of the West Indies, Mona, 1988), p. 4.

that is laid down in the plan except raising the foundation higher for it says 1 foot 8½.

In yours of 23 May you acquaint me of having received my severall letters of 24 Jany. & 19 March inclosing your Accots. & that you have nothing to object to them excepting that you wish the Ballance was on neither side. I beg you will not make yourself uneasy about it. It is what I am glad I have it in my power to do. Am obliged to you for accepting my Bill on you. I did acquaint your Brother of 2 more small bills I was obliged to draw on you.

I am sorry you are obliged to return to the Spa from your disorder again threatening to attack you but hope you have received as much advantage by it as you did last year.

Your papers are again arrived here and recorded. Your Mother sent to Robin about purchasing the Reversion. He sent her word the Lowest price for you was £10000 Stg. for any one else £20000. You see you will be by & by obliged to marry to save so much.

In regard to Cookes administering on Jonathan Gale<sup>144</sup> & that your Father & Robt. Delap were the Securities it is butt too true. Cooke is also insolvent. That he did receive into his possession £80000 or £90000 is also true but the greatest part was in Negroes stock & the amount of his Inventory. From what I can learn he has made away with 8 or ten thousand pounds this Currency before Thos. Fearon<sup>145</sup> gott the Administration on a power of Attorney. Fisher has often times as also Zachary Bayly threatened to sue. If they do I have both Bullocks Beachs Tom Gordons & Fords opinion that the Heirs at Law can recover on the King's Bond against an Executor more Especially an Administration of my own. I am heartily glad you have so good an Estate to recover half of whatever be recover'd to do with as Robin Delaps.

I am informed that Jonathan Gale died in 1748. If so it blows over untill the end of next year you need not have the least anxiety afterwards on that Account as you will then come within the Law which prevents any suits on which no judgment has been taken nor money received for 20 years. In the mean time do not say any thing of it to them. Cooke is to be up this month being one of the Council. I shall talk the whole matter over with him and let him know I expect that if he has any thing belonging to that Estate in his hands I shall Expect

<sup>144</sup> Jonathan Gale's will was recorded in 1740. He was a member of the influential family that traced its Jamaican roots back to the early 1670s. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, II, p. 120. (See note 136 above.)

<sup>145</sup> Between 1756 and 1764 the Hon. Thomas Fearon served as the Chief Justice of Jamaica. He also acted as the Custos of the Parishes of Clarendon and Vere. During the mid-1760s and early 1770s his elective offices included sitting as a Member of the Assembly for Clarendon. Jamaican Assembly (1765), Public Record Office, Kew, CO 140/44, ff. nn.



that he will indemnify you & go over the matters with him & send you a state of what he has not accounted for. He is a very worthless fellow & has taken in many people.

Your Mother did make you a present of twenty seasoned Negroes. I can assure you that you did want them for the Negroes all over the River have been very sickly all the year & a great many of the New Negroes have been a very long time in the Yaws. You have had at times this year 50 in the Hott House & 27 and upwards in the Yaws at one time which has putt the Estate back a good deal. It will be impossible to sett about building a plantation house immediately & your House too. After one is built we can easily begin upon another for the White people.

I am really sorry you have made so poor a Crop this year. I assure you we cutt upwards of 100 Acres more Canes this year than last & have not made so much by a Hundred & odd Hdds. owing to the Canes not yielding from the Immense quantities of rain that fell last year and am afraid we shall make less by a good deal next year for after the flood the Catterpillars eat up all the young rattoons near the river side and they have come up but poorly since. Be assured I do every thing in my power for the advancing of your interest & shall be up once in 6 weeks to see that things are well carried on as they ought to be and intend if possible to putt in a plant from 150 to 170 Acres this year in order to bring up matters. Thank God I do not know of any debt now outstanding against your Father's Estate having taken up Fagan's debt & got a release in form & have recorded it. I have also paid all your tradesmen & for the future all your sugar will be shipt home unless you give orders to the contrary.

In regard to Mrs. Willyes matter there is nothing done in it. I believe it will intirely drop for McGlashen who kept her Daughter & was the moving person in it, has been Courting one Miss Ablett<sup>146</sup> a Niece of Robin Delaps on which the Mulatto Lady was so offended she withdrew to her Mother & there has since been no Connection between them.

As you desire it shall get Bullocks opinion on Cookes matter & send it to your Brother. Your Gardner Robin Taylor<sup>147</sup> was sent up by your Mother to Golden Grove some time ago where the poor fellow died in a few days of a fever.

Since my last letter to you I have been up to Hispaniola to see how they make Sugar there and what sort of Country it was. I had a tolerable pleasant trip but found nothing could be learned from them but the art of watering their Lands.

<sup>146</sup> It has proved impossible to identify Miss Ablett.

<sup>147</sup> It has proved impossible to identify Taylor, but given his occupation it seems evident

You must know long before this that Jack Cussans<sup>148</sup> is married & sail'd for England in the *Phoenix Man* of Warr. Tom Cussans is gone to North America with Billy Gale.<sup>149</sup> Every thing is quiet at present but the Assembly meets the 20 Instant. There will be a contest about the Agent. Your friend Way will not be forgott. Malcolm takes his Snuff & I believe will gett Mr. Price on his side.

All your Friends here are well. I saw your Mother & Aunt 4 or 5 days ago, they were then very well.

PS I had forgott to tell you that I have made enquiry into the Connection your father had with Compere. They intirely relate to the Swamps & I am persuaded Mr. Laing has wrote to your Brother about them.

I shall sett about the Book of your Fathers accounts as soon as the Assembly setts that may overlook them myself & have gott a very capable man to do it. Your mother tells me one part is already entered in a Book so will continue it.

[Notes that he will show 'every Civility in my Power' to one of *Arcedekne's* friends who is about to visit *Jamaica*.]

#### 24. To Benjamin Cowell, Kingston, 21 November 1767

The above is a Copy of my last to you since which have been up at Golden Grove when the Weather was excessive bad there and indeed was obliged to Swim my horse over every little Gully in the way & places where I never before saw the least stream of water and which continued untill about three weeks ago but since that have the pleasure to inform you that have received a letter from Mr. Kelly the Overseer that he will have finisht planting by the 10 of next month & that it will be a very fine plant notwithstanding the very severe weather we have had, that there is still a great deal to do before the Mill goes about as the Cuttway of the best mill is intirely undermined which was at first built on piles drove down to make a foundation which are now intirely decay'd and the trench that brings the water to the mill has

that he was not related to Simon Taylor.

<sup>148</sup> John, or Jack, Cussans (1742–1789), was the younger brother of Thomas Cussans. (See note 21 above.) He lived at Amity Hall and also owned property in Hanover. In 1767 he married Euphine Macqueen. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 266; III (supplement), p. 40.

<sup>149</sup> Little is known of William Gale other than that he was a member of the pre-eminent Gale family (see note 136 above). His main residence was in Hanover and he served as a Member of Assembly for that Parish. *Ibid.*, III (supplement), p. 44.

been very much injured these things will take up a good deal of time to repair.

When was up Mr. Kelly & myself thought it would be for the benefit of the Estate to putt in a Spring plant of 30 or 40 Acres in order to bring the Estate up again. We must hire Negroes to do it for the Plantation Negroes will not be able to do it and at the same time keep the Canes clean & the Mill about. I have also deferred yett getting about the House Mr. Arcedekne ordered to be built as was determined to gett in a Plant so as to make the Estate profitable & had I pusht both for a large plant & to build the House at the same time I should certainly have killed a good number of the Negroes which leaving Humanity aside never could have been for the advantage of that Gentleman but shall sett about it as soon as the good weather setts in.

I have seen Mr. Cooke who informs me that there is not above £1000 of any money that he received on Acct. of his administration on the Estate of Isaac Gale in his hands that the most they demand of him is £6000 of which he has paid £5000 due from that Estate to Henry Gale.<sup>150</sup> He has also promised to give me a State of his Accounts with that Estate & that he will allways be ready to settle with the Heirs of Gale and pay them. This I am apprehensive is out of his power as he is really insolvent but think the best way will be to lett the matter sleep and say nothing of it untill the administration Bond runs out of date which will be in three years. He tells me also that Messrs. Fisher & Hankey<sup>151</sup> in London & Mr. Bayly here have often threatned to sue the said Bond but have never been able yett to ascertain any thing due them. I shall loose no Opportunity of pressing him to gett a sight of the Accounts and compare them with the Inventory he he returned into the Secretary's office.

In regard to Mrs. Wylles affair I believe it is intirely over for the person who has the Assignment was with me a few days ago and finding that he had no manner of chance of getting any thing from us without a great deal of trouble told me he was resolved to drop the Suit against Mr. Arcedekne's Estate and seek his money from James where it is really due provided that Dr. Gregory would give up the Administration of Stapleton under whose will he claims and Dr. Gregory by the will is Stapleton's Executor under Mr. Arcedekne. I told him that provided that no ill consequences could arise to Mr. Arcedeknes Estate by the Doctors giving up the administration I had no objection to the giving it up but before would consent to it would have the

<sup>150</sup> Henry Gale (1737–1767) was a member of the prestigious Gale family (see note 136 above). In 1750, whilst still a minor, he owned just over 10,065 acres of land. During the early 1760s he sat as one of the Members of the Assembly for St Elizabeth and also served as the Custos of that parish. Lawrence-Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 306.

<sup>151</sup> A merchant house.

opinion of Councill. I have not yett gott it having been obliged to go over to the Northside & returned but this morning. Neither can I inform you of the Bill in regard to the Plantain Garden River land claimed by Mr. Dawkins but that as last Thursday Mr. Robert Arcedekne & Mr. Pickersgill went to have a meeting on it. I shall write to you by the next Vessell and give you a particular acct. of it.

## 25. To Benjamin Cowell, Kingston, 24 March 1768

The foregoing is a Copy of my last to you p. the *Nautilus* Man of War. I should have wrote you ere this but was attacked with a Slight fever and went to Windward a few days afterwards where was again confined so that could not come to Town for seven weeks, since which this is the first opportunity that has offered for your Port.

Before I sett out I gave all the necessary orders in regard to filing the Bill in regard for the Plantain Garden River land & settling the Interrogatories and to put it in a Master in Chancery's hands to take the depositions of Mr. Pickersgill & then to get the Foreign Commission out, but have not since my return seen the Attorney having been in Spanish Town only about an hour.

Cooke never performed his promise of letting me see the State of the Accts. regarding the Administration on Gale, neither do I believe I shall gett a sight of them for he is suspended from the Councill. Do not believe he will chuse to Venture his Person this way as the Governor has also refused any protecting from the Court of Chancery unless it appears that a person has real business in that Court, which Mr. Cooke cannot make well appear and is greatly incumbered with debt.

I received a letter containing Bill of Lading & Invoice of Goods shipt from London by Messrs. Hilton & Biscoe & the *Friendship* Capt. Thompson which arrived here safe also the Provisions from Ireland from Mr. James Kelly<sup>152</sup> these excepting the Herrings which are not yett arrived.

I was at Golden Grove just after Christmas when the Weather was again terribly bad so that could not putt the Mill about. On that planted about 8 Acres of canes more. Before I came down they did putt about but were obliged to Stop again on Acct. of the Weather which has been really dismall in that part of the Country for 3 years last past and such as has never been known for 20 years before which together with the damage the flood in May last did & the short plant putt in by ramming the Cisterns for the Still house will make this Crop

<sup>152</sup> It has proved impossible to identify Kelly, although he may have been a kinsman of John Kelly, the overseer at Golden Grove.

be very short as every Estate's that way. The weather has been so bad as to destroy a great number of Cattle on Batchelors Hall, the continued rains giving the grass such a Spring as purges the Cattle to death. I could hardly believe it was not all the other penns near it in the same situation and circumstances.

Mr. Kelly again spoke to me about the Spring plant and I desired him to hire negroes to putt it in but whether he has as yett begun I cannot say from not having heard from him these three weeks.

In regard to the House we have not even yett begun on it neither are the Window and door frames yett come out. It will be a very laborious work and am informed by the tradesmen to do it with Bricks that it would take 300,000 which would kill all the Cattle on the Estate to carry to the place where the House is to stand and we have no workmen in this Country that can build with stone to the dimensions that the plan requires, that is to make the Cornishes and raised work about the Doors & windows, but shall sett about the foundation and wait your orders. If we may build it a plain front we can do it well enough.

Inclosed I send you the Golden Grove Account Current with Taylor & Graham. I shall send you the list of Negroes & other Papers p. the *Friendship* Capt. Thompson who sails about the 15 of next month for as this goes by the man of war it makes a great addition of postage.

You will please to observe that we have shipt 50 Hhds. of Sugar on board said Ship from Golden Grove and shall ship thirty on board of the *Trent* Capt. Gillies and as I sett out for Golden Grove the 2<sup>d</sup> of next month shall advise you further for making Insurance as I intend to ship every hhd. that the Estate makes this year to you, for now we have got the better of the Works which has been a most laborious and expensive Jobb and paid off what was due here.

I hope for the future to make the Rum pay for the Contingencies provided we do not buy negroes for the Estate, but as Mr. Arcedekne order'd none to be bought untill his arrival here I do not think myself at liberty to buy any without orders from him or you. I assure you they are excessively wanted for to carry on the Estate as it ought to be it will require upwards of 100 more working Negroes for there are a great number of old Superannuated Negroes and Young Children there, and the whole of Plantain Garden River is deem'd unhealthy even in this Country. At the same time the Estate would yield much better for them as we could take care of the Rattoons and trench the land we putt in for a plant much better. The Person who made the greatest fortune that ever was made in this Country in the planting way, Viz. old Mr. Dawkins held it for a maxim allways to have three Negroes to do the work of two, and am confident from my own Experience that is the Cheapest way to make Sugar in the long term.

By the Account Current you will see that there are four hdds. of Sugar remaining to be accounted for. They were sent alongside of Capt. Raffles's ship last year and by the negligence of the Sailors they did not chock the Hdds, so on taking out one the others ran to Leeward and oversatt the boat by which they were excessively damaged. The Capt. was with me two days ago and we are to settle the matter on my going to Windward as it is well known there & he himself is convinced that he must pay for them.

I shall be obliged in the Course of the Crop to draw on you for about £1000 Stg. to reimburse myself for what is in part is due T & G, but will put it off as long as possible but at any rate will not draw untill I ship Sugars and not then if I can avoid it.

This Minute received a letter from Mr. Kelly with the Weights of 50 hdds. of Sugar shipt on board the *Friendship* Capt. Thomson which I have enclosed herein and also the bills of Lading for them he also acquaints me that the 30 for Capt. Gillies are now ready.

## **26. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 25 March 1768**

Since my last to you have not had the pleasure of hearing from you which indeed I did not expect, & as am uncertain where this will meet you, write chiefly to shew you that am still in the land of the living.

I referr you to your brother in Law in matters relating to your affairs & to let you know that they are brought to this conclusion that I do not know of any debt now whatsoever that is due from your father's Estate in the world or by you but what is due to us.

We made a most miserable Crop last year occasioned by the vast quantity of rain & the flood in May. We shall also make very bad Crop this year occasioned by that & the time it took up to ram the Cisterns, but have got in a plant of 186 Acres & think of getting a spring Plant also in, so there is a good appearance if the rain & bad weather do not hurt us in the latter end of the year, which I hope it will not. I think I can insure you a good Crop next year & the year after, but I do assure you you want a great many Negroes, & am confident you would find your advantage in it was it only 20 p. ann. & them to be bought in two or three parcels you would not feel the expence putting them on in that manner. It would greatly hearten the rest & it will be impossible keeping the Estate up to great Crops without you do it. I advise you as I do myself on my own Estate & did I not think it was for your advantage would not say so.

All our Politics here are turnd upside down. Mr. Elletson has

suspended Bayly, Pinnock, French, Scott,<sup>153</sup> Cooke, Sinclair<sup>154</sup> & Kennion from the Councill & all honors, Civil & Military, & has appointed young Charles Price, Welsh<sup>155</sup> & May<sup>156</sup> in their room as Councillors.

Every thing is very dull here & an excessive scarcity of money. Laing has been indisposed but got well again. I have been a good deal out of order but am much better. Your Mother & Aunt are very well. I shall go to Golden Grove in a few days.

In regard to your house am sorry to acquaint you I have not begun upon it, first from the bad weather & flood in May which hurt the Canes & Estate so much that it was necessary to put in a longer Plant to bring the Estate up again as that is the Primum mobile of everything, and secondly am informed it will take 3000 Bricks & that it would kill all your Cattle carrying them there, & there is no one man in this Country can build it of Stone to answer the Plan as sent out, therefore think of building it plain & keeping as much to your Plan as possible, & carry it up as far as we can until the Window frames come out.

## 27. To Benjamin Cowell, Kingston, 18 April 1768

The above is a Copy of may last since which I have been favoured with yours of 23 Jany. I assure you that you have heard nothing of the flood in May last but what was very true and that it will greatly hurt this Crop. Neither could we gett the Negroes to put in the Spring plant as we designed but have notwithstanding a very fine plant in the ground and there is a good appearance for a good Crop for the ensuing year if we should not be again pestored with Rains as we have been these three years past.

<sup>153</sup> John Scott owned upwards of 5,000 acres of land and his main residence was at Trelawny. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 95.

<sup>154</sup> In 1763 Archibald Sinclair was serving as Clerk of the Markets and in that same year was recommended for membership of Jamaica's Royal Council by Governor Lyttelton. He also sat in the Assembly during the 1760s as a Member for St Catherine. Greene, 'The Jamaican privilege controversy', p. 26.

<sup>155</sup> Richard Welch (or Welsh) had trained as a lawyer and in 1768 was Jamaica's Attorney General. He was still a member of Jamaica's Royal Council in 1776 and by 1770 was the island's Chief Justice. In 1769 he married Lucretia Favell Dehany, who belonged to of one of Jamaica's wealthiest planting families. In 1768 Chaloner's cousin, Robert Arcedekne, left a bequest of £50 sterling to his 'special friend Richard Welch', whom he also named as one of his executors. Welch died in Bath, England, in 1782 at the age of forty-nine. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, pp. 220, 289; IV, p. 289; Will of Robert Arcedekne, 8 December 1768, Island Record Office, Spanish Town, Wills, XXXVIII, fo. 39.

<sup>156</sup> Rose Herring May.

I was at G Grove about 10 days ago they had then fair weather which I believe still continues and were making the best Sugar I ever saw there and the Negroes were pretty healthy. I really believe Dr. Hayward<sup>57</sup> takes all the care he can possibly of them. The thing that carries off the Negroes there is the Yaws which throws them into Dropsys. I desired that for the future that when any of them gett the Yaws that they might be sent to Batchelors Hall Penn which is a dryer situation than the Estate & to be there kept cleaning the pastures as exercise is reckoned good for that disorder and it is the lightest work that Negroes can be put to.

Capt. Chisholm is not yett arrived. I gave orders to gett the Stones for the House which is sett about and as we are to have the frame we shall soon finish it. I shall also ship 100 Hdds. of Sugar on board of Capt. Chisholm if he has occasion for so many, but would not have you insure on that quantity untill you hear again from me for I would not willingly put so many on board of one Vessell without he was pusht which I hope will not be the Case. Neither can I before he arrives give any promises to the other Capts. to ship on them for as Mr. Arcedekne is concern'd in that Ship I would not by any means let her sail otherwise than full as the Parish will fall short in the quantity of Sugars and there are more Ships this year at the Bay and Harbour than ever were before.

[*Thanks Cowell for a gift of cheese.*]

I shall send you p. Capt. Stuport the Papers you mention, Mr. Bullocks Opinion on Fishers demand & the Commission for Examining Mr. Burke in regard to Dawkins's claim. In regard to Mrs. Wyllies affair the matter is dropt neither do I believe it will ever be again revived against Mr. A. Arcedekne's Estate. Doctor McGlashen who has the Assignment of the claim having told me he intended to endeavour to gett it from James's Estate.

All the Supplies are arrived safe and we have shipt 30 hdds. on Board the *Friendship* Capt. Gillies who will sail about the beginning of May. We received a letter from Mess. Scott Pringle and Cheap of Madeira with a Bill of Lading for 3 pipes of Wine on Board the *Augustus Caesar* Capt. Duffill on Act. of Mr. Arcedekne which is arrived but not yett landed.

Enclosed is a list of the Negroes on Golden Grove. I have not yett gott the list of the Batchelors Hall Negroes. I find that we have had a tolerable Increase of Calves there last Quarter having near 30 dropt.

<sup>57</sup> Apparently hired by John Kelly with Taylor and Arcedekne's approval, Hayward continued to work on Golden Grove until the 1780s.



**28. To Benjamin Cowell, Kingston, 14 May 1768**

Since the above p. Capt. Thompson I have been favored with yours of 10 Febry p. the *Golden Grove* Capt. Chisholm and am very sorry to find that you was unwell. I hope long before this you have recovered your health.

I also received the letter from Mr. Arcedekne and shall agreeable to his order consign the Sugars to you as I did last year by which means you can send the Bills of Lading to any House you please. I also received the bill of Lading for the frame of the House, you may depend on it I shall forward it as much as possible.

[*Repeats his thanks for the gift of cheese which 'was very good and came in good order'.*]

Inclosed I send you the Bill of Lading for 30 Hdds. of Sugar shipt on board the *Trent* Capt. Gillies & annex'd are the Weights of them. There are also 360 Hdds. gone from the Estate to be put on board the *Golden Grove* Capt. Chisholm. We shall ship 80 hhd. on board her and beg you may Insure on that quantity as I believe she will not want any more. If she does shall give you timely notice to insure. I think, but not untill I hear from Capt. Chisholm, to put 20 Hdds. on board the *Prince George* Capt. Fryer but would not have you insure untill you hear again from me.

By a letter of 9 Febry from Mr. Biscoe he advises me of the 3 Pipes of Wine p. the *Augustus Caesar* Capt. Duffill and desires they may not be meddled with as they are for some Friends in England and that the necessary orders will be sent out about them. As I have not yet received any orders yet concerning them am at a Loss what to do. I therefore beg your orders concerning them.

I have under this Cover sent you Mr. Bullock's opinion on Fishers demand against Cooke who was displaced from the Council some time ago by the Present Governor and was a few weeks ago thrown into Gaol by his Creditors. He is a very worthless & insolvent Subject.

I also send you the Commission for Examining Mr. Luke Burke in Ireland. If you can gett any one who is acquainted with the Gentlemen it is directed to it will be proper to gett a letter to them. They were recommended to me by the present Attorney General here Mr. Richard Welch. If can get no other letter it will be proper to make use of his name which he has given me a liberty to do. Dawkins's Attorney here is excessively enraged at the Bill we filed for this purpose and has secretly been Caballing with Mr. Archer who is tenant in common with Mrs. Kearsy during life for 90 Acres of said land and offred if he would make no opposition to the Ejectment he is determined to

bring to give him a Conveyance for his life to the half of said land which was refused, and Mr. Archer himself told me this, but there is I believe not the least risque of loosing it begin when they will, for Pickersgills Evidence is returned into the Chancery office and am informed from good Authority it is very full as to the matter in dispute. I could not see it these matters being allways returned seal'd into the Office and not opened until Publication passes before the Chancellor.

This morning saw Capt. Fryer who acquaints me that he will not be able to take any more Sugar for us this Year but there are plenty of good ships and can putt more on board of Chisholm if there is occasion.

Mr. Bullock is gone out of town without sending me his opinion but from what he told me am confident it is against us. Inclosed is a letter from our Sollicitor in regard of what is to be done at home about the matter.

I have put on board Capt. Stupart a box of Cashew Nutts which Mrs. Kearsey sent me for Mrs. Cowell, both she and Mrs. Harris are well, I had the pleasure of seeing them a few days ago.

### **29. To Benjamin Cowell, Kingston, 6 July 1768**

Since my last to you have been favoured with yours of 19 Aprill inclosing a letter from Mr. Arcedekne to me and two to Mrs. Kearsey and find that Messrs. Beeston Long & Co have now the consignment of his Sugars.

We have shipt on Board Capt. Chisholm 120 Hdds. and 80 on board of the *Morant Planter* Capt. Power of which we advise you in order to make Insurance. Capt. Chisholm will sail next week the very strong Sea Breezes for these three weeks past have kept him back. I intend going to Windward in three or 4 days and shall write to you about the Estate & Chisholm and also to Mr. Arcedekne and shall advise you for further Insurance as shall give the most forward Ship the Sugars as the advanced Premium is coming on and would chuse to save it.

I have been obliged to draw a Bill on you on Acct. of Mr. Arcedekne for 500 Stg. favor of Messrs. Bean & Cuthbert at 90 days sight and shall be obliged to draw on you by Chisholms sailing for £500 more for shall ship every hdd. the Estate makes this year. I beg the favor you will please to Honor them with your acceptance.

I have not as yett gott Mr. Bullocks opinion in Writing on Mr. Cookes matter but he told me a few days ago that the Estate of Mr. A Arcedekne would certainly be liable for his difficiencies. Cooke is miraculously gott out of Gaol by no other writts being at the time of the Action lodged against him by his wives giving a Mortgage on her property as a Security for the debts on which he was apprehended.

### 30. To Benjamin Cowell, Lyssons, 25 July 1768

Since my last to you p. Capt. Brett I have been here in my way to Golden Grove tho have not as yett been able to gett there occasioned by a hurt tho shall be there the End of the week.

Inclosed I send you the Bills of Lading for 120 hdds. of Sugar shipt on board the *Golden Grove* Capt. Charles Chisholm and for 20 hdds. shipt on board the *Morant Planter* Capt. Power. I was in hopes of having been able to have shipt thirty hdds. more on board the *Morant* but was prevented by three weeks excessive blowing weather so that no vessell could go in or come out of Plantain Garden River and when that ceased there was no vessell to be gott on any Acct. Indeed I was obliged to order the last forty hdds. to fill up the *Golden Grove* to be wained to Port Morant.

You will be pleased to order Insurance on thirty hdds. of Sugar to be shipt on board the *Prince George* Capt. Scrymsoure who will sail about the middle of next month which is the remainder of the Crop not having disposed of a Single Cask in this Country of that Estates Sugar. Indeed it is a most miserable one but greatly and must say wholly to be attributed to the Excessive wett year last and the flood with many other little Accidents.

Mr. Kelly was here three days ago he informs me that he has all the Canes in very good order and clean that the weather was very fine and that he had as yett none of the Canes lodged. If the weather continues good he is in hopes of a good crop next year to make up the badness of this of which he hath need. He also informs me that he is getting home timber to make a new floodgate for the Dam the old one being rotten. It is a very troublesome jobb but nothing in comparison of that next the Garden which was built by the navy Carpenters which also begins to grow old but we shall be able to repair it pretty well. His House will be sett about directly after Christmas they having already gott a great many stones for it and two large Kilns of Lime burnt. After the Materials are gott it will be no hard matter to gett up the House. I shall take care that it is comformable to Mr. Arcedeknes orders when I return from thence I shall be able to write you fuller on this Subject.

I have been obliged to draw on you since the Bill for £500 in favor of Messrs. Bean & Cuthbert for £250 stg. favor of Alexander Littlejohn<sup>158</sup> dated 12 July the other for £250 stg. dated 20 July favor of Matthias Gale<sup>159</sup> both at ninety days sight which makes up the 1000 stg. I

<sup>158</sup> Alexander Littlejohn's properties included The Rhine Plantation in St Thomas in the East. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 297. There is no record of what goods or services he provided for Golden Grove on this occasion.

<sup>159</sup> Matthew Gale was a member of the pre-eminent Gale family. (See note 136 above.)

acquaint you that I should be obliged to draw for on Mr. Arcedeknes Accot. I shall not draw for any more this year and indeed it would want much against me to do it but mett with severall disappointments. I beg the favor you will please to honor them with your acceptance.

[*Notes that he has sent Cowell a turtle 'by Capt. Chisholm'.]*

### 31. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Lyssons, 25 July 1768

I received yours of 3 March from Naples and in regard of Cookes matter I took Bullocks opinion as you desired me and do find that your fathers Estate is jointly lyable with Robin Delaps for his difficiencies. The best way is to say nothing of the matter and in all probability it will die away of itself. As for Cooke himself he with six others was displaced or suspended by Mr. Elletson from his seat in the Councill and was arrested at the suit of Hutchinson More by his Attorneys but by his wifes joining in a Mortgage of all her property to them he was discharged as luckily for him there was at that time no other writt lodged in the office. The Fosters<sup>160</sup> Attorney the next day lodged writts to the amount of £5000. I really do not think you have any great Occasion to be uneasy on this matter. The older it is the more intricate it will grow and John Morse you may depend will throw every obstacle he can in the way. As for Cooke himself I do not apprehend he has either Honor or Honesty and since above mentioned misfortune is very shy and keeps close at home.

What you say is very just that Golden Grove has been a fund for paying of other peoples debts but am much afraid that the generality of those people or their representatives have nothing to refund.

In regard to making out the Sett of Books you wrote to me about I did engage a man and the only one that I know in this Country capable of such a thing, who settled Stirlings matters and introduced him to your mother to begin on those matters but she showed so much uneasiness and unwillingness that I thought it much better to stop than run any risque of giving the old Lady umbrage as she gave apparent signs of her disappointment of overhauling the old Papers. There is a Bond of Sam Gordons<sup>161</sup> for £300. His Son was not askd for it poor lad. He made no manner of thing here and Bayly cheated him out of all his Fathers property so he has gone back to England. He has some

<sup>160</sup> No further information has been discovered about either the Fosters or the attorney mentioned by Taylor.

