

George Bogle of Effingham House

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George Bogle was born in Glasgow in 1762, having a complex ancestry in which we find many individuals deeply involved in commodity trading in Britain and in the Caribbean, with strong reliance upon the slave trade. George himself developed extensive interests in these spheres. As did some of his relations, he had a complicated family life, producing children from at least two partners. He spent many years in the mercantile business centred on the slave-dependent plantations in Jamaica until returning to England around the beginning of the 19th century. Besides owning property in London he purchased Effingham House from the forced sale of General Oliver de Lancey's holdings. Separately he had taken on a further major lease and would have been one of Effingham's most notable residents had he not died in 1813. He was buried at St Lawrence in Effingham. Despite extensive research there remain gaps in our understanding of his life. The following account presents the information we can currently be sure of, avoiding speculation where there is no certainty.

Bogle family background

To understand the life of George Bogle of Effingham one must first look at the background to the family and the general history of Scotland and the East and West Indies, in particular during the generation prior to his birth. To differentiate him from other George Bogles, henceforth in this article he will be referred to simply – and uniquely – as ‘George-B’.

The Bogles claimed to be one of the most ancient families in Scotland. Like many other families, they had intermarried on several occasions, presumably in part to maintain control of the land and wealth they had acquired. The genealogy of the Bogles is complex and online sources contain confusing accounts of it. The Bogles in the period of interest mostly had single forenames mostly drawn from a small pool of such names. Figure 1 presents a tentative family tree connecting George-B to earlier well-known and much studied lines, in particular the Bogles of Daldowie and the (related) Bogles of Shettleston (both are districts of Glasgow).

Wikipedia offers examples of references to Bogles as early as the Tudor era, stating that they

‘... had farmed, rented, tenanted, then owned land in the west of Scotland for at least 200 years by the 1700s. They are well documented in the land rolls of the Archbishopric of Glasgow, who owned much of the land to the east of Glasgow. There is a curate, Patrick Bogle, of the “church of Caddir” mentioned in 1509. In 1510, Thomas Bogyl of Chedylstoun is mentioned. In 1555, Isobell Bogyl is mentioned in relation to “Daldowy Wester” and in 1569, Wylzem Bogylle is referred to as having “the lands of Carmyl, callet Bogylis Hole”. After the Reformation the Bogyle family seem to have taken over their lands from the church. In 1690, an Act of the Scottish Parliament recorded the return of lands to “Tomas Bogle of Boglehole”, after forfeiture (presumably having chosen the wrong side during the Civil Wars).

A George Bogle (Senior) died in 1707, and was buried at the east end of Glasgow Cathedral. This was the year of the Parliamentary Union between Scotland and England which opened up both England and the English Empire to ambitious Scottish merchants, from which the Bogles profited greatly.

After George (Senior), the family divided into three branches – the Shettleston branch, the Daldowie branch and the Carmyle, or Boglehole branch. Each has a confusing fondness for certain first names – particularly Robert and George – but had (mostly) good fortune in trade and in marriages to Scotland's land, commercial and legal elites.’

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Bogle_of_Daldowie]

In the above account, George Bogle (Senior) is the person so-named at the top-left in Figure 1.

Original records of Scottish marriages, baptisms and burials appear not as complete or accessible as one would wish, and consequently the internet contains many ostensible Bogle genealogies that draw from less reliable sources and are often in mutual conflict. The tree in Figure 1 contains some details that are marked ‘alleged’ because we are not able here to provide definite support from original sources; those details are, however, cited in many respectable accounts whose authors may well have found them in original sources but not provided references to them. The details in the tree marked ‘IGI’ are, by contrast, drawn from the International Genealogical Index. The IGI consists of transcripts of church records for baptisms and marriages collected and filmed by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). It is incomplete

as many religious bodies including the Catholic church and the Jewish synagogues refused to let LDS copy their records. The IGI does, however, contain authentic controlled-extraction records (with batch numbers) taken from original church registers and these records are highly reliable, subject only to occasional mistakes made during the original transcription process.

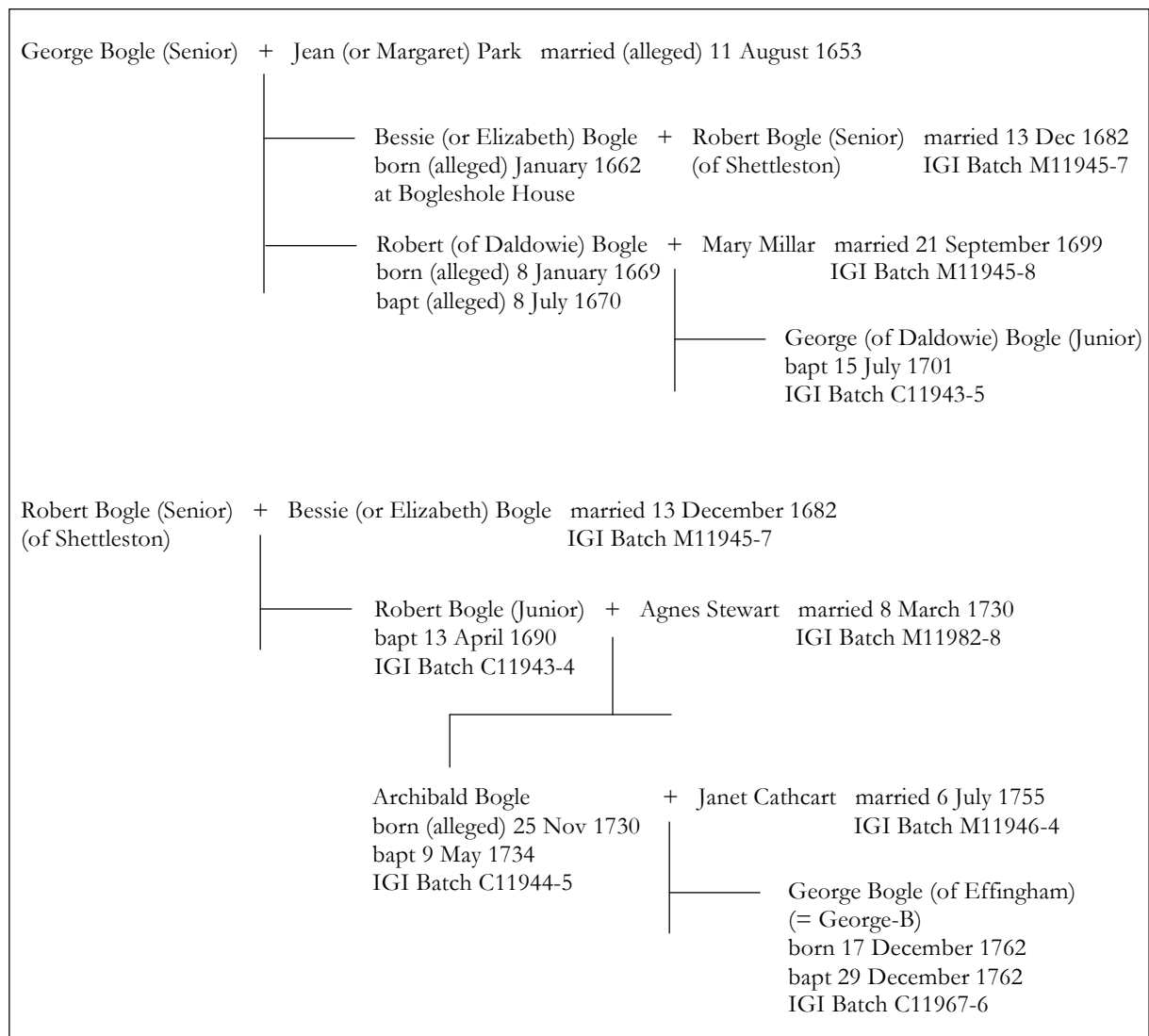


Figure 1 Tentative descent of George Bogle of Effingham (George-B).

Other than the IGI, perhaps the most reliable alternative account of this family's structure is contained in *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry*, first published in 1870; a second and much larger edition followed in 1878. It was published by James Maclehose & Sons, publishers to the University of Glasgow. This substantial work contains detailed histories of over one hundred estates including Daldowie. In its history of Daldowie it states that George Bogle (Senior) married Jean (otherwise known as Margaret) Park and by her had four children including a Robert Bogle who became a Glasgow merchant; this Robert's name is customarily tagged with 'of Daldowie' because he was the Bogle who purchased the estate in 1724. Daldowie, situated a few miles east of Glasgow, had much earlier belonged to the Bishopric of Glasgow and references to it date back to at least 1518. The work further states that this Robert – whom other sources claim to have been baptised in Glasgow on 8 July 1670 – married three times and died c1735. By his second wife Mary Millar he produced five known children. The first of these was George Bogle (Junior) of Daldowie who was baptised in 1701, married Anne Sinclair on 30 December 1731 and died in 1784. This work also observes the genealogical linkage between the Bogles' Daldowie and Shettleston estates arising from the circumstance that Bessie Bogle and her husband Robert Bogle (Senior) were first cousins, since the latter's father (yet another Robert) was a brother of Bessie's father George Bogle (Senior). However, it is apparently mistaken in asserting that the cousins married in 1680 – the IGI gives the date as 1682.



Figure 2 Daldowie, photographed by Thomas Annan (1829-87); by courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums; ID PhotoDA890-G5B9-3.

George Bogle (Junior) was an interesting man. The *Wikipedia* article states that he

‘... was a Virginia merchant, a West India trader, and a considerable citizen of Glasgow, where he was one of the Tobacco Lords. As well as trading in tobacco he dealt in other Caribbean commodities, such as sugar, cotton and rum. He was an early partner in the “Glasgow Tannery Works” and in the “Eastern Sugarhouse”. He was Rector of the University of Glasgow three times between 1738 and 1750.

... [He] married Anne Sinclair (connected to an influential Lord of Session – and, distantly, to Oliver Cromwell) – in 1731, by whom he had three sons and four daughters. The youngest son was a third George Bogle, (born 1747) who used family connections, and the influence of Henry Dundas, to get a position as private secretary to Warren Hastings of the British East India Company. This latter George Bogle was asked by Warren Hastings to lead an expedition from Calcutta to Tibet in an effort to get the Lama to persuade the Chinese Emperor to establish ties with Britain. He established good relations with the Lamas and even had two daughters, Martha and Mary, by a princess of Tibet, one of the Lama's daughters. These two daughters were later sent to Scotland to be educated. Bogle's diary was later sent by Warren Hastings to Dr Samuel Johnson in London to be published. He died, young and unmarried, in Calcutta in 1781.’

The diary just mentioned was reprinted in paperback in 2018 as *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet: And of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (publ. Franklin Classics Trade Press).

Another useful source of detail about the family is held by the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, namely the letterbooks of George Bogle (Junior) containing correspondence with Matthew Bogle of Totuskey in Richmond Co., Virginia, Newman Brockenbrough, John Carstairs of Rotterdam, Alexander Dundas of London, John Govan of London and William Sinclair of Kingston, Jamaica; plus correspondence of his mother, himself, his expeditionary son George and various other Bogle. These documents are held in the library's Special Collections as ‘Bogle Papers 1725-80’.

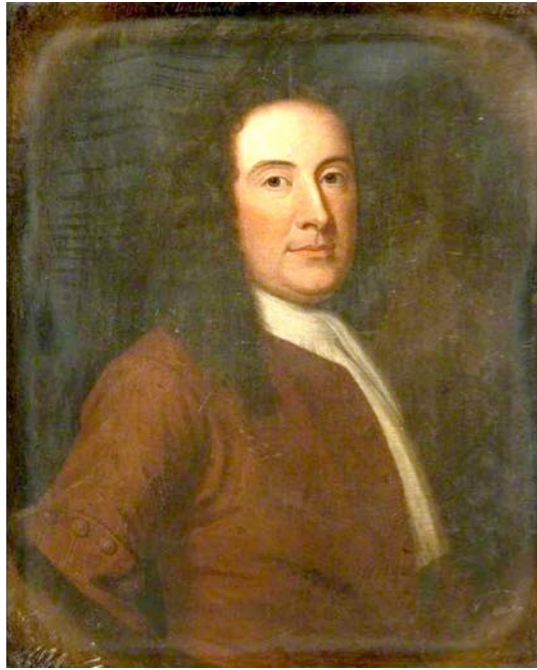


Figure 3 Robert Bogle (d.1735) who purchased Daldowie in 1724; by artist unknown.

The Caribbean Trade

From at least 1700 onwards members of the Bogle family were active as landowners, merchants and traders in the colonies of North America. Many of the ships sailing from Glasgow Docks were either owned by, or chartered to, them. Their interest was initially largely in the tobacco and cotton trade in Virginia but soon spread across the Caribbean.

Prior to the Act of Union 1706/07, merchantmen would typically sail from Glasgow southwards round the coast of Spain to West Africa. As well as being laden with goods for the cane plantations they were also carrying guns and 'bling' for the Africans on the coast. These goods were exchanged for slaves who had been captured from inland tribes through constant raids by these better-armed coastal groups.

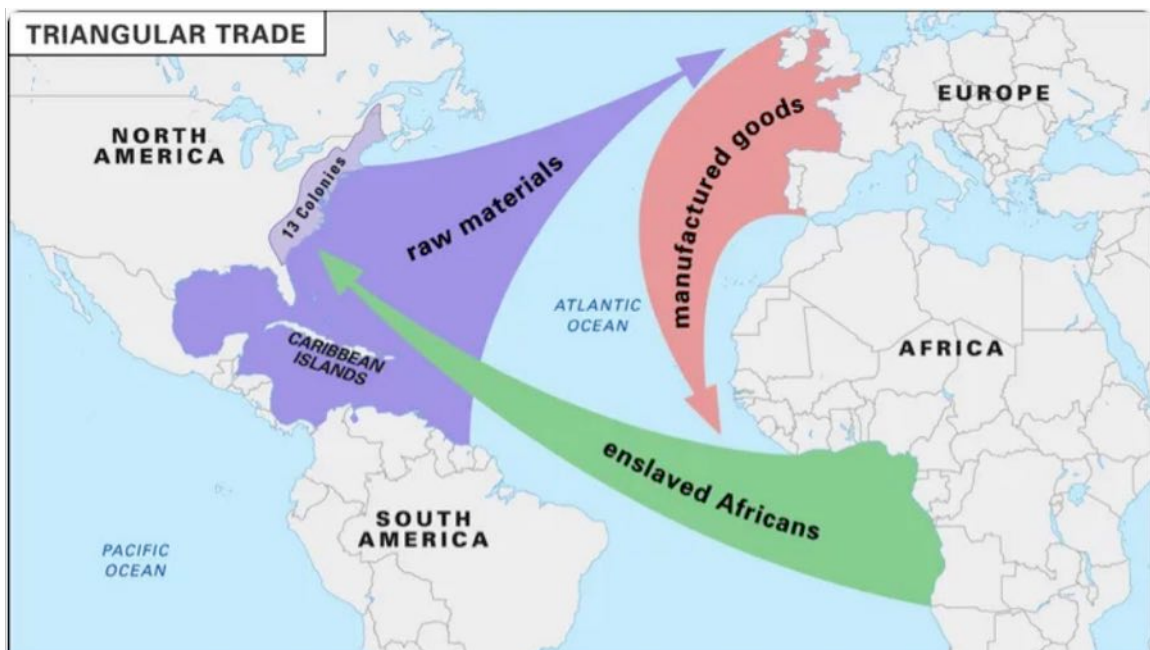


Figure 4 The Triangular Trade between Britain, Africa, the Americas and the Caribbean; © Encyclopaedia Britannica.

The Caribbean area was under the ownership of various European countries and as with the East Indies all these countries had products wanted by the Europeans: as a result there was much conflict between them, exacerbated at the end of the 18th century by uprisings of the introduced slave populations.

The English had captured Jamaica in 1655 from the Spanish and, even as early as the 1670s, Africans formed a majority of the population; by George-B's time they outnumbered whites by a ratio of almost 20 to 1. During this nearly 200 years of English rule, Jamaica became one of the world's leading sugar-exporting, slave-dependent nations, producing almost 77,000 tons of sugar annually, much of this being shipped to Europe by merchants like the Boggles as well as their close relations the Cathcarts (of whom more will be told presently). On average it took between 21 and 30 days for a sailing ship to travel between London and Kingston. For travelling to Jamaica the optimum sailing season was December to April; the period May to November was more affected by rain and hurricanes. Interestingly, the Governor and Vice Admiral of Jamaica from 1789-91, in other words, during some of the period that George-B was based there, was Thomas Howard 3rd Earl of Effingham (1746-1791). Howard was Governor during a period of huge unrest in the Caribbean, but by tactful and diplomatic interventions he managed to steer Jamaica away from the terrible rebellions and disruption that affected other nearby islands. In November 1791 he died, shortly after his wife. A splendid monument was raised to them over their graves in the Cathedral of Spanish Town. The 3rd Earl had little if any contact with Effingham village, but intriguingly the name 'Effingham' was surely well-known to George-B before he came here, and they may have met in person.