<sup>161</sup> Samuel Gordon's will was finally proved in 1778. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, I, p. 175.

relations there who I believe wrote for him. He is a very worthy good man.

In regard of what you owe me it was last Christmas about £4000 this Currency but as there are no buildings this year to pay for, it will diminish besides have been obliged to draw on Mr. Cowell for £1000 stg. occasioned by some disappointments I have mett with this year. Your mother nor Aunt have not received anything since your fathers death. Indeed they do not want any thing for they would only lock it up and it will all be yours and your Sisters at their deaths.

I saw Kelly a few days ago who informs me that there are a great many stones gott for the House and two lime Kilns burnt. The Windows and door frames all come out p. Capt. Chisholm so your house when once sett about will not take a great while finishing. The frames shall be pitched and then painted over before it is putt up and the left rest just as you ordered. You must have misunderstood me or I must have made a mistake for my objection was that 1½ feet was not high enough. I hope it will please you when you come over as I will take care that all your directions shall be followed. Both your mother and Aunt have a great objection against the House for having no piazzas and want a Jamaica house built but as you have approved of the plan sent out shall follow it as exactly as possible.

I did receive three pipes of Wine p. the *Augustus Caesar* two of which I suppose are for the Duke of Roxburgh. They shall be taken care of and putt carefully by. I do not know whether he remembers me if he does if you will give my Compliments to him I shall be obliged to you. You may depend on anything your mother or Aunt wants shall be immediately sent and shall send them at all times anything they even seem to want.

In regard to your Crop you have made so small a one that am asham'd to mention and could hardly believe it possible did I not myself even in this dry weather past feel the Effects of the wett weather having fallen one hundred and sixty hdds. short of what I made in 1766. I have shipt you 30 hdds. by Capt. Gillies 50 p. Thompson 120 p. Chisholm 20 p. Power and there is 33 still to ship which shall put on board the *Prince George* Capt. Scyrmsoure. Indeed the Excessive blowing weather is the thing that hindred them from being shipt on Power but no Vessell could go in and out of the Rivers mouth for upwards of 3 weeks and after the weather moderated there was no vessell to be had. This is all the Sugar you have made this year and I shall ship every cask of it.

Kelly informs me that there is now the best appearance of a good crop that he has seen since he has been on the Estate and we have had very good weather for sometime past and it is too dry for this part

but very good for you. I shall be up there this week and will then write to you.

You still keep of from buying negroes. I assure you I do not write from any self Interested views and I know you do not think I do but except you do push it with some Negroes the Estate will inevitably fall back and cost you a very large Sum to bring up again. Whereas if you do not chuse to push it much the best way will be to buy about 16 Negroes a year out of 4 different Ships and it will be hard if 4 good negroes cannot be gott out of each ship and a twelve months Credit. This will be the least you can do to keep up the Estate. You will make a good Crop this ensuing year and will make a good one the year after but do assure you Except there is a very large Addition of Negroes the Estate will fall back every year. The method I propose will be the Easiest and at the Same time a very good way for to increase your strength without putting your self to Any very great expence at once and will answer your end but something is absolutely necessary.

Robin <sup>162</sup> is gone to New York and getting better fast tho I believe never will be better. For his Reversion £1500 Stg. was well worth your while to give him but £10000 is a very good fortune of itself.

In regard to Matrimony I have as yett no thoughts of it. You that are in so fair a Climate must want a wife more than one who have been so long in this Hott Country and consequently excessively relaxed. Tho as I am on the Subject there has been the Devill to pay between two disbanded Councillors Viz. Bayly & Kennion about the latters having debauched the others Quadroon Girl. Bayly says he is very glad that he did not catch them in Bed together or he would have been under the necessity of putting him to death.

Kennion and Tom Cussans want to Cutt through your River land to make a Canall to the back of the Stores and told Kelly you promised to let them but he told them he could do nothing without acquainting Laing your mother & self. On that they are to ask us to let them cutt. You know I have no orders from you. You will therefore please let me know whether I am to permitt them or not as I would chuse to take on myself to give them leave without knowing your sentiments.

Rose Price died about a month ago and old Whitehorne<sup>163</sup> lately greatly incumbered. Capt. Peyton has also slipped off very quietly and old Boroden<sup>164</sup> about the same time Price died.

Your mother and Aunt were both well when I came from Town as were all my family.

<sup>162</sup> Robin Arcedekne.

<sup>163</sup> The Hon. Samuel Whitehorne, who had served as a member of Jamaica's Royal Council.

<sup>164</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify either Peyton or Boroden.

### 32. To Benjamin Cowell, Kingston, 2 September 1768

My last to you was from Lyssons of 25 July p. the Capts. Chisholm & Power who I hope long before this are safe arrived. Since that time I was at Golden Grove for a Week and have the pleasure to assure you I never saw the Estate in such good order and promise so fair for a good Crop and the Negroes in good health. We having had very good weather there for some time past, neither were any of the Canes lodged. There are 182 Acres of plants 367 Acres of Rattoons to be cutt this Ensuing Crop, so that if it is not a good one it will not be for want of land enough in Canes. We shall putt in 110 Acres of plant this year. We think of going about them in the very beginning of December if the weather will possibly admitt having so many canes to cutt and so weak a Gang of Negroes. Indeed the reason of going about so early is to gain as much time as possible to take the Crop off but am much afraid the Estates Negroes will not be able to do it without help. But as I wrote fully on the want of Negroes before shall say no more on that Subject. I believe in case of no Accident that the Estate will make more Sugar the Ensuing year than ever it did and will make a better Crop the year after that.

We have had 100 Negroes there inoculated by Dr. Hayward and have not lost one. Indeed we did not think of inoculating without your orders but as every Estate about did it we were absolutely obliged out of self preservation to do it.

There are a great many stones gott for the House tho the quarry has failed us and when was up were looking out for another. There is lime enough gott. We shall sett about the building directly after Christmas. I did apprehend the Roof was come out in Chisholm but find it was only Window and Door frames etc. We have also gott home the timber for the little flood Gate the old one being intirely rotten.

Inclosed I send to you the bill of Lading and Invoice of 17 Hdds. of Sugar, Capt. Scrymsour having shut out the remainder, and pretends he could not take the rest altho we offered to wain them to Port Morant for him. We must remember him for another time. I would have shipd the remainder on the *York*, but as she is an Old New England built Vessell and this the most stormy time for a Vessell to sail for Europe spoke to one Capt. Boyd and let him know if he would bring them to this town I would lett them be putt on board his Ship, which he has agreed to if he can gett a Vessell to bring them down for there never was so great a Scarcity of Sugar drogers. I should be glad to know if you would approve of my purchasing a Small Vessell for the Use of the Estate and buy Sailor Negroes for her. Altho I can not promise that she would make much money it would be a means of never being disappointed as we could bring the Sugars to the Ships and save that

freight and also send up in her whatever the Estate wanted. Untill the Warr there was allways a Vessel kept by the Estate which was then taken and since that time never had one.

I heard last night from Mrs. Kersey and Mrs. Harris who are both very well.

### **33. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 27 January 1769**

I have yours of 2<sup>d</sup> August from Venice now before me wherein you acquaint me that you have not received my Accounts the Packet being so large that your brother did not send it to you but that he acquainted you that the Balance was £4800 against you & that you hope that as the most considerable Buildings are now done you will receive more from the Estate than you have hitherto got. This is what I think you have the greatest right to expect, for you have been at a very great expence in your works & can assure you that nothing has been done to them more than was necessary & I thought it was the best way to pay the Tradesmen off at once for if they are not they never will work chearfully & when there is the greatest occasion for them will disappoint which is seldom the case when they are regularly paid. The Balance of £4,800 is no addition to any other Account it being the whole item due either to me or to Taylor & Graham.

Am very sorry that the £1,000 stg. Bills I drew last Year should put you to any inconvenience & the payment to be appropriated in any part of the Crop 1768. Had I known it would have straightened you in the least would have put myself to any inconvenience rather than subject you to any, for I assure you there is nothing in my power but would do to serve you at all times & at all Seasons. Am convinced never have been extravagant but if you consider the low Condition of the Estate when you got possession of it, the Expences attending your Law Suit, the building a New Sett of Works, the Demands against your Fathers Estate & the Compromise at home, you will readily conceive how the Crops have been disposed of which also from the very great & constant & uncommon severity of the Rains have been less than might be expected not to say any thing of the two great Floods which happened in that space of time. Thank God the weather has since mended & I hope there will be a tolerable Crop this year which hope will put you in good heart & Spirits & also put you in a mind of purchasing some Negroes as I hope it will do away your present Objections, but of this by & by.

Am glad to hear you intend settling for life. By that I suppose you begin to think of marrying. I think I am confident that you must for the future have a very large income coming in annually to you now



the Expence of building the Works is over. Indeed had you on getting possession of the Estate been £100,000 in Debt you must either have built a Sett or thrown up the Estate. They are now built in a manner for ever provided no Accident of Fire etc, which God forbid should ever happen.

In regard to Kelly I do believe he has your Interest as much at heart & is as industrious & active as ever. It was not his fault that the Estate has not made so much Sugar as was expected it would. The whole Parish fell short these two Years. I fell short at my own Estate last year near 150 Hhds.

In regard to the Flood Gate at the Great River he assures me it was down. Neither was that the place the River broke in at but at March & Gardners. Indeed, the River overflow'd its Banks every where & covered the whole Vale. It was not Golden Grove only that was overflowe'd but every Estate in the River underwent the same fate & yours was the only Molasses Cistern in the River that was not fill'd. I have given positive orders that that Gate shall always be shutt as soon as the Rains begin to fall in April, tho' apprehend there is rather too little Water in Negro River to finish your Crop but this must be entirely regulated by the Seasons.

When he first went there he planted rather too thin but now he puts in the Clay Land 3 Canes in a hole & in the Brick mould 4. I think the Canes stand much better for the thick planting, they are not so luxuriant but they do not lodge so much. As you mention it, will plant a Piece with 5 Canes but in my opinion 4 will do equally well.

Do not make yourself at all uneasy at any thing you owe me or Taylor & Graham. It is what I will always take on myself & I again acquaint you that all the Old Balance is included in the last Balance of the £4800 which was the whole either due to me or to Taylor & Graham. You need not think of retrenching your Expences. If there was the least occasion I would inform you. You have now chiefly to reap the advantage of your Estate & am confident the Rum will pay the Contingencies of it & you can afford to live any where you chuse yourself without renting it. I believe you will be convinced this year that what I say is true. You have sold as much Cattle as last Year. You will find Kelly will make good his promise to you of a good Crop. You will make as good a one the Year after. This will be sufficient to sett you free & Money in the Bank. It will not be the Planters this Year in words only but indeed.

You had the whole quantity of Land to cutt that Kelly mentioned to you without having occasion to purchase a Mule or a Steer tho' will not be able to sell any working Steers this Year.

The 3 Pipes of Wine are here safe & I shall wait your orders for shipping them.

Mr. Laing has been much out of order but is now better. Old Price is made a Baronet, whether with or without his knowledge cannot say. John Woodcock<sup>165</sup> died about 3 months ago & Young Charles is married to his Widow.

Am exceeding sorry to find we have no accounts of the *Golden Grove* Capt. Chisholm whom every body here have given over for lost. I have a Letter from Mr. Cowell acquainting me that he insured 80 Hhds. of your Sugar on board her. I hope he has also insured the 40 more I acquainted him that could be put on board by my letter of 6 July p. the *Rose* Capt. Brett. If she is gone it is exceeding unlucky. Poor George Bennett<sup>166</sup> has 44 hhd. uninsured on board. I hope your Eighth of the Ship was insured. I relyd so much on her goodness that did not Insure mine.

Mr. Cowell also writes me that Mr. Fisher would be very glad to do any thing in regard to his claim on Cooke to whom your Father was one of his Securitys on his administration on the Estate of Isaac Gale. I have wrote him not to be in any hurry in regard to that matter & not to give up any thing but what the Law allows for the following Reasons. I have again seen Cooke who positively insists on it that there is not above £1000 Currency due by him to the heirs of Gale & that he is willing to settle the matter himself with Fisher who has for many Years threatened him with a Law Suit but thought better of it, that Bayly has also once had that matter in his hands & had there been any thing considerable he would never have overlookt it. He also again promised me he will send me a State of what moneys he has both paid & received on accot. of said Estate. Whether he will comply with his promise or no I cannot tell. I shall not fail to urge it. You yourself know what a worthless fellow he is both in Principles & fortune.

Am sorry to inform you that Robert Delap who is the other Security joined with your Father is dead, & notwithstanding in his life time reputed a man of considerable Property & pretty clear, that his Estate will hardly pay 2 Mortgages on it & Mr. Graham this morning informed me that Mr. John Morse told him that including the 2 Mortgages his Estate owes Morse & Bayly £22,000 stg. & his Inventory amounts to about £23,000 Curry. & the Widow dowerable out of the Lands etc, so that will be a total loss whatever Fisher may get. Neither indeed if there was any probability of recovering any thing against the Estate of Delap could it be done untill Fisher has recovered a Judgement jointly against your Father's Estate & his. Morse is filing a Bill in Chancery to bring the Estate to a Sale which he will effect in a few Months as I suppose it will not be litigated. It is a very unfortunate Transaction for

<sup>165</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Woodcock.

<sup>166</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Bennett.

you. Indeed, the Old Gentleman was very unlucky, almost every one he was Security for deceived him & left him to pay their Debts. It is but a melancholy consolation for doing a good natur'd Action that the man turns out a Rascal.

Mr. Cowell wrote me you was very anxious to know what the last Year's Crop was. It was only 249 Hhds. & 1 tierce<sup>167</sup> every part of which I sent home to him Vizt. 50 p. Thompson, 30 p. Gillies, 120 p. Chisholm, 20 p. Power, 17 p. Scrymsour, 12 & 1trs. p. Boyd. You was lucky in one particular in my not putting 13 hdds. which were reduced to 12 & tierce & shipt on board Boyd. They were left out by Scrymsour & the Captain of the *York* wanted them much but as his was an Old Norward built Ship was afraid to trust them in her, & it is well I did not for he run her ashore off Charlestown in So. Carolina to prevent her sinking & every Cask of Sugar on board her is lost.

I was at Golden Grove a fortnight ago & staid there a week. The Mill is about & there are upwards of 100 Hhds. of very good large Hhds. of Sugar made, tho' they went on very slowly on for want of Water not having got Plantain Garden River in altho' there have been 40 Negroes from your Estate & as many from Duckenfield Hall for three weeks at work on the Weir occasioned by the bottom of the Arch being at least five feet about the Surface of the River, so that they are obliged to raise it upwards of that to turn it in & every Flood in the River either damages it or carries it away intirely notwithstanding it is made of 5 or 6 Rows of Poles drove down & wattled together with River gravell etc thrown between. The Arch was originally wrong built. It should have been as low as the bottom of the bed of the River & the Trench deeper dugg & untill that is done & faced with a Brick gutter you will always be troubled for want of Water. This must be a work of time & in the meantime must do as well as we can. Whenever is done, Duckenfield Hall I believe will be glad to be at half the Expence for they will be as great gainers as you. It must tho' be well considered before it is done, so that they may not claim a right to have the Water run in that Direction which might perhaps affect the Fall you may want in case you ever think of settling another Estate.

I believe you must next year be at some Expence altering if not considerably repairing one of the Mills which does at present little or nothing. Tom Winter<sup>168</sup> is to be up at Duckinfield Hall to do some work for the Mill there after Crop. I intend to consult him about it & also in the matter of the Trench I mentioned before. He is very clever & will act conscientiously.

I had your Tradesmen with me & gave them a hearty scolding in

<sup>167</sup> A measure equal to a third of a pipe, or forty-two gallons.

<sup>168</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Winter.

not having begun the house immediately after Christmas as they promised & they both Stevens & Carter have positively promised me that they will sett about it by the 15 of next month & will not take any of their People off untill it is finished. The reason they give is because they have now on hand several small Jobs for different Estates which must be done before they can put their Mills about & their attention is drawn different ways which will be all finished by that time when they will bring all their several Gangs together & not break off untill it is compleated.

In regard to Batchelors Hall, was there also. I am sorry to tell you you have been very unlucky there having lost a good many of the Old Cows & their Calves, & the Cattle there look both thinner & rougher than they used to do tho' the Pasture is pretty clean & Kelly tells me that Kearney<sup>169</sup> is very sober & diligent. Indeed had it not been for that I should have turnd him away. He is on his good behaviour & if he does not do better I shall discharge him at the end of the Quarter. He says it is a lax they have gott. I ordered him to give them herrings which is a good thing for it. I shall be up there in a fortnight for having also the managmt of two Estates in Blue Mountain Valley intend being at Windward almost the Whole Crop time & pay my greatest attention to yours & the other propertys I have the Care of there, that the Crops are taken off to the best advantage & nothing is ever hurt by being well lookt after.

I have enrolled Pickersgill's Examination in the Chancery Office & shall do the same by Mr. Bourke's when get it from your Brother. I hear nothing now about Dawkins's claim, they will never be able to get it from you & I hope by & by to see you have another Estate as Kennion's Holland is there.

Mr. Laing & Mr. Kelly both spoke to me about sparing some Mules & Cattle to your Bros. Estate from your's. I told Kelly to spare what he could & he has sent 3 Mules which could not carry Canes but would do tolerably in a Mill & a Spell of Cattle to help down the Crop. I hope you will not be against it.

I shall ship home to Mr. Cowell on your account 50 Hhds. on board the *Friendship* Thompson & 50 on board the *Duckenfield* Foster which will be the first two ships & also something in every Ship I hope, & give you timely advice for making the Insurance. These two Ships will sail in April.

I will not for fear of Accidents promise what the Estate will make but every thing wears the appearance of a very good Crop. The 2 first Pieces of Canes that were cutt contained 27 Acres. They made 57

<sup>169</sup> It has proved impossible to locate any further information about Kearney or for how long he had been employed as an overseer at Batchelor's Hall pen.

Hhds. What has been cutt afterwards when there did not do so well. You will make a very good Crop the year after that that is next year but do assure you that without an addition of Negroes it will be impossible to keep the Estate up.

I do not want you to go to any great Expence at once for Negroes, but to put on for some years to come about 16 or 20, no more than 4 or at most 5 out of one Ship & of the best Countries & who have had the Yawes if possible to be discovered. I would not urge you to it was it not your own advantage & am confident that your Crop will be satisfactory & remove your Objections. I assure your present Negroes will last much longer for it. The New will season in this manner tolerably kindly & if you will raise a good Strength in the Estate without much feeling it as in three Years time each Negro will pay for himself. For it is a pity & for after having such good Lands & Works the Estate should fall off for want of a sufficient strength of Negroes, which if not put on must infallibly be the case.

We have exerted ourselves for the Plant we are now taking off & it was late before we went about last Year. Were we to push so for a continuance the Negroes would be destroye'd which is what I am sure you neither wish or desire. Neither shall I take up your time in telling you how every other Estate in that Quarter hire jobbing Negroes etc.

Your Cousin Robin Arcedekne went to New York for the Recovery of his health & died there. He has given £10,000 Stg. in Legacies to his Sisters being the amount of the Mortgage he had on his Brother's Estate in Ireland & money in John Bourke's hands in London, £700 to Old Fagan for Services in the Law Suit against you; £70 to Welch & the Resideum of every thing including Fontabell & the Reversion of Golden Grove should you dye without Children to Nic. Bourke. I hope you will take care to disappoint both him & Bourke by marrying. All your acquaintances are about it. Welch was marry'd last Monday to Miss Dehany,<sup>170</sup> a Grand daughter of Dr. Gregory's. Bullock is to be married to Miss Trower.<sup>171</sup> Walter Murray<sup>172</sup> the Naval officer to one Miss Garland & Brownrigg to Widow Jones<sup>173</sup> and three or four more Young Fellows so that shall hardly have a Batchelor among us.

Tom Cussans & my Brother sail the week after next for North America to take a Tour of it. Jack intends for England & Tom Cussans to visit Paoli & Corsica.

<sup>170</sup> Welch married Lucretia Favell Dehany. (See note 155 above.)

<sup>171</sup> Bullock married Elizabeth Savile Trower. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 38.

<sup>172</sup> Murray went on to become the proprietor of Latium Plantation in St James' Parish. In 1773 he was elected as a Member of the Assembly for that Parish. He subsequently returned to England where he died in 1794 at the age of fifty-four. *Ibid.*, III, p. 86.

<sup>173</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Miss Garland, Brownrigg, and Widow Jones.

I have not been lately at Spanish Town but hear your mother & aunt are both well.

The Postage of a large Packet comes to much by a Man of War that shall Enclose your Accounts for 1768 by the Merchant man for London, the balance is about £3680.18.9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in our favor including all former balances.

#### 34. To Benjamin Cowell, Kingston, 27 January 1769

Your favor of 4<sup>th</sup> September is now before me acquainting me of having received the 30 Hogsheads of Sugar p. Gillies & those by Thompson safe & that you had insured 80 p. Chisholm. I advised you by mine of 6 July to make Insurance on 40 hdds. more p. Chisholm so as to make in the whole 120 hdds. & by mine of 25 July p. the *Golden Grove* & Duplicate p. the *Morant Planter* intended to put 30 on board Capt. Scrymsour but he would not take any more on board but 17, the other 13 were reduced to 12 & 1 tierce which were shipt on board the *Prince of Wales* Capt. Boyd of which Mr. Graham gave you advice.

I am excessively uneasy on account of the *Golden Grove* as we have no manner of Accounts of him here as yet. Indeed I make no manner of doubt but the advice came time enough to get Insurance done for 40 hdds. last shipt before he was missing for I do not ever expect to hear of her again. I had besides shipt on board her 44 hdds. on account of another friend & did rely so much on the goodness of the Ship & experience of the Captain that I would not insure any thing on 1/8 of said Ship which belonged to me. Indeed am more uneasy at the loss my friends suffer p. said vessell than for my own. I hope Mr. Arcedekne's 1/8 was insured. We have not heard the least thing of her in these parts but by way of London.

In regard to Mr. Fisher's Claim on Mr. Cooke of this Country for his Transactions regarding the Estate of Isaac Gale & for whose Administration Mr. Andrew Arcedekne & Robert Delap were Securitys, I would not by any means have you be in any matter of hurry to settle it with him. Let him have what the Law will give him for have again seen Cooke who positively insists on it that there is not above £1000 this money due by him to the Heirs of Gale & that he is willing to settle the matter himself with Mr. Fisher, that he has been many years talking of making him account for those matters but never proceeded in it & that it has also been in the hands of Mr. Zachary Bayly here & that if any thing could be done he would have done it, but the frivolousness of Mr. Fishers pretensions to any large Sum of money due to him by Mr. Cooke prevented his prosecuting the matter. Cooke has again promised me to let me see a State of the Account & what

Sums he has paid & received on account of said Estate. He is indeed not worth a Penny & am afraid the Estate of Robert Delap will also turn out good for little for calling not long ago on my Attorney found him drawing out an Amicable Bill in Chancery & answer to it. Curiosity made me ask him what it was & he acquainted me it was to bring the Estate of Robert Delap to a Sale for his Debts were so large that there was no saving it as there were one Mortgaged on the half of said Estate amounting with the Principal & Interest in the hands of Mr. Paplay to near £12,000 & another to Mr. Morse for £6000 Stg. & the whole value of the Property of which Mr. Delap died possessed of did not exceed £23,000 & his Widow was also intitled to Dower & there were other debts besides. As there is no such thing as getting a Judgement on said Estate or indeed suing it as liable to pay one half as being a Joint Security in the Bond with Mr. Arcedekne untill the Sum due Mr. Fisher is ascertained & they have obliged his Estate to pay it as being the most solvent, I say untill this is done there will be no such thing as coming on Delap's Estate which will long before this can properly happen be intirely sunk in paying his Debts now about Establishing in the Court of Chancery & Expences & compromising the Widow's Dower, so I do not expect Mr. Arcedekne will avail himself a penny on acct of Delap's being joined in the Bond with his Father. It is a most unlucky affair but cannot now be remedied & the only thing is not to pay any more than what is justly due & cannot be avoided, as the Old Gentleman never got any thing by the Transaction & was intirely led into it through Friendship & a desire to serve Mr. Cooke.

The Crop of Golden Grove amounted to only 249 Hhds. & 1 Tierce of which the whole was shipt to you vizt. 50 p. Thompson, 30 p. Gillies, 120 p. Chisholm, 20 p. Power, 17 p. Scrymsour, & 12 hhds. p. Boyd, shall p. the first Ship send you the Estates' Accounts for 1768 which are already drawn out. The reasons of the Crop being so small I gave you before vizt. the Weather for three Years before, the ramming the Cisterns for the Still house & the Floods.

We have had tolerable good weather here for these several months past. I was up about 14 days ago & staid 7 days there. The Mill was about & have now made upwards of 100 Hdds. Believe there will be a very good Crop made this Year if we meet with no Accidents which I hope we shall not. There are Canes enough on the Ground to make a good one. The first two pieces of Plans we cutt being 27 Acres made 57 hhds. of Sugar, the pieces that they were on when there did not yield near so well but all the Sugar then made was very good. I will not take on me for fear of accidents to say what the Estate will make this Year but assure you shall be up there every fortnight or three weeks & that nothing shall be wanting on my part to make the Crop turn out satisfactory both in the quantity & quality of the Goods.

We were very scarce of Water there not having got in Plantain Garden River altho there has been 80 Negroes (between Golden Grove & Duckinfield Hall) for three weeks constantly upon it. The reason of it is the Flood Gate was originally wrong built. The Foundation of it is at least 5 feet above the Surface of the River so were obliged to raise the River so high by a Dam across it to turn it into the Trench which carried the Water to the Dam by the Works & the Trench being cutt through a rich loose Mould the whole way is continually falling in after any heavy Rain which were obliged to be continually throwing out to keep it open. Had we a sufficient strength of Negroes on the Estate to do the work of it & keep it in the Condition it ought to be kept in we would lower the Flood Gate to a Levell with the bottom of the River & face the bottom & sides of the Trench with a Brick Gutter. The Bricks could be easily made from the Mould dug out of the Trench by which means we might command at all times what quantity of Water we wanted & loose very little in the way, whereas as it is now we loose near half of it by sinking in the Gardens. We should also save the Expence we are at in raising the River every Year & which we have sometimes occasion to do two or three times a Year for the Dam or Weir is carried away or broke by almost every flood & takes a great deal of time & work to repair it. But untill there is a sufficient number of Negroes to effect this must do as well as we can.

I believe we shall be obliged almost to build a New Mill after the Crop. One of those on the Estate being very old & does almost nothing. Think of employing one Mr. Wynter to examine her. He is lookt upon to be one of the best Mechanicks in the Country & a conscientious man. He will have some work to do at Duckinfield Hall which is the next Estate to Golden Grove & will then get him to do it at the same time as his People are at that place at work.

I have been pressing & threatning the Tradesmen on their not having begun the house at Golden Grove & they assure me they will positively set about it the 15<sup>th</sup> of next month with all their People & not take them off until it is finisht. The reason they give for not beginning now is that they have severall small Jobbs on hand for several Estates that must be done before they can go about with their Mills & that their people are dispersed & their attention drawn different ways which will be finisht by that time & then they will bring their whole Gangs compleat & pay all their attention to that one matter untill finished.

In regard to Batchelors Hall I was there also & cannot conceive what is the matter with the Cattle there they being very thin & rough & a great many of the Old Cows & their Calves have died notwithstanding the Pasture is in pretty good Order & few weeds. I spoke to the Penn keeper about it who tells me that he cannot account for it & takes all the Care in his Power. I should have discharged him had not Mr. Kelly



assured me he is always on the Penn & is very diligent & sober, so will try him one Quarter more & see if it goes on better if not will then send him away & endeavour to get another. I shall be there in 10 or 12 days again.

I have got Mr. Pickersgills Evidence also in regard to the Land at Plantain Garden River & when receive the Commission sent to Ireland from you will also return that into the Office. I do not hear of Mr. Dawkins's Claim now. I believe they are satisfied they can never recover it.

Mr. Laing & Mr. Kelly both spoke to me about sparing some Mules & Cattle from Golden Grove to assist at your Estate the Swamps. I told Mr. Kelly to give what assistance he could & have sent 3 Mules & a Spell of Cattle to carry the Sugars down. I shall ship p. the *Friendship* Capt. Thompson 50 Hhds. & p. the *Duckinfield* Foster 50 more Hhds. of Sugar from Golden Grove for & on account of our friend Mr. Arcedekne. They will both sail in April. I shall also give you due notice of what Ships I shall ship on board & the quantity in each Ship in order for timely Insurance.

Our Morant Ships have been unlucky this Year. Chisholm is missing. The *York* the Ship I would not put the Sugar in Scrymsour left out is lost & the whole Cargo washt away. A Bristolman lost her Mast, had her Captain washt over board & 3 men was carried into Carolina & the Vessel condemned.

Mr. Robin Arcedekne died about 4 months ago in New York. He has left half of the Reversion of Golden Grove in case Mr. Chaloner Arcedekne should die without Children to Mr. Bourke to whom he has left the Residium of the Estate.

Mr. Laing has been a good deal out of order & still is.

I have not heard lately from Spanish town but my Brother was there lately & tells me Mrs. Kersey & Mrs. Harris were both well.

[Notes that Laing is recovering.]

### 35. To Benjamin Cowell, Manchioneal, 14 April 1769

I wrote to you about 3 Weeks ago p. the Pacquet acquainting you of my Intention of Shipping 50 hdds. of Sugar on Board the *Earl of Halifax* Captain Michael Dalton at Port Morant in case you should chuse to insure. They are now all on board as also 50 hdds. on board the *Duckinfield* Capt. William Foster who will sail in about 14 Days and Dalton by the 10 May. Shall ship next week 30 hdds. on board the *Morant Bay* Capt. Farr who am in hopes will also get away by the same time as Dalton and then 50 hdds. on board the *Prince George*, Capt.

Fryer. They are all from Golden Grove and on Acct. and risque of our Mutual Friend Mr. Arcedekne. Inclosed is the Bill of Lading and Invoice of 50 hdds. of Sugar on board the *Friendship* Capt. Thompson who I hope will arrive safe. The Sugar appears to me to be very good and the hdds. heavier than Usual.

We have made there about 320 hdds. and in case we meet with no Accidents think we shall make about 180 more. The Weather has been very fine for the Estates in the River this year being very dry.

Inclosed is Golden Grove Acct. and Mr. Arcedekne's Account Current with Taylor & Graham Ballance in their favor £3584.13.3½ which we hope you will find right. You will see an Account of Law charges on the 8<sup>th</sup> May £19 & Aug 30 £76.12.3 an Action of Lewis Grant's<sup>174</sup> it being for Cedar for the Water Wheels which was over-charged near 100 p. ct. and he would neither deduct it nor leave it to Arbitration on which we thought it best to contest the matter and struck off near half of his Acct. rendered in. There were also some Cattle sold from the Estate to the Amount of £400 which we have not received as yett when we do shall bring it to the Credit of Mr. Arcedekne. The reason of not having yett received it is because we gave a Credit on Acct. of the Price we sold them at being £3 a head more than we could have gott by insisting on an immediate payment.

I intended to have sent you a list of the Negroes and Stock and also the Acct. of what Supplies will be wanted for the Estate, but have been obliged to attend on the Governor & his Family who are in this Parish at present for these 14 days past and the list is at my Estate which is twenty miles from hence but shall send them by Capt. Foster. I hope it will make no difference.

### 36. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Manchioneal, 14 April 1769

Am favored with yours of 27 Novr. and 12 Decr. from Florence and sincerely congratulate you on having had £1600 St. Insurance on the *Golden Grove* tho it is far below the loss yett it is some what out of the Time it being in my opinion impossible but that she must have perisht. Am extreemly concern'd that you have mett with much bad success in your first concern in Shipping. I shall follow your directions in not shipping above 50 hdds. on board any one Vessell. This goes under Cover to Mr. Cowell which brings him the Invoice and Bill of Lading for 50 hdds. of Sugar on board the *Friendship* Capt. Charles Thompson Capt. Foster has 50 and Capt. Dalton 50 more hdds. of your Sugar now on board the first sails in about a fortnight the other about the

<sup>174</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Lewis Grant.

10<sup>th</sup> of May the Sugars are in my opinion very good and the Hdds. large they weigh an average 1720 H wt. If you chuse to have them larger please lett me know and they shall be made so. Am sorry the Sugar was not better last year they look very well in this Country.

I have also wrote for Insurance if you please to make it on 30 hdds. to be putt on Board the *Morant Bay* Capt. Farr on 50 on the *Prince George* Capt. Fryer who will sail in May. Shall take care to give timely information on board what ships I putt your goods. You may be assured I shall allways assist Capt. Fryer or any one else you recommend. All the Ships who gett your Sugar this year Except Thompson are to fetch them at their own Expence from the Rivers mouth there being plenty of Ships this year and all the Ships I putt your Sugar on board of after Fryer are English Built.

I observe what you say in regard to paying your Mother and Aunt their Legacies and told them it. Your Aunt desires the money may remain in your hands and says she wants to putt more in as she does not know what to do with it and she may either lose it or have it stole from her and therefore that it is much safer where it is. Your Mother says she will receive hers tho I believe she is only joking for she knows as little what to do with it as her Sister. I will offer it to her.

You have now about 320 hdds. made and have by the Plan which is not att all exact about 190 Acres to cutt. If we meet with no Accident you will make above 500 hdds. The Weather has been very favourable to you this year indeed remarkably so but plays the Devill every where else being so dry.

The Duke of Roxburghs wine is in very good order and safe, I have it often Examined by a Cooper.

Am very glad you have consented to purchase some Negroes for the Estate for it is otherwise impossible to keep it up there being Work for 200 more working negroes than are on it without putting in an Acre more of Canes and by nursing weeding trashing them and tending the land it would yield infinitely better than it does now.

I told Mr. Richards<sup>175</sup> who is Attorney to Tom Cussans what you mention in regard to the trench through Riversmouth land. In regard to Swamps shall follow your orders when receive them, am only sorry it have given your Sister so much uneasiness. Kelly tells me it will make upwards of 80 hdds. this year. I think it can be made Advantageous to you as Norris's Pen<sup>176</sup> will be a good place to send any of the Golden Grove Negroes that have the Yaws to mend the Fences and plant

<sup>175</sup> George Richards.

<sup>176</sup> Chaloner Arcedekne inherited Norris's Pen, in St David's Parish, from his father. Inventory of Andrew Arcedekne of Parish St Cat., Esq., Inventories of Estates, Island Record Office, Spanish Town, V (1765), fos 58–63.

Guinea Grass for Plantain Garden River is much too wett for that disorder.

David Milner has been talking to me on a Subject he says he mentioned to you which is that he wants to rent a piece of your land opposite to Wheelersfield and insisted on my going to see it with him which I did 2 days ago. He desired me to write to you on the Subject. I told him I should leave it intirely to yourself for that I would by no means take it on me to recommend it to you to do such a thing for altho there might not at present appear any disadvantage to you yett in time it may be found very inconvenient and any rent that can be gott may not be found an adequate Compensation for running the Risque of a bad neighbour and if at any time hereafter you should think of Extending your Estate by putting up another Sett of Works you will have occasion for more pasture and it would be disagreeable not to be able to make use of your own land on Acct. of a Lease.

Carter has dug the foundation of your new house and has now 26 hands at Work. The Weather has been so dry there has not been Water to make Mortar though it looks for Rain now. I have been up near three weeks in this Parish with the Governor and his Family who dined at Golden Grove two days ago and are mightily pleased with it. Indeed have been obliged to attend on them so constantly that cannot be so particular as intended especially as I have just heard Thompson sails on Sunday and all my papers are at Lyssons and am now at Jasper Halls in Manchioneal.

I have inclosed Golden Grove Accts. and your Acct. Current to Mr. Cowell with a list of the Negroes etc and shall if in time write him by this Conveyance for the Supplies if not shall write by Foster as I must see the Governor & his Family imbarck at Manchioneal Harbour for St. Marys on a Challenge from the Ladys and a promise I made to them on Board.

### **37. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 29 April 1769**

The above is a Copy of my last to you from Manchioneal since which have been at your Estate and there were then 364 hdds. made and the Weather was dry and fine They indeed were rather scarce of Water altho had taken in the whole of Plantain Garden River.

Kelly showed me the list of Supplies and desired me to write for a Still of a thousand Gallons. Mr. Cowell will acquaint you what I wrote on that Subject. As your Coppers are very old and want in a manner an intire new sett for the Boiling house have wrote for 12 Iron boilers which we find to answer very well for every thing but Clarifiers it will save a great deal of money and the old Coppers will buy or go very

near it to purchase the Still. In case you send out the Still it ought to come by the very first Vessell to be in time to hang time enough for next Crop otherwise it must be useless for a Year.

I have seen your Mother and Aunt who are both very well. Your Mother gives this year 10 Negroes to the Swamps which She has desired me to send there. Your old Acquaintance John Fagan died about a fortnight ago. He had not a days health since he had the Account of his Friend Robins<sup>177</sup> death and last week young Boscawen second Son to the late Admirall,<sup>178</sup> was drowned at Sir Charles Prices in the Pond before the House at the Decoy when he went to Bath.

I about six weeks ago received from the House of Long Drake and Long 5 Cases containing a Monument of your Fathers which have sent to Spanish Town to be putt up there.

I have by this sent bills of Lading to Mr. Cowell for the 50 hdds. on Board the *Duckingfield* and also for those on board the *Earl of Halifax* tho could not send the Weights having not yett gott them from the Estate. Capt. Farr has his 30 hdds. on board and we are now shipping the 50 on board the *Prince George*. When finisht shall put if possible 30 hdds. on board the *Brilliant* Capt. Myall and 30 on board the *Maria Beckford* Capt. Castle who will sail after Fryer.

### 38. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 1 June 1769

My last to you was p. the *Morant Bay* Capt. Farr and the *Prince Frederick* Capt. Johnston Covering the Bill of Lading for 50 hdds. of Sugar on board the *Prince George* Capt. Fryer. Annext is the Invoice of them and inclosed is the Bill of Lading for 30 on board the *Brilliant* Capt. Myall with the Invoice also who will sail in a fortnight. Shall begin to ship on board the *Maria Beckford* Capt. Castle the *Friendship* Capt. McLeod and the *Nancy* Capt. Cleland. On board the latter shall putt 50 hdds, the two former 30 in each. Since my last Capt. Dalton is saild and I hope safe arrived before this reaches you. The dry weather still continues and they are still making Sugar at the Estate.

### 39. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 2 June 1769

I this minute received yours of 20 March & Cannot help being Excessive uneasy at the Concern & uneasiness I find you are in which makes me

<sup>177</sup> Robin Arcedekne.

<sup>178</sup> Admiral Sir Edward Boscawen (1711–1761). For more details see Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1908), XI, pp. 71–81.

not delay a Single Minute in informing You, which I do with the greatest pleasure, that your apprehensions are a good deal imaginary. But to begin to the first part of your Letter you may depend on it will follow your directions intirely in regard to Swamps & believe Our joint friend Mr. Laing will still act for you there also. Am really Sorry that the Estate hitherto has not turn'd out so well for Mr. Gowell as I could have wisht.

I wrote by the *Diligence* Man of War on 27 January Last which Letter Could not possibly have reached you at the time you Wrote me, by your Uneasiness, but hope it arrived soon after. I also wrote p. the *Grenville* packet a Duplicate of it & also acquainted you of having received yours of 2<sup>d</sup> August from Venice & of the State of your Accounts & that the Weather had become better the Latter end of Last year than it had been for three years before and that you had a good appearance of a Crop & would begin to find the Estate more profitable than it had been, that the Wet weather had prevented the Estate from rising before & had also backt every Other Estate in the same part of the Country. I also Wrote you about Cooke but as suppose you must have either received the Original or Duplicate refer you to them. I acquainted you that I had Sent home every Hdd. of the last Years Crop it being only 249 hdds. & 1 Tierce & acquainted you with the Ships they were put on board of Vizt. 50 p. Thomson, 30 p. Gillies, 120 p. Chisholm, 20 p. Power, 17 p. Scrymsour, 12 & 1 Tc p. Boyd. Chisholm was unhappily Lost & I am really Sorry that the remainder turned out so very bad as to Nett you only £1300.

As for your Accounts you will see by those I send you p. Thomson that your Debt to Taylor & Graham was lessened £1291.17.9½ the Balance due the 31 Dec 1767 being £4786.11.1 & the balance due the 31 Dec 1768 being £3584.13.3¼.

I wrote you also of 4 April Congratulating you of having had £1600 Stg Insurance on the *Golden Grove*, & that should obey your Orders in not Shipping above 50 hdds. on board of any One Vessell and acquainted you of having shipt 50 hdds. on board of Thomson, 50 on board of Dalton, & 50 on board Foster & that the hdds. weighed on an average then 1720 lbs each. I also Acquainted you of my intention of Shipping 30 hdds. on board the *Morant Bay* Capt. Farr & 50 On board the *Prince George* Capt. Fryer, all which is now on board & gone except those by Fryer who Sails on the 4<sup>th</sup>. Have now 30 hdds. on board the *Brilliant* Capt. Myall & 30 On board the *Morant Planter* Capt. Power, Shall also Send you 30 p. the *Maria Beckford* Capt. Castle, 30 p. the *Friendship* Capt. McLeod & 50 p. the *Nancy* Capt. Cleland. These Sugars I have engaged & have wrote for Insurance on them.

I shall go soon to Windward & Let you know what more shall send you. I have the happiness to think you will not be disappointed this

Year in Your Crop. We have had dry Weather which still Continues & your hdds. that are gone weight one with another 1617 lb. nett after deducting the fare. You will now See that you have not so much occasion to be frightened as you think.

I also acquaint you that your Debt will be much lighten'd to us & that there will be no Bill drawn on you this Year. I wrote you by the *Duckenfield* on 29 April Acquainting you that you had then 346 Hdds. made, that you was rather scarce of Water & that the Weather was dry, that the list of Supplies was gone home & my sentiments on a 1000 Gallon Still, a Copy of which I now Send you.

In regard to the Swamps I never was on it in my life but once & then only rode through it but that the Sugars of that & its Rum together with the Golden Grove Rum will do much more than pay the Expences of both Estates. Neither Can I Conceive how it can bring you in Debt much less so much as £500 p. annum, I know it ought not. Depend on it I shall do every thing in my power to make it profitable too. If I fail imput it not to design but Accidents.

The Weather is here very dry & every thing burnt up. Shall write you Soon again for am really uneasy to find you under so much anxiety.

Your Mother & Aunt are both well. I believe your Mother intends to make you a present of Some Negroes. She has already bought Five & intends Seven or Eight more for Swamps.

I saw Carter Yesterday. He is at Work on the House & tells me that he will not leave it untill finisht.

#### 40. To Benjamin Cowell, Kingston, 2 June 1769

On the other side is the Copy of a letter I wrote you yesterday p. the *Prince George* Capt. Fryer since which received yours of 8 Aprill and by it find you have not received mine to you of 27 Jany p. the *Diligence* Man of Warr wherein I acquainted you both concerning Cookes matter and the Estate. I sent a Copy of it p. the *Grenville* packett and the last year Accts. p. Capt. Thompson. I am very sorry you should imagine that you are forgott. It never having been my design to give you the least reason of Complaining for the future shall oftner write to you.

I saw the Mason who is at Work on the House yesterday and he acquaints me that he will not break of from it untill it is intirely finisht. I shall go up there as soon as I possibly can though this is the busiest time of the year here as most all the Ships are to sail on or before the 26 of July.

I sent you yesterday p. the *Prince George* Capt. Fryer the Bill of Lading and Invoice for 30 hdds. on board the *Brilliant* Myall. Mr. Kelly has

putt 30 hdds. of Sugar on Board the *Morant Planter* Capt. Walter Power. I did not intend to have shipt on him so soon which made me not write for Insurance in case Mr. Arcedekne chuses to Insure. I shall also putt the other Sugars I acquainted you of on board the other Ships also and think of sending you more by other Vessells as soon as see how much the Estate makes. Shall take care when receiving Mrs. Kerseys Beer to forward it to her.

#### 41. To Benjamin Cowell, Kingston, 20 June 1769

The above is a Copy of my last to you since which have not been favoured with any from you. Hope as I hear the *Diligence* is arrived that you have received the letter by her of 27 January. I sent you bills of Lading and the Invoices of the Sugars p. this Ship by Capt. Fryer and the *Augustus Caesar* Capt. Duffel. I have not yett got the Weights of the Sugar on board of [*torn*] nor the Bills of Lading as yett as soon as gett them shall forward. The *Friendship* Capt. McLeod has also gott his 30hdds. and Capt. Castle is taking his in, as soon as gett the Bills of Lading and Invoices shall forward them to you and sett about getting Capt. Cleland Sugar on board.

The Carpenter that was at Work on Mr. Arcedeknes house I find by a letter from Mr. Kelly died last week. I shall employ another and have wrote to Mr. Kelly on the Subject.

I am afraid we shall fall short at Golden Grove of what I expected from the appearance of the Canes. Mr. Kelly writes me it has taken 30 hdds. to repack & fill up those allready shipt but hope to send you more than have as yett wrote for Insurance for.

#### 42. To Benjamin Cowell, Kingston, 14 July 1769

Annexed is a copy of my last to you since which have received the Cask of Beer and a Box for Mrs. Kersey which I forwarded to her. Inclosed are Bills of Lading for 50 hdds. of Sugar on board the *Nancy* Capt. John Cleland 30 on Board the *Maria Beckford* Capt. Lawrence Castle 30 on Board the *Friendship* Capt. Peter McLeod. Mr. Kelly writes me he sent the Bill of Lading for the 30 on Board the *Morant Planter* Capt. Power who sail'd yesterday as am inform'd for did not see him before he sail'd.

Inclosed is the Invoice of the said parcells of Sugar I shall send also between 30 & 40 hdds. in the Capt. Thomas Edwards if he can take them in so as to sail by the 26<sup>th</sup> Instant they are fallen in the weights (which I assure you is not my fault) particularly those by Power. The



reason they give me for it is as some of the Staves are longer than others they use the Long ones together and the short ones in the same manner which occasions that difference. I heartily wish them safe home and to a good markett as I shall directly after the 26<sup>th</sup> Instant go to Windward shall then write you about the condition of the Estate and how far the House is advanced for have not been able to go up for these 10 Weeks past.

Mrs. Kersey and Mrs. Harris were both well a few days ago when heard from them.

### 43. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 7 October 1769

My last to you was p. the *Augustus Caesar* and the *Brilliant* Capt. Myall which I hope you have long since received. Since which have not heard from you but had a letter from your Brother in Law Mr. Cowell who acquaints me that you are very anxious to have the House finisht. You may depend on it shall use the whole of my endeavours to gett it done for you as soon as possible which I hope will be about March. Have had for these ten months past a Parcell of tradesmen at Work and Carter with his masons on that and on your Mills one of which was in excessive bad order but hope it will be done so well as to take off the Crop as it ought. Have also given orders to build up a wall before the floodgate by the garden the Wooden work being quite gone and we lost one half of the Water neither could it be repaired but by a very large expence am hopefull that this will answer. Will throw in stuff between the Wall and gate and as there is another gate to the Dam there will be no risque of damaging it.

The Estate was in very good order and a very good appearance of a Crop. We shall putt about the first week in Decr. but shall not be able to put in above 60 or 70 Acres of plant with the Plantation people so that there will be an absolute Necessity for hiring negroes to hole and plant 40 or 50 acres for a Spring plant. Without it the Estate must fall which will be a pity now it is brought up.

There has been no Negroes arrive since your orders for buying more. The first that arrive you may depend shall buy for you. It is what have all along desired and if you continue with the same mind which is to dispose of the Swamps Sugar and Rum and the Rum of Golden Grove am pretty confident that they will not only pay the Contingencies of both but supply as many Negroes on Golden Grove as it will be prudent to putt annually on or am much mistaken.

The Weather this year has been very favourable for your Estate and the others in the River but has hurt all the rest of the Island exceedingly being so excessively worse than 1767 which you remember. Your Cattle

at Batchelors Hall have also recovered greatly with it.

Your Brother also acquaints that You have consented to lett Dr. Hayward have a piece of Land not to be within 150 yds. of your House. The place the Doctor wants it at is at the Corner of the Line by Duckingfield Hall and Edlynes so that the nearest part of his Land will be above a quarter of a Mile from your House. He also acquaints that you agreed to allow Philander<sup>179</sup> £5 p. annum as long as he behaves well which will pay him.

I did intend to have shipt thirty Hdds. more but there was no ship either at Windward or here for London. One Edwards intended to go for London but found he could not gett a load so changed his intentions to go to Bristol.

Your Brother has also wrote me that he cannott find Luke Burke. I had the direction from Capt. Crean who is his Friend. It would be better could he be found but if he cannott it will be no very great matter for the Courts here have lately adopted a Sistem from Burrouhs reports of the determination of Lord Mansfield<sup>180</sup> that twenty years quiet Possession is a good Title which Old Pickersgill has proved for you so cannot believe you will be further plagued with Dawkins's claim.

Your Brother also wrote me to know whether I do not think it would be better to give Fisher a Sum of money as 2, 3 or 400£ to release your Fathers Estate from any further claims on the Acct. of the Administration of Isaac Gale. I really think if it can be done for that it would be the best way for the Expences of a Law suit alone would come to much more & Cooke is not worth a Shilling and Rob. Delaps Estate will turn out Bankrupt.

Your Cousin Bourke has lately mett with a sad disappointment. Munro left his Estate to his Niece one Miss Jenkins for her life and then to her Children, if she should have any, failure of which to Bourke and his Children. He gott possession under the Will, takes care for three years to remitt her nothing and on the Ladys coming to the Estate his Overseer genterly turns her out of Doors, on which she went to Spanish Town and luckily for her brought a letter to Mr. Harrison<sup>181</sup> the Attorney Generrall who immediately files a Bill agt. Bourke on her behalf. Bourke finding he could not keep possession was reluctantly obliged to deliver up possession last week after having before spread a

<sup>179</sup> Philander was a slave on Golden Grove. There is no evidence of why Arcedekne agreed to make this payment to him.

<sup>180</sup> William Murray, (1705–1793) first Earl of Mansfield. Mansfield had served as the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench of Great Britain since 1756, a position he would continue to hold until 1788 when he resigned the office. For more details see Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIII, pp. 1306–1312.

<sup>181</sup> Thomas Harrison, who died in 1792. Lawrence-Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 237.

report the Girl was mad and that he lookt on the Estate his own. I heartily wish he may be disappointed by her Marrying, and getting Children. All his murmurings have it you as also dying. Why do you not disappoint them at once by marrying. I would do it really to vex them. On hearing the above of your being ill I told them it was not true for Miss Jenkins was engaged to you that was the reason she would not marry in this Country.

All our Politicks are now asleep but apprehend they will be again revived as the Assembly is to meet the 24<sup>th</sup> Instant. Tom Gordon has gott a privy seal come out and young Price stands in his stead for the Walks.

My Brother and Tom Cussans have been in North America ever since Feb. last. I hear they are gone up the Lakes and to Quebeck so suppose you will see them soon as I apprehend they will return to England this winter, as Cussans will not be disappointed in his intentions of going to Corsica to see Paoli as he will have no opportunity of seeing him in England.

I saw your mother and Aunt a few days ago. They were both very well.

#### **44. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 25 February 1770**

My last to you was p. the *Adventure* Man of War since which have received your Favor of 20 Aug. from France and Mr. Cowell's of 4 Decr 1769. Yours acknowledges the Receipt of 2 of mine with the Accts. by which you find that the Amount of your debt to us is lessened and that you earnestly wish it was possible to find out a way of diminishing the Contingencies which eat up all your produce. I assure you that I have in every particular as farr as has been in my power endeavoured to make your contingencies as low as possible. The Years 1765, 66 & 67 were very wett and in those years we had two of the largest floods ever known, which hurt your Estate excessively. Yours was not the only one that suffred, every estate about was hurt as much as yours, and you constantly made 100 hdds. more than any of your Neighbors altho inferior to them in the Strength of your Negroes.

The Negroes putt on, and given you by your Mother, have not answerd so well as I wisht or expected It arose for the Badness of the Weather and the Yaws. The Reason that Kellys negroes were employ'd was because you had not sufficient Number of your own, and had you tradesmen of your own certainly you would not then Occasion to hire but you have not gott them, and thought that as you hired them yourself before you went off you would have no objection they should be continued. The Land he has you gave him yourself.

I am really concern'd to find the Crop 1768 turned out so small a Matter as £1000 & that for 1/2 of that you was obliged to your Brother for the after Insurance on Golden Grove. I am glad you sav'd it at any Rate, and assure you [tom] Insurance, or any other had been made, I should not have been [tom].

Mr. Cowell by my letters p. the *Friend* Capt. Gilles, and the *Dawkins* Capt. Stupart of Aprill & May that I should ship 80 hdds. on Board her, and p. mine of 6 of July by the *Rose* [tom]. I acquainted him of shipping 120 hdds. on Board her I mean the *Golden Grove* a Duplicate of Which I also sent home. You may depend on it I have allways done, and allways will do every thing in my Power to serve you, and augment your property, which I should have more improved had Negroes been putt on as I recommended.

I acquainted Mr. Milner with your Determination about the land. Your Fathers monument has been a long time up. In regard to your House it is going on altho never had such a jobb before as to gett it heartily sett about, shall acquaint you when it is finisht.

Since the Above have been favour'd with Mr. Cowells letter 4<sup>th</sup> of Decr. acquainting me of your safe arrivall in England which gives me Real pleasure as I hope you will now marry and gett Heirs to disappoint your Cousin Bourke. The Impediment to your not marrying before must be now removed, for altho the Crop of 1768 was bad I do not suppose you can find any fault with that of 1769 and am confident will send you this year near 600 Hdds. so you will have money enough to make settlement both on your Wife and also on Younger Children.

You have got about 22 hdds. made of the best Sugar I ever saw on your Estate, and a very large quantity of Canes to cutt. I have for some years past promised you a good Crop this year, you will not be disappointed, I hope, and nothing but some unforeseen Accident can hinder it, which God Forbid. This has been the most favourable year for your Estate that ever I know but has since almost the Rest of the Island we have not had a good rain for 10 months past no manner of negroe provisions to be had and many Estates about the Old Harbor and Witherwood will not make a Cask of Sugar all the Southside is in a deplorable Condition. I have suffred exceedingly on my lower Estate. Indeed on it and every estate on the Sea Coast there is not a Cane but is tainted and Worm eat and God knows if shall make a Cask on it next year the Young plants being in a manner burnt as if they had been in an oven and am afraid if we even had rain that they are to farr gone to be recovered. On the Contrary in Plantain Garden River you have just rain enough to give plenty of water and make the Canes flourish with out so much as either to hurt your roads or prevent the Yielding of the Canes.

I have purchased for you since my last 12 Negroe men six about

three months ago and 6 last week. They are really very fine people and I must purchase some more as soon as can gett them as good as what these are. There is also an Absolute necessity of hiring negroes to putt in a Spring plant as the Estate will otherwise fall away again very much. Your Mother whom I consulted on the matter agreed to it or would not have done it after what you writt of not hiring negroes. I assure you on my word and Honor the Estate now and has ever since your being of age wanted £10000 worth of Negroes to be putt on it. They are not Steel or Iron and we see neither Gudgeons nor Caposes can last in this Country and was it my Estate I would not hole an Acre for three years to come with the Estate's Negroes but hire Jobbers to do it. In your Father's time when it made the Crop of 508 Hhds. there were 540 Negroes on it. By the not regularly supplying since that time the loss of Negroes by purchasing others in the Room of the Old ones have fallen of and those on it are now workt and have been all along above their ability neither from the small number of workers can we avoid it.

The Mill went about in the Beginning of Decr. and will not stop till August. This is 8 months wherein the poor Wretches do not gett above 5 or at most 6 hours out of 24. We shall go about in Decr. again and what time is there for Cleaning and putting the Estate in order putting on a Plant holling the land and preparing Copperwood.

The first 6 that were bought were putt in the Still House and promise to Turn out very well. As soon as the Crop is over will insist on their and any other negroes that may be putt on to be sett no other work than Building houses for themselves that is a house for each of them and then to be put to making grounds for themselves and kept to it untill they have such a quantity as will prevent any possibility of their ever again wanting provisions. By this means I hope we shall be more lucky with our Negroes than we have hitherto been. There is a loss of the time taken up for their Houses and Grounds but apprehend by their being happy and contented it will be very soon be made up. It is the method am determined to proceed in for myself with all I buy, and make no doubt of its succeeding. Had the Estate a proper number of negroes on it, would exceed your most sanguine wishes. I have wrote you so often and so much on this Subject that shall say no more at present on it.

Your Mills are in the best order this year I ever saw them and we built a Wall between the Floodgate and the trench by the Garden which answers very well and do not loose half the Water we did. Shall build a wall next year on the other side of the Flood by which am in hopes we shall save the Whole.

The large still came too late to be putt up this Year as did also the Boilers and so were obliged to hang the old Coppers again but with

the Old Copper shipd last year what will send you this and the old Coppers I will take up after Crop will fully pay the Amount of the Still and Boilers.

Dr. Hayward has gott his Land Run out and it is half a mile at least from your house. The House that is the Walls are about  $\frac{2}{3}$  finish. It is a much worse jobb than building any one of the Houses of the Works the Water Lime stones sand etc being all to be brought up Hill and now the Mill is about attention must be paid to it and getting off the Crop nothing on my part shall be wanting to further it.

Mr. Laing and I were at Swamps. He will send you the Valuation he and I putt on the Negroes stock etc he on Mr. Cowells part and I on yours. He will send you a list of the Negroes and all the particulars relating to it by this conveyance and also a Copy of the Lease you wrote for and will refer you to him for the matters relating there to. Do not believe it will make above 50 or 55 hdds. this year but the Sugar is good. There is about 80 Acres of plant putt in last year but the dry weather has rather hurt it. The man on it was one of your Bookkeepers at Golden Grove and is very Industrious sober and diligent and seems to go on very well. Am in hopes that the Estate will turn out much better than it has for these some years past.

I shall send you by Capt. Thompson of the *Friendship* all your last years Accts. Ballanced up to 31 Dec. last the list of the Negroes Cattle etc as Usuall. I shall also ship you p. the *Friendship* Capt. Thompson 50 hdds. of Sugar p. the *Duckinfield* 50 [torn] *Morant Bay* Capt. Farr 30 hdds. and p. the *Vernon* Capt. Robert Rindall 30 hdds. he sails from Manchioneal Harbor. These ships will sail I apprehend in the first week of April next and shall send 50 Hhds. p. the *Prince George* Capt. Fryer 50 p. the *Earl of Halifax* Capt. Dalton and 30 p. the *Brilliant* Capt. Myall. These will all sail in early May in case you should chuse to Insure. Believe that Sugar will fetch a very great price at home this year. Am sure this Island will fall twenty thousand Hdds. short of what it did last year. No part of it will make tolerable Crops but Plantain Garden River and St. Marys. This I assure you is true in order that you may regulate yourself in the prices of your Sugar as I would not give you false intelligence. Am confident you will be greatly pleased with the Quality of the Sugars as far as the first 200 hdds. which have been seen and hope the remainder will not be inferior.