Cuba was still a Spanish possession and had been for almost 400 years (1511–1898), with an economy based on plantation agriculture, mining and the export of sugar, coffee and tobacco to Europe and later to North America. Sugar cane had steadily replaced tobacco as Cuba's main crop in the eighteenth century. This production was boosted by French planters fleeing the slave rebellion in neighbouring Saint Domingue in 1791.

Saint Domingue was a French colony on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola from 1659 to 1804, in what is now Haiti. A royal census of 1789 estimated that there were 500,000 black African slaves on the island providing the labour for sugar, coffee, and cotton plantations. The island also had the largest and wealthiest free population of colour in the Caribbean (roughly 25,000 such persons); they were known as the *gens de couleur libres*. While many free people of colour were former black African slaves, most members of this class were *mulattoes*, that is, of mixed French/European and African ancestry.



Figure 5 The Caribbean; the light blue area is today Haiti, formerly St Domingue.

The other main area for sugar production was on the mainland of Central America, Demerara in Dutch Guyana, which had been colonised in 1611. So valuable was the crop that the area was invaded several

times and was owned in turn by Spain and Britain. Much later in 1831, while under British ownership, Demerara-Essequibo united with Berbice as British Guiana in 1796. (Demerara is now one of the three counties of Guyana, the other two being Berbice and Essequibo.)

As mentioned above there was a major uprising in 1791 of the slaves in Saint Domingue and, although many French planters ended up in Cuba, thousands of French and mulattoes arrived in Jamaica; from this time onwards French families figure largely in the early Roman Catholic records for Kingston.

George-B's immediate family

George Bogle of Effingham (George-B, born in 1762), was the fourth son of Archibald Bogle and Janet Cathcart and the sixth of their eight children, all born in Scotland.

Archibald was allegedly born on 26 May 1730 to parents Robert Bogle (Senior) and Agnes Stewart who had married in Edinburgh just over two months previously. However, he was not baptised until four years later, in Glasgow on 9 May 1734, perhaps at the same time as one or more of his siblings. He died on 23 March 1812 in Port Glasgow (Renfrewshire), Scotland [*Caledonian Mercury* issue of 30 March 1812: 'At Port-Glasgow, on the 23rd current, Archibald Bogle Esq. in the 82nd year of his age']. He had married Janet Cathcart in Glasgow on 6 July 1755. Janet was born in Glasgow to parents Hugh Cathcart (Senior) and Helen Wardrop, allegedly on 9 February 1734, and was baptised on 17 February 1734 [IGI: Batch C11944-5]. Hugh Cathcart (Senior) was another of the leading Glasgow merchants of the time. He was mentioned by John McUre in his work *The History of Glasgow*, published in 1736, as connected with the 'great company which were undertaking the trade to Virginia, Cariby-Islands, Barbadoes, New England, St Christopher, Monserat [sic] and other colonies in America'.

Hugh Cathcart (Senior)'s town residence was a curious looking antique edifice called Gilmorehill on land which he had acquired in 1742. This site was on the east side of Stockwell Street on land now part of the University of Glasgow, and figured in 'Stuart's Views'. That land was later purchased in about 1800 by George-B's brother Robert Bogle (born in 1756) who in 1802 built upon it a mansion in which he resided until his death in 1821. In 1845 the estate was sold to the Glasgow Western Cemetery Co. (later known as the Gilmorehill Co.) which intended to build a cemetery on the hill, but instead sold it to the University of Glasgow in 1865.



Figure 6 Gilmorehill House; © C A Ingram, www.caingram.info / www.caingram.com.

Hugh Cathcart (Senior) also operated the waulk (cloth fulling) and lint mills on the River Kelvin. He died on 28 January 1743 [*Extracts From the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, Vols 1 to 11: With Charters and Other Documents*. Reprints of the originals (1876 to 2019)].

By the 1700s the Bogle and Cathcart families both had members residing in North America and in the Caribbean. It must surely be the case that from his earliest years George-B would have been strongly

immersed in, and influenced by, this extensive and powerful family background and its prominent involvement in trade and overseas ventures.

The eight known children of Archibald and Janet are listed below. Their shown baptism dates are mostly drawn from original records recorded in the IGI; the other details are as commonly cited on *Ancestry* but may not be reliable.

- i. Robert of Gilmorehill, allegedly baptised on 11 June 1756 and died 1821; he married on 14 August 1791 in Old Parish, Greenock (Renfrew) Scotland to Margaret the daughter of Michael Bogle and Janet Scott; Margaret, possibly a cousin of Robert, was born in 1768 and died on 2 May 1853.
- ii. Helen, baptised on 4 January 1758 [IGI: Batch C11946-5] and died 1825; she married on 18 February 1780 to John the son of John Hamilton and Mary Bogle; John was born in 1754 and died in 1829.
- iii. Agnes, baptised on 4 July 1759 [IGI: Batch C11946-5] and died before 1792; she married on 3 November 1781 in Glasgow, Scotland to George another son of John Hamilton and Mary Bogle.
- iv. Hugh, baptised on 1 April 1761 [IGI: Batch C11946-5] and died about 1834; he married on 16 December 1800 in Glasgow to Agnes another daughter of Michael Bogle and Janet Scott; Agnes was born in 1773 and died in 1843.
- v. Andrew, baptised on 24 July 1776 [IGI: Batch C11946-6] and died 1838; he married in 1801 in Glasgow to Mary the daughter of John Stirling and Janet Bogle; Mary was born in about 1778/1879 in Glasgow.
- vi. George-B (of Effingham), born on 17 December 1762, baptised on 29 December 1762 [IGI: Batch C11946-6] and died in 1813; he had at least two partners.
- vii. Margaret, baptised on 7 February 1775 [IGI: Batch C11946-6].
- viii. Elizabeth, no baptism found – probably born in the 1760s; married on 21 June 1788 in Port Glasgow, Renfrewshire to James Robertson.



Figure 7 George-B's sister Helen by Sir Henry Raeburn; The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.



Figure 8 Her husband John Hamilton by Sir Henry Raeburn; auction photo.

George-B and Ann Middleton

George-B appears to have conducted the core of his business interests in Jamaica, and began doing so as a young man. It was perhaps inevitable that he, like many other members of the Bogle family, should have sought out opportunities in the Caribbean, then a major growth area for trade and commerce.

We do not know exactly when he first set out to Jamaica from Britain nor with what specific career or posting in mind, whether to set up on his own account or to work for one of the family firms there. His older brothers Robert and Andrew were trading together in Kingston through their firm Bogle, Jopp & Co from at least the early 1780s. Another older brother Hugh, whose firm was Bogle & Co, was also certainly living there and producing mixed-race children.

The date of his arrival in Jamaica was certainly no later than 1785, and may have been some years earlier. A useful aid to considering this is the fact that in his Will written in 1813 he named several children

whom he had fathered by a 'free mulatto' woman named Ann Middleton. The baptisms of these children were recorded in the registers of the Registrar General's department in Jamaica's town of Kingston and the earliest of them was for Rosannah, whose entry reads as follows:

'Rosannah, the daughter of Ann Middleton a free mulatto woman by George Bogle, was born November 6th 1785 & baptised February 11th 1786.'

The baptisms of his children by Ann can be viewed in the collection *Jamaica Births and Baptisms, 1752-1920* on the *FamilySearch* website at <https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1520598>. As she was a free mulatto, her children fathered by a white male would be termed 'free quadroons'.

Rosannah must have been conceived in early 1785 when George-B was aged 22 and so this gives the latest date at which he could have arrived in Jamaica.

Ann may have been born in 1760. If so, she would have been slightly older than George-B but still a young woman. The baptisms register contains an entry for an Ann Middleton born on 4 December 1760, being the daughter of a 'free Negro woman' Rose and father Richard Middleton; she was baptised on 1 December 1763 together with two siblings, William born on 23 August 1755 and Sarah born on 14 April 1758. Before partnering George-B in about 1784-85, Ann had already produced two other children by a man named Stewart Bruce, namely Richard Middleton born on 25 November 1781 and baptised on 5 August 1782, and Clotworthy Middleton born on 3 December 1783 and baptised on 21 April 1784.

In the later 1780s two further Bogle children fathered by George-B were born to Ann and were baptised together in Kingston, Jamaica, as the register shows:

'Ann, the daughter of Ann Middleton a free mulatto woman by George Bogle, was born 4th April 1787 & baptised 4th May 1789.'

'Archibald, the son of Ann Middleton a free mulatto woman by George Bogle, was born 21st November 1788 & baptised 4th May 1789.'

Ann, the daughter of Ann Middleton, a free Mulatto Woman
by George Bogle was born 4th April 1787 & baptised
4th May 1789.
Archibald, the son of Ann Middleton a free Mulatto Woman
by George Bogle was born 21st Nov: 1788 & baptised
4th May 1789.

Figure 9 Baptisms of George-B's children Ann and Archibald by Ann Middleton in 1789.

Three more children – two evidently twins – followed in the early 1790s, also baptised in Kingston:

'George, the son of Ann Middleton a mulatto woman by George Bogle was born 4th April 1791 & baptised 21st February 1794.'

'Hugh & Janet, the children of Ann Middleton a mulatto woman by George Bogle, were born 10th June 1793 & baptised 3rd May 1794.'

3 Hugh
Janet } the children of Anne Middleton a mulatto
woman by George Bogle. June 10th
1793
Thomas Rees
Rector of St. Andrew's Church Kingston

Figure 10 Baptisms of George-B's children Hugh and Janet by Ann Middleton in 1794.

Seemingly it would have been simpler to have baptised these three together, but George-B and Ann must have had their reasons for choosing two different dates in 1794.

At the end of 1793 Ann and her surviving children were accorded certain rights and privileges by a Private Act of the Jamaican Assembly. Such Private Acts were made in numerous cases for the partners and offspring of wealthy and important white men (such as George-B) and were enacted in batches at the Assembly's legislative sessions. They were concerned with the amounts of money that the relations might inherit but did not normally confer any new political rights. The relations had to have been baptised in the Church of England. The Act in Ann's case, dated 6 December 1793, reads as follows [The National Archives, Ref: CO/139/48 (920)]:

‘An act to entitle Ann Middleton, of the parish of Kingston, a free mulatto woman, and her several children, named Clotworthy Bruce, Rosanna Bogle, Ann Bogle, Archibald Bogle, George Bogle, Hugh Bogle and Janet Bogle, free quadroons, to the same rights and privileges with English subjects, born of white parents, under certain restrictions.’

From this it appears that Ann's child Richard Middleton (or Bruce) had not survived.

Some years after arriving in Jamaica, George-B's career became bound up very strongly and to his great advantage with that of another merchant there, George Atkinson (1764-1814), henceforth denoted ‘George-A’. The latter and his brother Matthew (‘Matt’) had come to Jamaica – where they became plantation owners – owing to the prior interests there of their recently-deceased uncle Richard Atkinson (1739-85). Many references to the business transactions involving George-B, George-A, Francis Baring and their various partnerships with others can be found in The Baring Archive, a vast collection of documents from the now-dissolved Barings Bank. These references reside in the House Correspondence Old Series [HC OS] section of the archive. Francis Baring, born in Exeter in 1740 and educated in London, had been apprenticed to one of the City's first-class merchant houses and risen to become a leading merchant banker possessed of extensive financial and political influence in the affairs of the nation.

Before examining George-B's life in Jamaica further it is worthwhile to explain how it came to be connected with the Atkinson family.

Richard Atkinson

Richard's family background was rooted in the village of Temple Sowerby, Westmoreland, their estate centred on the 17th-century Temple Sowerby House. He was baptised in the village on 5 April 1739 and, reputedly unequipped with any special assets or skills, went to London as a young man to learn the arts of the counting houses. By his early thirties he had gone into business there with an established merchant Hutchison Mure, forming the partnership ‘Mure, Atkinson & Mure’ and subsequently a separate company ‘Mure, Son & Atkinson’, operating eighteen ships in service to the slave trade. In Jamaica he acquired sugar and rum producing estates including, by the 1780s, the Dean's Valley Dry Works in the island's Westmorland (sic) parish.



Figure 11 The parishes of Jamaica, highlighting Westmorland and Vere parishes.

In 1776 he forged an exceedingly lucrative contract with the Treasury to supply Jamaican rum to the British troops fighting in the American War of Independence, setting a scandalous price that made him immensely rich as well as much-criticized and mocked as 'Richard Rum Atkinson'. This enabled him to invest substantially in the East India Company of which, some years later, he became a director. He died suddenly while quite young and still unmarried in 1785, having served both as an MP and as Alderman of London during the preceding year. According to the *Gentleman's Magazine* he left the immense sum of £300,000 in his Will, equivalent in today's money to about £60 million. This, however, was a much exaggerated and over-simplified account of Richard's estate upon death.

The above details and much more about the Atkinson family are contained in the very extensive and thoroughly researched website *Landed Families of Britain and Ireland* (<https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com>) authored by Nicholas Kingsley, former Bodleian Library archivist and until recently Secretary of the Historical Manuscripts Commission at The National Archives.

A further major 512-page study of Richard has also been recently published by his namesake and relation Richard Atkinson with the title *Mr Atkinson's Rum Contract* [publ. 4th Estate (Harper Collins), 2020]. It provides fascinating details of Richard's personal life as well as of his mercantile activities and is the result of studying tens of thousands of pages of archival documents bearing upon them. For the purposes of the present article, Appendix I draws upon this source to provide a fuller synopsis of his life. Given the immense prominence he had attained in the nation's trading and political life it is highly probable that the young George-B had been aware of him and it is not impossible that he had made personal acquaintance with him in the early 1780s prior to his departure to Jamaica.



Figure 12 Richard Atkinson by Gilbert Stuart (detail).



Figure 13 Richard Atkinson; from *Mr Atkinson's Rum Contract* © 4th Estate, London.

George Atkinson, nephew of Richard

Richard's above-mentioned nephew George-A had been baptised at Temple Sowerby on 18 October 1764. At age 19, in the summer of 1784, he had gone out to Jamaica to take up employment with the Kingston-based merchant house Mure & Dunlop, run by Samuel Mure and William Dunlop. After spending nearly three years in Jamaica he returned to England in early June 1787. His life would soon change direction as a consequence of the still ongoing dealings over Richard's Will. As part of the settlement with the Mure family it had been agreed that George-A and one of his brothers 'Dick' would take possession of Richard's two Jamaica estates, Dean's Valley Dry Works ('DVDW') and Bogue, together with about 500 slaves. Thus it was that, after about four years in England, George-A and Dick sailed in the autumn of 1791 to Jamaica, landing at its port Lucea just before Christmas. The two estates had been managed by Samuel Mure who now surrendered his power of attorney over them, passing their control to George-A and Dick.

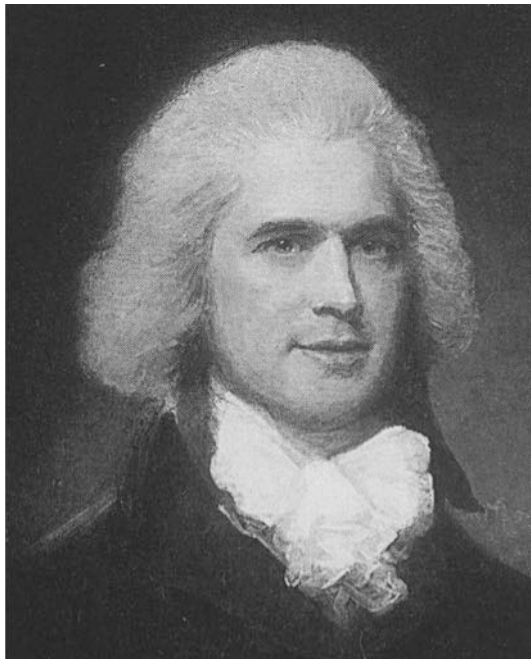


Figure 14 George Atkinson by Lemuel Francis Abbott (detail);
© Christie's Images / Bridgeman Images.

The Bogue estate was taken charge of by Dick, with its two hundred slaves, whilst George-A went to the DVDW about fifteen miles to the south.

Bogue covered some 1,300 acres and lay a little to the south of Montego Bay. In the words of *Mr Atkinson's Rum Contract* it comprised:

‘a sugar works, including a cattle-powered mill, boiling and curing houses, distillery, stores and trash houses; offices for the (white) overseer and his deputies; workshops for the (enslaved) blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, stonemasons and wheelwrights; a hospital for the sick and injured; a “great house” for the proprietor; and a village of palm-thatched huts. The enslaved families also had access to plots where they grew the beans, cassava, maize, pumpkins and yams, and raised the poultry, goats and pigs, with which they supplemented the basic salt provisions supplied by the estate.’



Figure 15 A typical scene of slave labour on a sugar plantation.

In February 1792 George-A was in Kingston conferring with the Mures who wished him to become a partner in their company Mure & Dunlop. But he resisted this and in July sailed back to England, leaving Dick behind to keep charge of their estates.