The Governor has sided with the Councill agt. the Assembly in a Clause for appropriating the Surplusage of the Revenue which was putt into the Difficiency Rum and Poll Tax Bills by which means the Rum and Poll tax Bills are not passed. The Soldiers are unprovided for and he Fryday last dissolved the Assembly. Am confident his Reign here is but short. Have desired my Friend Capt. Gardiner to forward you a Newspaper containing the most Material heads, the Message of

the Council to the Assembly Their Resolutions the Governors Speech at the close of the last Sessions and the Remonstrance with his Answer.

All your Friends and Acquaintances here are very well. I saw your Mother and Aunt Thursday and both well.

**45. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 14 April 1770**

[Notes that he has 'put 20 Hhds. more Sugar on board the *Morant Bay*' and will be 'shipping 30 hhd. by the *Amity Hall* Capt. Tarbut'.]

**46. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 16 April 1770**

[Notes the amounts of sugar 'on board the *Morant Bay*' and 'the *Amity Hall*'.]

Enclosed are Bills of Lading for 50 Hhds. on board the *Friendship* & 50 on board the *Duckinfield*. Kelly told me he would send down the weights but has not done it, but as he is to write you may very particularly suppose he will send them to you by this Conveyance & also the Bills of Lading for the 50 on board of Farr & 30 on board of Kendal The *Prince George* Capt. Fryer apprehend has by this time almost got her quantity being 50 Hhds. I have not received the weights of any of the Sugars at all yet. As I doubt not but that Mr. Kelly will inform you of every thing relating to the Estate shall leave that to him.

Enclosed I send you Golden Grove Account & your Accot. Current with Taylor & Graham balance in their favor of £2342.9.7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> which hope you will find right. I made a mistake last year in regard to a parcell of Cattle sold from the Estate as you will find by perusing my Letter to Mr. Cowell of 14 April 1769. I say this, 'There were also some Cattle from the Estate to the amount of £396 which have not received but when do shall bring it to the Credit of Mr. Arcedekne, the reason why we have not received it is because we gave a Credit on account of the price we sold them at being £3 more than we could have got by insisting on a Cash payment', but you had Credit for them on 2<sup>d</sup> of March for £276 & 2<sup>d</sup> Septemr. for £120 more being the amount of £396 I acquainted you of & being the Cattle I meant. You will see £47.10/- charged for a Horse called Swinger. Mr. Kelly acquainted me that you had wrote him to buy 2 for you which he has done & this is one of them. There is a plan made out for you which was to have been sent also down to be sent to you but that also is not come so that apprehend it will be sent from Windward.

I received yours of 16 July from London & am very sorry to hear you have been so much out of order & are obliged to go to Bath. Hope

you have perfectly recovered your health by this time & have fixed on some Lady with an intention of marrying for your Cousins here are in very high spirits in hopes of your being very ill. You must from the Crops of this last year have as much money at home as would make a good settlement on any Lady in England & there will not be a shilling drawn on you for anything whatsoever.

I also find by your said Letter that you had sent out a fresh Power including your Aunt & John Kelly on account of your new connexion with the Swamps. I send you inclosed the List of Negroes on Golden Grove & Batchelors Hall & also the Cattle on those places.

The weather still continues as dry as ever. Am confident that I shall not put about my Mill next year at my Lower Estate the dry weather having absolutely killed all the Young Canes & it is so dry at Golden Grove that have been waiting 7 weeks to plant the Spring Plant that is holed. I never knew nor the oldest people here so dry a year. All the Springs are dry & I yesterday passed Spanish Town River at Price's farm & the Water was not over the fetlocks of my Horse.

I three or four days ago saw your Mother & Aunt who had a Letter from Swamps that Mrs. Gale<sup>182</sup> was running her Lines & had not given any notice of that the Overseer had taken away some of her Surveyors Instruments. I wrote him to stop the Chain provided they came on any Land that was within your Lines & also to let me know if I would come up, but have not heard any thing further on that head so I suppose they have stopt running. There is no News whatever this way, every thing very dead & People apprehensive of a Famine.

Your Mother & Aunt are well, I saw them two days ago.

#### 47. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 10 May 1770

I wrote you the 16<sup>th</sup> of last month p. Thompson and sent a duplicate by Foster since which have not had the pleasure of hearing from you. Inclosed I send you the Invoices of 50 Hdds. of Sugar on Board Thompson 50 on board Farr 50 on Board Foster 50 on board Fryer 30 and on Board Kendall all which ships I wrote you should ship on.

I also acquainted you that should ship 30 hdds. on Board the *Amity Hall* George Tarbut but as George Richard's child is going off in him and they want much on Acct. of the Child to send him away soon have promised 20 hdds. more to him which makes 50 that he will have. You will also please to take notice that shall ship 50 Hdds. of your Sugar on Board the *Nancy* Capt. Cleland 50 on Board the *Morant Planter*

<sup>182</sup> It is unclear whether Taylor was referring to the widow of Isaac or of Jonathan Gale. (See note 136 above.)



Capt. Power 50 on board the *Friendship* Capt. McLeod and 50 Board the *Maria Beckford* Capt. Castle. I expect all of these ships will sail before the 25 of July. I shall also send you every hdd. of Sugar you make this year at Golden Grove according to your orders. Kelly I apprehend will send you the Bills of Lading as he has only sent me one of those Sugars that are now shipt consequently there are two of each at the Estate which suppose he will send. He was in Town two days ago and tells me he had made 450 hdds. so will have the number cured to go by the 26 of July that I mention. I apprehend he will write you about the Estate.

French who is at Swamps was down a few days ago. He tells me the Crop there will not be above 50 hdds. for he has done. The Weather has been excessive dry tho they have had pretty rains at Swamps. I shall go there in about 10 days. Mrs. Gale thought proper sometime ago to run a parcell of Lines about Swamps to encroach on you without giving notice but the Negroes inform'd French of it who went and took away the Surveyors Staff and Compass. They have indited him for it as an assault, as he acted in defence of property with the Care of which he was entrusted. Have told him I would defend it for him on your Acct. and shall bring an information agt. the Surveyor for running without notice it being a parcell of Land that has been in Canes & possession of the Swamps for 30 years past and patented by one Long. I believe the only Title to it is possession and therefore must act Cautiously not to lose the possession. I have given the papers to McMillan<sup>183</sup> in the Secretarys office to trace the Title. I hope you may approve of what have done.

Your Mother Acquaints me there is a power of Attorney come out to Mr. Lee and Mr. Ford<sup>184</sup> of this Town to claim a large sum of money said to be due by Norris's Pen to some Woman of the name of Compere. It will be a troublesome matter but apprehend they will not make much of it. I shall see your Mother & Aunt a few days hence about it, they are both well.

#### 48. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 18 June 1770

My last to you was of the 10 of last month a duplicate of which was sent you by the *Hibbert* Capt. Burnett since which have not received any letters from you.

Capt. Tarbutt after his pressing solicitations back'd by George Richards and his Wife has shipt you out the 20 hdds. he so ardently

<sup>183</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify McMillan.

<sup>184</sup> Gilbert Ford.

desired, and Capt. McLeod of the *Friendship* has left Morant Bay to go to Savannal La Marr as he could not get a Compleat load at the former place, so that he has also disappointed me.

Mr. Kelly acquainted me that both Clelands & Castles complements of Sugar was made.

Inclosed are the weights of 30 hdds. p. the *Brilliant* Capt. Myall. I send you the weights as soon as I gett them.

[Notes he has sent turtles to Arcedekne and Cowell].

#### 49. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 30 June 1770

Annex is a Copy of my last to you p. the *Eagle* since which have not heard from You. Inclosed are the weights of 50 hdds. of Sugar p. the *Morant* Power 50 p. the *Nancy* Cleland & 50 p. the *Maria Beckford* Castles. I apprehend Mr. Kelly will send you the Bills of Lading for them.

The weather at Golden Grove is very wett but Mr. Kelly writes me that he is still about and will be able to ship 50 hdds. on board the *Earl of Hallifax* Capt. Dalton from Port Morant & 50 hdds. on Board the *Two Sisters* Capt. Rogers from Manchioneal. This is as much as shall be able to send you home before the 26 of July. The remainder of the Crop shall be sent you and timely advice given if you chuse to insure. Indeed there are no more London ships now at Windward to Load for London.

#### 50. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 23 July 1770

My last to you was of 30<sup>th</sup> June of which a Copy went by the *Lady Juliana* since which have been favor'd with both yours dated 24 April, one of which was a Letter of recommendation of Mr. Poole<sup>185</sup> & very unluckily he did not deliver it till the day before he sailed for Pensacola. Be assured of my shewing him every civility in my power or any one whom you recommend. The other I now sit down to answer.

I am sorry to find you think me so dilatory in writing to you. It must be owing to the Man of War not having arrived as I wrote you of 25 February by the *Levant* Man of War & sent you a Copy p. the *Anna Teresa* Pacquet, of the state of every thing & by the *Friendship* Thomson I sent you the Accounts, & indeed have sent you advice of every thing that was to be shipt that you might if you pleased have made Insurance.

I am sorry to find you have been so ill but am glad that the Bath

<sup>185</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Mr Poole.

has been of service to you. It is very hard that at your time of life you do not enjoy better health & are again obliged to sett out to Aix La Chapelle. I shall according to your desire send your letters & Accounts to Messrs. Long Drake & Long<sup>186</sup> & the Bills of Lading & Account of Supplies to Mr. Cowell.

In regard to the Leases of Swamps, Valuations etc, Mr. Laing was to have sent them home p. the *Levant*. As that Ship is arrived you must undoubtedly have them long 'ere this. You may depend a regular & distinctive Account shall be kept of the Negroes that are bought & born in order that no confusion may arise on delivering back the Estate. The same is done at Golden Grove.

In regard to purchasing fifteen Females to five Negroes it can by no means answer you at Golden Grove, for you want Men infinitely more than Women, for there are many things which Women cannot do, as Cutting Copperwood, Wainmen, Boilers, Distillers, Stokers, Mulemen, etc. Had you a sufficient number it would do well enough to go in that scheme. Indeed it is a sort of miracle to conceive what they have done this year & it is impossible to keep the Estate up at it. Indeed it is against your Orders but have been obliged to hire Kellys' Negroes to cutt Copperwood & clean the Canes.

The Mill has been about ever since the beginning of December & will not stop until the middle of next month which is near nine months, in which time the poor wretches of Negroes have not had above six hours of rest out of 24, & what with getting their little provisions etc. what time have they had to Sleep; the Estate is to be cleaned, Pastures bill'd, Negro houses to be repaired, Plant putt in, Copperwood cutt, & to be again about in Decr. I have laid all these matters before your Mother & Aunt and they both see the necessity of hiring Negroes to put in the whole Plant. I assure you it is an utter impossibility without murdering the Negroes to keep it up without.

I have all along promised you a great Crop this year. There will be a very great one, & was the Estate mine I assure you I would not for these four years to come Plant & hole with the Estate's Negroes. The expence will be about £600 p. annum & you will save your Negroes & make twice the value of that Expence by the Sugar & Rum. Am

<sup>186</sup> During the middle years of the eighteenth century Long, Drake and Long were among the premier London-based sugar factors and commission agents who dealt with Jamaica. Beeston Long, the uncle of Edward Long, and a director of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company, was a founding member of the firm. In 1760 he served as the chairman of the recently formed West Indian Merchants in London. One of his sons, Beeston Jr, was also involved in the family business and became a director of the Bank of England, while another son, Charles, became Baron Farnborough. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, p. 300. For further details see R.M. Howard, *Records and Letters of the Family of the Longs* (London, 1925).

confident that there will be no occasion to draw Bills on you. The Negroes I purchased lately are well, & if you will let me go on in my way of purchasing, which is buying of the best Negro Men of Corromantee Country out of each ship, will in time establish a Gang of fine People for the Estate, & not to take any but what have had the Yaws & Smallpox & then put them to making Houses & Grounds for themselves before they are put to other work, & by so doing will not exceed the number you yearly propose, and the Rum & Sugars of Swamps & the Rum of Golden Grove will pay the Contingencies of both Estates & purchase the Negroes, & I have expectations will also pay the Rent, that is when the Estate is put in order. There is a tolerable appearance for a Crop next year & there will be a very good one the year after.

Your Negroes will have much better Grounds by putting them in the Bottom in Lewis's Run & not so much exposed to the North winds there as about the Great house. A Hott house is much wanted but the Mills being about have not been able to gett home the Timbers for the Great House. The Walls are built & will as soon as can gett the Hothouse sett about, on Doctor Hayward's Plan it ought to be out of the place it is now in.

After the 26 of this month will write you about Fearon's Bond to Mrs. Cowell & Fothergill but assure yourself if in case of Fearon's death it is not better than Waste Paper, also concerning Orgill's<sup>187</sup> Bond & Peyton's,<sup>188</sup> tho' I believe he dyed insolvent. I applied to Jackson,<sup>189</sup> Mr. Hibbert's Partner but he as well as myself have been much hurried for these three weeks last past, but as soon as it is over shall be able to write to you on these matters.

I called on your Mother & Aunt & shew'd them your Letter, your Mother wanted you to come over & does not at all agree to the giving up Sam Gordon's Bond to Mr. Welch. She tells me Young Grant<sup>190</sup> has promised to pay it.

I have settled your Quit Rents & shall gett the Receiver General's separate Receipt, they were paid with several other ones. I shall also talk with your Mother in regard to the St. Mary's & St. Ann's Creditors. I wish you had before mentioned taking assignments to the Demands against your deceas'd Father's Estate for as some of the

<sup>187</sup> The Orgills were a prominent Jamaican planting family. It is unclear which member of the family Taylor was referring to. The likeliest possibilities are Samuel (died 1741), William (died 1770), John (died 1779) who in 1754 was recorded as owning land in St Andrew Parish, or Thomas (born 1726). Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, pp. 276–279; Records of St Andrew Parish, 1754, Public Record Office, Kew, CO 137/28, pp. 191–196.

<sup>188</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Peyton.

<sup>189</sup> Samuel Jackson.

<sup>190</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Grant.

Creditors are dead we may meet with difficulties in the matter from their Executors but will do what I can.

I have sent home the three Pipes of Madeira to the Duke of Roxburgh to the care of Messrs. Long Drake & Long p. the *Rose* Capt. Morce & advised them how they are to go. There is just now no London market Madeira Wine for Sale that is good enough to lay by & send home. As the Ships will in about two months from this time begin to arrive will purchase the two Pipes for Mr. Colmore<sup>191</sup> & the two to be layd by against your arrival.

I shall as I do not know whether this will meet you in England, send home the Invoice of 50 Hhds. of Sugar shipt on board the *Earl of Halifax* Capt. Dalton & of Fifty shipt on board the *Two Sisters* Capt. Rogers of which I advised you by the *Morant Planter* Capt. Power & by the *Lady Juliana* Capt. Stephenson to Mr. Cowell. Mr. Kelly seems to be apprehensive that Rogers will not sail by the 26<sup>th</sup> Instant. These make 540 Hhds. that we have now shipt & I am hopefull to send you 80 more. There is at present no ship for London at Windward, we must see & gett one.

Your Mother & Aunt are both well.

### 51. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 14 September 1770

Inclosed is a Copy of my Last to you since which have been at Golden Grove and find that both Dalton & Rogers did not sail by the 26 of July. I wrote your Brother in Law Mr. Cowell about p. Capt. Cleland who Sailed the 23 of July, was oblig'd to put back having Sprung a Leak which oblig'd him to unload his Cargoe & heave down here. By good Fortune his Cargoe is not at all Damaged & this Letter goes by his Ship.

You have finished crop at Golden Grove & have made as much sugar as will fill about 90 hhds. more, so that with the 540 already shipt you will gett home good 630 hogsheads, which is more than any Estate ever yett made in this Island.

I was oblig'd to hire Kellys Negroes to cut the Copperwood & Clean the Estate. I know you do not like hiring Negroes, but without it your Estate must fall back. I consulted your mother on it & she is now made Sencible that it is for your advantage to hire Negroes to put in the plant. Indeed the Estate Cannot be kept up without it, & you have this year reapt above 100 hhds. by it, as it would otherwise have been Impossible to have taken off the Canes. I shall follow Your Orders about putting on Negroes, & hope in time that shall be able to do

<sup>191</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Colmore.

without hiring any Negroes at all. You must plainly see by the Last & this years Crop that your Estate is not neglected. Indeed, was it my own I could not do more for it.

The Walls of your house are finished & the Carpenters are at work finishing the Roof. It would have been done before, but could not while the Mill was about get home the Timber.

You will go about again by the Beginning of December & I do again if no unforeseen Accident happens, promise you a good Crop [*tom*] as much as this, for had we choose the Weather Could not have had it more favourable for your Estate It is now in good Order & hope you will now find it profitable.

There is no Opportunity of Sending home your Sugars as there is no Ship at windward nor any Ship in Town for London [*tom*] wait for an Opportunity.

I will give Mr. Cowell timely notice for Insurance & shall send you them all home having been in the Country and Sam Jackson who does all the Business at Hibbert's house being also out of Town, have not been able to get the Account of the Papers you want, but as he is Soon Expected will write to Mr. Cowell about them.

Every thing is very dull here, but Expect we shall have warm work when the Assembly meets, as the Requisition of the money advanced by the Treasury in Litteltons time Comes again on the Carpet, & People do not Seem to Like the giving it up. The present Majority are much afraid of Dissolution. The Parish of Saint James have also a Petition to have the Assize Court held alternately at Savannah LaMar & at Montego Bay, which will also cause Some Bustle.

There is nothing else new here, no Vessel having arrived from Europe for some time. We have at Last got Some Rains at Windward after having been Excessive dry which hurt our Canes at the far Side very much.

I shall see your Mother & Aunt tomorrow. I believe they are very Well.

I have had as yett no Opportunity of Getting Mr. Colmore wine, but as the Ships will in November & December fall in from Madeira Shall not neglect it.

## 52. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 20 October 1770

My last to you was of 14 Sept. Since which I have been favour'd with yours of 7 July and am glad you have received your Accots. P. Thompson and are pleased at the Prospect of your Crop. I have all along made it my business to consult your Mother on every piece of business concerning your affairs.

In regard to your being more in debt more than you expected I can say nothing to it but only know I have done every thing in my power to bring you out of it and the Charges you mention of £90 in 1768 and money in 1769 for freight of Sugar In Thompson and other Ships is what other people did pay for Thompson is allways the first ship and I never could apprehend but that you chose to gett your goods as soon to markt as possible, but indeed the Charge has this year been done away, every ship have brought the goods round in their own Boats. It is very true that Cussans and Dr. Gregory do ship from a Wharf at the River's mouth and Kelly has since Crop been building one for you and I have sent up the plank for it as they will undoubtedly charge wharfinger for what has been shipt.

I am very glad to hear you are gott so much better and wish to hear you was married. One of your young Cussins Jenny Burke<sup>192</sup> was married last week to Charles Palmer.<sup>193</sup>

I have seen Mr. Phillips<sup>194</sup> and he tells me that he does not know he is in possession of any part of your land, that he will employ a Surveyor and if it shall appear he is, he will willingly pay a Consideration for the use of it and we have referred the matter until we both go up after Christmas.

I shall ask your mother relating to the land about Black Morass and lett you know. The land in St. Johns is still in being. You hold it as Mortgagees in possession. White<sup>195</sup> has never mentioned renting it to me. The land he bought in Spanish Town was a lott of Land Mortgaged to your Father together with 2 Negroes. Ben White agreed with the proprietors to sell his Equity of Redemption and then to compromise the matter with us by giving what it might be valued at which is the land sold [*torn*] I apprehend gives him good Title.

I have seen Mr. Jackson who acquaints me that the Judgement on Fearon's Bond to Mr. Cowell and Fothergill is an Old one but that Fearon is really in such Situation that I do not know if were it will be good. In regard to Orgills Bond this is a deed of Trust of His Estate to secure payment of about £27,000 to the Hibberts which comes in prior to the demand of Mr. Cowell so that very little can be expected from that. The next is Peytons. His whole estate was sold some years ago by a Decree in Chancery and did not pay his debts consequently the demand is good for nothing.

We have been sickly for some time past. George Richards Tom Cussan's Brother in Law is dead, Young Vallette<sup>196</sup> is also dead & John

<sup>192</sup> Possibly Nicholas Bourke's daughter.

<sup>193</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Palmer.

<sup>194</sup> Almost certainly Nathaniel Philips, the owner of Duckenfield Hall.

<sup>195</sup> Benjamin White.

<sup>196</sup> Probably the son of Augustus Vallette, who owned land in St Thomas in the East. The Vallettes were a family of French Huguenot extraction. Vallette Sr had been one of

McLeods Son.<sup>197</sup> They went of in the space of about 10 days of one another.

The Assembly is to meet the 23 Jan.

You have 90 odd Casks of Sugar at your Estate which I really do not know how to gett to you there being no ship at Windward and only one here the *William Beckford* Capt. Foot. I offered him 50 hdds. if he would fetch them and run the risque which he refuses and on asking your mother she thinks it more Eligible to lett them stay than run the risque for the Estate.

Winde<sup>198</sup> tells me he expects a small Snow in. If so she is to take 50 and run down to Annatto Bay to fill up. I will be very particular to give Mr. Cowell proper notice to make the Insurance and how it is to be made as she is to go to two different Ports so that there may be no difficulty in settling it if an Accident happens.

I was last week at Swamps, there are 45 Acres holed and planted and the Overseer was to begin holing last Monday. Shall gett in 20 Acres more. The Estate is in very good order and the Canes look very well so that it will make a tolerable Crop the Ensuing year and then I think after that it may be kept up at about 100 Hdds. annually.

I saw your Mother and Aunt two days ago your Mother seems to break fare, your Aunt is very well.

### 53. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 26 March 1771

I wrote you by the *Kingston* Pacquett Capt. Mattocks since which I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you.

I have by this conveyance remitted to Mr. Cowell your Account for Golden Grove and Swamps and a small Acct. for Sundries supplies etc. to your Mother and also your Acct. Current up to the 31 of Decr. last with Taylor & Graham Balance in their favor the sum of £4037.14.8½, which hope when you have perused you will find right.

You will find also the contingencies for the Swamps high, but then

the witnesses to Patrick Taylor's will. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 296; Cundall, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, p. 89; Will of Patrick Taylor, made 3 September 1754, proved 12 September 1754. Wills, Island Record Office, Spanish Town, XXIX, fo. 206.

<sup>197</sup> It has proved impossible to ascertain either the name of the age of John McLeod's son.

<sup>198</sup> Probably Scudamore Winde, whose main residence was in St Catherine's Parish. In 1765 he was involved in assessing the inventory of Andrew Arcedekne's Jamaican property. Inventory of Andrew Arcedekne of Parish St Cat. Esq., Inventories of Estates, Island Record Office, Spanish Town, XLV (1765), fos 58–63. In the 1760s he acted as the Attorney for Duckenfield Estate and was also a close friend of Thomas Cussans. The exact date of Winde's death is uncertain, but his will was proved in 1776. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, II, p. 175.



you will please to consider that no less a Sum than £805 of it is for Mules and the still house which was almost intirely demolisht by the Earthquake and that we shall not have occasion to bear that Expense this year as the Estate is now well supplied with stock, and that in the Contingencies for Golden Grove there is the Sum of £1677.19.6½ for Mules Negroes and Jobbing, which last is an Expense that I could wish you freed from would the Situation of the Estate allow it. But I assure you had it not been for that the Estate would have fallen back in spite of everything we could have done, and must be continued for some time longer untill we have more Negroes on the property. I have purchased 16 and drawn on you for the Amount of them at 90 days a Bill for £680 stg. in Currency £952 favor of Thomas Hibberts Snr. & Jnr. Your Aunt & Mother being at Spanish Town and Kelly at Windward I could gett the Bill only signed by Mr. Laing and myself, but I have sent Mr. Cowell a duplicate receipt for the money from the Hibberts which I hope will answer the same and as all your Attorneys signing it and that it will meet with due Honor.

[Notes that he has 'drawn on you' three bills totalling £1,000 sterling 'in favor of Hercules Ross',<sup>199</sup> each 'at ninety days sight', and 'directed them to Messrs. Long Drake & Long'.]

And be assured we will get every thing we can as cheap as possible and draw in the way directed by you, when we can, and when no more than one or two of your Attorneys are present send home duplicate receipts and mention on the Bill what it is drawn.

I intend buying 14 more new Negroes for Golden Grove out of a Ship now in the Harbour who opens sale in two or three days, for I do really want to do away with the Hiring of Negroes, and this is the best time of the year to buy new Negroes to be a little accustomed to the Country before the bad weather setts in in Sept. & Octr.

I really can not inform you of the quantity of Sugars you have made at Golden Grove and Swamps not having been at Windward for some short time past, but shall soon and then be able to lett you know how much is made at both Estates and how be shipt. Thompson has 50 hdds. of Golden Grove Sugar and 25 Puncheons of Rum, and Brankston, in the ship belonging to Messrs. Long & Co., 50 hdds. & 25 Puncheons of Golden Grove produce and 20 hdds. and ten puncheons of Swamps, of which I have acquainted Mr. Cowell and shall by Thompson send him the Foreign Commission to examine Luke Bourke in the Case of the Riversmouth land.

Your Mother & Aunt are both very well.

<sup>199</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Ross.

[Notes that he has 'drawn on you of this day's Date' three bills totalling £900 sterling each 'in favor of Christopher Stephenson'<sup>200</sup> and 'directed them to Messrs. Long Drake & Long'.]

#### 54. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 13 April 1771

My last to you was p. the *Grantham* packett & *Seaford* Man of war since which have been favor'd with yours of 4 Decer. and I cannot conceive what should make you apprehensive that the lease of the Swamps ever can be a troublesome thing to you. I am confident that it will clear a large sum of money every year if properly managed. It has the last year making only 50 hhds. cleared money What will it do when in order.

Mr. Kelly will send you home the list of the Negroes on it & on Golden Grove. The Accts of both these Estates I enclose by this Conveyance to your Brother Mr. Cowell. The Ballance is large in our favor but it is swelle'd by the House and hir'd Negroes work, which am sure will doubly pay you both in Sugar & Rum and saving your Negroes.

Capt. Thompson has the remainder of your last year's Crop on board. I cannot justly say the Number of Casks but believe it to be forty, which with the fifty that went in the *New Shoreham* Capt. Graham makes the quantity last year about 630 hhds. He has as much new Sugar on board as makes up 50 hhds. Capt. Tarbut has 30, and believe by this time Capt. Fraser has his 50. We are now shipping on board Fryer Power and Myall 50 hhds. on each. Then will come on the *Jamaica* Capt. Taylor, the *John Gally* Capt. Watt and the *Vernon* Capt. Kendall, and am hopefull to send you home 500 hhds. of new Sugar by the 25 of July.

I forgott to acquaint you, as you that some years ago wrote me to assist Capt. Stupart of the *Dawkins*, and Sugars from the dry Seasons being exceeding scarce this way, have agreed to lett him have 20 hhds. from GG on condition that he brings them down at his own Expence and risque. He has accordingly sent a Vessell for them. He will sail about the 10 of May, Farr and Tarbutt about the end of this month, Power, Fryer and Myall all in May.

I have bought 13 New Negroes for the Estate, and the first ship that comes in will buy as many more as to make up the number 30, in order to prevent as much as is in my power hiring any people whatsoever. I assure you I do not like it, but there was an absolute necessity of either doing it, or letting the Estate fall back again. Was

<sup>200</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Stephenson.

there an opportunity of purchasing a larger gang of real good Negroes, seasoned in Plantain Garden River and accustomed to works, it would be a very great object to you, as it would remedy that Inconvenience at once, & then to putt on New Negroes to keep up the Number there would be little risque in the Seasoning as there then would not be too many new ones at once.

I again repeat my Assertion that I am clear in my Opinion that the Rum and Sugar of Swamps, and the Rum of GG will pay every Contingency and putt on the Number of Negroes that will be yearly requisite. Because Swamps has for some years past done nothing, owing I am sure to mismanagement, that is no reason why it never should do any thing. They have now made about 60 hdds. and believe we will make 80, and if we meet with no Accident will next year come near 100, and the Contingencies will not I hope be much larger than when it made 33 only.

You may depend on my allways consulting your mother, and that I will not spare any pains to enable you to purchase the Small Estate that you want of £100 p. Annum & marry. I wish you would think a little Serious on that matter and do it as soon as possible, for I assure you I should be very sorry to see Robin Arcedeknes Heirs in possession of any part or parcell of what they wanted to defraud you off.

I am glad the Duke received the Wine and the Turtle. I have bought two pipes of Wine for Mr. Colmore, one of which I have shipt on board the *Judith* Capt. Brett, the other I have in my Store to be kept, untill I receive your or his directions. I have also bought two pipes for you.

I heartily congratulate you on the Birth of another Nephew it is what was not expected, and should like to see some of those that you mean also to have.

As I allways wanted to be in your Neighbourhood in Plantain Garden River that we might be near one another, and not to have far to go to smoak a pipe together, have bought Holland Estate from Mr. Kennion and the Moro Penn.<sup>201</sup> I have given an Amazing Sum of money for it, no less than £100,000 Stg., payable in the following manner, the first 6 years I pay £10,000 each year without Interest, and pay the remaining 40,000 in 8 years more at the Rate of £5000 Stg. p. annum with Interest 5 p. ct. It is to be delivered me on the 2 October with 2 Water & 1 Windmill in order, the Works in repair, 400 Negroes, 100 Mules, and 100 head of Cattle. I shall cutt on it the ensuing Crop 430 Acres of Canes. I hope it will make then near 500 hdds.

I have also taken the lease of the 90 Acres of Land given by your

<sup>201</sup> Moro pen, or pasture as it was sometimes known, was also in St Thomas in the East and formed part of Hordley Estate. Cundall, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, p. 94.

Father to your Mother, and Creighton & Archer which is now rented at £300 this money p. ann., as it is detacht from Golden Grove and you have great plenty of Land there, more than sufficient to answer every purpose of the present, or indeed if you were ever to settle another Estate there by & by. Will be exceedingly obliged to you if you will grant me a lease of it for your life, in case of the deaths of your Mother & Archer, and I will willingly pay you the same consideration for it, for even if that event was to happen the land would be nor could be of any Use to any one but myself, Duckingfield Hall having now more cane land than they for many years will be able to occupy, and it is very remote from their works, and there is no settlement near it, could it be of any material Service to you I am sure I would be the best person to ask it, and what I want it for, is to keep it in Canes which is improving the land greatly in its value. If you would also lett me have a little more of it, I should be glad to take it, and will not cutt any Timber from it, but putt it into a Plantain walk, being so near the Negroe Houses, for altho I have great plenty of Land at the Moro fitt for provisions, yett it is rather too farr for a Negroe to go to a noon time to cutt a fee Plantains. I hope you will oblige me in this, and will when I know your determination either send you home a lease to sign (provided you consent to it) or gett it from your Attorneys here just as you may think proper.

Your Mother & Aunt are both well.

### 55. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 5 May 1771

Above is a Copy of my last to you, since which I have been up at Golden Grove and find you have now about 400 hdds. made, and believe you will make about 550 hhds. there this year.

Kelly has fenced off a large Parcell of Lewis's Run for Negroe Grounds, with which the Negroes are highly pleased, and seem to be well satisfied at. He wanted to hire Negroes to putt in about 70 Acres of Provisions for the new Negroes that are to come, but as I did not know your Mothers determination referred him to her. I believe when she sees Kelly who is every day expected in Town to give Evidence in a Suit in Chancery, that she will consent.

When I was up I heard that the Court had issued a Writt of Possession for some land recovered from Edlyne's<sup>202</sup> Estate by Mrs. Inglis,<sup>203</sup> and that the Surveyor intended giving part of your land to that Lady, as the land recovered from Edlyne. On that I sent one of

<sup>202</sup> Possibly Thomas Hope Edlyne.

<sup>203</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Mrs Inglis.

the Bookkeepers to hinder them from running on your land, as there was no Action or Suit against you, and the Court had no right to dispose of your property without an Ejectment. The Bookkeeper stopt the Chain, and I have not since heard anything about the matter.

About a week ago being in Company with Dr. Gordon<sup>204</sup> one of Dawkins's Attorneys, he told me that he had orders to prosecute his Claim to the land at the River's mouth, and should Send us an Ejectment this Court for the land, that he had received from Dawkins, the Opinion of Wedderburn,<sup>205</sup> Dunning,<sup>206</sup> and someone else that he should recover it. Since that I have as well as your Mother, Aunt, & Laing been served with a demand to deliver it to Dawkins's Attorneys, and as we have refused to do it suppose we shall have an Ejectment this Court.

I have putt Dawkins's Title into the hand of Mr. East<sup>207</sup> who has been my Attorney for many years to search the Office, and see if we cannot find any flaw in it. I am not Lawyer enough to judge, but do not think he ever can be able to make it out. Zachary Bayly had a Power out from Dawkins some years ago to recover this land, and Instructions from John Morse how to do it, with his own remarks & the Title traced to 1764 from the Patentees. Bayly gave it to one David Peters<sup>208</sup> who was a Sort of Relation to the Penhallons<sup>209</sup> the Patentees of said land. To endeavour to gett some intelligence from him about the family, he gave the papers to your Mother, and she to me, by which it means we are able to know on what grounds they go. Pickersgill is dead but his Evidence is in the Court of Chancery. It will be highly necessary to

<sup>204</sup> Probably Dr John Gordon, a medical practitioner whose main place of residence was St Mary's Parish.

<sup>205</sup> Alexander Wedderburn (1733–1805) was appointed Solicitor General in January 1771. He went on to become Attorney General in 1778, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1780, when he was ennobled as Baron Loughborough, First Commissioner of the Great Seal in 1783, and Lord Chancellor in 1793, a post he had long coveted and which he held until 1801. Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, XX, pp. 1943–1945.

<sup>206</sup> John Dunning (1731–1783), first Baron Ashburton, a client of Lord Shelburne, served as Solicitor General between 1768 and 1770. His greatest claim to fame was the resolution he moved in the House of Commons in 1780 that 'the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished'. Stephen and Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography*, VI, pp. 213–215.

<sup>207</sup> Hinton East was a creole of English parentage who at one time owned The Rhine Plantation in St Thomas in the East. At various times during the middle years of the eighteenth century he served as the Judge Advocate General and the Receiver General of Jamaica. He was also elected as a Member of the Assembly for Kingston. East, who died in 1792, is better known for his botanical experiments, and the botanic garden he established at Spring Garden, than he is for either his legal or his political career. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 296; Hall, 'Planters, farmers and gardeners', p. 4.

<sup>208</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Peters.

<sup>209</sup> It has proved impossible to locate any further information about the Penhallons.

gett Luke Bourke's Evidence from Ireland sent out to be lodged in the Court of Chancery, & to lett one know if he is still alive, for if he is, we must Examine him viva voce, and a Foreign Commission for that purpose sent home. Be kind enough to lett us have an immediate answer to this part as the land is much too valuable not to make a Vigorous Defence. Indeed I think it will be impossible ever to recover it by Law, and shall leave no stone unturned to prevent them getting it. At the same time we must not neglect any necessary part of the defence.

Capt. Farr will bring you 50 hdds. I have not received the weights of the Sugars on board him, nor on board Thompson, nor the Bill of Lading. I wrote Kelly for them. Tarbut who has 30 hdds. of your Sugar on board him, will sail in a few days, as will also Capt. Fryer. Stupart has the 20 on board. I wrote by my last I should ship 20 hdds. on Board him. He will sail in about 10 days. Power and Myall will also sail in the Course of this month. I shall ship fifty Hhds. of Sugar on board the *Jamaica* Capt. Richard Taylor 80 p. *Port Morant* and also 50 more on board the *John Galby*, Capt. David Watt the Same places. They will both sail the beginning of next month. When they gett their Sugar will write you for more Insurance, being still hopefull I shall send you 500 hdds. of new Sugar by the 25 July.

Nothing else new Occurs to me at Present but that you will soon see Mr. & Mrs. Graham in England, they are going in the *Lady Juliana* Capt. Stephenson.

Your mother & Aunt are both well I saw them about four days ago.

## 56. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 18 May 1771

On the otherside is a Copy of my last to you by Capt. Farr, who I hope is safe arrived. I have by this Conveyance sent to your Brother Mr. Cowell the Bills of Lading and Weights of the Sugars p. Thompson, Farr, Fryer, Tarbutt & Stupart who Sail in Company with this Ship.

I have nothing new to acquaint you of, but that we have had very heavy rains at windward and the Rivers have been very high. I am afraid they have done mischief tho have not yet heard of any, as I have not heard from Plantain Garden River last week.

Mr. Dawkins has brought his Ejectment for the land at the Riversmouth. I shall when the Court meets pray for a foreign Commission to Examine Luke Burke in Ireland. I am not very apprehensive of what he can do. I think there are flaws in his Title which he will not be able to gett over, and Pickersgills Evidence will cart him if he can even make out his title.

[Notes that he has sent Arcedekne a turtle].

There is a Guinea Man come in, but as the Slaves rose on the Coast of Guinea and murdered the Capt. many were drove over board and drowned I did not think it prudent to buy any for you out of her as they might be troublesome and think it better to wait a little till we can get some not quite so mutinous.

Your Mother and Aunt are very well your Mother has wrote you by Mr. Graham and proposed him to recommend Matrimony to you.

### 57. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 24 July 1771

I wrote you by the *Lady Juliana*, and sent a Copy by the *Prince George*, Capt. Fryer, since which I had the Letter wrote me p. Capt. Curtis.

[*Notes that he has 'received the 3 Cases of Wine and Garden seeds sent from Leghorn'.]*

Your Crop has fallen 50 hdds. short of my Expectation owing to the very heavy rains in the latter end of it, which putt a great spring in the Canes.

The following is the Acct. of it and how shipt, 20 on board Thompson, 50 on Farr, 50 on Fryer, 30 in Tarbut, 20 on Stupart, 50 on Myall, 50 on Taylor, 50 on Watt, 50 on Bower, 30 on Kendall, 10 on Raffles, 40 on Foster, and 50 on McLeod, which makes 500 hdds. Am sorry it is not better, but hope the ensuing one will be better than that of last year At least the Estate had never such an appearance of making a large Crop as at present.

Swamps has done pretty well. It will ship 80 Hdds. and Rum pretty well in proportion, and hope to turn 100 the ensuing Crop. It can always be kept thereabouts.

Doubtless Mr. Cowell has informed you about the Ejectment Dawkins's Attorneys have brought. I have many things to lay before your Council but have not yett been able to procure a Consultation, as they have been some, at Leeward, some busy others at Spanish Town, but as our assize begins next Tuesday shall then all meet, and will send their opinions to Mr. Cowell. Depend on it I will spare no pains to keep the Land for you.

There has not been a Guinea man in since my last. We are now putting in by the Consent of your Mother 70 acres into provisions for new Negroes, as it would be a pity not to have plenty for them when putt on. The wett weather and the Catterpillars by eating up all the grass has made the Cattle rather low, but as the Crop is finishd I hope they will soon pick up. We are now att work putting every thing in order for the next Crop but as Mr. Kelly will no doubt write you every

thing regarding the Estate anything I say will only be a repetition of what he says.

I shall go to Spanish Town in a day or two to see your Mother & Aunt who are both very well.

There is nothing new stirring here we have very heavy rains at Windward which sett in about two months ago and have continued hitherto which promises us all the prospect of a good Crop after having been three years burnt up.

### 58. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 4 September 1771

I wrote to you by the *Eagle* & the *Grantham* Pacquet since which have only to observe to you that have been at Windward & went as much over the Land at the River's mouth that is in dispute with Mr. Dawkins as I could, & find that the part rented at present to Holland Estate is the only valuable part of it, the rest being a mere Morrass & Quagmire.

I have not been able to get a Consultation of the Lawyers occasion'd by the death of Tom Gordon & was up yesterday to get one, but was prevented by the death of Tom Bullock on which his Brother immediately set out for this town to attend his funeral.

As the Land is not of that great value I always supposed it to be, & if Mr. Dawkins would give up his pretensions for a trifle, I would advise you to settle it with him, as the Law Suit will be very expensive on all sides, & if he should recover he would only get the half of 90 acres of good Land as either Capt. Willer or Wallen, who says he has bought from Waller the other moiety would sett aside immediately the division made in 1728 & get a new one, for their part is only Morass. For this reason I think it would be Dawkins's Interest to give it up, for a trifle, the original purchase from Pearce<sup>210</sup> being only £150 this Currency.

I am very sorry to inform you that I think your presence would be very necessary here soon for the following reason, Your Mother seems to break fast & is very old. She has lately made her Will & has appointed Charles Kellsal,<sup>211</sup> Samuel Smith,<sup>212</sup> & James Fraser<sup>213</sup> her Executors. Smith is honest but gives himself no trouble about his owner

<sup>210</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Pearce.

<sup>211</sup> Little is known about Kellsal, a planter-merchant, other than at the time of his death in 1780 he owned at least one plantation, Hermon Hill, in St Mary and a moiety of the *Union*. He was also £3,000 in debt to Thomas, Stephen, and Rose Fuller of London, merchants. It is unclear why Elizabeth Kearsy placed so much faith in someone who was so despised by Simon Taylor. Oliver, *CARIBBEANA*, III, p. 123

<sup>212</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Smith.

<sup>213</sup> Probably James Fraser, a partner in the Kingston-based mercantile house of Fraser and McQueen.



matters, Fraser is honest but greatly involved; & Kelsal, who would be the only acting person as great a Villain as ever was hang'd. What a situation do you imagine matters would be in his hands. You know the advantage it was to you to have been present at the death of your Father. It will be, comparing small matters with great, as necessary for you to be here on the death of your mother as the Will now stands. Was you to come over & stay never so short a time would be able to get her to do as you please in the matter & put it in other persons who would do you justice in case of her death, & I believe you know that she is very well worth your while to look after. Excuse this, it was by mere accident I learned the names of her Executors & my friendship for you is the Occasion of my acquainting you of it.

### 59. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 3 December 1771

My last to you was p. the *Duncanon* Pacquet Copy p. the *Dunkirk* Man of Warr, since which I have not received any from you & my Brother in law Mr. Graham writes me that you are still at Florence.

I had a letter from Messrs. Long Drake & Long acquainting me that they had received the Pipe of Wine I sent them by your desire for Mr. Colemore. I hope he likes it. It was not long enough in the Country but believe it will turn out very good.

I have at last after long solicitations got Webley & Browns Opinions on the Plantain Garden River mouth Land, & sent them to Mr. Cowell. I have not yett gott Mr. Bullocks owing to a very severe illness, & he still continues in the greatest danger with the Belly ache; as soon as he is better & able to attend business will get it & forward it to you.

You will observe there is a Question more put to Webley than to Brown for this reason. Wallen who pretends Capt. Weller has sold him his quarter part of that Land, was talking of sending a Writt of Division to Dawkins provided he recover'd the Land from you. Browne is Wallen's Son in Law & I would not state that Question to him to give him any alarm, but put it in your Power to have quietly purchased from Weller, but Webley's Opinion you see is that the Judgement in partition will stand valid. I really think if you could Compromise for a Trifle with Dawkins, it would be the best way, & the cheapest for you in the long run. I dare say Mr. Cowell whom I have wrote to on the subject, will send you the Opinions of the Lawyers here, & also of those at home on the matter.

John Archer is lately dead at New York, & has by his Will mentioned a Matter which is this. One Dr. Collins<sup>214</sup> who I believe formerly livd

<sup>214</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Dr Collins or establish the dates when he was employed on Golden Grove.

at Golden Grove kept a Wench belonging to you named Catharine, & had by her three Sons whose names are, Johny Chapplin Edward Kidvaldele Collins & Isaac Collins. He left Archer his Executor & money in his hands to buy the Freedom of these people, he gave himself no trouble about it in his life time but by his Will he mentioned it, & desires they may be bought. Your Mother acquaints me that she wrote to you for a power to sell them, but your answer was that you could give no Title but for your Life. It is true, but as the Old Lady seems anxious about the matter for the Children to be free, I am pretty confident that if you can get Mr. & Mrs. Cowell to join in a power of attorney to relinquish their Reversion in them, Bourke would readily do it on his part.

I should be myself much obliged to you to let me know if you will still lett me continue your Tenant on the 90 Acres of Land I at present rent from your Mother at the River's mouth. It would be a great loss to me to be deprived of it, & no immediate advantage to you. I wrote to you about it in April by Capt. Thompson, but have as yet had no answer to it.

Winde who is attorney for Duckinfield Hall Estate, spoke to me 3 or 4 days ago to give him leave to Cutt a Canal through your land at the Rivers mouth, to carry Duckinfield Sugars to the Stores at the Bay. I told him I had no power to grant any such leave, & did not suppose you would be against it provided the Proprietors of Duckinfield Hall permitted you, if you pleased, to carry your Sugars from Golden Grove to Duckinfield Hall, & ship them in Canoes on Duckinfield Canal but not otherways. He seem'd miff'd at it, but I would by no means was I in your place permitt them to dig through that Land without granting you the previledge of the Canal. I mention this to you to be on your guard, as this matter will certainly be askt of you & you will know what answer to give to it.

We went about yesterday at Golden Grove, & I hope you will gett the best Crop you ever yet had from it. There is a fine show of Canes. I hope also to be able to send you home some Sugars by the 15 of next month, for as Sugars are so high at home I would choose that you should reap the advantage of the good prices. I am in treaty with a small Ship to go up to load & am hopefull to be able to prevail.

Your Mother and Aunt are very well. I saw them both to day.

## **60. To Chaloner Arcedekne Kingston, 9 January 1773**

Above is a Copy of my last to you via Liverpool since which I have been favoured with yours of 17 October acquainting me of your being at Suffolk where you intend to reside untill after the Christmas Holyday

if the weather is good. I shall according to your desire record the Conveyance.

I am obliged to you for your orders to Mr. Long to accept Bills when drawn by me on you. You may depend on it, I shall only draw as there is occasion for money on your Account.

I heard you intended sending another Shallop<sup>215</sup> out. I apprehend she will be a good one for the builder is generally lookt upon as the best man that sends out Shallops here they being both strong and fast sailors.

I am sorry to find you will not be at allowed for buildings on Golden Grove, works being as necessary as any articles in the world. You may depend upon it I shall send the Sugars home consigned to you.

In regard to Swamps I will make every thing as clear as I can. It wants negroes and I think a water work could be erected there at a very small Expençe but as you intend to give up the lease it will not be worthwhile for you to do it but would erect one on it was it my Estate.

I have sent by Span of Spanish Town the Foreign Commissions & Robert Arcedeknes will in a Small Box with some papers of my own to the Care of Mr. Robert Cooper Lee and have desired the favor of him to forward it to you which make no doubt of his doing. You will be pleased to send out the Commission executed as soon as possible in order to be in time to produce in Evidence.

Your Mother and Aunt were both well about 10 days ago I saw them.

You have made about 80 hdds. of Sugar at Golden Grove. I shall endeavour to gett a Small Ship to go up to carry those that are cured home together with some of my own and to sail if possible by the 10th February before the Glutt comes in.

### **61. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Holland Park, 25 January 1773**

I am favoured with yours of 20, & 27 August, 3 Sept, & 8 October, by the first of which I find that you are arrived in England in high health and Spiritts for which I am very glad.

I return you thanks for having honoured all the Bills I drew on you, but sorry that I drew you for the Balance of Taylor & Grahams last years Acct. as you did not mean that I should, but I thought you wanted all the Accts. settled & had it not been for that, I would not have done it.

<sup>215</sup> A shallop might be a two-masted ship with lugsails or a small open boat propelled by oars or sails. Both types of shallop were used chiefly in shallow waters.

In regard to the Land at the River mouth I return you many thanks for your kindness, and be assured I will not take any part that will in the least injure your property. Mr. Dawkins must have misinformed you, when he said I had wrote to him to buy the land of him. I never wrote a letter to him in my life. I wrote to my Brother to endeavour to gett it for me that I might be certain of it untill I could bring in my own Land at Holland. And I now send you a Copy of what I wrote to my Brother, and what I received in answer from him.

In regard of his designing it for an Estate for a younger Son, I am very sure it would take an Elder Sons Fortune, to make an Estate of it, for before they could do any thing they must drain 1200 acres of a Morass, the Whole of the land being under water but about 90 Acres which I now rent and 30 Acres by the River side, and 20 Acres of what I do rent is not above 6 Inches above the Water and the additional land what I shall gett from you is intirely for the Mangoes to gett firewood as I shall in two years more have finishd my wood at Holland. At any rate, I hope Mr. Dawkins never will gett it. If the matter can be settled in the manner I proposd in my last letters to you, I apprehend it will be for the Advantage of both of you, and Mr. Dawkins, & a very great disappointment to the Lawyers. I am very sure that Kelly and I shall agree on the land that I want, and will get a lease executed and send you a Scheme of it.

I observe what you write about your Mothers Will, and the Uneasiness you feel at her leaving Kelsall one of her Executors, as he might on her decease, possess himself of your house, papers, & effects which she has of yours under the Power of Attorney from you to her. And in order to frustrate Kelsalls design, you inclosed me a power of Attorney directed to Welch, to be made use of at my discretion. I have received it but have not spoke to Welch about it, as the power is defective, and not valid, not being attested before the Lord Mayor, and under the City seal, or having one of the Subscribing witnesses here to prove it before a Judge. In regard to Kelsall I do believe him to be as damned a raskall as ever lived, and I do not believe there is any connexion between Welch and him, further than that they are of one Country.

What I have done is this. I have desired one Mr. Allen<sup>216</sup> a Lawyer & Man of Honor & Integrity and who lives now in Spanish Town, in case your Mother should be taken ill to send me an express to Kingston, which will be instantly forwarded to me from there And I will immediately go there and in case of her death take possession of the House, and every thing in and about it, as your Attorney turn Mr. Kellsall out of Doors, and when we have gott her papers together deliver them over to Smith or keep them untill I am well advised by

<sup>216</sup> Almost certainly John Allen, who also acted as an attorney for Thomas Cussans.

the Lawyers what to do, at any rate not to lett Mr. Kellsall touch them. As the Power is not Valid I never mentioned it to any one but Mr. East my Lawyer, to ask his Opinion, on the Validity of the Probate of it, and he informed me that it was defective. I shall be soon in Spanish Town and will gett an opportunity of speaking to your Aunt on this subject, and will freely lay before her as from myself the consequences that may arise from your Mothers not leaving you one of her Executors, and hint at Kellsalls Character, and the danger of trusting such a man, and also tell her that I mention it to her out of my regard to the Family, and purposely for her to mention it to her Sister. I will do it with all the delicacy I possibly can and which such a Subject requires.

I am confident was the Old Lady to go any where out but to Church, she must have heard of Kellsalls character, but as she seldom sees any body she thinks him one of the best men in the World, because he is officious about her in the Killing a Sheep or Goat, and collecting her wainage, and now and then borrowing money from her. If I have at any time the Acct. of your Mothers being sick, and gett to Town before she dies, I defy him to hurt you.

The Person who informed me of the Will is now at Bristol. His name is Jacob Rudhall.<sup>217</sup> If you inquire for him at Mr. Robert Cooper Lees it is to to one but he can inform you where he lives now, or the most likely place to hear of him. Depend in case of the Old Ladys death I will do every thing for you as if I was acting for my self.

I shall buy some more new Negroes for you as soon as those that were putt on the Estate last year are well of the Yaws which 16 or 17 of them have. Indeed, Mr. Kelly and myself have agreed to send them down to that place that was Whittles at Yallahs, to plant Guinea Grass there, and that being a Warm dry air is infinitely better for them than this Wett part. I shall also follow your orders in putting 5 Annually on Swamps.

I am much obliged to Mr. Cowell and the Duke of Roxburgh for mentioning me.

[Notes that he will send *Arcedekne* 'some Turtle as soon as the Season comes in and also the 2 pipes of Madeira Wine I have of yours'.]

Your second letter of 27 August acquaints me that you had not as yett gott the Sollicitor Generalls <sup>218</sup>opinion relative to Dawkins business, and that the Barr is so low at present at home that you do now know whose opinion to take, as Dunning is failed so much. I will not give up any point in that matter you may be assured of. In regard to a Compromise

<sup>217</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Rudhall.

<sup>218</sup> Alexander Wedderburn (see note 205 above).

I do not see it in the light you do as you will find by my late letter.

In regard to Cussans's Title (it is the Quitt Rent Act) and I have been pushing your Attorney and do hourly expect from him your Title which will send you home, and I also desired him to take out the Proceedings in the Chancery Court & your Fathers Answer regarding the Water. I shall also endeavour to keep the tryall off for this Court and if possible the next, so as to have your Answer.

I was really glad to read that part of your letter wherein you mentioned purchasing Winchester Penn. Cussans fixes the price at 15,000 payable in 10 years in annual payments. Had you left it to me and not contradicted it by your subsequent letter, I would have through some third person have agreed with him for it, at those terms provided it was without Interest and he recovered the land from you which he pretends to, as you would then secure that land, secure the water from Marchs, and have room for a very fine Estate which would be to whomever you chose to leave it to.

Indeed from your last Letters I am exceedingly glad to find that you do intend to marry. I think you excessively in the right and hope you will have Heirs enough of your own to inherit your Estate for the Children of Bourke, and Bourke himself lookt on Golden Grove as a matter that would of course be theirs.

Yours of 3 Sept. brought me the Sollicitor Generalls opinion, which I agree with you is full to the Point. In case it is not compromised at home, if it is Given in your favor they are instantly to appeal, as they say they are sure of carrying it at home. Indeed the Cheapest way is to gett it settled between yourselfs, if that cannot be done we must defend it inch by Inch, and follow the Lawyers' directions.

In regard to Mr. Nisbetts<sup>219</sup> letter it is evasive and nothing to the Purpose, and those trenches they stopped, were made by James McQueen<sup>220</sup> when he was Overseer on Duckinfield Hall, to prevent their trash houses being over flown. We cannot as yett bring any action of damages untill we find how the land that was over flown turns out. In regard to letting Duckinfield Hall cutt a trench through your River mouth land, if they give you free Navigation through Duckinfield to carry your goods to markt, you need not mind which way the trench goes it cannot affect your land, or the land I am to gett, any further than the size of the trench, and the Navigation would be worth more to you than that. What I mentioned it to you for was not to allow them a great conveniency without they accommodate you also, which I am confident they can do without the least prejudice to themselves. But I know they will rather forego the water carriage of their Estate, than give you a right to go through it.

<sup>219</sup> Possibly an attorney for Duckenfield Hall.

<sup>220</sup> It has proved impossible to ascertain the dates of McQueen's service on Duckenfield.

Indeed I am afraid you are mistaken in one matter, which is this, of the water that turns their Mills. I am sure they claim a Property in the water and do not reckon they hold it by Sufferance only, but as their Right. They certainly were at some part of the Expence in digging the trench jointly with your Father from the River, and I wish you would take an Opinion whether the free and uninterrupted enjoyment of the water, the helping to digg the Canall, and the annually assistance of building up the Weir, all which they have had and done for them 14 years, does not give them a property in the water, for if it does not and we have a right to direct the water from them at our pleasure, we can easily force them to dance to our pipe, and make them good neighbours in spite of their teeth by taking an opportunity of diverting the water from their Mills when they have a quantity of canes there.

You mention you wish your Mother would putt a new Roof on the House in Spanish Town. It is already done in three Roofs, the flatt Roof before the door is made into a Common one the same over the Hall and the back Hall is raised so you would hardly know the House, it is so much altered for the better.

I have wrote to Westmoreland to inquire about the Mountain belonging to Black Morass but have not heard from thence. Yett what you ask is so very moderate that no Gentleman can refuse to pay a reasonable rent and acknowledge your right.

In regard to your Man at Northside that owes you the Money Mrs. Murphy<sup>221</sup> mentions, his Name is Jennings,<sup>222</sup> and he is not worth a Bitt. His whole property is Mortgaged and will be sold under a decree of the Court of Chancery. You have neither mortgage, nor Judgement, and may give up the money for lost indeed. I never saw the state of the Act. as all those papers are in Spanish Town, & your mother keeps them lock'd up as old Gold.

Your next of 8 October wherein you Surprise me by complaining of Poverty and desire me not to Purchase Winchester Penn, as both the letters came to hand the same day, I had consequently done nothing on it.

In regard to your Mothers and Aunts Annuity, I mentioned to them what you wrote to me. They both desired me to tell you you need not be in the least uneasy about it, for neither they nor any whom come after them shall be able to distress you for it. Indeed they have more money than they know what to do with, and if they will take it it is well, if not I shall tell them they ought then to make you a present of it, and not keep it hanging over your head.

Suppose that Winde would sworn what he had done, as he told me

<sup>221</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Mrs Murphy.

<sup>222</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Jennings.

he would. We have dug a trench which I believe they will feel the inconveniency of, whenever the wett weather setts in, and when we come to the Pieces that were over flown, we shall be better able to fix matters for bringing an Action of damages.

I shall send your Books home by some of the London ships. I assure you they are all in very good order. Your Aunt has taken great care of them.

We have had in October, Novr. & Dec. the Heaviest rains that ever have been known in these parts, which has prevented our going about so soon as we intended, and consequently are backward in the Crop, and sorry I am to inform you, there is not a Cane piece in Plantain Garden River that is not covered with the Black blast, a thing never before known here about. It will affect this Crop exceedingly and God knows if we shall any of us make Sugar next year, the Canes being as black as soot, and a Sort of Soot comes off them when you touch them. I have it in a most terrible manner at Holland, which hurts me much, both in the goodness & yielding of the Sugars.

## **62. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 19 March 1773**

I found you inclosed a duplicate of my last to you since which I have not had the Pleasure of hearing from you. I also send you inclosed an Office Copy of the Release of Tredway to your Father of the land patented by Penhallon at Plantain Garden River mouth and which Mr. Dawkins had brought his Ejectment for. I send you the office Copy to show Mr. Dawkins that you will be able to prevent his Sons being at the trouble of draining Morasses & settling an Estate at Plantain Garden River mouth and that Mr. Tredway did execute a Release to your Father as well as a lease.

I sincerely congratulate you on the discovery. It was found out by chance by a man who employs a great part of his time in hunting after old and obscure Titles and is recorded in the Clerk of the Courts office in Lib. 35. p. 427. It was not mentioned in the Margin what deed it was nor was it in the Alphabet which is the thing that has prevented the discovery so long.