Early 1793 was a depressing time for those in trade, which had taken a blow from the declaration in February by France – having just guillotined King Louis XVI – of war upon both Britain and the Netherlands. Since arriving in London in September 1792 George-A had been having dispiriting obligatory meetings with the Mures in London. In March 1793 the Mures informed him that Mure & Dunlop was to be dissolved and that they intended to set up a new company uniting their branches in both London and Kingston. They asked him to run the Kingston office in this new concern in return for a third of the profits. However, the Atkinsons' old family friend Francis Baring expressed scepticism as to the Mures' objectives and for a second time George-A remained untempted. Instead, he persuaded Samuel Mure to accompany him on his return to Jamaica and there form a new business – Atkinson, Mure & Bogle [AMB] – in partnership with George-B, who (as stated in *Mr Atkinson's Rum Contract*) had formerly been a clerk with Mure & Dunlop.

So in June 1793 George-A started his return journey, accompanied by Samuel Mure, to Jamaica, departing from Falmouth. Meanwhile, George-A's brother Matt had set off before them also bound for Jamaica where he arrived on 24 June. George-A arrived with Samuel a few weeks later and was shocked to learn that while they had been away Dick had died, aged just 25. He may have died from yellow fever, a terrible and incurable viral mosquito-borne disease which, together with malaria, killed a third of young men within three years of their coming to Jamaica.

During this summer Matt began learning the ropes of plantation management while George-A, in Kingston, was considering possible business opportunities in Saint Domingue.

In this same period George-B was appointed as Jamaica's *protempore* Deputy Post Master General [*The Royal Gazette*, issue of 22 June 1793]. In 1794 the position passed to George-A and then in 1795 reverted to George-B [from the *Almanacs of Jamaica*, published (by various persons) annually up to 1880 and held in The National Library of Jamaica].

George-B and Saint Domingue

Some details of George-B's activities in the 1790s are given in the work *The British Occupation of Saint Domingue 1793-98* by David Geggus [PhD Thesis, University of York, 1978] and are drawn mostly from documents in The National Archives. They arise from the role that George played when in 1793 Britain intervened militarily in the slave rebellion that had begun in 1791 in Saint Domingue, an unprecedented revolution that was to have far-reaching consequences across the world and of which many extensive histories have been written. An overview of the opening years of the rebellion is given in Appendix II which ends at the point at which Britain sent from Jamaica to the rebelling colony a small contingent of soldiers under the command of Col John Whitlocke which arrived at the port of Jérémie on 19 September 1793.

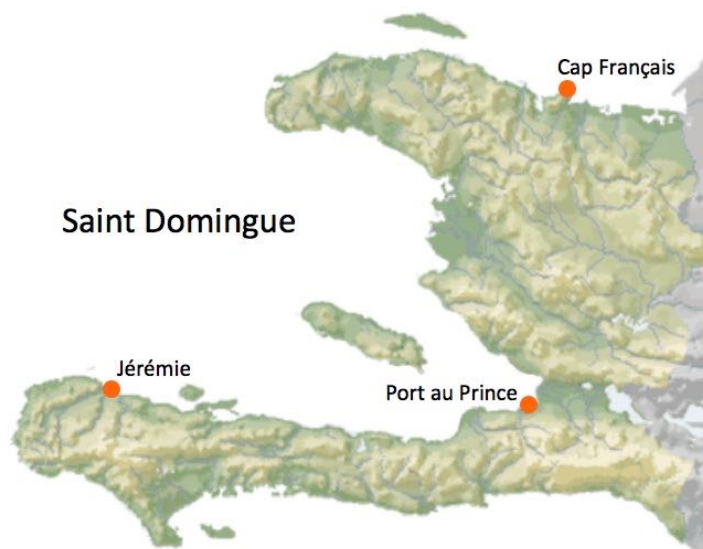


Figure 16 Map of Saint Domingue showing the positions of Jérémie and the capital Port au Prince.

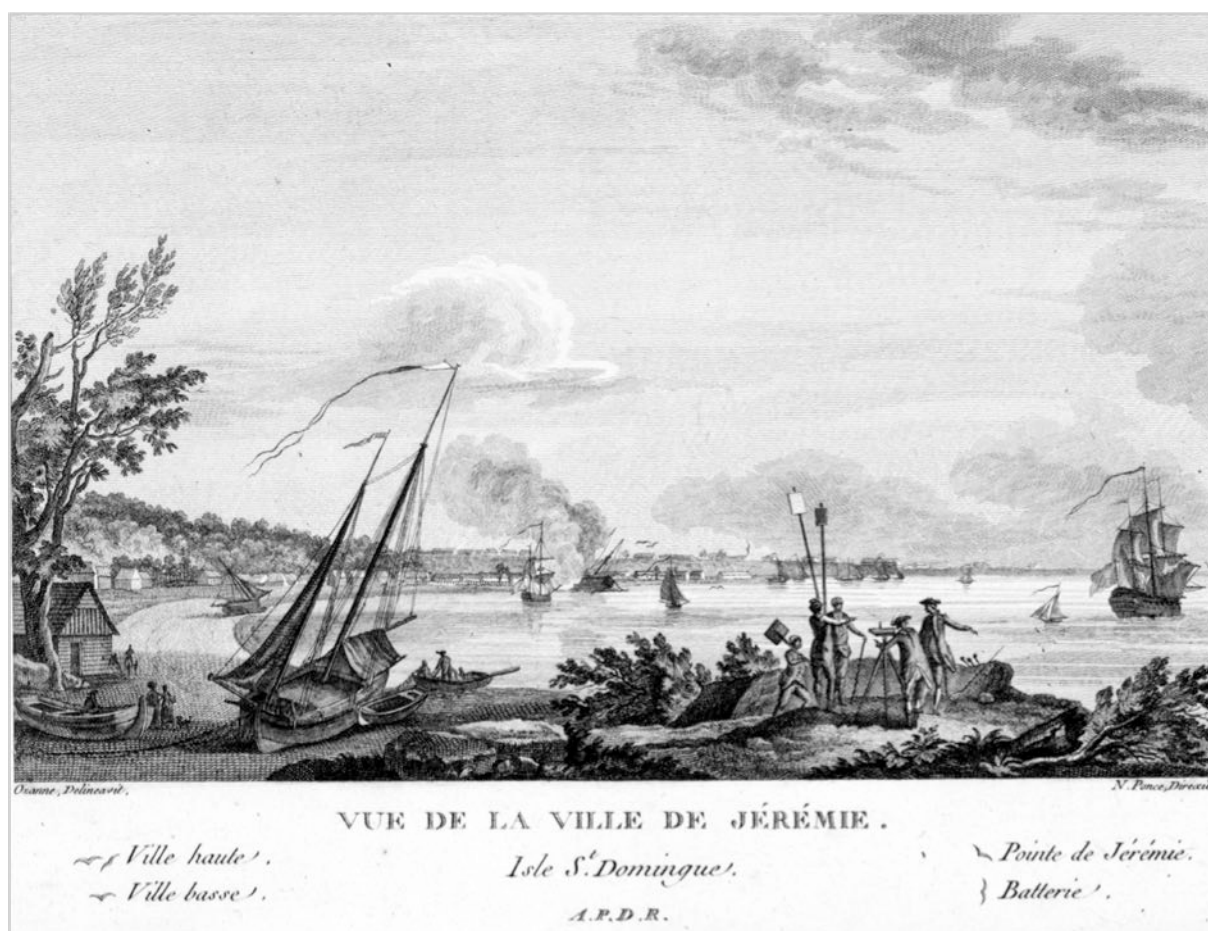


Figure 17 The port of Jérémie as sketched in 1795; National Maritime Museum, Greenwich; ID: PAH3002.

Jamaica's then Governor Adam Williamson had appointed George-A to the position of Agent General in Jamaica. An Agent (or Commissary) General was a representative appointed by the government to carry out its business in a city or colony abroad. As well as commanding a handsome salary the post-holder could also charge, for his own benefit, a commission on each transaction executed. In time of war an Agent could make his fortune owing to the huge government expenditures that became necessary in order, for example, to provision the armed forces.

An even more lucrative civil position in Jamaica – another example of the ‘Patent Offices’ technically bestowed upon favoured individuals by the Crown, but in practice manipulated, bartered or even leased by a privileged network of cronies – was that of Island Secretary, regarded as second in value only to the position of Governor. The Island Secretary had a fee-enriched finger in numerous pies of the civil administration, including acting as clerk dealing with general record keeping, enrollments, court actions, trade matters, passages in and out of the colony and so on, each one enacted for some fixed fee payable to the Secretary. After the retirement in this role of William Dunlop, the post also passed to George-A.

Whenever war arose it would create a substantial overlap of the duties of Agent General and Island Secretary, making it rational (or to appear so) for both to be held by one person. George-A was the beneficiary of this circumstance in 1793. Later, the position of Island Secretary would pass to his brother Matt. George-A also became Notary Public.

Now that the decision had been made to invade Saint Domingue, Williamson needed the Agent General role to encompass that operation. But George-A was not willing to take that on as well. As Geggus [q.v.] expresses it:

‘The Island Secretary and Agent General, George Atkinson, was to decline the post of Agent General for the Saint Domingue expedition, as he thought Martinique [which Britain had also eyed up for wresting from French control] would be a richer plum. Nevertheless he left hot-foot for London and offered his services in financing the operation.’

Williamson therefore looked to another impressive young man likely to know the ropes – George-B. He accepted the invitation to take up the appointment. Atkinson [q.v.] comments as follows:

‘The invasion of Saint Domingue could hardly have been better timed for the fledgling partnership of AMB. General Williamson had already confirmed George Atkinson's appointment as his Agent General in Jamaica, and now George Bogle was invited to join the expeditionary force as Agent General in Saint Domingue, on the same package as his partner in Jamaica – a salary of a guinea per day, plus 5 per cent commission on all transactions passing through his books. Hugely to the partnership's advantage, the cost of occupying Saint Domingue would prove “unavoidably great” right from the start.’

Geggus gives the background to George-B's appointment in these words:

‘In charge of all matters of revenue and provisioning [for Saint Domingue] was the Agent (or Commissary) General, George Bogle. One of a family of Jamaican merchants, he was relatively young for so responsible a position, though he had been long employed in the Agent General's office in Kingston and had served as Commissary on a previous expedition. He was recommended for the post by the Jamaican Agent, the very wealthy and influential George Atkinson, who was also Bogle's business partner in one of Kingston's most prestigious merchant houses.’

Thus Atkinson and Bogle benefitted twice: as salaried government employees, they effectively contracted and paid themselves (their own firm) to carry out the job of provisioning. It became the remit of AMB to ship provisions from Kingston to Saint Domingue. However, the growing scarcities and price rises made it increasingly difficult for George-B to present Williamson with meaningful accounts. Fears began to grow over AMB's solvency. It was now drawing funds from the merchant house in London's Fenchurch Street in which the Mures ran their business. Francis Baring warned George-A that the Mure family was on the point of financial collapse; their finances ground to a halt at the end of 1793, with Hutchison Mure and his two sons declared bankrupts. AMB would also have folded had Baring not stepped in to honour all of AMB's outstanding debts to the Fenchurch Street house, running to about £36,000. In the aftermath AMB emerged with greater credit worthiness and acquired rights to draw funds from Baring's Bank, which by the mid-1790s was the most esteemed merchant bank in the City.

In early 1794 Britain sent out forces to attack France's sugar islands, taking Martinique, St Lucia and Guadeloupe in quick succession. Meanwhile George-B had in September sailed with Whitelocke's small expeditionary force to Saint Domingue's town Jérémie, the capital of the department, or district, of Grand'Anse. Here he set to work organising the customs operations, assisted by several others: a Jamaican merchant Edward Corbet; a Jamaican customs officer John Rouselette; and the comptroller of Jamaica's customs, Henry Francklyn. These three all functioned as George-B's deputies, besides performing other roles. Geggus wrote that Rouselette was corrupt:

‘In 1793, Bogle had been appalled by the spendthrift commissariat of the Grand'Anse militia, Yet, Williamson continued to allow corps commanders to do their own contracting, particularly for regimental hospitals, which appeared in profusion and became objects of speculation and continual complaint. Colonels of colonial corps were also permitted to clothe their own men, although uniforms made up in the West Indies were extremely expensive. Bogle apparently complained to Williamson about waste and disorder but never demurred, it seems, in acquitting the demands made on him. He paid out for whatever a commander signed for. If the Agent General was merely ineffectual, however, his assistant Rouselette was patently corrupt. With a contractor at Saint Marc, he appears to have colluded, accepting unsigned chits for stores never supplied, in £60,000 worth of fraud. ... It was never suggested Williamson or Bogle were themselves corrupt – far from it. Yet, their failure to exercise any financial control, it was said, allowed corruption to flourish around them and permitted Williamson to indulge in misguided if well-meant extravagance. ... Williamson was incapable of saying no to anyone. This is doubtless why officers' pay and clothing account for over a quarter of Bogle's expenditure (£676,351 [in Jamaican currency]).’

From the start George-B realised that the occupation would be exceedingly costly. He was expected to pay for the luxurious life of the colonial forces in the Grand'Anse department. He hoped to allay those costs somewhat from export taxes levied upon the colony's trade. Garrison costs could be close to £1,000 per

annum, whilst refugees with slaves in tow were pouring into the area and expecting to be fed by the British. Saint Domingue was swarming with unemployed and homeless victims of the chaos left by the rebellion. George-B had his work cut out. Adding to his troubles was the fact that merchants were reluctant to accept paper bills to be drawn on Kingston banks, and so George-B and the British military commanders were compelled to ship large quantities of coin ('specie') from Jamaica.

George-A had meanwhile, on Baring's recommendation, set out from Jamaica in early 1794 to serve as agent to Admiral Sir John Jervis whose fleet, together with troops under the command of Sir Charles Grey, were to take over the French sugar islands. The fleet had already left before this arrangement was agreed, so he embarked on a schooner *Berbice* with the intention of catching up with them. Poor weather intervened and by the time he reached the fleet the campaign had concluded, so that he (and AMB) missed out on the spoils. He got back to Jamaica on 12 May and was served instantly with a writ, arising from unsettled debts, and was threatened with forfeiture of the Dean's Valley estate. The situation was rescued as usual by his friend Francis Baring who paid off the debts.

During the first half of 1794 the British forces on Saint Domingue were localised around Jérémie and nearby Mole St Nicolas, awaiting reinforcements. These materialised in the form of a naval force arriving at the colony's capital Port au Prince on 30 May, taking control swiftly with few casualties and being welcomed by the French royalists. The British commander was Brigadier John Whyte. He seized dozens of French merchant ships and the goods on board them, which had been laden ready for transporting to France, and arranged for the whole lot to be sold off by AMB at a value of at least £400,000. As George-A wrote home to Baring:

'Mr Bogle is at Port au Prince as Commissary and is appointed one of the three Prize Agents for the Army; which as the booty is considerable will throw some Emolument in the way of our house.'

This is confirmed by an advertisement that was placed by George-B in Bermuda's newspaper *The Royal Gazette* (and doubtless other newspapers across the West Indies):

'Port au Prince, June 13, 1794.

NOTICE is hereby given, that the Sale of the Ships and their Cargoes, taken in this harbour, as well as the confiscated Property on Shore, will commence on the 11th of next Month, and continue till the whole is sold. A deposit of twenty-five per cent. will be required.

GEORGE BOGLE,

For the Agents of the Navy and Army.'

On 30 July George-A married Susanna ('Susan') Mckenzie Dunkley, a sugar estate heiress aged 17 of Jamaica's Clarendon parish and described by a contemporary as 'a very beautiful lady of the first connections'. She had been born in Clarendon parish on 5 May 1777 as recorded in her baptism record:

'Susannah McKenzie Daug^r of Abraham & Jane Dunkley born 5 May bap 1 Sep'

As 1794 progressed through the summer the British troops were assailed by yellow fever and by November over a thousand of them were dead. The contemporary historian Bryan Edwards wrote of them that 'They dropt [sic] like the leaves in the autumn' [*An Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo*, publ. J Stockdale, London, 1797].

By September 1794 the expenses incurred over the previous three months by the British occupation of Saint Domingue had mounted to over £124,000, a figure similar to that incurred during the nine months preceding that – about a quarter of a million pounds in one year. The entire amount had been transacted firstly through the books of George-B and then through those of George-A, each taking 5% commission, so that about 10% of the total landed up in AMB's coffers.

Williamson warned the Treasury of the ever mounting costs, the growth of which accelerated during 1795. The Lords of the Treasury registered their distaste for the huge commission paid to AMB but had to honour the bills despite their misgivings.

Military matters began going badly for the British. The French regained Guadeloupe and St Lucia, whilst the fighting against the French in mainland Europe was becoming very difficult. Thousands of men died of cold during the terrible winter of 1794-95.

In April 1795 Williamson was replaced as Jamaica's Governor by the 6th Earl of Balcarres, brother of Richard Atkinson's lifelong love Lady Anne Lindsay. The governorship was worth about £9,000 per annum.

The interior of Jamaica had for half a century been controlled not by the British (who had occupied it since 1655) but by Maroons, free-living descendants of former Africans who had been enslaved by the Spanish. An uneasy treaty had been made between the British and the Maroons: the British allowed the Maroons free control over several settlements and in return the Maroons hunted down and handed over Britain's runaway slaves. But by 1795 this treaty began to break down and Balcarres decided to take on the Maroons by military force. He appointed George-A as his aide-de-camp and made him a lieutenant-colonel. The resulting conflict went into early 1796 and led to the Maroons surrendering. Balcarres decided to exile them to Nova Scotia and initially imprisoned them for months on ships anchored off-shore. During this time AMB had responsibility for guarding and provisioning the captured Maroons and taking commission accordingly. In due course nearly 600 Maroon men women and children were indeed exiled to Nova Scotia and, later still, the survivors of them to West Africa.

Meanwhile the costs of the Saint Domingue occupation were becoming insupportable – in just two years up to March 1796 George-A had drawn over £2 million of bills upon the Treasury. Geggus [q.v.] notes that:

‘During Williamson's Governorship, the central administration raised revenues amounting to £126,711 – just 7% of the £1.81 millions Bogle paid out up to 29th February 1796, which did not include the pay of the British rank and file.’

Provisions accounted for a quarter of George-B's expenditure as Agent General. Geggus again [q.v.]:

‘As regards both purchasing and appointments, Bogle was said to be efficient and honest, if guilty of some partiality. On the other hand, receiving commission on expenditure, he had no incentive to drive hard bargains or to exercise control over others. He was responsible, furthermore, only to Williamson and the Treasury. Though the Agent General in Europe was allowed only 1%, Bogle's 5% commission was approved by the Treasury. In 2½ years, it brought him an astonishing £86,000. (The Governor's salary was £5,000.) It is likely he also made considerable gains by pocketing the profit made when negotiating bills above par. It is not clear that regulations against this practice then existed.’

In 1796 George-B's spell as Agent General in Saint Domingue came to an end and the role passed to John Wigglesworth, described by Geggus as ‘by all accounts an able, much-respected figure, who had been seconded from (Prime Minister) Pitt's Committee for Auditing the Public Accounts’. In 1798 Wigglesworth was to father a girl (Eliza) for whose upbringing George-B would later take responsibility.

By early 1797 the war with France and in the colonies had almost bankrupted Britain, with hugely inadequate gold reserves to support paper money. By the Bank Restriction Act of 1797, Parliament declared that the Bank of England would no longer be obliged to convert paper into gold (a situation that was to prevail until 1821). Balcarres concluded that Saint Domingue was ‘lost to Europe’. Its occupation had been an utter disaster for the British economy but a goldmine for AMB. In early 1797 Samuel Mure and George-B, still only in their mid-thirties, decided they would retire [Atkinson q.v.]. Meanwhile George-A handed over the running of his interests to his youngest brother John. In June 1798 George-A and his wife Susannah returned to England. He had suffered seven bouts of malaria during his years abroad. In this same year Britain withdrew its forces from Saint Domingue, departing from Jérémie on 20 August with transport ships laden with everything they could take away with them and set sail for Jamaica. In September John Atkinson died aged just 27 and was buried at Kingston ‘with little ceremony’.

Meanwhile George-B had been serving for some years as Deputy Agent General to George-A, the Agent General in Jamaica [List of the Army in Jamaica (Staff), *Jamaica Almanac*, 1796]. As noted earlier, in this role George-B had the complicated and disputatious task of distributing among various claimants the ‘Port au Prince Prize Money’, being the proceeds from sales of all the booty captured during the 1794 British invasion of Saint Domingue. This matter dragged on for years, as evidenced by the correspondence between George-B and his associates and the office in Britain of Lord Grey who had had overall command over the Army's operations in the West Indies during 1794. The correspondence involving George-B spans the period 17 November 1796 to 30 July 1799 [*Papers of Charles, 1st Earl Grey*, Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections].

Upon returning to England George-A began winding up the affairs of AMB. Between himself, Samuel Mure and George-B there was potentially £250,000 to share out. Some part of this would need to be passed to Baring who had secured the Island Secretary and Agent General appointments that had enabled these profits to be made. He accepted a lump sum of £70,000 and on 1 December 1798 AMB was closed down.

Following John Atkinson's death, his brother Matt became Jamaica's Island Secretary and attended to the needs of the Bogue and Dean's Valley estates. The latter was in a very poor state. The numbers of slaves on them declined, becoming at the end of 1799 about 215 at Bogue and 208 at Dean's Valley. Meanwhile George-A created a new merchant house in London, in partnership with Matt, called G & M Atkinson. A relation of George-B, Hugh Cathcart – of whom more will be told presently – became a partner in this company.

This new company soon became embroiled in much shady business in Saint Domingue and the affairs of the Atkinson family went through dark times in the years that followed, beyond the scope of this article to explore. In particular they became heavily involved in trading slaves, including importing 2,350 of them to Jamaica for the plantations as well as supplying others to be trained for service in the British Army's new West India Regiment. Baring, who had supported and occasionally bailed out the Atkinsons, became in 1800 extremely anxious about his exposure to G & M Atkinson owing to a collapse in sugar prices. He convened a meeting in London with George-A and also George-B who, since retiring, had evidently also returned to England whilst retaining a stake in the Kingston operation. We cannot be clear as to how George-B's family circumstances were arranged to take account of his relocation back to Britain. If for the sake of argument he left at the same time as George-A, i.e. June 1798, George-B's children's ages would have been between 15 and 5, and their mother Ann Middleton would have been 38. By the time of George-B's Will written in 1813, three of these children – Rosannah the eldest aged 28 and the two youngest, the twins Hugh and Janet aged 20, had also come to England and were living there, but scattered, whilst Ann and the other three children – Ann, Archibald and George, now also young adults – remained in Jamaica. The boys did not join the Bogle family business.

Atkinson [q.v.] states the following about George-B:

'Despite his poor health (three years earlier, a lead ball had lodged in his thigh during a naval engagement on Martinique, causing him constant pain), Bogle agreed to go out to Jamaica to apply some discipline to the operation. He wrote to Baring on 2 January 1801, four days after landing at Kingston; although he was not yet able to judge the conduct of the individual partners, it seemed that "from the apprehension of the War not lasting long", they had thrown themselves headlong into the slave factorage business, "tempted by the appearance of great profit but without recollecting that they were thereby leading you into tremendous advances". So as to disguise the real reason for his "sudden appearance" in Jamaica, he had ordered a notice to be placed in the local newspapers, announcing the firm's name "being changed to Atkinsons Hanbury & Co".

Three weeks later, Bogle was ready to offer a fuller analysis. It seemed that the late John Atkinson, during his brief stint at the helm, had "constantly resisted" more hazardous lines of business. The problems had started after his death, with the establishment of G & M Atkinson. Instead of setting up a system by which each partner took responsibility for a branch of the business, everything had fallen upon the most experienced partner, John Hanbury – and thus, while it would be fair to say that Matt Atkinson had "cordially acquiesced" in these speculations, Hanbury had been the "principal mover" behind them. Matt wrote privately to Baring on 28 January, expressing his "astonishment and chagrin" at what had gone on; he had been quite genuinely under the impression that all was going swimmingly.'

The above assertion that Bogle's thigh injury had occurred 'three years earlier' (than 1800) is curious, placing its date around 1797, whereas Britain's retaking of Martinique had taken place in 1794. The incident is probably mentioned in correspondence within the Baring Archive but author Richard Atkinson does not cite his source for this detail.

In the autumn of 1800 Balcarres' governorship was meant to have come to an end. He had made a lot of money through government business and his coffee estates. However, his last days had seen him neglecting his official duties as he put his private affairs in order. General John Knox had been appointed his successor, but on his journey out to Jamaica he had been drowned during a hurricane, so Balcarres had

to remain in post longer. Looking back on these events, George-B expressed his feelings to George-A in a letter dated 20 June 1801:

‘Our Governor is a strange man. He has been living secluded at his Mountain in St Georges for a Month past and although the Packet has been arrived these three weeks, he only returned to the King's House yesterday to open his Letters.’

George-B's business in Jamaica was done, but before leaving he wrote a memorandum containing clear instructions as to how Atkinsons Hanbury & Co should henceforth conduct themselves:

‘The Business of the Agent General, and Settlement of accounts with the Governor, to be under the immediate management of Mr Hanbury, also the correspondence with the House in London ... Mr Atkinson will conduct the Island Correspondence, with that concerning the Consignments from Ireland &c. – also the Correspondence with Head Quarters ... Mr Atkinson will likewise take upon himself the superintendence of the Sales of produce; and I particularly recommend to him to peruse in the Day Book every morning, the Transactions that have taken place in the preceding day. The Partners should be in the Office from Eight in the morning until Four in the afternoon. Indeed in this climate going out of Doors should as much as possible be avoided, for a person cannot again that day set down to business in a collected manner.’

George-B then set off for home in Britain, but this would turn out to be far harder than he had imagined. He embarked upon the ship *Lowestoffe* on 23 July 1801 but this date was outside the ideal season for sailing, and not long into its journey the ship was forced by strong currents to run aground in the Caicos Passage, about a hundred miles north of Saint Domingue.



Figure 18 *HMS. Lowestoffe* in Kingston Harbour with Port Royal, Jamaica beyond, with attendant schooners, one almost certain to be the *Little Lucy*, the first command of Lieutenant Horatio Nelson; painted in 1779 by Dominic Serres (1719-93).

The event was reported in various newspapers, including *The London Chronicle* which in its issue of 24 October 1801 under its ‘West Indies’ heading stated as follows:

'Aug. 20. Tuesday evening arrived at Port Royal [near the entrance to Kingston harbour] his Majesty's ship *Bonetta* from a cruise. By her arrival we have the very unpleasant information of the total loss of the following ships of the July fleet from this island, on the island of Heneaga [Little Inagua], at midnight on the 9th inst: his Majesty's ship *Lowestoffe*, ship *Bushy Park*, Brown; *Swansea*, Warden; *Jason*, Watt; *Milton*, Robley; and *Fanny*, Melville. One or two vessels were discerned the next day on the Little Heneaga, but as there was no communication with them, their names are not known. The sufferers, after remaining on the island five days, were to the number of 427, taken on board the *Bonetta*, in which vessel they arrived. Benjamin Waterhouse, and George Bogle, Esqrs. are among the passengers who are returned. The specie [coinage] that was on board the *Lowestoffe*, excepting one box, and the bag of Letters, we learn, are on board the *Bonetta*. Only 18 vessels were seen to proceed with the *Acasta* frigate.

The fleet, which numbered upwards of 80 sail on leaving this island, had been very much scattered. Before the *Bonetta* left Heneaga, the hulle of the lost vessels were set fire to.'

George-B, forced back to Jamaica, then had to remain there for the whole remainder of the year, waiting for the passing of the hurricane period [Atkinson q.v.]. He eventually left Jamaica in April 1802.

A few glimpses of George-B during his last days in Jamaica are to be found in *Lady Nugent's Journal*. This journal's author Maria (née Skinner) was the wife of the British army officer Lt-General (later Sir) George Nugent who was appointed in April 1801 to take up the position of Jamaica's Governor; he and Maria duly arrived at the island on 29 July that year. Maria's journal, begun during their outbound voyage, starts on 7 June 1801 and ends on 11 August 1805 when they returned to England. It was printed in 1839 five years after her death, for private circulation only, but new editions have since been printed, for example by Cambridge University Press in 2010. George-B received first mention at the end of her entry for 2 October 1801:

'Dress by candle-light, and off at 4 o'clock. - The morning darker than usual, and the fire-flies more brilliant; all the walls seem covered with gold spangles. We drove first to Kingston, and I was left at Mr. Atkinson's, while General N. reviewed the 69th regiment, quartered in the town. Mr. A. made grand efforts to amuse me during his absence. The mountain wind, the sea breeze, slaves, plantations, and the prices of different articles, were the edifying topics, till a little after 7, when breakfast made its appearance, and Mr. A.'s spirits were relieved by the appearance of Mrs. Pye, who came to offer her services, hearing that I was in Kingston. Poor man, he seemed very happy, so was I. Some officers came soon after, and we sat down to the usually profuse breakfast. Afterwards, Mrs. Pye took her leave, Mr. A. and Mr. Bogle (his partner) went to their counting-house ...'

Her reference to 'Mr Atkinson' is presumed to refer to the Island Secretary, Matt. In the evening of that same day she dined with him, George-B and others. On 19 February 1802 her entry mentions 'Mr Bogle' – presumed to be George-B – coming to breakfast with her and also dining with her in the evening. There are no further mentions of George-B but at the end of 1802, on 28 December, she recorded attending 'a large dinner party. Mrs. Hibbert and Mrs. Bogle were the only ladies besides myself.' Here, 'Mrs Bogle' probably refers to the partner of one of George-B's relations or even (although perhaps unlikely) to Anne Middleton; it could not refer to George-B's partner Adelaide as it is known that she had already departed from Jamaica. Adelaide and her children are the subject of the next section.

Adelaide

At some point in the late 1790s or in 1800-01, George-B took a second partner. He had not necessarily ended his relationship with Ann Middleton and had certainly not cut her out of his life – years later he ensured that she and their children would benefit from his Will.



Figure 19 Maria, Lady Nugent in 1806.

The new partner was Adèle Lamoinary. Her forename is Anglicized as Adelaide in many references to her. She was born in about 1782 and was therefore about twenty years younger than George-B. Her origins are unknown but she is presumed to have been partly of French extraction as her name was often prefixed in correspondence by Madame or Mademoiselle. The surname Lamoinary as spelt was in use in France and Belgium at least as far back as the very early 1700s. For example, the violinist and sonata composer Jacques-Philippe Lamoinary (1707-1802) was born in northern France. Later in that century the name was common in the Valenciennes area of France where the exquisitely beautiful 'Lamoinary porcelain' was manufactured in a factory there owned by Charles Louis Joseph Humbert Lamoinary (1739-1818). The latter's youngest brother was Jacques Richard Louis Auguste Lamoinary born in Valenciennes in 1751 who, interestingly, was recorded in 1789 as having been a plantation owner in Saint Domingue. He may well have been Adelaide's father. He died young in 1785, a few years after she was born. Her mother is presumed to have been a black or coloured lady because Adelaide was later described as a 'mestee woman'. Some writers have suggested that Adelaide originated in Saint Domingue and that she was taken to Jamaica by either George-B or his relation Hugh Cathcart. However, none of those writers cites any original contemporary sources to support their claims and we can cite no such sources either; therefore those details – albeit plausible – are not offered here as factual.

Adelaide (when aged about 14) had given birth in about 1796 to a daughter named Adeline. Our only knowledge of Adeline comes from sources pertaining to her death on 27 September 1813. She was buried in Effingham on 4 October. The tombstone's inscription describes her as George-B's daughter as does her entry in the burial register, which gives her age as 17. A newspaper report of her death describes her as 'in her 18th year, Adeline, the eldest daughter of Mrs Bogle' [*Morning Post*, issue of 2 October 1813]. However, it is not certain who her biological father had been. When considering these matters it must be borne in mind that in the West Indies in that period there was a great deal of promiscuous interaction between white slavers and merchants and the black Africans and mulattoes, as evidenced in the region's baptism registers. The parentage of children was often uncertain. It is probably because of this that almost all references made by George-B to his children in his Will bear the qualifying phrase 'my reputed daughter' or 'my reputed son'.

The next known child of Adelaide was named Eliza. She had certainly been fathered by John Wigglesworth, the man who in 1796 had succeeded George-B as Agent General for Saint Domingue. This is known from Wigglesworth's Will [The National Archives, Ref: PROB 11/1355/503] which he made, during a spell in Liverpool, on 13 October 1799 shortly before his death in March 1800 and which contained extensive provisions for Eliza, as well as for Adelaide. In this Will he stated that Eliza had been born in Kingston on 26 December 1799. This was clearly a date error because it is after the date of writing the Will, and was probably made by a clerk when copying the Will. The correct birthdate may have been 26 September 1799 or 26 December 1798; the latter possibility is a perfect fit to the ages cited for Eliza in later sources. No baptism record has been found for her despite extensive searching through the original registers. Edward Walford's work *The County Families of the United Kingdom* published by Hardwicke in 1864 also confirms that Eliza's father was John Wigglesworth; Walford may well have ascertained this directly from descendants.

A transcript of Wigglesworth's Will is given in Appendix III. In it he made clear his strong attachment to Adelaide, then still aged only about 17:

'I request my Executors to allow my dear friend Mademoiselle Adelaide Lamoinarie [sic] of Kingston, Jamaica a yearly stipend of two hundred pounds to commence from the day of my death and be continued during her life. I likewise bequeath to her one thousand pounds as I am under manifold obligations to her for her kindness, fidelity and grateful attachment during my connection with her. I likewise bequeath to her my plate and household furniture.'