I was obliged to pay for the Discovery two hundred Pistoles and at the same time promise to recommend it to you to add something more to it which I assured him I would recommend it to you it being a matter of so much consequence and I am confident will putt a final end to the Ejectment and consequently to Writts of Error Bills in Chancery Attorneys Bills & Lawyers fees. It will at the same time make him be in Honor bound to discover to you any defects he may find in any of Your Titles. No Gentleman would ask any thing to have



discovered such a matter but the man that discovered this release makes a living by it therefor do recommend it to you to give him something further.

I do also send you a State of both yours and Mr. Cussans's Title to the land in dispute between you. You will find it to be intirely a matter of Boundary, both your Titles being very short and clear. A few days before the Court Cussans came to me and told me that he found the Ejectment very expensive and if I chose it he would write to you himself on the Subject and see if you could settle it together. I told him that I thought considering your acquaintance together that he should have fallen on that Method before he brought the Ejectment.

What has brought him to this is an action he brought against Kennion which he finds much more expensive and contested than he imagined and after having spent a very large sum of money he finds that he is not one single step advanced and will in all probability not recover anything and be £1000 or 1500 out of pockett. How to advise you in the matter I cannot tell for if he should recover it would be a very great loss from the water.

I have been wanting Cunliffe<sup>223</sup> much to go up with me to go over the land. He has surveyed it for your Father and was the person that first advised the Ejectment against him when the land was recovered but he acquainted me that he could not possibly come up but would do it before the next Court and would lett me know when he would come to Spanish Town and I have told him that I would have a Carriage ready to bring him up and intend to go over all the land with him and gett him to make out a platt & Scheme to send to you. In the meantime will endeavour to keep the matter off until can hear your determination in regard to Cussans.

I think of setting the same man at work who found the release to search and endeavor to find out some flaw so as to give him such another Check as Mr. Dawkins will gett. I do apprehend you will meet with no further molestation from him and that the Release will putt an end to his claim. Should he pretend that there is a flaw in the Release that it is not enrolled in the Secretarys office you will find on examining the Laws of Jamaica that the Law for enrolling deeds in that office was not made untill the year 1731 & this Release is enrolled in the Clerk of the Courts office in 1725, six years before. By stating it with the Opinion I sent you home you will find that it is the record we want.

Mr. John Morse desires your thanks for having taken the pains to arrange Dawkins Title to take away your land.

<sup>223</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Cunliffe or to ascertain for how long he had worked as a surveyor.

In regard to the Mountain which did belong to Black Morass I wrote to you in my former letter that I had wrote to Westmoreland to inquire of it from Dr. Wedderburn. He informs me that it was not worth the Quitt Rents. That one Bossleys Estate joined to it who covered the greater part by a prior platt but that it was actually not worth any thing at all. He is a Man of veracity whose word I am sure is to be relied on.

Mr. Angus McBean<sup>224</sup> wrote to Mr. Cowell the first Instant for the following Insurance 80 hdds. & 25 Punch, on the *Standlinch* Brankston from Golden Grove & for 20 hdds. & 10 Punccheons from Swamps on board the said Ship. I wish them same home and to a good Markett. I have closed all the Golden Grove & Swamps accts. which will go home by the *Standlinch* who I expect will sail in 8 or 10 days at farthest and have drawn on you the Several Bills undermentioned: which make not the least doubt but will meet with due honor

[Notes that all the Bills are dated 4 March 1773 and all are 'at 90 days sight'. '2 Setts favor of John Kelly being for Sallary & Negroe hire' totalling £866.19.7 stg.; '1 Sett favor of Angus McBean for Wages due to the Doct. & white people on Golden Grove, £312.13.0.; 1 Sett for Balance of John Meigham's Acct. for Carpenter's work done on Golden Grove, £78.11.5; 1 Sett favor of Angus McBean for Supplies & Moneys paid for him on Acct. of Golden Grove, £338.4.8; 1 Sett favor of Angus McBean for Supplies & Moneys paid by him for Supplies & Moneys paid by him for Swamps Estate, £159.2.2; 1 Sett favor of Angus McBean for Wages due and paid by him to the White people on Swamps, £58.13.8; 1 Sett each to John Kelly, Malcom Laing, Mrs. Eliza. Kersey, and Mrs. Frances Harris for [their] 1/5 Commission on your Estate £167.15. 3½; 1 Sett favor Simon Taylor for disbursements by him & his Commission on your Estate, £511.13.9']

The Acts. are to bulky to send by the Pacquet but shall send them by Capt. Brankston who I expect will sail next week when will also send you the duplicates of the Receipts and also your Title and Cussans's to the land in dispute shall go by the other Pacquett that sails in the next Week.

### 63. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 25 March 1773

I wrote to you the 19 Instant and send you a Copy by this Vessel, and have been untill the Mail is Closing waiting for to send you the

<sup>224</sup> A merchant based in Kingston.

Title between you and Cussans, but by some mistake they have not Completed them, but am Confident everything will go by the *Standlynch*.

Have Jointly with your Mother, Aunt, and Mr. Laing drawn on you of 19 Instant for £169.12.10 Sterling, being the Sum of £237 10/- Currency Paid to Brodie for the Discovery of Tredways Title to your Father, which was the Occasion of that wanting a Compromise, if you have entered into any. I believe the inclosed will putt it out of doubt that they must have intended a Fraud. The Gentleman is one of Dawkins's attorneys, and am sure he would not tell an untruth.

#### **64. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Holland Park, 9 April 1773**

I Inclose you a Copy of my last to you which I now confirm and do now send you home a State of the Accts. both of Golden Grove & Swamps and your Act. Current which you will find clos'd. I have also sent you duplicate receipts of the moneys paid you will also please to observe that the Articles marked before with X I have only one Voucher or receipt for and I send you home the duplicate copy of those marked / thus.

I am really sorry not to have it in my power to send you your Title by this Ship to the land in dispute with Cussans which I hardly could doubt of having been able to accomplish but the forms of Lawyers are hardly to be altered or their motions quickened but as ships will be going every week now shall not want Opportunities. I however send you Cussans's Title. The only thing that keeps your Title is looking for the Title of 1/2 of Lewis's run. All the others were out of the Office before I left town.

Capt. Brankston has 80 hdds. of Sugar and 25 Puncheons of Rum from Golden Grove & 20 hdds. of Sugar and 10 Puncheons of Rum from Swamps on board. Capt. Watt in the *Jamaica* will bring you 80 hdds. of Sugar and 25 Puncheons of Rum, and I doubt not but Mr. Kelly will inform you of the quantity he intends for Thompson, Farr, Fryer, & Tarbut.

[Notes that wine for Arcedekne and Colemore has been shipped to Benjamin Cowell].

#### **65. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 1 May 1773**

I wrote to you on the 25 March & 9 April Copys of which I now Send to you Since which I have been favored with your much Esteemed favor of 1 Febr'y.

I am very well convinced that you will not at this time conceive

yourself to be so much obliged to Mr. Dawkins as you apprehended yourself to be, he having in my Opinion acted a very dirty part as you will find by Doct. Gordon's<sup>225</sup> Letter I sent You. He knows that we had found out your Title & should have non suited him, & therefore he offers to make you a Title to what he has not. His Prevarication in this is equally infamous as is his Lye that I wrote to him to buy the Land from him.

You will long before this have received my answers to your Letters in August & Sept. p. the *Grantham & Grenville* Pacquets. Since which I have Sought & have only Yesterday found an opportunity of Speaking to your Aunt apart from your Mother in regard to her will & the nominating you Executor. I laid before her every reason the Badness of Kelsal's Character, the Injury she might do, the Violence of the Persecution formerly carried on by people who called themselves your Father & her friends, the lucky Escape you had by being in the Country your Self, & the ingratitude of every one of them to your Mother. She seemed to be much Struck at the mentioning of your knowledge of Kelsal's being an Executor. She told me she did not know the purport of Your Mother's Will, that there were other Executors & She believed you was named; that she would ask your Mother & that she also saw very Clearly the Necessity of your being named one of the Executors & that She should strongly recommend it.

This will be delivered to you by my Particular Friend Mr. Hinton East. Some little matters call him home. He has a Small Account against you for £136.2.3 Currency making Stg. £97.4.5½. I told him that as it was so small that it was not worth while drawing a Bill for it but that you would give him an Order on your Correspondent. He also brings you home the proceedings in Chancery between Cussans & Gregory & your Father which you wrote for & I do now Send you home annex the different Titles to the Land Cussans brings his Ejectment for, as you will see by the Inclosed Abstract.

As I am Confident you will not give up Land to Cussans we must next Court move for a foreign Commission to Examine Witnesses in Cornwall where the Penhallons come from as you will See in the Sale from Peters to Lewis & also in Lewis's to your Father. Mr. East will be able to Explain to any Councill the whole matter & referr You to him he & his Partner being Concern'd for you in this Case.

Your Mother & Aunt are both very well & desire my Compliments to Mr. Cowells Family.

I forgot to mention to you that Mr. Kelly Informed me that he wanted to Sell you his Negroes & would give you the preference. They have their Houses & Grounds on your Land & Consequently would

<sup>225</sup> Dr John Gordon.

Suit you better than any Person in the West Indies. They have all had the Yaws & are really as fine a parcell of negroes as are in the Island & being Seasoned in plantain Garden river makes them much more Valuable. They are 140 of them which I am sure With the Strength that is on the Estate & the blast does not Injure us, would keep the Estate up at about 700 hhds. besides save £1,000 a year you now pay for Jobbing. On my almost Moral Certainty of your Agreeing to Kellys proposal, I have not nor will not buy any new negroes for the Estate untill I hear further from You on this Subject. He offers them also at a Valuation one person to be chose by Your Attorney the Other by him & he further Says he is in no immediate want of the money.

### 66. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 21 May 1773

I am favoured with yours of 26 Febry. and you will see by my former letters to you that I have received your letter regarding the River mouth land and that you are not quite so much obliged to Mr. Dawkins as you thought you was.

I am really sorry to see from the content of your letters that you have given up all hopes or thoughts of marrying. I have urged it so often that shall for the future say nothing more on the subject.

In regard to the debts of the Estate that you have paid becoming your property I shall speak to Frazer <sup>226</sup> the Surviving Copartner of McQueen, <sup>227</sup> and Frazer to see their Books and what you have paid but I do not recollect any thing but a Bond that you took up your self. In regard to mine all that I have paid is a debt to John Burke<sup>228</sup> of London of about £550 which was remitted or ought to have been by Reisset Jaffray & Yelloly about two thousand pounds to Fagan, and I question much if I shall be able to gett his Representative to assign to you having had a release from Fagan to your Father's Estate of all debts dues & demands whatsoever.

Pray lett me know if the Building a new sett of works at Golden Grove will come in as there was £4000 paid to Carter the Mason besides Stevens acct. of Carpenter's work is about £2000 and there was an absolute necessity of either building a new sett of works or throwing up the Estate.

In regard of the Cattle they all bear your mark, the mules do not

<sup>226</sup> Probably James Fraser (see note 213 above.)

<sup>227</sup> Daniel McQueen was a merchant based in Kingston. In 1754 Patrick Taylor, Simon's father, named McQueen as a beneficiary of his will. Will of Patrick Taylor, made 3 September 1754, proved 12 September 1754. Wills, Island Record Office, Spanish Town, XXIX, fo. 206.

<sup>228</sup> Possibly one of Arcedekne's Anglo-Irish relations.

breed consequently are all yours and the names of the Negroes putt on by you shall allways be putt annually in the Secretary's office as you desire it but it will be of no consequence putting it there as it will be of no record.

In regard to your paying 25 Guineas p. ct. Premium for your first Sugars I am very sorry for it being excessive high. Indeed am glad the Vessell with the last parcell arrived safe and that you sav'd the Insurance on her.

You must undoubtedly have received my letters to you in answer to those in Septr. and I am heartily glad to see you are so well and God Grant you a long continuance of it.

I am much obliged to you for your kind intention of recommending me to your Friend Lord Charles Montague<sup>229</sup> if he had been appointed Governor. We hear that Sir Basil Keith<sup>230</sup> is appointed. He is very well acquainted here and well liked in Generall.

[Notes that he is sorry not to have sent *Arcedekne* a turtle but 'they are this year scarcer here than in England'.]

### 67. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Holland Park, 14 July 1773

My last letter to you was of the 21 May pr. the *Holland* Capt. Taylor copy p. the *John McCartin* via Liverpool since which I have been favoured with your ever esteemed favor of 2 Aprill and am very glad to find by it that you have received my letter of 25 Janry.

You will see by my letters that I have received yours relative to Mr. Dawkins & your settlements and did receive by Capt. Carr in the *Clarendon* Mr. Dawkins's Title. He should have thrown off the Grievance and not pretended to have given what he very well knew he had no right to give away. I shall when go to Kingston for have not been since my last consult a Lawyer whether it is proper to record it or not and shall also see your Aunt and gett an answer from her relative the Executorship. I am sure if gett to Town time enough that Kelsall will never be able to do so much mischief as he intends if it is in his power he being worthless enough.

I am sorry to find that I am right with regard to Duckingfield Hall having a right in the Water. They seem to be tolerable peaceable just now. I believe Winde had a conversation with Mr. Nisbett about it.

<sup>229</sup> Lord Charles Greville Montague (1741–1784) served as the Governor of South Carolina between 1766 and 1773. During the American War of Independence he saw active military service as the commander of the Duke of Cumberland's Regiment.

<sup>230</sup> Keith served as Governor of Jamaica until his death in 1777.

The Papers brought sure enough the Accot. of the Barronette having stopt and Kennion writes me that they find he values his  $\frac{1}{3}$  of Duckingfield at £60,000 Stg. or £180,000 for the whole Estate. They have not made 200 hdds. of Sugar on it and what is made is excessive bad tho the blast is leaving it and the Estate is in better order than it has been in for some time past. It has play'd the very Devill with it and Holland this year and hurt Amity Holland Hordley a little this year and I am much mistaken if they do not feel it very severely next year.

You have hitherto escaped tolerably well. God Grant you may continue so to do. I am not quite free from it but not afflicted with it to any degree of comparison to what I was last year. It is particularly hard upon me to be so checkt in the first setting out and having such amazing heavy matters on my hands. I should have been able to have gone through all matters very well had it staid away but as it is I must putt my Shoulders to the Wheel and do everything in my power to gett the better of it as I cannot help it and it is too late to retract. It certainly would have been for the Benefit of the Public if proper means had been taken at first to have destroyed the Canes that were first infected by it but at Duckinfield Hall they are keeping the most easterly piece of canes in their Whole Estate which will not make a quarter of a hdd. an Acre and has the blast in it and consequently are keeping it for ever in their Estate as it is to windward of every cane piece they have. The Same they are also doing at Amity Hall keeping a ruinate in a manner to destroy both themselves & their Neighbours. What can be the reasons for it I cannot say.

Kelly tells me he has regularly wrote to you about Insurance and I think he told me he would ship about 460 or 70 hdds. of Sugar besides Rum from Golden Grove. I shall write to you again soon when have seen your Mother & Aunt which shall in a few days.

PS I am exceeding sorry to inform you of the untimely end of your Shallop which was wrecked on the Pitch of the East end the 2<sup>d</sup> Instant being drove a Shore in a Calm and Bildged. She luckily was coming up light having just delivered a load at Port Morant on board the *Friendship* Capt. Watt. The Rigging and Sails are saved. If you chuse to send out another you had better gett one built by one Wood. Indeed this was the most Scandalous piece of Work ever seen and the Ugliest thing, being as broad as long and would not go any more than a hay stack. After she was putt up I was obliged to send her to Kingston to have beams put into her to strengthen her. You also need neither send out sails Mast Boom Rigging nor Anchors & Cables as the Shallops were saved.

### 68. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 25 July 1773

I wrote to you the 14 Instant p. the *Friendship* Capt. Watt and sent you a Duplicate p. the *St. Thomas in the East* Capt. Holbrook via Bristol Since which am Come to this Town but this being a very Busy time I have not been able to go as yet to Spanish Town. When I do which I suppose will be within these three or four days I shall have a long Conversation with your Aunt on the Matter I before wrote to you about. The Event of which I will Acquaint you with by the *Great Marlow* Capt. Kitchen who does not sail before the 1<sup>st</sup> of August.

You have 29 hhds. of Sugar and 12 Puncheons of Rum more to go from Golden Grove and 11 hhds. and 1 Trcs. of Sugar and 20 Puncheons of Rum from the Swamps which I intend to send in a Ship which is at Port Morant called the *Lovely Betsy* Capt. Marshall. I Could not get them away before the 26<sup>th</sup> as we had lost the Shallop and the Current went so strong to Leeward that the Boats Could not go up to Windward.

I have drawn on you jointly with you other Attornies the following Bills.

[Notes that all are dated '24 July 1773 at 90 days sight. 1 sett in favor of Angus McBean for £50.8.10; 1 Sett in favor of Simon Taylor for £313.10.2; 1 Sett in favor of Thomas Gray<sup>231</sup> for £315.2.10<sup>1/2</sup>'. *Taylor has sent* 'the Duplicate Receipts by the *Great Marlow*'.]

### 69. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Holland Park, 17 September 1773

I wrote to you by the 25 July and should have wrote by the *Great Marlow* but on my going to Spanish Town I had no opportunity of asking your Aunt any Questions about the Will. Indeed it is only about 10 days ago I had any opportunity when she told me she had asked her and was informed that you, Mr. Cowell, Sam Smith James Fraser & Charles Kelsall were her Executors but could gett no more out of her.

She also desired me to tell you that you must excuse her not writing to you for if she did which she willingly would some of the Negroes etc about the House would tell your Mother of it who she says would be jealous and begs you will excuse her as she would not have the least uneasiness if possible between her & her Sister but if anything extraordinary happens she will lett me know to write to you of it.

<sup>231</sup> A merchant house based in Kingston.



I am favoured with your two letters first of 6 May the other of 31 of said month. By the first tho they both came in the same ship you advised of your having made the Insurance on the *Standlinch* and sent a letter to Cussans in answer to one he wrote to you about the land in dispute and first to show it to your Mother before I delivered it to him.

I shewed it to her and she insists the land should not be given up by any reason. Indeed his method is so very vague of the water that it is nothing. He should also first gett the land before he pretends to give away the water. I wish you would take a sound opinion on this point whether since Cussans should recover the land he could stop the Course of that water which has turned your Mills so many years and when you had before recovered the land from him.

I have not delivered your letter to him nor shall not as I am in hopes to hear very soon from you the opinions of the English Lawyers on it for Mr. East who has been now some time in England carried all the papers regarding the Title to you and I have applied to the Council for a Commission to examine Elizabeth Walters<sup>232</sup> in Cornwall whom Mr. Dawkins Examined and can prove the descent of the Penhallons mentioned in the Sale of Peters to Lewis which should have gott last Court but for the sickness of John Allen Mr. Cussans's attorney which shall send you home as soon as possible which pray gett Executed as soon as you can for the Old woman is upwards of 80 if alive and no other person can prove the Family that I know of.

By Yours of 31 of May I find the *Standlinch* is arrived and brought you your Accts. Sugar etc. I find that there was a vessell missing which brought you the deed of Tredway to your Father and the Bill for £165.12.10 was the Amount of 200 pistoles I gave for the discovery of that deed. I received the Release and do not think there is the least occasion of recording it the deed from Tredway to your Father being better from the Original than the descendant.

In regard to Cussans giving you the water he writes to you he would give you the Use of the water. In the letter he writes to me he says he will give you the use of the water for your life paying a pepper Corn p. ann. As he and I are not at present very gracious I send you a Copy of a letter he sent me for John Kellys telling him I had a letter from you for the Settlement. As I had not seen your Mother at that time I sent answer to his letter I had not heard from you on the subject. As I would not by any means be a fomentor of disputes between Neighbours or misrepresent any thing whatever you chuse to be done in the matter I am ready to follow your Instructions.

In regard to the discovery of Tredways Title to your Father it is

<sup>232</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Elizabeth Walters.

this. John Sheckle<sup>233</sup> Mr. Dawkins's attorney and one Rome<sup>234</sup> his Surveyor were searching for a writt of division of some lands belonging to Mr. Dawkins & another person in the Clerk of the Courts office when they stumbled on the deed from Tredway to your Father. Sheckle mentioned it to Dr. Gordon. This was last October or November. They said nothing of it to any one but wrote an account of it to Mr. Dawkins but not giving Rome a Sop he agreed to go halves with one Broady who offered to cutt it out of the Book for 1000 Pistole. But Dr. Gordon to whom he made the proposall would have nothing to say to him on which he came to me and on getting the 200 Pistoles in which Rome went halves they shewed it to me. Had Dr. Gordon mentioned it, it would have saved that money.

Mr. Dawkins not knowing that this matter was found out pretends to do you a favor by granting you a Title to it and confirming an Obligation on you when he really actually and Bonafide knew he had no Title and that the Title was vested in you and whenever the Cause came on he would be nonsuited. What Dr. Gordon mentions in his letter that every thing that was fair & Honourable had been mentioned to Mr. Dawkins he means Mr. Dawkins was Acquainted with the discovery made by Sheckle & Rome.

The next part of your letter seems again to want to settle the dispute at Winchester Penn by Arbitration. If the lines are clear they will be by and by as clear as they are now and I want to gett two men out of the way who pretend to know something of the matter tho in fact they know nothing of it. What I mean by out of the way is that they will die off. Delay found out Dawkins's Title to be bad delay may make Cussans tired of Law and a Jury is as good an arbitration as any other people. Indeed was it mine it should be tryed in England where people can gett good Lawyers for Judges and I am convinced Mr. Cussans will have at any event a platt of 100 Acres thrown out.

Kelly I suppose has wrote to you on the Subject of his Negroes. I am very happy to hear we are not likely to have a war soon. It must do a great Injury to us Planters and can do no good. Taxes must be raised on our goods, freights & Insurance will be high and probably the price of Sugar low. In case of war on the Contrary tho the price

<sup>233</sup> John Sheckle (1712–1782) emigrated from Britain to Jamaica in the late 1720s. In addition to his legal work he served as the Custos of Clarendon and Vere and was also appointed Brigadier General of the local militia. Lawrence-Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 305.

<sup>234</sup> John Rome was one of the most important land surveyors in eighteenth-century Jamaica. Much of his work during the middle years of the century was undertaken for the Dawkins family. (See note 33 above.) By the 1790s Rome appears to have abandoned surveying in favour of coffee planting in Clarendon parish. Upon his death in 1797 his estate, which was valued at £3,080, included forty-one slaves. Higman, *Jamaica Surveyed*, p. 31.

of Sugar and rum may be low freight and Insurance are also low as well as staves & hoops.

In regard of your talking about Matrimony I wish you would resolve seriously upon you who are in the land of Beauties. For my part, there are none my way but Mauritanians & their issue being in a manner a constant accident in the Country and have no opportunity of seeing of but seldom indeed.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you your Estate is free of blast and I am much clearer than I was. Indeed should have been intirely so had not Duckingfield Hall kept a piece of canes to windward of one that will not make them a hdd. of Sugar and which at the same time is to Windward of all their own Estate and has again infected my canes as well as their own. It seems as if they did it on purpose never to gett rid of that Virman tho' they have suffered allready so much by it.

### **70. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 8 December 1773**

I am favoured with yours of 11 July acquainting me of your having received my letter acquainting you how the release was discovered and that you had accepted the Bill in favor of Ross for the use of Brodie. He has never ask'd any thing more and therefore have not given him any thing. He is a damned worthless fellow and will I suppose be one day or another hanged but he was in this matter of Service to us was it only to have shown Dawkins's underhand dealing and think you did right thing in Shewing Mr. Long Dr. Gordons letter which I suppose had he not seen Dawkins would have denied. Whatever gloss they may putt over it you may depend he would not have given up land or at least the Claim could he possibly have expected to have succeeded in it. You are right not to take the costs they being a trifle. They have not offered them to me nor shall I take them.

I am glad to hear that you have made a purchase of a freehold Farm at £100 a year as I hope it will induce you to marry and stay at home.

I have agreed with Kelly for his Negroes to be valued by one person chose by him another by you in case of dispute a third person to be called in. The money to be paid in 4 equall payments in 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777 with Interest. Your mother and Aunt were present when I agreed and were satisfied with it which I also hope you will approve off. You have been allways complaining of Poverty. I hope the addition of these negroes will give you larger Crops. I assure you it is out of my power to manage for you with more frugality than I do.

In regard to the Cpts. Of Ships not taking the quantity they engaged there are reasons such as Sugars not being made and they cannot then be shipt and the boats are obliged to go back empty. Some

time disappointments will happen. If you will plan to direct how and in what Ships you chuse your Sugars shipt they shall be sent. I assure you I have no interest or share or part of any Ship that Sails the Sea and therefore they are all intirely indifferent to me, and Brankston shipt me last year 28 hdds. out that he might take 20 of yours in as he presented to me that he would be obliged to ship one or other of us out and I agreed that he should ship me out rather than you. I have according to your desire shown your letter to Kelly.

I shall by the Man of war send you a Commission to examine Eliza. Walters of Philleigh in Cornwall. I beg you will return it as soon as possible for Cussans seems to be very impatient to bring it to a tryal and a Copy of Rob. Arcedekne's will shall be sent with it.

Your Mother and Aunt are both very well.

I saw Kelly about a fortnight ago. He said he should go about the 1 of this month. I have not since heard from him but I know the weather has been very bad at Windward.

#### 71. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 12 March 1774

My not having heard from you lately makes me have a little more to say than just to acquaint you of a few matters that have happened since my last to you when I acquainted you that we had begun Crop at Golden Grove and it is with very great pleasure I can acquaint you that I saw Mr. Kelly yesterday who informed me that by this night you will have about 360 hdds. made there.

We have also bought from Mr. Kelly for your account 120 Negroes. They were valued by Mr. Joseph Orr<sup>235</sup> on Mr. Kelly's part and by Mr. Robert McDermet<sup>236</sup> on yours and amount to the Sum of £8714, for which Your Mother, Aunt, Mr. Laing & self have given four Bonds to Mr. Kelly for the Sum £2178.10 each payable in 1775, 1776, 1777 & 1778. There was also a further charge on them which was their houses and grounds and which those Gentlemen putt valuation of 3 p. Ct. on the Value of the Negroes but Mr. Kelly gave up the half viz. £130.14.2¼ and your Mother paid that and also the Sum of £248.10 which last Sum is wrote off the Bond payable in 1776 being the Amount of two Bonds she had in her hands of Mr. Kellys. Indeed I would not have allowed the 130.12.2¼ the one & half p. Ct. on the Negroe Grounds but that Kelly by selling the Negroes gave up a profit of near 1500 p. ann. he made by them for the Interest on the purchase money. I do assure you I think them a prodigious acquisition to your Estate and

<sup>235</sup> An eminent planter-merchant.

<sup>236</sup> Like Orr, a planter-merchant.

that you will not feel the purchase as you will by this means be enabled to enlarge your Crop and save your Capital and there will be no occasion of pushing so hard as we were formerly Obliged to on the Estate.

Lett me recommend it also to you to give orders for the purchase of 20 young Negroes annually to be bought for the use of the Estate and by that means they will become as good as any Creoles and very little risque in the seasoning of them and the Yaws which is the most destructive thing in a wett Country does not make half the impression on them as it does on grown people and make no doubt but that you will find your income yearly increasing more than sufficient to pay for them.

Your and my Antagonist Mr. Cussans pushed exceeding hard to bring on the Ejectment of the land at your Dam but I got it starved off this Court. As am in daily expectation of hearing from you the opinions of the English Lawyers on the titles I sent you by Mr. East I hope there may not be the least delay in the Commission to examine Elizabeth Walter of Philleigh in Cornwall her Evidence being exceeding material.

[Notes that he has 'drawn on you the following Bills' all at '90 days sight. 1 Sett drawn by Eliza. Kersey, Frances Harris, Simon Taylor in favor of John Kelly for £1617.7.7½; 1 Sett drawn by Eliza. Kersey, Frances Harris, Simon Taylor in favor of John Kelly for £160; 5 Setts drawn in favor of Angus McBean' totalling '£1196.5.9¾; 1 Sett each to Eliza Kersey, Frances Harris, Malcom Laing, John Kelly for £154. 4. 8½'. Adds that 'Mr. Laing was out of Town or he would also have signed them. I have also given Messrs. Long Drake and Long advice of them'.]

Mr. Kelly acquaints me that he has wrote for insurance on the Sugars and will write to you p. Brankston.

## 72. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Holland Park, 10 April 1774

I wrote to you the 12 of March acquainting you of my having drawn on you for the Ballance of Golden Grove and Swamps Estate and that I should send those Accounts by the *Standlinch* or the *Friendship* which ever sailed first. I do now therefore annex them and hope on your perusing them that you will find them right.

There has nothing has occurred since my last to acquaint you off but that Mr. Cussans is again going to revive the Lawsuit against Golden Grove Acct. of the water. We must do our best to oppose him. He is extremely fond of Law and I do firmly believe he is pushed on

in this matter by Dr. Gregory. This is my surmise though I cannot say positively it is so.

You have made upwards of 400 hdds. at Golden Grove and have a great many canes still to Cutt which I sincerely hope will turn out well. Kelly tells me he will write to you fully by this Ship regarding the Estate.

Your Aunt mentioned to me a few days ago that your Mother took it unkind in you not writing to her for that she had had only two letters from you since leaving the Island and desired me to acquaint you of it.