There are other interesting details in the Will, including the provisions he made for his possible death during the return trip he was due to make soon to Jamaica, as well as provisions for any future children he might father through Adelaide.

The next known child of Adelaide was named Helen when baptised at Kingston in 1801. Her entry in the register reads as follows:

'[baptised] March 4 Helen the daughter of Adelaide Lamoinary [sic] a mestee woman by Wigglesworth [born] September 25th 1800.'

The term 'mestee' can signify simply mixed race but was often used to carry the more precise meaning of having partly black but *mostly* white ancestry. We may safely assume that the father was again John Wigglesworth. Helen would have been conceived around the beginning of 1800, soon after he had made the journey to Jamaica alluded to in his Will. However, he died in March 1800, six months before the child was born. The Kingston Cathedral Church has the following inscription for him (the original being wholly capitalised):

John Wigglesworth, Esqr., late Commissary General for the Island of St. Domingo,
obit 21st March, 1800, aetatis ... [blank].'

Baby Helen herself seems not to have survived very long. She was probably this child recorded as buried in Kingston's new burial ground on 16 April 1801:

'Eleanor Wigglesworth a Mestee Child N [New] Ground'

Others who have studied these persons and events have postulated that at some point after his arrival back in Jamaica in the last days of December 1800, George-B then took Adelaide and her daughters under his wing.

Significant insights into the lives of Adelaide, George-B and his brother Hugh Bogle in the early 19th century are provided by four surviving letterbooks maintained by William Cathcart who, with his older brother Hugh Cathcart, was a relation of George-B's mother Janet. Their father John Cathcart was a shipmaster of Greenock and a grandson of Andrew Cathcart, whilst Janet's father Hugh Cathcart (Senior) was a grandson of Andrew's brother Sir Hew Cathcart 1st Baronet of Carleton. Hugh and William were therefore second cousins to Janet. There is an additional twist in the family tree in that after John's first wife Isobel (the mother of Hugh and William) died, he remarried to the sister Elizabeth of Hugh (Senior); by this action he became Janet's uncle and thus made his sons step-cousins (as well as second cousins) to Janet. Hugh and William both made their careers as merchants in Jamaica and were very close friends and business partners of George-B.

The letterbooks contain copies of William Cathcart's correspondence and span the years 1801-03, 1810-11, 1811-12 and 1812-13, respectively. Extracts of particular relevance to this article are set out in Appendix IX.



Figure 20 The letterbooks and other records owned by William Cathcart; by courtesy of Richard Maughan.

George-B's brother Hugh Bogle had left Jamaica in 1799 and taken up residence in Glasgow. William Cathcart wrote to him often from Kingston, updating him on business matters and giving him news of George-B's activities. In a letter dated 4 September 1801 he mentioned that George-B had embarked on *HMS Lowestoffe* on 24 July; he wrote to Hugh again two days later describing the shipwreck on Heneaga from which George-B and his belongings had been rescued intact [Letterbooks]. In the months that followed he periodically wrote to Hugh telling him of George-B's intended timing for the return to England. William also raised with him on several occasions the financial needs of Sally (Sarah) Robertson, the former mistress whom Hugh had left behind in Jamaica, and of George-B's desire that those needs should be met. More details on this matter can be seen in Appendix IX.



Figure 21 His Majesty's Ship *Melampus* of 36 guns ... in charge of *Resolue* & *Bellone*, two French frigates of 40 guns each, off the coast of Ireland, October 13th 1798; National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, ID: PAH5223; this was the ship on which George-B finally returned to England; the painting may not be very accurate – the three ships have been painted virtually identically.

In early 1802 Adelaide conceived a child by George-B. Her being pregnant was very probably known to both of them when, in April, he finally set out on his voyage home aboard the 36-gun frigate *HMS Melampus*. According to the letterbooks, after a brief stay with his brother Robert he embarked on the 9th and the ship sailed out of Port Royal, Kingston on the 10th under the command of Captain Gosselin and the flag of Rear-Admiral Robert Montagu (who was also on board).

Meanwhile, Adelaide remained behind but would follow George-B a month later. Perhaps their intention was to allow time for the pregnancy to become safely established before Adelaide set out to sea. The letterbooks tell us that she sailed with her two children (Adeline and Eliza) on the brig *Alert* under Captain McDonald, the only other passenger being a Madame Boublin, departing from Kingston on or just after 10 May. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries there were several ships, including several brigs, bearing the name *Alert* and we do not know which particular one transported her. At her journey's start she may have thought that George-B had by then arrived in London, but this was not the case. He had a much longer journey at sea than expected, his ship reaching Spithead (Portsmouth) on 1 June, then Sheerness on 11 June, so he probably disembarked at London on or about 12 or 13 June – a total voyage time of about 9 weeks.

Adelaide's journey was not much shorter – the *Alert* passed Gravesend on 30 June and so she may have disembarked at London on or about 1 or 2 July, after a voyage of over 7 weeks. She had left behind in Jamaica at least one important family member – her mother. This is known from a letter subsequently

written on 7 August by William Cathcart to George-B mentioning that before Adelaide's departure he had 'asked her & her mother' if certain articles had been received.

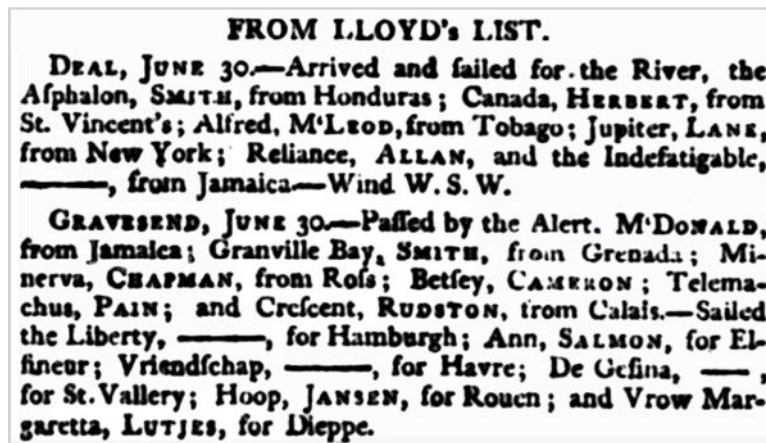


Figure 22 Announcement in *The Star* (London), 1 July 1802;
'Gravesend, June 30. – Passed by the *Alert*, M'Donald, from Jamaica';
bringing Adelaide and the girls to England.

Upon arriving back in England George-B reoccupied the house he had been living in prior to his brief return to Jamaica in late 1800, namely 33, Half Moon Street in Mayfair. This may be where Adelaide also first came to live when she arrived, but we cannot be sure of this because in later years they did not share the same address; more will said later about their residential arrangements in London.



Figure 23 Nos 29-35, Half Moon Street, Westminster LB, 1957,
London Picture Archive, Ref: 130524,
image © London Metropolitan Archives (City of London).

Adelaide gave birth to their child on 1 November 1802, a daughter whom they named Emma. She was baptised at London's St George's, Hanover Square (Mayfair's parish church) in early 1803, as the register attests:

'[baptised] January 27 Emma Dr. of George & Adeth [sic] Lamoninary Bogle [born] N^r 1

A further daughter was born to Adelaide and George-B on 20 February 1804 and given the first forename Helen, presumably in memory of the previous child Helen/Eleanor. She too was baptised at St George's, Hanover Square, on 3 May of that year:

'[baptised] May 3 Helen Antoniette [sic] D. of George and Adelaide Bogle [born] Feb 20 1804'

Her second forename, probably intended as Antoinette, does not appear for her in any other known records.



Figure 24 St George's, Hanover Square in 1787, aquatint by T Malton; courtesy of The British Library, London (public domain).

Adelaide's known children can thus be summarised as follows:

- Adeline, born c1796, father unknown but possibly George-B
- Eliza, born probably 26 December 1798, father John Wigglesworth
- Helen/Eleanor, born 25 September 1800, died in 1801, father John Wigglesworth
- Emma, born 1 November 1802, father George-B
- Helen Antoinette, born 20 February 1804, father George-B

No original record has yet been discovered to show that George-B and Adelaide ever married. Various London Post Office directories name her as Mrs Bogle. However, in his Will George-B does not refer to her as his wife but as 'Adelaide Lamoninary'. It is marginally possible that he did marry her but before she

came to England, perhaps when in Jamaica or even in Saint Domingue. However, there appears to be no marriage record for them in the registers for Kingston, Jamaica.

If they had married in England then the expected parish in which they would have done so might have been St George Hanover Square. This is a civil parish in the metropolitan area of London and its creation accompanied the building of the Church of St George's, Hanover Square, constructed by the Commission for Building Fifty New Churches to meet the demands of the growing population. The parish was formed in 1724 from part of the ancient parish of St Martin in the Fields in the Liberty of Westminster and county of Middlesex. It included some of the most fashionable areas of the West End of London, including Belgravia and Mayfair. It contains many churches of various denominations, some quite unusual – one such, for example, is the French Protestant Church of London (Église Protestante Française de Londres), a Reformed/Presbyterian church that has catered to the French-speaking community of London since 1550. We have not had the opportunity of searching the registers of these other churches for a marriage of Adelaide and George-B.

As remarked earlier, it seems certain that Adelaide had some French ancestry. In an 1817 record, discussed later in this article, her forename is given as Adell, whilst in the 1802 record of Emma's baptism it is given (perhaps by a transcription error) as Adeth. William Cathcart's letters usually name her as Adel.

The lives of Adelaide and her daughters after coming to England will be discussed in a later section.

Other family and associates

All three of George-B's older brothers Robert (of Gilmorehill), Hugh and Andrew were involved, in their various ways, in the mercantile, plantation and enslavement business, in close association with George-B.

Robert, about six years older than George-B, may have been the first of the brothers to go out to Jamaica. According to the letterbook (spanning 1778-82) of Richard Watt, a merchant engaged in estate management, sugar and rum export and slave trading in Kingston, Robert was a partner with Keith Jopp and George Moir in the company Bogle, Jopp & Co. So also was his younger brother Andrew. In 1781 he was appointed attorney to one of the really large-scale slave traders there, Alexander Allardyce, who in that year departed from Jamaica as a very wealthy man and returned to his native town of Aberdeen where he became Lord Rector of Aberdeen University and MP for the Aberdeen boroughs. Robert shared his enthusiasm for dealing in slaves and the Kingston newspapers from 1781 up to the 1790s contain frequent advertisements placed by Bogle, Jopp & Co. announcing their activities in the importing or exporting of slaves.

The enormity of the slave-transporting business is demonstrated starkly by the *Slave Voyages* website (<https://www.slavevoyages.org>) which includes, *inter alia*, a database recording over 36,000 trans-atlantic voyages, giving in each case the details of the vessel, its itinerary, the number of slaves on board and many other facts. It records, for example, that on 27 August 1801 a 374-ton vessel named *Otway*, owned by Robert, his brother Andrew, Keith Jopp, George Moir and two others set sail with a crew of 43 from Liverpool bound for the Bight of Biafra and the Gulf of Guinea islands. At the trading town of Bonny there, 357 African slaves were purchased and the ship then crossed the Atlantic to arrive at Kingston on 21 March 1802. During the journey three of the crew had died and so did 36 of the slaves. The 'triangle' was then completed by the ship departing from Jamaica on 29 April 1802 and arriving back in Liverpool on 12 June.

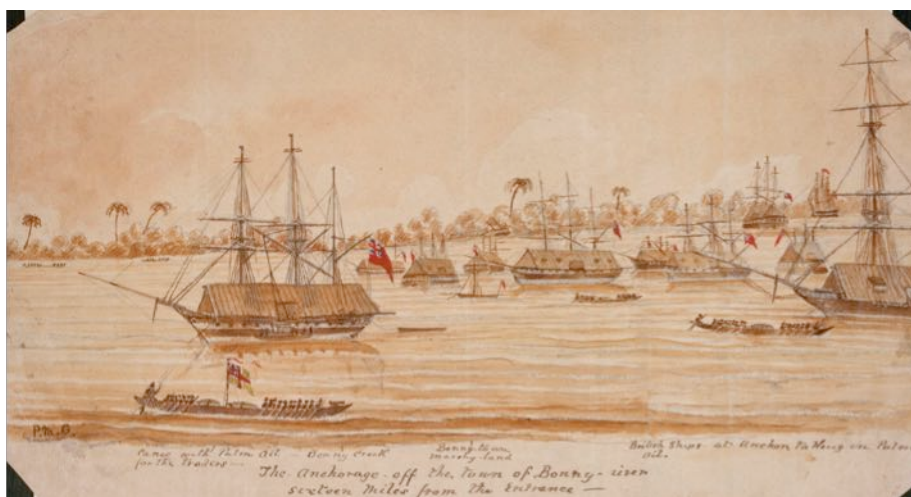


Figure 25 Bonny in Nigeria, early 19thC; National Maritime Museum, Greenwich: ID: PAD1929.

91-- Kingston, January 19, 1781.

JUST IMPORTED in the Ship **FANNY**,
Capt. CAMPBELL, from CORK,

AND TO BE SOLD BY
ROBERT BOGLE,
At the Wharf of Mess. Cathcart & Mowatt,
ON VERY REASONABLE TERMS,
For Cash, or good Bills of Exchange,

A few barrels best New **MESS BEEF**
CARGO ditto
MESS PORK
CARGO ditto,
And a few firkins best **BUTTER**.

(a)

Kingston, Jan. 21, 1793.

Wanted for Exportation,
A few Healthy
YOUNG NEGROES.
BOGLE & JOPP.

(b)

October 31, 1792.

TO BE RENTED, for two Years from the
31st December next,
WITH or without Six NEGROES, the WHARF
the property of Mr. Dick, and at present oc-
cupied by the Subscriber.

HUGH BOGLE & CO.
Who have for Sale,
A general Assortment of LUMBER
WOOD HOOPS. Turk's Island SALT
CORDAGE;—and
London Particular MADEIRA WINE, by the pipe,
hoghead, or quarter-cask.

(c)

15-18 Kingston, April 13, 1793.

For GLASGOW,
THE SHIP
B E L L,
JOHN CATHCART, Master;
Will sail with the first Convoy
For Freight or Passage apply to the said Master, or
HUGH BOGLE & CO.

(d)

43 Kingston, Oct. 24, 1794.

For GLASGOW,
THE BRIG
F R I E N D S,
JOHN DUNLOP, Master.
For Freight or Passage apply to the
Captain, on board, or to
BOGLE & JOPPS.

(e)

24 Kingston, April 5, 1793.

FOR SALE,
 **The Snow RUBY,**
156 Tons per Register.
Apply to **BOGLE & JOPP.**

9 Kingston, Feb. 28, 1793.

FOR SALE,
On THURSDAY the 7th day of March next,
340 Choice Young
EBOE SLAVES,
Imported in the Ship THOMAS, Capt. Thomas
Phillips, from NEW CALAGAR.
TAYLOR, BALLANTINE, & FAIRLIE.

13 Kingston, March 26, 1793.

FOR SALE,
On THURSDAY the 4th of APRIL next,
379 Prime
EBOE NEGROES,
Imported in the Ship ROMAN EMPEROR, Capt.
Langley, from BONNY.
ALLAN, WHITE, & CO.

14-17 Clarendon-Chapel, April 3, 1793.

FOR SALE,
On WEDNESDAY the 10th inst. at Clarendon-Chapel,
46 New WINDWARD-COAST
NEGROES,
Consisting of MEN, WOMEN, BOYS, & GIRLS
Also, at THOMAS'S Wharf, OLD-HARBOR, for
Cash or Produce,
Barrels and Tierces of BEEF.
L. HOLCOMBE & CO.

24 Kingston, April 6, 1793.

FOR SALE,
On MONDAY the 15th inst.
246 Choice Young WINDWARD and
GOLD COAST
NEGROES,
Imported in the Ship JANE, C. P. John Mill, from
AFRICA.
JOHN & RICHARD HINDE.

(f)

Figure 26 Advertisements by merchants and slave traders in the local Jamaica newspapers, 1781-94.

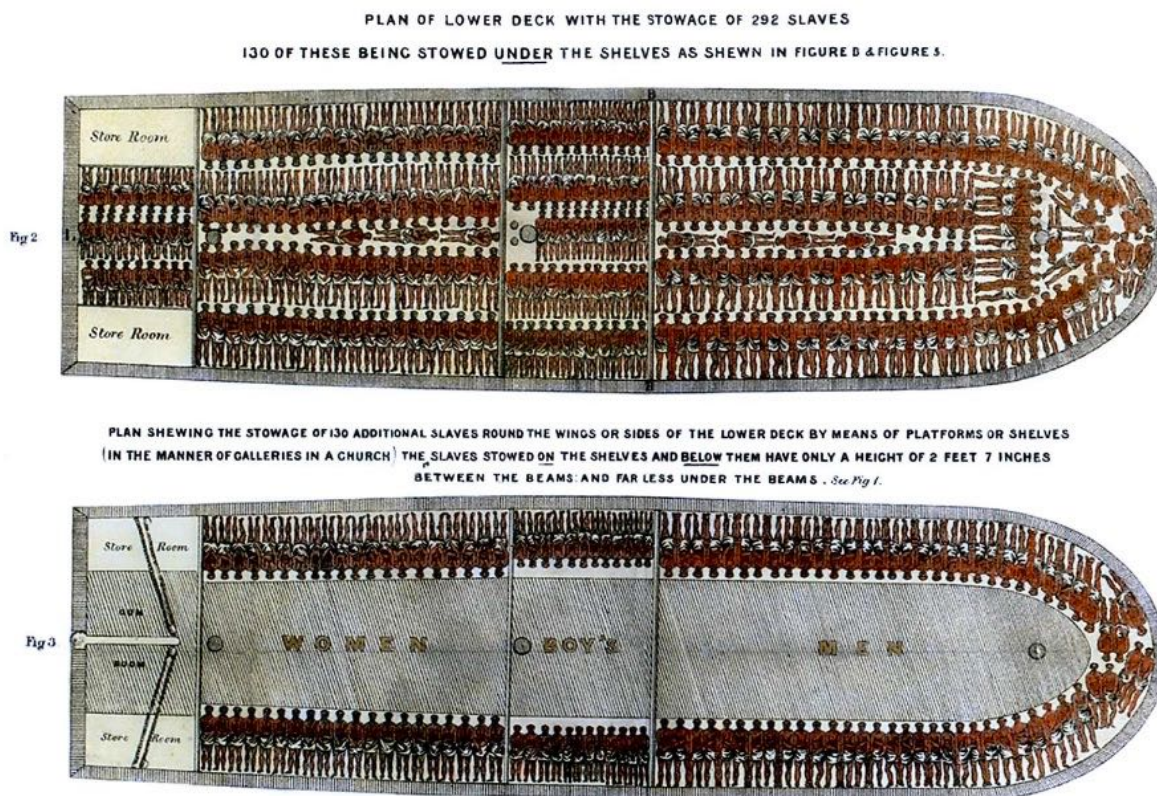


Figure 27 Brookes' slave ship plan, 1788, showing how densely the slaves were packed inside.

Bogle, Jopp & Co. was dissolved in 1806, Jopp assigning his share in the company to the other three partners who thereafter continued the business as Bogles (Robert and Andrew) & Moir [*The London Gazette*, 28 June 1806, Issue 15932, p821]. It is probable that their affairs were by now becoming impacted adversely by the imminent end of slave trading, namely the impending 1807 Act. From 1787 onwards, campaigners against the slave trade had been very active in Britain, for example encouraging the boycott of slave-produced goods, and several debates and bills in the Houses of Parliament attracted support. The *Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade* received royal assent on 25 March 1807, to take effect on 1 May 1807 making the Atlantic slave trade illegal in the British Empire (but this did not end the existence of slavery itself in the colonies. Many people remained enslaved).

In 1812 Robert retired and in the early 1820s the company became bankrupt although its parent company in Glasgow survived [*An elite revisited: Glasgow West India merchants, 1783-1977* by Anthony Cooke in *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 32.2, 2012, pp.127-165]. By then Robert had died, being buried in Glasgow on 20 March 1821.

George-B's older brother Hugh was also deeply involved in the same lines of business in Jamaica. His name appears in advertisements placed by his company Hugh Bogle & Co. in issues of *The Royal Gazette*; for example, issues in 1793 advertise his shipping activities and his involvement in slave trading. Like his brother George-B, Hugh also produced several children by mulatto women. The Kingston baptism register contains, for instance, this entry in 1796:

'[baptised] December 11 George Orgill Bogle the daughter [sic] of Mary Orgill a mulatto by Hugh Bogle [born] February 21 1796.'

and this one in 1798:

'[baptised] December 20 Dorothy the daughter of Sarah Robertson a mulatto woman by Hugh Bogle [born] May 8 1798.'

By 1799 Hugh was back in Britain where, in Glasgow on 17 December, he married Agnes Bogle. Agnes was a daughter of a Michael Bogle and Janet (née) Scott; her sister Margaret was the wife of Hugh's brother Robert. A list of game certificates and deputations printed in *The Caledonian Mercury* on 4 December

1802 names him as 'Hugh Bogle, late of Jamaica'. He became known as 'of Calderbank' after taking up residence in the mansion named Calderbank House, built in the period 1810-20. He is claimed to have died in 1834; his Will was certainly proved in 1836.



Figure 28 Calderbank House, home of Hugh Bogle after his return to Britain.

The lives of George-B's relations Hugh and William Cathcart will now be examined in more detail. Their father John, shipmaster of Greenock, had married firstly to Isobel (née) Watson, but the IGI offers two distinct controlled-extraction records for this event. The first [IGI: Batch M11957-1] gives the date of the marriage as 5 October 1767 and the place as West or Old Parish, Greenock in Renfrewshire. The second [IGI: Batch M11946-8] gives the date of the marriage as 21 September 1770 and the place as Glasgow. It is unknown whether these records pertain to two distinct couples having these names or just one. If both records pertain to the same couple then perhaps there were religious, social or technical reasons why they chose to have a second marriage ceremony. Whichever the case, their first child Hugh Cathcart was born on 4 September 1770 and baptised at Greenock on 15 September 1770 [IGI: Batch C11957-2], the original register entry [National Records of Scotland, Greenock West Baptisms, 1756-1802, Ref: 564/3/2] reading as follows:

'Cathcart S. [son] Hugh son to Jn^o. Cathcart shipm^{er} and Isobel Watson his spouse was born on the 4th Baptised 15th.'

Hugh was re-baptised in Glasgow (recording a slightly different date of birth) on the following day [National Records of Scotland, Glasgow Baptisms, 1767-73, Ref: OPR.644/1/15]:

'Sept. 16 1770 Capt. John Cathcart Shipmaster and Isobel Watson a S [son] Hugh born the 7th. Wit [Witnessed by] John Meller & Arch^d Bogle.'

Here, the second witness may well have been George-B's father Archibald.

John and Isobel produced a second son William for whom a baptism record has not yet been found. This is the William whose letterbooks have been already cited. They also produced two daughters: Isobel baptised in Glasgow on 14 July 1773 [IGI: Batch C11946-6], and Helen baptised in Middle or New Parish, Greenock on 4 September 1775, having been born on 30 August [IGI: Batch C11564-4].

Isobel evidently died no later than 1782 because on 16 September of that year John remarried. The entry in the marriage register reads:

‘1782 Mr John Cathcart Mercht in Greenock & Miss Elizabeth Cathcart daughter lawful to the late Sir John Cathcart of Carlton [sic – Carleton] [2nd] Baronet, had their names inrolled [sic] in order to marriage [sic] Sept^r 11th were thrice proclaimed & married Sept^r 16th.’

John and Elizabeth produced a daughter Elizabeth baptised in West or Old Parish, Greenock on 21 May 1783 [IGI: Batch C11957-2]. This daughter married Henry Ritchie in February 1806, for which the IGI has two controlled extraction records: the first is for a ceremony in Edinburgh on 14 February and names her father as John Cathcart [IGI: Batch M11983-3], whilst the second is for a ceremony in Govan, Lanarkshire on 17 February [IGI: Batch M11646-4].



Figure 29 View of Greenock harbour in 1818 – ‘Launch of the *Christian*’ by Robert Salmon; the ship was launched from the shipyard of John Scott on 2 October 1818; Glasgow Museums Ref: T.1957.15.

Hugh and William Cathcart both went out to Jamaica where they pursued the usual mercantile interests. Hugh, like George-B, became enmeshed in the consequences of the Saint Domingue revolution. Having worked as a clerk in Jamaica's colonial administration, he was made an agent for the British in Port-au-Prince in the late 1790s, dealing with the bureaucracy of the procurement and movement of goods and troops in and out of the colony. This had brought him into much contact with the then leader of the black rebels, ‘General’ Toussaint Louverture who finally forced the British to retreat and – at least for the moment – to abandon their aim of gaining dominion there after the rebels' routing of the French. After one particular meeting with Louverture, Hugh wrote an oft-quoted letter [The National Archives, Ref: CO/245/76-78] on 31 October 1799 to Lt-Colonel Thomas Maitland, commander of the British forces in Saint Domingue, who was negotiating their treaty with Louverture:

‘He [Louverture] has pressed me very hard, lately to bring him a Frigate, and seems rather dissatisfied, at my not complying with his request – altho’ I assured him that it was totally out of my power – He then asked me, if that I thought Lord Balcarres, would procure him one ... He has lately become very inquisitive to know the distance Saint Domingo [sic] is from France and England, and also from Jamaica, Cuba and other islands, and seems very curious to know their strength and in what manner they are governed.’

In the summer of 1802 Napoleon sent an army to Saint Domingue with the aim of deporting rebel leaders and disarming the population. He had by then made a peace treaty with Britain, the Treaty of Amiens, on 25 March 1802 (coincidentally, this made sailing between the West Indies and Britain somewhat safer). On 15 June Louverture, having been taken prisoner by the French, was taken from the colony by ship to

France and confined thereafter in the Fort de Joux in the Jura mountains, where he would die in April 1803. He had been much admired by many British people, for instance Wordsworth who wrote the powerful sonnet *To Toussaint L'Ouverture* on the latter's death. On 7 August Napoleon ordered the re-instatement of slavery on Saint Domingue. Matters did not go well for the French during the next few months as they fought against an 'indigenous' army of former black slaves commanded by 'General' Jean-Jacques Dessalines, one of Louverture's former lieutenants.

In June 1803 Dessalines sent a request to Jamaica's Governor George Nugent that British merchants should be encouraged to establish commercial relationships with Saint Domingue. Their negotiations over this would be protracted and ultimately unsuccessful. These events are lucidly set out in the PhD Thesis by Julia Gaffield entitled "*So Many Schemes in Agitation*": *The Haitian State and the Atlantic World* [Duke University, 2012] where on p107 she writes:

'The British engaged in an intricate dance of containment, isolation, and engagement with Saint Domingue/Haiti in an effort to reap the greatest benefit without further disruption to colonialism and slavery. In addition to Nugent's own response to Dessalines's commercial invitation, representatives in London suggested various treaties designed to secure a friendly relationship between the British and the Haitians.'

Both Dessalines and Nugent in their own ways were striving to work out how to get the best out of the new situation for themselves. Nugent's top priority was to prevent the contagion of rebelliousness among black slaves taking a hold in Jamaica too. Many French planters from Saint Domingue had fled to Jamaica, in many cases bringing their own slaves with them, despite being the citizens of a nation that was Britain's enemy. The British feared that these refugees would bring with them sentiments favouring the revolutionary ideas of republicanism.

On 18 August 1803 Nugent responded to Dessalines' request in these words:

'I have taken the earliest opportunity of sending two persons to Gonaives [in the northern part of the colony] to treat with your Excellency relative to a commercial intercourse etc between Jamaica and St. Domingo [sic], and we hope that the result will prove advantageous to both parties.'

These 'two persons' were Hugh Cathcart and Captain (later, rear-Admiral Sir) James Walker. In her *Journal* Lady Nugent records the pair being sent by her husband on this secret mission. They were sent to Gonaives in late August for the first of several meetings with Dessalines, following which they reported back to Nugent in a detailed letter of several pages entitled *Narrative of the proceedings of Captain Walker and Mr. Hugh Cathcart, on their mission to the Brigand Chiefs from the Government of Jamaica*, 27 August 1803 [The National Archives, Ref: CO/137-110/202]. In particular they summarised Dessalines' primary stance as follows:

'The following, is said to be his present view: to throw off all allegiance to France, and declare the colony independent, under the government of himself and his officers.'

Hugh and Walker sought to persuade Dessalines that a trade agreement would be a British favour to him. They would require it to meet two conditions: (a) it should enable the white inhabitants to regain their estates and Dessalines should 'bury in oblivion what had passed during the revolution' and (b) that the British should be able to set up and maintain military bases in Saint Domingue for as long as their war with France continued. Dessalines would not accept either of these.

Dessalines, Nugent and their intermediaries continued to seek agreement for several more months, during which Napoleon's forces left the colony, ending French rule there for ever, although planters and slave owners hoped that this defeat would be merely temporary as did also Napoleon. Back in 1789 Saint Domingue had been exporting more than had all the Caribbean islands under British rule, but now all that wealth-creating capacity for France was dissipating. The French tried to dissuade merchants from trading there at all, so as to impoverish the rebels to the point where they would welcome back white rule. But it was to no avail and the merchants traded more or less as they liked.

At the start of 1804 Dessalines declared Saint Domingue – the new Haiti – to be entirely independent. The discussions with Nugent's emissaries came to end soon afterwards when Dessalines ordered the massacre of virtually all of the thousands of remaining French population in order to prevent ever afterwards a reversion to white-dominated plantocracy. In the event, up to 5,000 white or mulatto men,

women and children – whether French or not – were murdered systematically and in the most horrific manner, at the end of which Dessalines said ‘I will go to my grave happy. We have avenged our brothers. Haiti has become a blood-red spot on the face of the globe’.

Back in Jamaica Hugh Cathcart succeeded Matthew Atkinson as the Island Secretary in early 1805 and in 1806 Hugh’s brother William succeeded him and held it for about a year. Strictly, this elevated and lucrative office of state had been formally granted to Charles William Wyndham, then an infant, decades earlier but since then had been ‘let’ by, variously, his guardian, attorneys and himself to a succession of other persons, each of whom thereby executed the office by a kind of lease agreement set out in a Deed. These ‘lessees’ had been required by law, in taking on the office, to ‘give in a bond with good and sufficient security, in the penalty of £4,000’ to the Sovereign. In 1814 a government committee which had been appointed to investigate whether this and other formalities had indeed been followed, presented a lengthy report [*The Royal Gazette*, 21 December 1814] to the island’s House of Assembly in December 1814, making the following observations:

‘That the office of Secretary has never been executed by the said Charles William Wyndham himself, but by sundry persons, in the character of Lessees, deputed by deeds executed by his aforesaid guardian, or by him or his Attorneys, except as next hereafter mentioned, and that Robert Robertson, Esq. is the present Secretary:

That the office of Secretary was so executed by Hugh Cathcart, Esq. from the 20th day of February, 1805, until the 30th day of July, 1806, but your Committee conceive that he did so without any authority, your Committee, after a diligent search, not having been able to discover any deed, power, or appointment on record, authorising him to execute the said office.’

From this it seems likely that Hugh’s succeeding of Matthew and, in turn, William’s succeeding of Hugh, had been somehow neatly stitched up between them.

Hugh evidently departed from Jamaica in this period as around mid-December 1808 he married, in Dublin, to Caroline the eldest daughter of Conway Heatley, Esq. She was a grand-niece of the Duke of Argyle and a cousin to the late Duchess of Richmond. On 21 December they embarked on the Westmoreland Packet bound for Portpatrick in Scotland. They presently settled in Bath where they produced a son John Andrew, born on 18 February 1810 and baptised at Walcot St Swithin in Bath on 28 March [Baptism Register of Walcot St Swithin]. Several other children followed including a son William baptised at Bathwick St Mary on 16 August 1810; the register gives their address then as Henrietta Street. The first-mentioned son became – by inheritance of title on 2 June 1828 from his great-uncle Sir Andrew Cathcart – Sir John Andrew Cathcart 5th Baronet of Carleton; he married on 5 July 1836 to Hannah Eleanor Kennedy, only daughter of the Earl of Cassils, and died at Edinburgh on 25 March 1878.

Hugh was still living at Henrietta Street when he died. He was buried at Bathwick St Mary on 4 June 1819, the register confirming his address and giving his age as ‘48’, in precise agreement with his before-mentioned birth date of 4 September 1770. His widow Caroline remarried in Bath on 28 July 1821 to John Maxwell Logan of Renfrewshire.

Before their respective returns to Britain Hugh and William, like the Bogle brothers, had produced illegitimate children in Jamaica by several women. Hugh’s children, according to the Kingston registers, included:

Robert, born 13 December 1798, baptised 8 March 1799, by a mulatto Ann Murray
 Hugh Grant, born 21 July 1799, baptised 2 October 1799, by Marie René Sainte Bedouet
 Charles, aged 3¹/₂ years, baptised 15 June 1804, by a mulatto Eloise Matthew
 Elizabeth, born 19 November 1802, baptised 15 May 1804, by a mulatto Eliza Matthew
 Andrew, aged about 4 weeks, baptised 7 November 1806, by a free mulatto Eliza Matthew

William had at least two partners in Jamaica, to some extent concurrently. One was a free quadroon woman of colour Sarah Taylor – a daughter of one of Jamaica’s richest plantation owners, Simon Taylor – by whom William produced at least two children. One of these was Sarah Hunter Taylor Cathcart, born around January 1807 and baptised in St Andrew parish on 29 June 1808; she subsequently came to England where she lived thereafter. Her younger brother Simon Hunter Taylor Cathcart was born on 14 November 1809 and was baptised in that parish on 12 April 1810.