[Notes that he has sent *Arcedekne a turtle*].

### 73. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 23 April 1774

On the other side is a Copy of my last to you p. the *Standlinch* which ship is sailed since which I have been favoured with yours of 20 Janry. acquainting me of having received mine of 7 Sept. and that the Proceedings of the Chancery Suit I sent home are so voluminous that you have not been able as yett to gett the Opinions of the Lawyers upon it but that you will be as expeditious as you can in sending it to me as also the Commission when you secure it. I wish heartily for the Commission.

I do intend to secure an Ejectment on Philips Estate on your behalf this insuing Court for some small piece of land that your Surveyor tells me he is in possession of bordering and being part of Edward Stantons platt which piece of land Phillips claims under a Title from Mr. Phillip Pinnock and Coll. Swarton<sup>237</sup> being patented by them and half of said land being warranted to Phillips by Pinnock when he sold the half of the Estate to Philips. It seems Pinnock is Cussans chief Evidence. My reason for the Ejectment is to shew that Pinnock is an interested Person and not an Impartial Evidence.

The next Evidence they depend upon is Dr. Gregory to Prove Cussans's mother in Possession before her marriage with his Father. Now Dr. Gregory is in my Opinion also an interest Evidence for if Cussans gains the land they have a right to the place where your weir that takes in the water stands. Consequently even if they lett you take it up they will only give you as much as they please under pretence that the rest is wanted for his Mills and as the Water first turns Dr. Gregorys Mill he certainly will be a gainer. Therefor I shall object to his Evidence. He is the Chief promoter of the Suit they are going now to commence for the water. It is very true that they have had a scarcity

<sup>237</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Swarton.

of water at Amity Hall this year owing chiefly to Mr. Kellys having taken in a great deal more water than usual to keep the two Mills about and having been a little wanton with it.

I shall now give you the true state of the matter as it now stands for you to be able to state the real Case to your Lawyers. Amity Hall some years ago erected and built a Water Mill on the Estate when it was a joint property between Gregory and Cussans and took up the Water to turn it from Plantain Garden River and is the oldest Mill that was turned by Plantain Garden River in the Neighbourhood. Your Father had before that Erected a Water Work on Negroe River and some time afterwards a second Water Mill. In the years of 1758 or 1759 he jointly with Duckingfield Hall took up Plantain Garden River to convey the water thereof to his and Duckingfield Hall Mills.

By this you see Amity Hall Mill is the oldest Mill by what I have always understood had a right allways to have sufficient Water to turn it while it remained on the Construction it stood when your Father erected his Mill or turned rather the water on his Mill from Plantain Garden River. Butt on a division of the Estate of Amity Hall in 1764 or 1765 they that is Gregory and Cussans settled a new Sett of Works above the old Works of Amity Hall and Called them Hordley. In order also to have a water work on the said Estate of Hordley they divided the fall of water between the two Estates and consequently took away part of the fall from Amity Hall Mill by which means it must necessarily require a larger body of water to turn it than when they had the whole fall and not interrupted by Hordley Mill. Consequently what I mean to infer is that the Mill of Amity Hall had a prior right to a Sufficient quantity of Water to turn it when on the Construction it was on in 1758 or 1759 but if it does it self an Injury surely I do not think it can have a right to remedy itself by injuring you.

I myself heard Dr. Gregory talk to Cussans to bring the Bill but that his Dr. Gregorys name must not be mentioned in it. As you have all the papers at home your Lawyers can inform you whether such Bill can be brought without making Dr. Gregory a party whose Mill is one of the great causes of their Scarcity of water by taking away the fall from Amity Hall Mill. I hope I have explained myself so that you may understand me. I shall act for you in the matter as if it were my own concern and shall defend the Ejectment in the manner you mention.

I was heartily sorry to hear your Sister had been so ill but glad to hear she had gott better.

I sent to Spanish Town the receipt of your letters to your Mother and mentioned to her that you was very well but that your Sister had been very ill but was better but in a poor way in regard to her Health.

In regard to Kellys negroes you have allready bought them as you will find by his and my letters and have 4 years in place of two for

the payment. Kelly assures me that he will make near 600 hdds. this year. He is Attorney for Duckingfield Hall for which I am very glad as he will be a good neighbour which I cannot say was quite the Case of his Predecessor for had he destroyed the piece of 3<sup>d</sup> Rattoons I mentioned to you he would have freed all that part of the River from the Blast. You have a good deal of it about Golden Grove but it has not yett done much mischief there. We have some of it still at Holland where thank God it has not done near the mischief it did last year. It begins to turn out better than it did and looks towards 450 hdds. this year.

In regard to Sir George<sup>238</sup> I really pity him. It must be exceeding grating to a Man who inheritted so very great a property to find himself reduced to so low an Ebb as to sollicit for a Clerkship. Had they the least Spark of Gratitude they never ought to have lett him come so low but have before provided him some sinecure Government or Employ to have maintained him. I do not though think he ought to have been trusted with the Key of the Money Chest having taken so little care of what he had of his own.

They will make near 400 hdds. at Duckingfield Hall.

In regard to your Rum I shall write to Mr. Kelly to make it to your proof tho it will be a loss for being so strong a great deal of the Spirit must evaporate in the running off the Spirit but as you desire it it must be done. I am sorry to hear that that article is at so low an ebb. I hope the Elections will give it a start which it seems much to require.

#### **74. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Holland Park, 2 July 1774**

My last to you was of 23 Aprill p. the *Standlinch* Capt. Brankston and a Copy of it went p. the *Jamaica* Capt. Watts since which our antagonist in the last May Court pushed us to a tryal of the Ejectment for the Land at the Dam. And notwithstanding that we mentioned that the Foreign Commissions was not arrived the Court forced us on to a tryall when after the swearing two Witnesses and objecting to two more one of the Jurors was taken ill in the Box and obliged to go out of Court which I am informed by our Lawyers makes a discontinuance. Our Friend Cussans was so very angry that he mentioned that he believed that the Man was bribed to fall sick. His disappointment was exceeding great having got his Friend Winde who has lately been made an Assistant Judge to sitt that day which and the times that the matter was expected to come one was the only time that he thought to propose or could spare time to sitt.

<sup>238</sup> It is unclear to whom Taylor is referring.



They also brought Dr. Gregory as an Evidence but I objected to his Evidence for severall reasons. First as he was a trustee for that land under both the deed and will of your Father. Secondly that he was a party concerned and had filed a Bill jointly with Mr. Cussans against your Father to take away the water and that this Ejectment was principally designed to do it and if Cussans should succeed that by taking away your Dam he would be much benefitted by the water.

I objected also against Old Philip Pinnock's Evidence also for this reason. There is a platt of 25 acres of land to the Southward of your platt of Stanton that was patented by Stanton also which Pinnock and Stanton Exheated severall years ago and which is the land you wrote me some years ago to demand of Philips which I did and Philips so wished to settle the matter before he went home but did not. I therefore thought it best to bring an Ejectment for it as Pinnock sold it that is a moiety of it to Philips when he sold the half of pleasant Hill to him in 1761 and warranted it now by fixing your platts as they were fixed the Judgement in 1756.

Your prior platt covers near half of the platt of the 25 acres and consequently if you recover that from Philips he will have recourse on Mr. Pinnock his warrantee but by fixing the platt as they want it now you would not touch the platt of 25 acres and consequently no recourse could be necessary for Philips. This was my motive for bringing the Ejectment for if Pinnock's Evidence was admitted he would be against you in order to save himself from the Warrant.

If I have done right and according to your sentiments I shall be glad if not I assure you I did it for the best and intirely with a view for your advantage and to have the Evidence of the Surveyors who will be employed on the Writt of view to prove that Pinnock was intrusted. But the Gentleman who is the most busy and most angry in the whole matter is Matthus Wallen who really knows nothing of the matter but to appear as a man of consequence speaks it in all Companies the ill usage Mr. Cussans received from your Father in taking away [*illegible*] and that he sat on the tryall as a judge and gave his voice against the recovery but it turns from what the other Judges who sat on the tryall table tells me as does also the surveyor [*illegible*] stops his lips upon the subject then I am very sure that he will give a very [*illegible*] for was it a matter of his own he could not seem to be more anxious than he is now to injure you.

I was I must own very glad of the accident of the man being taken sick as it was such a disappointment to them and putt them so much back indeed. I did imagine that Cussans would have been found dangling in a Garter the next morning but he has mett with such disappointment in all his Law matters that he is determined to leave

the Country and his Law suits to be carried on by some more able Generall than himself. He goes home in the *Portland Man of War* Admiral Rodney<sup>239</sup> and I suppose will come out with a whole budgett of my Oppressions and litigiousness and Quirks of Law but will not say a word that he has brought the whole thing on himself and begun them every one.

And a man certainly has a right to defend himself when attackt and if he is so very eager and earnest to gett what he imagines his property could be but affect that would think that other people has just as great a regard for what they conceive to be theirs and will defend as obstinately as they are attackt.

From the scope of their Lawyers arguments I could find in the small part that came out they wanted to prove Cussans's mother in the possession of the disputed land in 1753 and that it continued in her and her Husband and the present Cussans's possession by his Guardians untill the year 1756 when it was recovered by your Father. And tho they want to fix as a quiet possession of 20 years under a deed whether that possession of 20 years will stand good against your possession from 56 to 74 is a point the Lawyers must give their opinion on tho I do not believe they can prove it for I am pretty certain that Dr. Gregory cannot give any Evidence for the reasons Cussans stated and I do as well as your Councill here imagine that the Ejectment against Philips will be a Counter to Mr. Pinnock's Evidence.

I have wrote to Mr. East on the subject so if you see him you will know what point I want to have the opinions of the Gentlemen at home in case we should be obliged to appeal home in the course of the Case. I am hopefull he has his hearts content of Law for I find that Old Doctor Gregory has told Mr. Kelly that if he will only take in from Plantain Garden River as much water as will turn our Mill he will not go on with the Bill in Chancery they have been preparing but I told Mr. Kelly to do no such thing without your Express order for lett them do what they can except they take away the [torn] where your Dam stands and where the trench now is they can do neither [torn] they putt Amity Hall Mills in the Situation they were in when your Father took in Plantain Garden River. They have no right to complain for want of water and which they cannot now without taking away Hordley Mills altogether for in year 1759 when your Father took in Plantain Garden River they had 12 feet fall on the Mill of Amity Hall and it continued so during the whole lawsuit with your Father but in the year 1765 or 1766 they agreed to settle a new Estate and give its

<sup>239</sup> Admiral George Brydges Rodney (1719–1792), first Baron Rodney, who would go on to play a critical role in some of the most significant naval actions of the American War of Independence. For more details see Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, 17, pp. 81–87.

Mills half the fall of Amity Hall Mills which is that thing that makes them at times be a little scarce but surely if they injure themselves you are not accountable for it.

You have finished a most notable Crop at Golden Grove and will get the whole of the Sugars home by the ships that will sail on or before the 26 of July. I think it is 636 hdds. Kelly told me that he would be able to ship and you have 60 odd acres of cane more to cut next year than this. Thank God Holland has turned out pretty well this year. I have turned four hundred hdds. and have fifty acres still to cut. If it does but continue at it and rise a little every year it will do tolerably well.

My Overseer at Lyssons who has lived a great many years with me has lately bought a wharf at Morant Bay which is near or by half a mile very deep sandy road nearer to Blue mountain Valley than the Old Wharf where they used to ship and does the business there much cheaper than they do it at Old Wharf and I will venture to say every bitt as well. I shall therefore Esteem it a very great favor if you would appeal to your Friend and acquaintance Mr. Perrin to order his Attorneys for his Estate of Blue Mountain to send the Sugars etc from and the Supplies to said Estate to Patersons wharf at Morant Bay instead of the Old Wharf for he has been a very faithfull Servant to me for many years and I would be glad to assist him.

Your Mother whom I saw about 14 days ago was very weak and seems to be falling off fast & your Aunt was very well.

As Kelly acquaints me he is to write to you I shall leave him to give you an acct. of your Estate.

### 75. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 25 July 1774

I wrote to you on the 22 of June last and sent the Originall p. the *Trecothick* and copy p. the *Cyrus* via Bristol since which I have had the Pleasure of hearing from you.

I have little more to say than that the Surveyors are to go on the land in dispute between Mr. Philips and you and then I am pretty confident their Evidence will stop Mr. Pinnocks.

Cussans went home in the Man of Warr that Admiral Rodney went with and as I am informed out of Chagrin but gives out to settle the matter of the Land in dispute between you and him. If you come to any conversation I give you this Caution that he has a very convenient memory adapted to forgett or remember just as his Interest sways and also if you agree to leave any thing to the decision of the man of the Law you must find him very close he having argued in a dispute to leave it to the Opinion of Lawyers. When four out of six gave it against him he flew off as he said

it was a matter of too great consequence to leave to the decision of Lawyers any where but in Court. He is very angry.

I produced the letter you received from him and sent to me and to show there was a compromise going on that we waited to see the Effect of it before we send out the Foreign Commission. All that I advise You is to act Cautious with him for I look on him to be a man of weak Head but very bad Heart but if you agree what ever you direct me to do I will.

I am informed Malcolm Laing & John Sheckle are his attorneys. He allways resided at the Formers house when in this Town but whether he was his Law adviser or not I cannot tell but he seems also to be angry at my not communicating to him the nature of your Lawsuit and the defence for I did not think it prudent that a Man should know too much of a very contested Lawsuit when the person who was carrying it on with the greatest rancor was his Bosom Friend and lived in the same house as his Guest not that I do accuse Laing of having done it but then a Man that knows nothing can tell nothing. It is a very disagreeable Subject to dwell on therefore shall drop it.

I was mistaken when I told you you had made 636 hhds. It is 628 tho that is a very great thing. Your Estate is going on very well and thriving and I make no manner of doubt of its continuing so. There will be a great deal to do to one of your Mills this year and also to the Still house over the Rum Store where the Beam broke last year but will Endeavour to gett every thing done in time.

[Notes that he has 'drawn on you the following setts of Bills' all 'at 90 days sight 5 in favor of Angus McBean' totalling '£720.9.7½ 1 in favor of Simon Taylor for £141.4.1½'.]

Your Mother and Aunt are pretty well. I hope your Sister is gott better.

## 76. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 19 November 1774

I have before me your much esteemed favors of 15 June and 6 July by the former of which you acquaint me that you had received mine of 12 March and that you had not received the Commission for examining the Old Woman in Cornwall till within a month owing to some unaccountable delay. Bob Lee by a letter I received from him yesterday tells me that it was occasioned by the neglect at the Inn where the Falmouth Waggon putts up and I am very sorry for it more especially as the Old Woman is dead.

I return you thanks for having honoured all the Bills I drew and that had been or would be presented. I am very happy that you are pleased

at the Purchase of Kellys negroes and the mode of payment for them and also that you come into the proposall of putting on 20 negroes annually and when a good Cargo comes in I shall buy that number for you.

In regard to what Kelly writes you of my offering him £122 for work done at Golden Grove I do not clearly recollect this matter, and what that you might have heard said of his doing work for Golden Grove tho he did not charge may be very true but has he ever given you any rent for 100 Acres of Your land that he occupies exclusive of the 50 Acres you gave him for life. Take my word for it he has been exceeding well paid for any work he ever did for you and did not charge in regard of the annotation of its being a common practice in this Parish to give from 10d to 1.10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub><sup>240</sup> p. day for each negroe hired on the different Estates tho Mr. Kelly charges but 1/3.<sup>241</sup> The case is that he could better afford to work at Golden Grove for 1/3 than three mile further for 18d or 1.10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> for when working at Golden Grove his people slept in their own houses every night and Were at home whereas being at a distance they lost time in going home to their houses in the Evening and coming to their work in the morning.

I am sorry that you have no account of the Produce altho I had wrote that there was an appearance of a fine crop and am very well pleased that you saved the Insurance on the goods by Brankston and Farr tho you ought certainly to have had advice of the Shipments to have left it to your choice to have insured or not.

I suppose you must have seen Cussans long ago as he was to go to you on his arrival. I am glad that Mr. Woodcock thinks we stand on such firm Ground. It is Dr. Gregory who pushes him on to secure water for Hordley Mills.

In regard of what you mention concerning your Mother your Aunt told it me to write to Your Mother has since told me she has heard from you.

I am very sorry to hear that your Brother in Law has acted so very ungenerous a part by you. He certainly should not have done it after all you have done for him more especially in renting the Swamps at 1000 Guineas a year. I assure you I would not give above the half for it. It is a disagreeable Subject therefore lett us drop it and think at once seriously and marry, and gett Heirs to Inheritt your Estate yourself. That will at once putt an end to any insinuations or expectations whatsoever to your disadvantage and what I am sure would give your Mother the highest pleasure of any on Earth for she is breaking very fast being very weak and feeble without any sickness but a gentle decay.

<sup>240</sup> One shilling and tenpence halfpenny.

<sup>241</sup> One shilling and threepence.

I find that you are not pleased at the Nisbetts and do insist that Hayward should not act as Doctor there and at Golden Grove. I told it to Hayward who seemed very uneasy that he should have given you any offence as he did not mean or design any in taking charge as the Doctor there but told me that if you did insist on it that he would much rather sacrifice his own Interest than forfeit your Friendship. As I apprehend it that you might have been angry with the Nisbetts just at the time and wrote in a hurry I told him that he better wait the arrival of another letter when you might not be quite so angry for if you will give me leave to mention it to you you are not punishing Mr. Nisbet in this Case for his Insolence but Hayward. Was there not another Doctor to be gott for Duckingfield it would be something but there are very great Plenty. You will please to write what your determination is on this Point and I know that Dr. Hayward will rather give up Duckingfield Hall than incur your displeasure.

I observe what you say in regard to Mr. Easts being Employ'd drawing out Papers the one being a lease of the Land I now rent from your Mother if it should revert to you and the other the lease of the land I wrote to you about. I am extremely obliged to you for your good intentions towards me in these matters. If they will not putt on negroes on Swamps the sooner it is given up the better. I never saw the lease but every thing is so much older than it was at the Commencement of the lease and from the naturall decrease.

Your next of 6 July acquaints me that you had received my letters with the Vouchers & Accts. and also the Agrmnt. about Kellys negroes and had also received mine of 23 Aprill. I am glad you approved of my having served the Ejectment on Pleasant Hill. I very well recollect your writing to me about the matter and my applying to Mr. Philips abt. it who promised to settle it before he went off but did not. I do not think of bringing it on to a tryall untill Mr. Philips arrives and I believe that the matter will appear so clear that he will not contest it he not being fond of Expence at Law.

I have heard nothing further about the Chancery suit from Dr. Gregory but am extremely glad to find by yours that Mr. Woodcocks opinion and mine are the same in the matter of the water and that he has made himself perfect master of the Subject. The Water is what Dr. Gregory wants and they will stick at few things to gett it.

In regard of his Evidence I am confident he cannot give any for I can prove that he is interested in the Event of the Suit and consequently cannot be an Evidence. I should be glad to hear the Opinions of some of the very best men at the Barr on the following matter tho it must be seriously considered by them before we do it and their Opinion clear and explicit that we have a right to do it and that no Action of damage will lye against us for it, if so, I can in two years make them

dance to your Pipe and they not have a drop of water to the Mills of either Amity Hall or Hordley. The case is this, the North Bank of the River where Amity Hall and Hordley take up the water for their Mill is high, the southside of the River is opposite your land and very low, and every flood encroaches on your land. What I want is to drive an Iron Barr fifteen or 16 feet down by the side of the River on your land at the High water mark, that is in a flood, and provided the river incroaches on your land, & would prevent them driving a Pile, or making a weir to stop the River if they should come within the Iron Barr, which I propose as a perpetuall testimony that the land there is yours, altho overflown by the River. *If we have a right to prevent their making a weir within the Barr which I mean as a land mark*<sup>242</sup> they cannot raise the River to take it in their Trench, & will be totally deprived (without your Permission) of any water whatsoever.

Mr. East wrote to me on the Subject of the lease and acquainted me that he had executed the lease to the first land which I now rent with the Limitations you mentioned. I am very well satisfied with it so it goes to my Heirs. I am pretty confident that I shall never sell or lease Holland and should not wish you to be troubled with a bad neighbor. I shall not mention it to your Mother. Indeed I do assure since I have had the Estate it has not hitherto paid the Rent owing to the Blast and being in young Canes but it is at the same time very good land. The part that is of the ninety acres is often overflowed by Duckingfield Hall back Water.

I also received the Power of Attorney for your mother to have one part of the land not included in her lease. I will rather send home the Platt to you to gett a lease than to apply to her. The use the land would be to me is for Copperwood and by clearing it it would be giving my Canes more Air but for any thing else it is absolutely useless not being 2 Inches above the Water and in the wett seasons intirely overflown. It is covered the rest with mangoes and small Mahoe which will burn and save me going further for wood. I have not taken the land or cutt a twig on it nor shall not without your approbation. Why I want a lease is to prevent any Malicious person having it in his Power to say that I was cutting Copperwood of your land and was stealing from you which I would not do was You in the Country. Therefore I shall not care how long or how short the lease is so I have one. I shall be very glad to see Mr. East and hope you approve my having Employed him in your affairs.

Indeed the North American matters give me real Concern. I wish they were settled and how it is possible for them to settle I cannot conceive. After what the Americans have done Britain cannot give up

<sup>242</sup> Emphasis in original.

the Point it would only be making them more arrogant than they at present are I look on them as dogs that will bark but dare not stand when opposed loud in mouth but slow to action.

I will endeavor the first good opportunity to gett up as many staves as will last you two years. I cannot conceive how your staves last year should have been sappy or bad they were the same I had, out of the same ship. I bought 100000 of them together, they arrived in June 1772 and must have been cutt in the preceding fall and I thought them the best Philadelphia staves I ever saw.

I am glad to hear that you find a profit in making your Rum strong and that it sells so well and also to hear that you have made money by not having advice to insure. I shall endeavor farr as I am able that you shall have regular advice to insure or not as you please.

Your Friend Cussans's Lawyer tells me that he intends to bring on the Ejectment this Court for the Land at the Dam. I have issued Subpoenas for our witnesses in order to defend ourselves as well as we can. You my depend that nothing on my part shall be wanting to ingage your success.

I had a letter yesterday from Mr. Kelly at Golden Grove. He tells me every thing is going on very well there and he talks of putting about in 10 or 12 days.

### **77. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 31 January 1775**

My last to you was of 19 November since which I have been favoured with yours of 5 & 24 October.

I am extreamly obliged to you for having spoke to Mr. Perrin in favor of Paterson's wharf and I received his letter to you on the Subject. I am much afraid that as he has left it to Laing that Paterson will not succeed for he is a Sort of Patron to the Man that keeps there the other wharf and his Coattorney and Co Attorney Dr. Blow<sup>243</sup> is his particular Friend but Paterson and I are equally obliged to you as if he had succeeded.

I find that you had come up to London to see Mess. East and Woodcock<sup>244</sup> before the Formers coming, and that you had putt some Queries for the opinion of Councill that Mr. East would bring out. Mr. Cussans did push as hard as he could but when I come to yours of 24 Octr. I shall relate the whole in the manner it happened.

In regard whether it is a discontinuance to the Suit the Juror being taken sick I cannot tell neither on further Consultations with our

<sup>243</sup> It has proved impossible to further identify Dr Blow.

<sup>244</sup> Hinton East's legal partnership in London.



Councill do I believe it will act as such but at any rate we will argue it, and as you rightly observe Lord Mansfield will have nothing to do with it. There shall be nothing that can be advised or devised by Councill but what shall be done to save your land. If quiet possession will do, you have had a quiet possession from March 1756 untill Cussans came out under a judgement of a Court.

Dr. Gregory is still wavering about his Bill of survivor. About 14 days ago he told me he had given over all Intentions of it, but since the Arrivall of Welch he tells me that he had intended to drop it on the Proviso that you should work only one Mill at Golden Grove and that Kelly should make a Memorandum of it in Golden Grove Plantation Books and give him a Certificate of it. Kelly did mention to me the Drs. having made such a proposal some time ago but I told him he had no right to do such a thing and not to do it but as he has refused that he will serve the Bill as he cannot be in a worse situation than he is at present in. I argued with him in the situation of his Mill but not in opinion that he has any claim on Golden Grove Mills which were turned by Plantain Garden River in 1759, and his was not built untill 1765.

I think there will be but little trouble in confuting his claim for if Amity Hall joins in the Lawsuit with him they must putt their Mill on the same footing it was in 1759 and that of itself will render Hordley Mills useless. He is intirely sensible of his Situation and I advised him not to be rash in beginning a matter that would pull down an Old House about his Ears. Indeed I do not know except from the Expence, but that it would be an advantage to you for him to file his Bill, and I will as you desire it bring it on so as that there may be at once an end putt to it as we can never have more evidence to prove what Amity Hall Mill was in 1759 and what injury the Proprietors of Amity Holland, and Hordley have done it themselves.

You acquaint me that you had received my letter to you of 24 July and that the Bills for £239.6.0 are accepted. I think that you have seen that those were the half yearly Bills.

By your last letter I am very glad You find that your Crop was large but very sorry to hear the Sugars did not fetch so good a price as they used to do. I do consider the great Expence you are at, but I assure you I do save every thing I can, and nothing is thrown away and in Consideration of Sugars not netting as much as they used and the payment that Kelly is to have, I have not purchased the negroes I mentioned to you as there was no absolute necessity for it.

I shall advise you as soon as I have made up the Accts. how much they will amount to before I draw and shall obey your orders relative to the Swamps. The Buildings and works are in much better order than when you took possession of them.

I find Mr. Cussans is arrived, and as I suppose full of Complaints, he has himself to blame acts in Every thing like a Child, crying because he has not every thing his own way and thinks that every body should give up their property to him because he fancies it to be his.

I am much obliged to you for your good wishes to me regarding Holland and am extremely obliged to you in Letting me have the lease it being a very great assistance to me.

Your next of 24 October was delivered to me by my worthy Friend Mr. East and I am glad by it to find that you see that the Bills you mentioned in yours were for the half year and that you was satisfied.

The stores by Brankston arrived safe. Indeed, I do not think on the good Ship there is any great necessity of Insuring on but I would on the *Catonus*, but in regard to that I will not pretend to advise.

I am much obliged to you for sending me out two letters from the Hero of Amity Hall, and ten thousand times more obliged to you for your answers to them and your attention to my Honor, Character, and Reputation. In regard to the first part of his first letter wherein he mentions to you that he had wrote to you about two years before but had not received an answer they was convinced you wrote one which arrived safe to my hands as well as the Original as the Inclosed Copy. I do acknowledge that I received them, and if you recollect you desired me to advise with your Mother whether I should deliver your letter to him which I did, and she desired me not to do it.

On taking out the Commission he was to have taken one also out, and there was an agreemt. between Mr. Allen his Attorney, and Mr. Syms the Partner of Mr. East, and he Mr. Cussans himself commanded that both Commissions should go home together. Mr. Allens sickness which obliged him to go off prevented the Commission going home. I then endeavoured to gett your Commission expedited. In the mean time he was pushing to come to a tryall notwithstanding he knew that it was impossible to have a return to the Commission and the time he alludes to.

I did produce *his*<sup>245</sup> letter to you to prove that he had been writing to you about an amicable Settlement, and at the same time was endeavouring to hurry you on to a tryal before your Commission was arrived. The Bench forced us to a tryall it is true and most people *were hurt at it* but not in the way he mentioned *but* in this that Mr. Winde, Cussans's bosom Friend and Factor, who two or three days before the Court had been made a Judge but had never satt but one day before *and that to fix a day for your tryall should expressly come there to sitt on that tryall and not at any other time before.* That is the thing by which people were hurt and the Injustice done you in not giving you the time to have a

<sup>245</sup> All the emphasized sections in this letter are in the original.

return to your Commission and by that means precluding you of your evidence, and there was not a Man in the Court but those of his Caball but who declared, that God Almighty had given you the Justice the Court refused when one of the Jurors was taken ill.

In regard to *the Claims in the letter being overruled*, I do not know what he means, as it was *his* letter to you I produced. I admire his clear sightedness in *seeing your Interest sacrificed to the resentment of your Attorney besides other advantages he may have in the Contest*. What Interest I can have sacrificed to my resentment I know not, except endeavouring to protect your property may be sacrificing your Interest and what advantages I may reap from the Contest know not except I having attended the Grand Court seven or 8 times the whole Court and waiting on Lawyers may be an advantage.

*Your own Surveyor gives me 50 Acres of what I claim and witnesses that 50 acres will take away the right of Carrying the Water to your Mills, and if I take away the Water you know the advantage it will be to the Mills below and your Attorneys Estate will not receive the least benefit.* It is the most Impudent and lying falsehood that ever was penned. He did in the Country say that Mr. Gordon your Surveyor did say that he had a right to the 50 Acres, which I informed Gordon of, who called on him Cussans and asked him how he could spread such a report, when he said he heard it from Matthew Wallen in a Cursory manner. I refer you to Gordons letter on the Subject to Whom I wrote in a way as if to recollect what passed at that time.

In regard to that 50 Acres taking away your right of carrying the water to your Mills, it does not for we can dig a Gutter lower down in your land. Was you to loose the 50 Acres he talks off and if more water comes down it will certainly be a very great benefit to my Mills which often want water and he knows very well that twelve months ago he and Dr. Gregory had widened their trench to take in more Water.

On my Complaining and threatning them with a Bill in Chancery they were obliged to narrow it to the former dimensions and the Overplus of the Water that their trench cannot contain must come down the River to my Mills in spight of their teeth and he himself knows it and admitts it will come down and be of advantage to the Mills below.