William also produced three children in about the same period by a free mulatto Clare Cavayé, their baptisms registered in Kingston:

William Cavayé, aged about 4 years, baptised 13 August 1807, by a free mulatto Clare Cavayé
 Clare Cavayé, aged about 2 years, baptised 13 August 1807, by a free mulatto Clare Cavayé
 Robert McClelland Cavayé, born 26 October 1808, baptised 12 April 1810, by a free quadroon Clare Cavayé

The second of these was buried at Kingston as 'Clara Cathcart, a brown child' on 16 August 1807, from which date it appears that she had been baptised three days earlier when seen to be mortally ill.

The two boys took Cavaye as their surname (dropping the last e's accent), rather than Cathcart, and each in their turn was brought to England for their education. Some financial details about these arrangements are set out in their father's Ledger and also in his Journal. The older boy William evidently set out to England on or about 16 April 1808, the date on which there is a Ledger entry 'William Cavaye paid his passage to London by [the ship] *Tulloch Castle* 25 Guineas'. Another April entry records the payment of £52 for 'William Cavaye clothes going to England'. The boy was then about five years old. It appears that on arrival he was taken initially into the care (and the expense) of George-B who promptly arranged for the boy to receive board and education from a Mr Bentley; in the Ledger the latter is named in one instance as 'W. H. Bentley', in view of which it seems probable that he was the person recorded as follows in Holden's London and Country Triennial Directory, 1802-04:

'Bentley W. H. academy, London St. Kingston'

This was William Harding Bentley (WHB), son of Turner William Bentley who had established a small academy for boys in Kingston in the mid-18th century. An *Ancestry* family tree displays a framed portrait of Turner auctioned a few years ago by Tennants Auctioneers dated to 1762 and bearing the caption 'Teacher of the Mathematics'. The Land Tax records of 1796 show him living in Heathen Street (today's Eden Street) in Norbiton, which is where London Street had its northern end. London Street corresponded approximately to today's A308 proceeding eastwards from Kingston towards Norbiton.

Turner's extensive Will of 1798 describes him as a schoolmaster and makes several references to the 'School Room' adjoining his house. It seems likely that the school was inherited by WHB (one of his father's Executors), although he was not himself a teacher – Land Tax records consistently describe him as an accountant. In the 1820s WHB was also in Norbiton, possibly in his father's former home.

William Cathcart departed from Jamaica for Britain in the spring of 1810 and appears, from his letterbooks, to have taken up residence with George-B at 33, Half Moon Street. He recorded in both his Ledger and his Journal an entry dated 30 June 1811 noting that he had repaid £125 to George-B for William Cavaye's board and education at Bentley's during the period 27 August 1808 to 27 January 1811; a much later entry dated 18 June 1812 noted that he had repaid George-B a further £23-17-0 for the six months up to July 1811. He paid Bentley directly (£46-11-5) for the period from July to December 1811. His payments for the boy's board and education at Bentley's continued up to the spring of 1816.

Meanwhile, the younger boy Robert McClelland Cavaye had also been brought to England from Jamaica in the spring of 1815, his passage costing his father 50 Guineas. A Ledger entry dated 10 June 1815 records a payment of over £53 (apparently in advance) for Robert's schooling at the rate of £5-6-8 per month. Whether he too was attending Bentley's is uncertain. Another £293 towards the two boys' expenses was paid by a 'J. Cathcart' whom we cannot identify with certainty.

By June 1816 both boys were in a different educational establishment, referred to in the Ledger as 'Willett and Edwards' School'. This was the Loughborough House boarding school in Brixton, borough of Lambeth. This very old property became used as a 'superior academy' in the late 18th century; in 1787 a volume of elocution lessons was published by R. Turner dedicated 'To the Young Noblemen and gentlemen receiving their education at Loughborough House School'. This suggests that the school's fees for tuition and boarding would have been considerable. The principal teachers there were Reverend William Edwards and, in residence, Thomas Willett who in 1825 purchased the leasehold interest of the house and grounds, probably to prevent further development on the land. One of their advertisements [National Archives, Ref: C/106/67] announced:

'Young Noblemen and Gentlemen are educated and completely qualified in every branch of useful and ornamental learning requisite to form The Gentleman, Scholar or Man of Business

... The greatest care is taken of Young Gentlemen's Health and Morals. They lie in large, neat, airy Rooms and separate beds.'

Thomas was a son of Reverend Waring Willett, MA, one of the Minor Canons of Westminster, who died in November 1800. The 1841 Census finds Thomas still residing at Loughborough House with various other staff and nearly forty teenaged pupils. He died in 1846 and in about 1854 the building was demolished.

William Cavaye attended this school until 1818, when he went out to India to begin what would become a long and distinguished military career; the Ledger records his father's spending of £264-12-10 on his 'passage outfit to India'. His brother Robert remained with Willett and Edwards until at least 1824.

The lives of George-B, Adelaide and their children and the lives of the Cathcarts and Cavayes, following the close of their times in Jamaica, will presently be explored further. Before then we shall examine what is known of the holdings of plantations and slaves by George-B and his immediate family.

Plantations and slaves

As previously noted, George-B's older brother Robert had been deeply involved in the transporting and trading of slaves at least as early as 1781, initially with Alexander Allardyce and subsequently with his (Robert's) younger brother Andrew together with Keith Jopp and George Moir up until the early 1800s.

The extent to which George-B directly engaged in or benefitted from these activities by his brothers is unclear. His early years in Jamaica seem to have been bound up largely with clerical and administrative appointments, at levels slightly removed from the underlying slave-based economy to which those appointments ministered. However, his sojourn in Saint Domingue in the 1790s evidently drew him more directly into plantation management as Geggus [q.v.] notes that around 1794 George-B leased two sugar estates (or 'sucreries') there, probably near Jérémie, with a combined rental of 32,000 livres per annum.

It appears that George-B's principal period of personal interest in Caribbean plantations may have come after his final return to Britain. In 1805 the firm Atkinsons Hanbury & Co, which he had helped to reconfigure in Kingston a few years previously, was wound up and presently a new firm Atkinson, Bogle & Co (henceforth 'AB&Co') was created with George-A and George-B as its principal partners. Anticipation of the impending abolition of slave trading may have played a part in this. Details of AB&Co's ownership of plantations can be found in the immense database [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>] assembled by the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery established at University College London (UCL). The database draws upon many sources, in particular the original registers and inventories of the plantations, their owners, their stock and their slaves. The *Abolition of Slavery Act* received royal assent on 28 August 1833; it came into force on 1 August 1834. It made the purchase and ownership of slaves in most parts of the British Empire illegal. This was passed only on the basis that those owning slaves would be financially compensated for freeing them. A government census of slave owners was taken on 1 August 1834 to establish who owned slaves on that date. The government allocated £20m to pay out in compensation, 40% of the Treasury's annual income to settling the claims. It was the largest single government bail-out, up until the financial crisis of 2008. The UCL 'Legacies of British Slavery' database publishes the list of claims. George-B himself was long dead by 1834, but his heirs made a claim. From this starting point, the UCL database is being constantly expanded to collate all records of slave ownership that can be found from whatever source, and thus provides more information about the Boggles and their associates in the years before 1833.

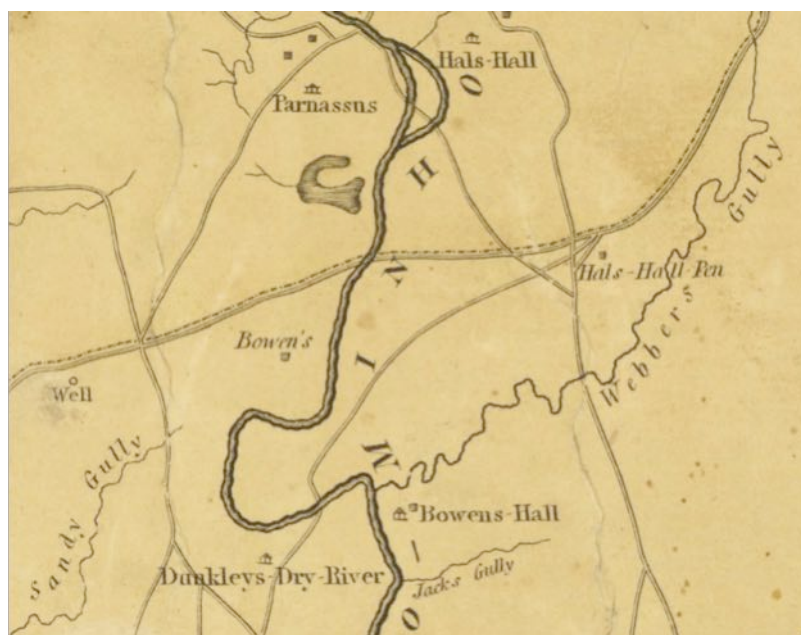
The database's earliest record of AB&Co holding plantations appears to be in 1810 and pertains to a sugar estate in the Darliston area of Westmorland parish in the far west of Jamaica. The estate, with an associated 'cattle mill', had been recorded on a map prepared in 1799 by James Robertson and had been registered in November of that year but without specifying its ownership; at that date it already held 88 slaves. The next entry in the database for this estate does not appear until 1810, showing it to be then registered to AB&Co and holding 116 slaves; these details were drawn from the 1811 *Jamaica Almanac* prepared from returns (termed 'givings-in') submitted in 1810. Given the gap in the data, it is possible that AB&Co had already owned the estate for up to a decade. The next entry is for 1815 by which time the estate, with 111 slaves, was registered with a different company, Adams, Robertson & Co. By then both George-A and George-B had died.

AB&Co – or perhaps just George-B – apparently also owned, if only briefly, the rather larger Dunkley's Dry River estate in Vere parish in the southern-central part of Jamaica, having about 265 slaves and producing mostly sugar and rum. Dunkley's had been registered to Abraham Dunkley, the father of George-A's wife Susanna, and then his heirs for many years up to at least 1811 but by 1817 (the next recorded year) it was registered to George-B's heirs, including four of his siblings. George-B's Will had left

them various monetary legacies and the siblings had also been left shares of his plantations and residual estate. The evidence for the estate having been acquired after 1811 by either AB&Co or George-B as presented in the UCL database lies in the fact that, following the abolition of slavery, George-B's heirs claimed and received compensation in respect of their slave holdings on the estate.



Figure 30 Above – Vere parish in southern Jamaica; below – close-up of the white-edged section showing (near the bottom) Atkinson, Bogle & Co's Dunkleys Dry River sugar plantation.



The UCL database compilers appear to have missed another, smaller estate or plantation owned by AB&Co which was listed in the 1812 *Jamaica Almanac*, prepared from givings-in submitted in 1811. This was located in the Mountain District of Port Royal (a small town at the mouth of Kingston's harbour) and was named 'Tranquillity' [but as 'Tranquility' in the *Almanac*], having 37 slaves.



Figure 31 The view along Harbour Street in Kingston, Jamaica from its intersection with King Street, about 1820; a scene highly familiar to the Bogle and Cathcart families there; painted by James Hakewill.



Figure 32 Port Royal, Kingston, seen here in the foreground at the tip of the thin strip of land known as the Palisadoes; the port was Britain's naval base in this period.

References to AB&Co, acting as agents for the making of claims, also appear in the records of payments made to officers and companies of captured slave ships, for instance a payment of £200 for a claim made on 1 June 1810 in respect of a ship named *Dispatch* and a payment of £50 for a claim made on 22 August 1811 in respect of a ship named *Satellite* [*Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. 72, p.851, HM Stationery Office, 1817].

The UCL database also omits to record that George-B's partner Adelaide had owned a slave in 1817 and probably in preceding years. This fact is held in the *Ancestry* database *Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies, 1812-1834* in which the Returns of Slaves for Jamaica's St Andrew parish in 1817 include this one, transcribed here from the original handwritten record:

'Jamaica, Is. [Island] A Return of a Slave in the parish of Saint Andrew in the possession of Heloise Lalane as tenant by parole, the owner Adelle [sic] Lamoinary being an absentee on the 28th day of June in the Year of our Lord 1817.

Names	Colour	Age	African or Creole
John Charles	Negroe [sic]	19	Creole

I, Heloise Lalane do swear that the above list and return, consisting of one sheet, is a true, perfect, and complete list and return, to the best of my knowledge and belief, in every particular therein mentioned, of all and every Slave and Slaves possessed by me as tenant by parole considered as most permanently settled, worked, or employed in the parish of St Andrew on the twenty-eighth day of June One thousand eight hundred and seventeen, without fraud, deceit, or evasion. – So help me God. Sworn before me, this twentieth day of September 1817. Maurice West. [signed] Heloise Lalane
filed 20th September 1817.'

From this it appears that at the qualifying date Heloise Lalane was holding and using the slave John Charles on behalf of his absentee 'owner' Adelaide. Later, on 12 September 1836, Heloise Lalane was awarded £142-5s-10d by the Commissioners of Slavery Compensation in respect of the 8 slaves she was then holding [*General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners*, Vol. 2, HM Stationery Office, 1838].

George-B's last years

George-B had intended to retire from his active roles in Jamaica in the late 1790s and we know that by 1799 he was living in Half-Moon Street, Mayfair in the parish of St George Hanover Square, Liberty of Westminster. This is the address given for him in a list of subscribers contained in the two-volume work *The Force of Prejudice, a Moral Tale* by Joseph Wildman [Publ. J Barfield, Wardour Street, 1799]. Directories spanning 1802-07 list him in this same street at No. 33 [Holden's London and Country Triennial Directory, 1802-04; similarly for 1805-07]. Land Tax records suggest that he was there throughout the years 1801-10 but absent in 1811. The house was assessed annually for about £3 of this tax. He was probably leasing it rather than owning the freehold. The street connects Curzon Street to Piccadilly and originally had on each side a terrace of fine town houses with multiple storeys. Many wealthy and famous people have lived there since it was built in 1730. George-B clearly had the means to live in the most opulent housing that London could offer.

After leaving Half-Moon Street he moved a few streets to the east of it, to 13, Old Burlington Street in Mayfair, very near to Regent Street and still within the parish of St George Hanover Square. The *London and Country Directory* for 1811 lists him as residing there (and also in Effingham), whilst Land Tax records show him residing there (his entries enigmatically qualified by the word 'Vaults') in both 1812 and 1813. The annual tax on this house was significantly greater at £6-7s-6d. A sale notice published following his death makes clear that he had held a lease on this property.

He had developed interests in Effingham soon after settling permanently in England. The earliest date at which we have found him associated with Effingham is 1804. On 31 May of that year he was assessed for Window Tax of £14-2s-6d for his occupancy of Effingham House, which then had 47 windows [SHC Ref: EFF1/19/1: A duplicate return of the 'Effingham Window Book' 1804]. A note next to the 1804 entry for him implies that he had been in residence since March 1804. (He did not yet have any Male Servants, Four Wheel Carriages, Two Wheel Carriages, Horses or Dogs, all of which he had acquired by the time of the following year's assessment). Evidently, he had just recently acquired the lease of the house from its previous owner General Oliver de Lancey who was now living in the new manor house he had built for himself at Effingham Hill. By contrast, the records of Land Tax also assessed on 31 May 1804 do not yet show George-B in Effingham, but they do show De Lancey being assessed as the owner of

Effingham House, described as 'House ... top of Street'. The amount of tax payable on it was £7-14s-0d, the result of applying the standard rate of 20% to its assessed annual rental value of £38-10s-0d. This is the amount shown as payable by George-B now both 'proprietor' and 'occupier' in the following year 1805 (the date of assessment being 21 June 1805) and in every subsequent year up to 1813. He was – or presumably his executors were – still being assessed for it in May 1814, as occupier 'Late Bogle'.)

De Lancey had made an agreement with the Treasury Commissioners in an attempt to rectify the financial mismanagement he had exercised in his former role as Barrack Master General of all the Barracks for His Majesty's Forces. By this agreement he would be compelled to sell off a large portfolio of his freehold, copyhold and leasehold assets, located in Effingham and elsewhere, to repay to the Treasury's Trustees the money that the Commissioners believed he owed [SHC Ref: 4521/2/1]. This would take several years to achieve. Somewhat inexplicably, this document also records that a contract between De Lancey and George-B for the sale of Effingham House to the latter was sealed on 21 August 1806 – i.e. only a week before the agreement to liquidate De Lancey's assets – whereas George-B seems to have been fully in possession of Effingham House well before that date, and the contract with De Lancey was not affected by the forced sale.

A brief description of the house in this period is given in the work *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, Vol. 2 by Manning and Bray [publ. John White, London, 1809] in which the authors give it as one of a few examples in Effingham of 'the only Gentlemen's houses in the place':

'A house by the side of the turnpike road, which, from a small cottage, has grown up to a house of some size, with a little paddock adjoining paled in. It was enlarged by General de Lancey before he built his present house, and now belongs to Mr. Bogle, a Merchant in London.'