*He Besides to invalidate the Testimony of a Witness has sent a fresh Ejectment against Mr. Philips and has promised His Attorney that it shall not come to tryall, the Expence of which Ejectment I would not pay for 700 Guineas.* I did bring an Ejectment against Mr. Philips for you, with a view to invalidate Pinnocks Evidence, on what I think I have Happily succeeded, for he would at once have Sworn to lines to mark out the Quantity of a parcel of land that Swarton and he took up on the Quitrent Law and sold to Philips, and warranted the Title. By this Ejectment I am confident that I

can prove by what the Surveyors tell me, a trespass of Philips of 30 Acres of land on you and Mr. Pinnocks being the Warrantor he will not be allowed as an Evidence being a party concerned.

And in regard to my telling His Attorney I would not come to a tryall he has left out part which was untill Mr. Philips Come to an Amicable Settlement and save the 700 Guineas he mentioned, but where he pickt up that Sum do not know, there has been no Law Expences, no Lawyers fees, nor anything done in it, but the Surveyors going on the Land to run it.

*I mention these matters to shew you how far he would injure his Best Friend to satisfie his own resentment.* In regard to what he means by these matters I suppose is my producing his letter to prove he was pushing you to tryall before you had your Evidence, my denying that your Surveyor had given him the 50 Acres which he says he has, my Denying that you could not carry the water to your Mill was You ever to loose the 50 Acres, and saying that I should be benefitted by an addition of water to my Mill when I want it, and my invalidating an Evidence of an Interested person who would have sworn your land away.

*If from these Facts you still think him worthy of Guarding your Interest I wish on your Acct. for Amendment In him.* If I had not defended an Ejectment brought against you to take away 270 Acres of your land and the Water that turns your Mills, but had calmly submitted to it to benefitt Mr. Cussans and my Mills, if I had lett Dr. Gregory and Mr. Pinnock interested people to come to prove lines to favor their own purposes, the one to secure himself against a Warrantee, the other to benefit his Mills, I should have indeed been a very unworthy person to Guard either yours or any other persons Interest and should have stood in very great need of Amendment but as the Case is opposite I can say I am so very well satisfied with my conduct that I would just again repeat the same measures.

*You will oblige me to give me a letter to him signifying your disapprobation of this affair but if you should think the Opportunity favorable to disengage you from a Man who has no Tie in Nature abstracted from Sordid Interest. I would wish to have nothing further to say to a Man so farr below my notice.* I cannot think myself much obliged to him for Solliciting a letter of disapprobation of my Conduct or recommending the Opportunity favourable to disengage you from a Man with whom you have been so many years acquainted, and who flatters himself that you think he has allways had your Interest as much at Heart as his own and having a Tie in Nature abstracted from Sordid Interest.

In my not giving up to him my property which he says is worth ten thousand pounds, and that he would not lett me have it under, my Defending Mr. Kennion with whom I have been intimate these fourteen years when (through the incapacity of the people whom he left

concerned for him from never having had to do with a matter of such a nature) he wanted to plunder him of three or four thousand pounds, and to make it a precedent to plunder me of as much, when by proper levillings made, I plainly shewed that what he and his Adherents Alledged was absolute impossibilities.

My not prosecuting him to the utmost when he came upon my Estate with 150 Armed Negroes and wanted me to go into the Canes where he had hid them, and where had I gone, I should in all probability have been murdered. My restraining my Negroes from destroying both himself and his Negroes while committing outrages on my Estate. My Suffering him to escape when a Bill was found by the Grand Jury against him for coming with armed negroes on my property and committing hostilities there, and for which he would have been well off to have gott off for £2000 fine and twelve months Imprisonment on his promising Amendment. My not giving him a good thrashing when he attackt myself, and I threw him into the Canes and had him down there, when the only Amendment I found in him afterwards, *was* having agreed to leave the matter to the Opinions of six Lawyers three on Each side, and it was given by them in my Favor, his flying off, saying it was a matter of too great consequence to be determined by the Opinions of Lawyers, and directly filing a Bill in Chancery against me and a Bill for an Injunction. Swearing in his Petition for the latter, that my Lock would be liable to putt his Mills in Backwater, Overflow his Lands, and hurt his Navigation which three articles he had before admitted in different Companies could not possibly happen from it, and all this to gain two feet fall on his Mills and by that means to deprive me of the water that had turned my Mills from the first Settlement of the Estate. I say when all these matters have happened and are all record on Oath I think the Imputation of Sordid Avarice lays at his own Door.

In regard to his wish not to have any thing further to say to a man so farr below his notice, I believe he would be very glad that I would not have any thing further to say, or do with him, but that is not the Case we must have more matters still, and in regard to his abuse all I can say to it is that I scorn the Slander as much as I dispise the Slanderer.

I have wrote a great deal more on this head than I intended when I satt down for I can thank my God for it say Nil consurri sibi mens consciasecti Neilla palescare Culpa and I have not the least doubt of convicing him to his Cost for I have not only the Opinions of the Men of the Gown here but also Messrs. Dunning, Forrester, and Wallaces. I do sincerely believe that his Mind is so agitated by Disappointments, Avarice, Revenge, and resentment, that he is at times not sensible, having been at first led on by a parcel of designing people, and mett

with persons who know their own rights better than he did his own, and who would not give up their Opinions or properties to him, these with the Excessive ill management of his property some years last past, building to pull down, buying negroes to starve, making Indigo by destroying his provision Grounds have almost drove him Frantic. His Attorneys Bill I am informed for his transactions while last here having amounted to £2700 and he not reimbursed a penny, and in all probability never will.

I am tired of the Subject but can not help again thanking you for your having reasoned with so much judgement and perspicacity on the matter, and having viewed it in so dispassionate a manner as you have done. I shall keep the Copy of the letters by me and I assure you that no person whatsoever shall see them or shall I ever communicate the Contents to any one. I do not believe he will apply to you any more. His hopes were to have carried his Matters by Surprise, and gott your hand to your Opinions. I heartily thank you for having disappointed his Views. He is not the person he pretends to be, when his Bullies are not backing him, he would much rather use his Tongue than his hands and went home from hence notwithstanding his threats and menaces like a blubbering Boy to complain to his Mammy that they would not give him a rattle.

I received by Mr. East the Dormant Power of Attorney but it is not properly proved. There should have been an Attestation of the Proof under the Seal of the Corporation, attested by the Town Clerk, or have been Witnessed by a person coming to Jamaica to have proved your Signature before a Judge of a Court of record here. But it does not signify, as I should not have putt it on record without an absolute necessity, for I would not make a man your Enemy altho he has not shown that regard to your Interest he ought to have done. I have not yett had any time to have a Conversation with my Friend Mr. East when I have I shall write to you again but the Subject I have been on has harrassed my mind.

I can not however conclude without informing you that the weather has been and Still continues very wet at Windward, in so much that had you not a very large Crop to take off I would have stopt your Mills, as your Cattle are weak and the roads so bad that was obliged to have a Horse to go between your House and Boiling house.

You have made about 180 hdds. of Sugar and if the weather comes fair you will have the best Crop that ever you had. The Sugars will be shipt to you in the same proportion and by the Same ships as last year, but I advise you to Insure on the *Morant Bay* Capt. Farr, as his Ship is old, tho she may be very good. I would not have putt any on board her but you some years ago recommended him to me, not that I have the least disregard to the Man but on the Contrary a very great

regard and Esteem as being a very worthy honest good Man, but I cannot say so much for his Ship.

I saw your Mother three or four days ago she seems to be breaking fast and is very weak. Your Aunt is very well.

### 78. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 27 March 1775

My last to you was of 31 Janry. since which I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you. There has been nothing material happened since my last.

I saw Mr. Kelly who tells me that every thing is going on well at Golden Grove.

[Notes that Kelly intends to send 'the Following Goods on the *Clarendon*, 100 hdds., 40 puncheons; the *Duckinfield*, 50 hdds., 25 puncheons, the *Morant Bay*, 40 hdds., 15 puncheons, the *Prince George*, 40 hdds., 20 puncheons, the *Port Morant*, 50 hdds., 20 puncheons, the *Holland*, 40 hdds., 15 puncheons, the *Amity Hall*, 30 hdds., 15 puncheons, the *Friendship*, 40 hdds., 20 puncheons, the *Standlinch*, 20 hdds., 10 puncheons, the *Hibberts Boyd*, 20 hdds., 10 puncheons'.]

The *Morant Bay* and *Prince George* will sail from Morant Bay the *Amity Hall* Capt. Tarbut from Manchioneal Harbour & the *Hibberts* Capt. Boyd from this Port all the rest from Port Morant. Therefore if you please to insure you may. I wish them all home safe and to a better Markett than last year. The *Morant Bay* & *Friendship* will sail the first week in Aprill the *Standlinch* and *Duckinfield* the 2<sup>d</sup> Week.

I shall send home to you by the *Friendship* Thompson all your Accts. made up to the 31 of Dec last. They amount to for Golden Grove, and Swamps, & Acct. Current the Sum of £4099.11.6½ in which you will find included the Sum of Interest on the Bonds we gave Mr. Kelly the Amount of the Negroes bought of him. He wanted me to draw for the first Bond but as I had no orders from you I did not chuse to do it untill I heard from you. You will be pleased to lett me know whether I must draw for it and I shall follow your directions.

There was nothing done the last Court in the Ejectment between Cussans & you altho they said that they would positively come to Tryal and obliged us to issue Subpaenas and bring up our Evidences. I wish that we had the Evidence of the Old Woman before she died or any that could prove the Family of the Penhallons and that Peters married the Heir at Law.

I shall be obliged to you to giving your positive orders whether we are to putt in any more Canes at Golden Grove by Jobbing as it will

not be in my power to prevent it without your orders to me to that purpose for I do apprehend that the 100 Negroes were bought to prevent it and when I have your orders I stick to them literally without I see that your Interest would materially suffer and then in that case I would do for you as I would for myself. If I understand right the Intention was also to putt on 20 Negroes a year added to those you bought of Kelly in order to enable you to keep up the Estate and do your own work. The fall in the Price of Sugars made me defer the Purchase untill I hear from you and the money saved from Jobbing will help pay for them and the negroes are your own. Please to write to me on the matter fully.

Your Mother and Aunt are very well.

### 79. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 17 April 1775

My last to you was of 27 March since which I have not been favoured with any from you.

I have by this Ship sent home to you your last years Accts all made up and settled to the 31 of Decr. last. I hope on the perusing them you will find them right and lett me know. I have also drawn on you the Annual Bills as usual payable at Messrs. Long Drake and Long, and they are signed by your Mother, Aunt, Laing, and myself Kelly was at Windward so he could not sign them.

*[Notes that all the Bills were 'dated 13 April' and all 'at 90 days sight'. 2 payable to John Kelly totalling £984.11.8½; 1 each payable to Elizabeth Kersey, Frances Harris, and Malcolm Laing for £196.10.5; 3 payable to Angus McBean totalling £984.11.78½; 3 payable to Simon Taylor totalling £737.1.3½.]*

There was an Accident happned to five hdds. of your Sugar and five of Duckinfield Halls which were on board of Brankstons Shallop who in going out stuck on the reef and sunk by which yours & the Duckingfield Halls Sugars were lost. I have wrote to Mr. Kelly to take and also agreed with the Capt. that he shall give Bills of lading for the five hdds. as well as of the other Sugars on board for to endeavour to recover it of the underwriters or if that cannot be done of the Ship and told him that I doubted not but that You and Mr. Long would be able to settle together. Indeed the Capt. was not to blame in the matter and it was a real Accident that happened from the Wind suddenly dying away when the Vessell was in the Channell between the Reefs and two boats had gone out in less than a quarter of a Hour before.

Kelly was speaking to me again about allowing Duckenfield Hall to cutt a Canall through your land at the Rivers mouth to carry their



Sugars to the wharf by water and tells me that the Proprietors of that Estate would on that consideration give you liberty of carrying your goods through that Estate by which you would also have a water Carriage for your goods also to the Barquader.

If you are not too angry with Mr. Nisbett to allow him any advantage from the Situation of your property, I should think it for your Interest to allow it as it would be a very great ease to your Cattle there being all the Crop time two wains constantly carrying goods down and bringing up Supplies and by the water Carriage two boats and 4 negroes would do it which would be a considerable Saving to your Estate but you should on no Acct. do it without a liberty of navigation for your Estate if such a thing was agreeable and to be brought about. I should be glad to hear from you as from my thorough knowing the matter I would take care to point out what would be the necessary things to be covenanted for you to render your navigation perfect and not to be liable to interruption.

There has been nothing new here. Your Crop at Golden Grove promises fair and I believe will be the largest you ever yett had from that Estate. We were putt back at first with the wett weather but that has been made up by keeping both Mills and work and making some weeks 40 hdds. p. week.

### **80. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 5 June 1775**

My last to you was of 17 April p. the *Friendship* Thompson and the *Clarendon* Brankston both which Ships are safe arrived long before this will reach you I hope.

I have been favoured with yours of 22 Jany. wherein you mention that you do not recollect any of my letters to you are unanswered but that you would be glad to know that you did nothing disagreeable to me in the letters that passed between Cussans and you.

By my letters to you in answer to them you will see all the High Opinion I entertain of your Conduct in that matter and I again thank you for it. I am very certain that you are no loser by the *Friendship* between you and him being at an end and from the terms he and I are on shall say no more.

In regard to Mr. Nat. Philips I suppose he has been with Cussans but you need be under no apprehensions in regard to his releasing Pinnock from the Guarantee. There are more people to be consulted before he can do it lett his inclination be ever so good as the Attorneys of Admirall Hughes<sup>246</sup> and the Representatives of the late Mr. Biscoe

<sup>246</sup> Admiral Sir Edward Hughes (1720?–1794). For more information see Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, X, pp. 172–175.

who have a Mortgage on his Estate and consequently the Title of Pleasant Hill is not in him to enable him to clear Pinnock lett his good Intentions for Pinnock be what they will. I see he wants to befriend Cussans that he may steal your land. He cannot avail himself of the Quiet Possession for 21 Years I having demanded it from him before he went off and should have brought an Ejectment but for his promise to settle it before he went off.

I am also sorry that he cannot forgett the Taylors Trick of lying in telling you he heard from his Attorney that I was prosecuting the Suit agt. him with great Vigour. And I spoke to his Attorney and asked him if he had done so who informed me that he had wrote no such thing to him and consequently he must have made it himself or his Friend Cussans for him. There shall be nothing left undone in my power to keep your land. They now publickly own it that it is the Water they want and it is to gett that that they have brought the Ejectment for there will be nothing done in the matter this Court but we shall certainly come to a tryal the next.

In regard to the land patented by Penhallon belonging to you there is no part of it but the 90 Acres I have of you of any value to any one person in the World but the Proprietors of Holland and that only on Acct. of the Copperwood it being all overflown. When the Riversmouth is barred up it is full of blood wood and such stuff as is good for fewell but that can only be brought out in dry weather and is too great a Carriage for any Estate in the Island but Holland.

The 90 Acres I have is as good as any land in the Island but the lower part is allmost continually overflowed by Duckingfield Hall back water. The part of the land that joins the Bay is very valuable for wharfs Stores and the part next to the East end would make a good fattening pen by putting it in Guinea Grass it being gritty and Rocky which is the best sort of land for Guinea Grass but all aback of the Stores to the great road for carrying the Sugars to the bay is all Morass and Quagmire and in my opinion too low to drain.

The disputes between Britain and America are truly alarming and I am afraid will not be ended without a great deal of Bloodshed but in case the former keeps steady and prevent their trading any where but to Britain and her West India Colonies they must submitt. What I am certain of is that wherever there is profit to be gott there the Americans will send Vessels. Two or three Colonies may be obstinate but if one breaks through the Agreement the rest will immediately follow the Example.

In regard to our Situation I am in great hopes that good will arise from evil. We can do tolerable well without America. We have land enough for provisions lumber etc except white Oak staves. It is very true they will come dearer but still we can gett them but then the

Money that used to be paid to the Americans will rest among us and not be carried to Hispaniola to purchase Sugar Molasses and Coffee there to Smuggle into America to the ruin of our Colonies and the whole of the disputes between America and Britain, whatever the Gloss the Americans and their writers may put on it are that the Several Revenue acts passed in the present reign are so many checks to their Smuggling trade with Holland Hamburg France & the French Islands and it is a specious argument that they have laid hold of their not being represented. When there were not half the Number of Inhabitants in North America they used generally to export from this Island between 7 and 8000 hdds. of Sugar. They did not export last year above two thousand and it is known that their Consumption of Sugar is near 3000 hdds. annually.

I shall be sorry to find that Government should have any thoughts of endeavouring to fix a duty of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  p.ct. on our produce. I should think that they must see the bad consequences that have arisen on the Continent and first putt out that Fire. Besides, this Country would at this present juncture be absolutely ruined by such a tax first from the low price of our produce last year and then by the Excessive great quantities of negroes that have been imported within these two last years and the number of Bills which have come back protested.

I have according to your desire purchased a Cargo of Staves for you which will be sufficient for two years at least and send the Vessell up to Port Morant to deliver them their in the whole 70m staves of which 50m are white Oak staves & Puncheon heading the rest are hdds. staves. I have gott them at £8 pm. I shall draw on you for the Amount when they are all delivered. I have also bought 8 bls. of Tar which will serve you two years. There is no lamp oil to be gott but we can plant Oil Nutts. I have wrote to Mr. Kelly not to lend any staves on any Acct. to any one.

I am very glad that you have consented to Dr. Haywards taking the Charge of Duckingfield Hall He being deservedly Esteemed and liked by every body.

### **81. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 24 July 1775**

My last to you was of the 5 June p. the *Holland* Taylor & I sent to you a Copy p. the *Hibbert* Capt. Boyd since which nothing has happened Material.

The Norward Man landed all the Staves etc. that is she went to Port Morant and I gott Vessels to carry them round to Plantain Garden River where they now are.

Mr. Kelly came down last night and tells me that he will be able to

Ship you from Golden Grove this year 740 hdds. of Sugar which is the most extraordinary Crop that ever was made on any one Estate in Jamaica and I am hopeful that you will be pleased with the quality of your Sugar as I think they was very good. I am sorry that you have lost severall Cattle indeed such a Crop must be hard on them.

I have with your other Attorneys, drawn on you two Bills of Exchange as follows:

1 Sett at 90 days sight favor of McBean & Bagnall <sup>247</sup>	£465.10.7. stg.
1 Sett at 90 days sight favor of myself for	£567.6.8

the first being for the Supplies from this Town which consisted chiefly of Lumber the other being in Favor of me for the Norward Cargo I purchased for you and the Taxes for Golden Grove Estate.

You have now a provision of Staves & heading for two years to come in case that matters should not be before that time settled in America. Indeed they seem to me to be growing worse and worse there. God only knows what will be the issue.

Your Mother and Aunt are both well.

Mr. Kelly tells me that he wrote to you regarding the Situation of the Estate by the *Bull* Capt. Jones and tells me that he wants Bills for £500 stg. on Acct. of his Negroes purchased for Golden Grove which I have promised to lett him have by the next Ships that sail.

## 82. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Holland Park, 10 August 1775

My last to you was by the *Great Marlow* and Copy p. the *Judith* Capt. Brett since which time I have not had the Pleasure of hearing from you.

Mr. Kelly a few weeks ago told me that he was in want of money and desired me to give him a Bill upon you in part payment of the Negroes purchased from him for you for the use of Golden Grove, I have therefore jointly with your other Attorneys drawn on you a Bill in his Favor at ninety days sight for five hundred pounds sterling which I make no doubt but will be duly honoured.

I have agreed with Capt. James Hay of the Ship *Eagle* now lying in Kingston to take 80 hdds. and 30 Puncheons of Rum to be carried from Plantain Garden River at his Cost and on the risque of the Ship so that if you please you may insure the Quantity.

<sup>247</sup> A merchant house based in Kingston.

**83. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 11 September 1775**

I wrote to you about three weeks ago from Windward informing you of my having jointly with your other Attorneys drawn a Bill of Exchange on you for £500 sterling in favor of Mr. Kelly in part payment of his Negroes.

I at the same time informed you that I should Ship to you by the Ship *Eagle* from this Port 80 hdds. of Sugar & 30 Puncheons of Rum being the remainder of your Crop at Golden Grove which has been a very great one indeed tho there has been a great many of your Cattle died which could not be helped the very bad weather in the beginning of the Crop hurt them much and the great deal of work they had to do in the bringing Canes to the Mill and the Carrying goods to the Bay knocked them up. I now confirm what I wrote concerning the Bill and the Insurance on the *Eagle*.

I have been since favoured with yours of 9 June and find that you have given my Queries to Mr. Woodcock, but have not yett gott his answer. You need not give yourself any uneasiness on my Acct. of the Abuse of the other Party should the Lawyers agree to what I proposed. I despise the Malicious Madness of any one while I am conscious in my own mind of acting right. While my Conscience is clear I always pursue one direct road without turning to the right or left and am allways prepared.

I was in a good deal of Agitation (when I wrote to you) at the Infamous letters of that Unhappy Boy. He must now be convinced of the Villainous Part he acted for from a letter I had from Bob Lee I find out that His Lawyers on a Consultation have all agreed that I have a right to erect my lock and that he cannot depress my trench by which his whole mine is blown up and he may Wistle for the money he has so idly thrown away. I cannot say that I shall extend my Compassion so farr as even to Pity him in the Choice he has made of his Wife for now what with his disappointments in this Country, His Lawsuits, the Distraction of his Affairs, his failing in his Attempt to make you a Party to his Malice by his Unfair representations and such I wish to Boot I think he has now the only Alternatives of a Pistol or a Garter. His Conduct while in this Country the last was all of a piece Alien. In regard to the Power you mention coming out I shall keep it by me untill I hear from you again.

I find that you received mine of 5 March and made no manner of doubt but that the Bills would be honoured and am glad to hear that you gott and are pleased at my Advice for Insurance. I am glad it was done more Especially as we have an Acct. of the Totall loss of the *Port Morant* Raffles and I see by a letter from Messrs. Long Drake & Long to Mr. Kelly that you was insured which I am very glad. I had 100

hdds. of Sugar on board her and I have not yett any Acct. of my being insured but as I wrote by two Severall Ships that sailed before her I am hopeful that I am.

I should be glad of the Pedigree of the Penhallons from Charles Penhallon and his Brothers down to the Intermarriage of the Heiress with Peters that is the time we want further back is of no Service and he purchased the Lands in this Country and patented them.

In regard to Kellys bond I will draw on you for the Amount of the first and so annually if we make good Crops and you do not give me contrary orders.

I am hopefull that the disputes between Britain and the Colonies will soon come to a Crisis God Grant that it may be a favourable one for to both Countries. We shall now have no more news from America but by way of England the Congress having ordered the Printers to Print nothing but by their orders. I apprehend that they have received a Check and dare not lett the Common people know. If they continue their non Importation or Exportation you are provided for two years to come with Lumber and need be under no Apprehensions of wanting Provisions for notwithstanding Mr. Ellis's<sup>248</sup> [account] before the Committee of the House of Commons this Country cannot want Provisions and you have not an Able Negroe but with working only two hours in his Grounds on a Sunday morning but by that small piece of labour will gett as much provisions as will satisfy himself and family for a Week. I shall show that part of your letter to Kelly when I see him regarding the Hire of Negroes.

I do not think without your orders of buying the 20 Negroes annually untill we see the fate of the American disputes and what effect it will have on the Value of our Produce for altho for some years they have taken very little yett from Ellis's Acct. the people may be led to think there will be a very great quantity come home which the Americans used to take.

And as for the money he mentioned they brought here he did not tell the whole truth. That they brought money for three years is certain. The first year it was so mixed with Brass & Copper that a Doubloon that passed at £4.15 was not intrinsically worth £3 and after that money would not pass. They carried of what little good money we had that was full weight and the Spanish Milled Gold and there fabricated light doubloons which they passed here for Produce and I myself being

<sup>248</sup> Welbore Ellis (1713–1802). Ellis sat in the House of Commons between 1741 and 1802. He was the Member for Petersfield from 1768 to 1774 and for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis from 1774 until 1790. During the Stamp Act crisis Ellis had advocated that a firm stand be taken against the American colonists. For more details see Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke (eds), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1754–1790*, 3 vols (London, 1964), II, pp. 397–400.

the then Chairman of the Committee of Accts. went by order of the House of Assembly to count and weigh the Money in the Receiver Generalls Office and found it on doing it to be 33 p. Ct. below the proper weight and that may be a further means of the Fall of Produce.

I do not believe that they intend to send any provisions to Jamaica more than any of the other Sugar Colonies and the letter you mention to have come from here is void of foundation for they rely on the Clamours of the Manufacturers at Home and the necessities of the Sugar Colonies as the great Channell through which the repeal of the Laws they Complain of will come.

I shall go to Spanish Town tomorrow, and will see both your Mother & Aunt.

The Case between you and Cussans does not come on this Court but certainly will the next.

I had a letter from Holland 4 days ago which informs me that the weather is good therefore it must be the same at Golden Grove.

### 85. To Chaloner Arcedekne, Kingston, 9 December 1775

The foregoing is a Copy of my letter to you by the *Mary* Capt. Smith who carried to you the advice of the Bill I drew upon you and the advice of the Insurance on the *Eagle* Capt. Hay who I hope is safe arrived. The Bills of lading were sent to you as also the Invoices by Mr. Kelly. I was not in Town when that Ship sailed or I would have wrote to you.

I have been favoured with yours of 19 June and received from Messrs. Long Drake & Long the Papers regarding the Penhallon Family which I am sorry to inform you I am told by our Lawyers here will not be suffered to be read here in Court it not being a Bill in which either your Father or Cussans Family was concerned in.

I have also secured from Messrs. Francis and Tilghman<sup>249</sup> of Philadelphia 40 blls of flour and a parcell of Lumber for Golden Grove. I had as you will before this reaches you find purchased a Cargo of Lumber for you. Your Mother shall have what quantity she wants of the flour. Indeed it would spoil long before it could be used and have taken 10 blls of it for myself.

Do not be afraid of wanting Provisions for your Negroes. I have constantly resided in Jamaica near 16 years and when there has been no Hurricane know we can supply ourselves with Provisions if we will but plant them.

<sup>249</sup> A mercantile partnership that was formed between Tench Tilghman and his nephew Tench Francis, Jr in the early 1760s.

I find by Mr. Longs letter that you are insured on your Sugar on board Raffles but not your Rum which I am sorry for. I did not know the quantity of the Rum or would have lett you known it. Thank God I was insured.

Since my last we have had excessive heavy weather all over the Country which has lodged many canes but it is now broke up.

I am very much afraid I shall draw largely on you for have been obliged to buy a good many Cattle to take off your ensuing Crop and Kelly has done a great deal of Jobbing work on your Estate and then tells me it is done. It is certainly the way to increase the Produce but at the same time requires more Cattle more Negroes etc to take it off. Please to give positive orders whether you will have it continued or not. Was you married and had Children to reap the advantages of putting on more Negroes increasing the quantity of your Canes Cattle and pasture and your improvements to go to whom you yourself pleased it would be very well. But for you to be continually advancing and keeping your self drained for perhaps those on the one side that you have no affection or regard for is the reason and motive of my mentioning it.

The more Sugar and Rum is made is certainly pleasing and adds both reputation and Emolument to the Agents but I leave it to you to Judge and consider whether you chuse to have more Sugar and Rum than the naturall strength of your Estate will make. It is a disagreeable theme for me to write on therefore I shall say no more. But give me if you please positive orders and they must be obeyed for if more and more land is putt in you must want 100 more Negroes 100 more Steers and 2 or 300 more acres of land opened for Pasturage at the same time.

That I mention this to you I hope you will not conceive that there is any disagreement or Jealousy whatsoever. I do it intently to know your sentiments that I may act in conformity to them and not to be liable to blame or censure.

I saw in a letter to Mr. Kelly from you a mention of Hay to be made at Batchelors Hall. I do not apprehend that you could make Hay there from the Nature of the Grass but if 100 Acres of your land of Penhallons Run was putt into Guinea Grass it would answer all the End of making Hay and saving your Cattle. But another reason of their dying last year was the quantity of work they had to go through more than usual. Putting in 100 or 200 Acres of Guinea Grass where I mention would also give you an Opportunity of fattening all your old Cows which are now lost.

I cannot tell positively whether the Ejectment with Cussans will be tryed this Court or not. I have Subpoenared all the Evidence but Cunliffe who is our Chief Evidence is not come up his Wife being



dangerously ill and not Expected to live. I have made an affadavitt in hopes the Court will putt it off untill he comes up otherwise Tuesday was the day appointed for the Tryal.

As Kelly was plaguing me for the payment of the Negroes purchased of him I have drawn on you two Bills one for £613.10.9 the other for 513.10.9 being the Amount of the Principall and Interest due on the first Bond and have taken it up and the Bills are dated the 27<sup>th</sup> of Nov. I have also drawn upon you a Sett of Bills for £50.15.4 in favor of Messrs. Long Drake & Long at 90 days sight being the Freight of the flour & Lumber from Philadelphia. I would have given the Capt. the Money but he begged me to give him a Bill as those Gentlemen were the Proprietors of the Ship and at the same time your Correspondents. I have no doubt of their meeting with due Honor.

Your Mother and Aunt are both pretty well.

PS I forgott to mention to you that I had received your Power of Attorney which shall keep by me until I hear from you again. I also received the Case Mr. Woodcock sent me.

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