George-B acquired, whether by freehold or by leasehold, other properties in Effingham as the years passed. The Land Tax records for 1807-13 also show him as the occupier of a parcel of land in Little Bookham owned by Rev Pollen.

George-B took on a very significant tenure in Effingham described as 'Land & Great Tythes' at some point between the Land Tax assessments of 8 June 1811 and 25 May 1812. This property had become free in 1811, surrendered back into the hands of 'the owner' on 10 September by Mrs Jane Wavell, the former Mrs Briggs. Mrs Wavell had been holding it as Executrix since the death in December 1810 of her son John Briggs, the original tenant. She surrendered it [SHC Ref: G34/2/9] to the two government Trustees, Alcock and Mitford, who were still supervising the sale of the former assets of General de Lancey. The property was the huge and valuable enterprise – 500 acres – known as Nyce Farm, or Indian Farm, which at that time included a large part of the centre of the village as well as near Effingham Common. After the surrender by Jane Wavell it was auctioned in London at an auction house 'opposite the Bank of England' on 21 February 1812. An advertisement in *The Courier* (London) on 11 January 1812 laid out the vast and complex extent of the various fields, dwellings, brick fields and so on. The person who presumably purchased it, thus the new owner from whom George-B leased it, was William Currie the lord of the manor of East Horsley. Currie already held several Effingham properties amounting to extensive acreages. This one however was the largest in the village outside the Effingham Hill estate. One is given to reflect on how, in taking up a lease of the principal farming and business tenancy in the village, George-B was seriously committing to his presence in Effingham. The rent he paid in 1812 was £155, and the tax



Figure 33 Houses in Old Burlington Street, Nos 4–6, 1961, London Picture Archive, Ref: 143421, image © London Metropolitan Archives (City of London).

was assessed at £31 for the year. But George-B was not to hold it for long. He was still alive when the Land Tax assessment of 1813 was made on 15 May, but he died in November that year. By the time of the next assessment, 20 May 1814, the property had been re-let to Mr Robison (sic), whilst George-B's freehold Effingham House, as we have seen above, was still legally his.



Figure 34 Effingham House in 1823, painted by John Hassell; by courtesy of the Surrey History Centre.

As for Adelaide and the children, we do not know how their living arrangements in England fitted in with George-B's. As explained previously, consideration of the parentage, birth dates and baptism dates of Adelaide's second and third daughters, together with voyage details contained in contemporary correspondence, establishes that (a) George-B first became seriously involved with Adelaide only after he returned to Jamaica around the later part of 1800 to sort out the affairs of G & M Atkinson; (b) after he sailed back to England in April 1802 she followed him about a month later, bringing with her Adeline and Eliza; (c) she made that arduous journey while pregnant with Emma.

George-B, Adelaide and the children may have initially lived together at his house in Half-Moon Street. The last child Helen was born in February 1804 at Hampton, Surrey (according to the Censuses of 1851 and 1861), well away from central London. George-B may have arranged for Adelaide to give birth at some special maternity facility there, to escape the dirt and diseases of the city. Or, possibly, this was his country retreat before he found Effingham House.

By 1806, however, George-B and Adelaide may have begun to live apart to some extent. Land Tax records for the period 1806-13 show Adelaide – her forename misrendered as 'Ordel' or variants thereof – living in Fludyer Street which lay immediately south of, and parallel to, Downing Street. Built in 1767, its large and beautiful houses were occupied at times by many eminent people. According to *British History Online* it had been 'named after Sir Samuel Fludyer, the ground-landlord, who, when Lord Mayor in 1761, entertained George III and Queen Charlotte at Guildhall'. It was about four fifths of a mile from Half-Moon Street and a journey between the two could follow a pleasant route through Green Park, the Mall and St James Park. The *London and Country Directory* for 1811 lists her (as 'Mrs Boglis') residing there at No. 2.



Figure 35 View of Fludyer Street looking towards Parliament Street, 1859; painted by Thomas Hosmer Shepherd (1792-1864).

The motivation for this arrangement is unknown, but it may have been simply to maintain a separation between George-B's business activities and his family life. He, Adelaide and the children may have spent time together at Fludyer Street and, from 1804, at Effingham, as circumstances suited them.

In 1807 a curious burial took place in Effingham when a young man named George Moir was buried at St Lawrence on 15 September. The burial register says nothing more of him than his name and his age of 30. His death was reported ten days later on 25 September in *The Star (London)*:

'On the 11th instant, at Effingham, Surrey, George Moir Esq. of Kingston, Jamaica, only son of the late Rev. William Moir of Fyvie.'

Rev William Moir had been born in 1726 to parents Rev. George Moir (baptised 12 May 1679) and Jean (née Forbes). According to the author and genealogist Andrew John Mitchell Gill, William had a brother George of whom the only given details are that he 'died young, unmarried' [*The Families of Moir and Byres*, publ. Scott & Ferguson, Edinburgh, 1885]. This brother may have been the partner 'George Moir' in the slave-trading firm Bogle, Jopp & Co. of which George-B's brothers Robert and Andrew were also partners together with Keith Jopp; the latter, born on 9 June 1768, was the son of Rev William's sister Jean and her merchant husband James Jopp. Another possibility is that the firm's partner 'George Moir' was Rev William's son, although he would have been quite junior in relation to Keith and (especially) to Robert but of almost the same age as Andrew. In any event, the firm was dissolved in 1806 [*The London Chronicle*, 3 July 1806].

It seems highly probable that the George Moir buried in Effingham had been staying with George-B at Effingham House when he died and that George-B arranged for him to be buried at St Lawrence. His grave is unmarked and its location is unknown, but someone, again presumably George-B or perhaps Moir's kin (his father had died in 1794, but his mother was still alive) arranged for an oval marble tablet to

be placed in the church. It is now on the south wall of the tower but its original location is unknown, since the plaques and tablets from the main body of the church were relocated during the major refurbishments of the 1880s. The wording is

‘To the memory of George Moir Esqr. of Aberdeen. (late of Kingstone [sic] – Jamaica) who died at Effingham, Sept^r. 11th. 1807. aged 30 years.’

William Cathcart's letterbooks provide details about George-B's final years that we might otherwise have never known. They make clear that the two men were on very close terms, William describing George-B as ‘more than a father to me’. A recurrent theme is William's concern that George-B, despite failing health, was constantly under huge pressure of work, inundated with business matters brought to his attention by persons both in Britain and abroad. William often stressed how uncomplaining George-B was and how much he wished to relieve him of these burdens. We are told of the periods George-B spent at his home in Effingham, which his doctors evidently thought was healthier for him than London. Visits to Brighton ‘for the warm Salt Water Baths’ were recorded, as were other trips he made to Herringswell in Suffolk and Stanwell in Middlesex. Brief mentions were made occasionally of Adelaide and the children, commenting on their health or passing on compliments. It was noted on one occasion in the summer of 1811 that she had taken the children to Worthing for sea bathing. There is, however, not a single instance in which anything is written about George-B and Adelaide being, or doing something, together.

In the correspondence mention is often made of turtles shipped from Jamaica to London for George-B and his colleague Samuel Mure. These were clearly much appreciated, being a prized and very expensive delicacy in this period, easily kept alive in the ships while crossing the Atlantic.

Perhaps the most surprising fact to emerge from the letterbooks is the extent to which George-B was plagued by ill health, the primary manifestation of which was the forming of painful abscesses. These seem to have followed a cyclical pattern, arising and then subsiding each year. They were severe enough to render him bed-bound and in one letter, on 29 June 1811, William states that George-B had been abscess-free in only one year out of the previous twelve and during that period had been bed-ridden a quarter of the time. Mention is made of probing the abscesses in search of ‘ball, cloth or splinters of bone’ which had not been found; but from this detail we may reasonably infer that the problem arose from an unresolved infection created by the embedded musket ball he had reputedly taken in the thigh during military action in Martinique in the 1790s. William's observations in this matter during 1810-13 repeatedly swung between pessimism that a new abscess was forming and optimism from seeing George-B's health improving.

In 1813 a succession of tragedies struck George-B's family. They were foreshadowed in a letter dated 13 May in which William wrote that George-B ‘is much occupied with his little daughter Emma who I am sorry to say I think cannot live, she may exist for some months to come, I consider her far gone in a consumption’. If he was right, Emma had contracted tuberculosis. Two days later he observed that George-B, by contrast, was now as well – following a twelve-month confinement – as he had ever seen him. By 5 June he wrote that ‘little Emma is much better’. Soon afterwards he left London and would spend the rest of the year in the north of the country. In November he complained in one letter that, owing to his various travellings, correspondence from others was not reaching him in a timely fashion. Owing to this, we do not obtain from the letterbooks a detailed narrative of what was happening to George-B's family in London and Effingham in the later part of 1813.

On 14 August the daughter Emma died, aged just 10, most probably from the suspected tuberculosis. She was buried at St Lawrence, Effingham on 20 August, officiated by Rev William Farley. Exactly where she was when she died is also unknown. The burial register curiously gives her abode as Marylebone. It may be significant that there was a week between her death and her burial. Just over five weeks later on 27 September her sister Adeline, the first-born of Adelaide, also died, aged 17; probably, she too had contracted TB. She was buried at St Lawrence on 4 October, her abode entered as Effingham; we do not know when her stay there had begun – perhaps from about the date of Emma's funeral, or after it. The deaths of the two girls were announced in a single notice published on 2 October in *The Morning Post*:

‘On the 14th of August last, in her 11th year, Emma, third daughter; and on the 27th ult. in her 18th year, Adeline, eldest daughter of Mrs. Bogle, of Fludyer Street, Westminster.’

(Emma was actually her fourth daughter; the first Helen was her third).

News of these unhappy events may have taken weeks to reach William. His first and only mention of them in the correspondence occurs in a letter of 4 November to Mr Whitfield's company, saying

'The severe loss Mr Bogle has met with in the deaths of his two daughters Adeline & Emma & his being threatened with a return of his old complaint, has prevented my corresponding with him on business ...'

Just over six weeks after Adeline's death, George-B died on 11 November, aged 51. He was buried at St Lawrence, Effingham nine days later on 20 November. In the register, which gives his abode as Old Burlington Street, his entry follows immediately after that of Adeline. The cause of his death is not recorded, but the following remark in Brayley's work *A Topographical History of Surrey*, Vol. 4 [Publ. Robert Best Ede, Dorking and Tilt & Bogue, London, 1841-48], describing the church, alludes to it:

'On the west side of the transept are the memorial tablets of GEORGE BOGLE, esq., of Effingham House, who died on the 11th of November, 1813, aged fifty [sic] years; and lies buried with his two daughters, Adeline and Emma, (whose decease occurred shortly before his own, which was accelerated [sic] by their loss), under a handsome tomb in the church-yard; and ...'

Emma, Daughter of George Bogle, Esq No. 8.	Marylebone	Aug. 20 th	10	W. Farley, Vicar.
Adeline, Daughter of George Bogle, Esq No. 10.	Effingham	Oct. 4 th	17	W. Farley, Vicar
George Bogle, Esq No. 11.	Old Burlington Street	Nov. 20 th	51	W. Farley, Vicar.

Figure 36 The burial records for Emma, Adeline and George in the St Lawrence Church burial register.

The (single) elaborate marble and slate wall tablet which commemorates George-B, Adeline and Emma is now on the east wall of the Tower having, like George Moir's, presumably been moved there during Rev Bayly's refurbishments and alterations of the 1880s. The inscription differs in some details, principally the girls' ages, from the dates as understood. It reads:

'To the memory of George Bogle Esqr. of Effingham House, who died the 11th of Novr. 1813; aged 51 years. and of his two daughters, Adeline and Emma: Adeline died September 27th. 1813; aged 18 [sic] years. Emma died August 15th. 1813; aged 11 [sic] years.'

Brayley does not indicate his basis for stating, about three decades after the event, that George-B's death had been accelerated by the deaths of the two girls. It is just possible that he had obtained this information from Adelaide or others acquainted with the family. There appear to be no detailed published obituaries for George-B. His death was announced very briefly in *The Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 36, Part 2 and in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1813, thus:

‘Nov. 11. In Old Burlington Street, in his 52nd year, George Bogle, esq. of Effingham House, Surrey.’

The last of William's letters in 1813, dated 8 December, reported George-B's death to a Jamaican associate Taylor Cathcart in these terms:

‘It is with much grief I inform you of George Bogle's death, he died the 11th last month, justly and sincerely regretted, he was a most excellent man ...’

We can only speculate as to the cause of George-B's death, but the likeliest reason would be a recurrence of the old infection sufficient, in his already distressed state, to overwhelm his immune system.

These deaths, in such rapid succession, must have been devastating for Adelaide. We can imagine her walking out three times from a funeral service into the churchyard to witness the burials. She was aged only about 31 and had two remaining children to raise, Eliza aged 13 and Helen aged 9.

Emma, Adeline and George-B were buried in the first of the family vaults in St Lawrence churchyard – earlier than the first Bedwell and Stringer deaths. These events bring us to the matter of the tomb and to some unresolved questions concerning it. It is a Grade II listed monument described by English Heritage as follows:

‘BOGLE VAULT, 25 FEET NORTH OF CHURCH OF ST. LAWRENCE

LEN: 1029427 (formerly 288657)

Grade: II

Vault. Dedicated to the Bogle family. Early C19. Stone. Step plinth with square pier above on moulded base. Panelled sides with recessed angle piers. Greek geometric pattern band to top; cornice and stepped capital supporting foliage garland and ribbon work urn.’



Figure 37a The Bogle family tomb in the St Lawrence churchyard.

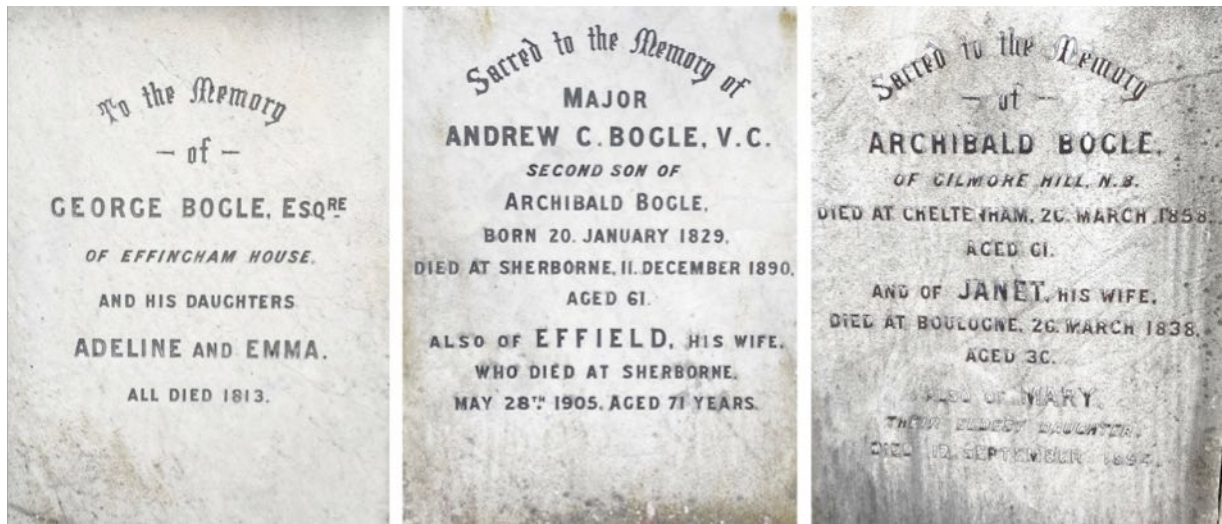


Figure 37b The epitaphs on three sides of the Bogle tomb.

It is questionable as to what point the coffins of Emma, Adeline and George were conveyed into a vault (i.e. a structure specifically to accommodate several members of the family, rather than individual graves), and also as to how much of the tomb really is 'early C19'. Consideration must be given to the inscriptions it bears on three of its side panels.

One panel is dedicated to George-B and the two daughters and the wording is very sparse:

'To the memory of George Bogle, Esq^{re} of Effingham House and his daughters Adeline and Emma. All died 1813.'

Another panel reads:

'Sacred to the memory of Archibald Bogle, of Gilmore Hill, N.B. [North Britain] Died at Cheltenham, 26 March 1858 aged 61. And of Janet his wife, died at Boulogne, 26 March 1838 aged 36. Also of Mary, their eldest daughter, died 12 September 1894.'

This Archibald was a son of George-B's older brother Robert Bogle and had married his first cousin Janet (daughter of George-B's younger brother Andrew) in Glasgow on 1 June 1801. Archibald and Janet produced several children, the first daughter being Mary born in about 1827.

Another panel reads:

'Sacred to the memory of Major Andrew C. Bogle, V.C. second son of Archibald Bogle, born 20 January 1829. Died at Sherborne, 11 December 1890, aged 61. Also of Effield, his wife, who died at Sherborne, May 28th 1905, aged 71 years.'

Andrew Cathcart Bogle was therefore a brother of the above-mentioned Mary. He had earned his Victoria Cross on 29 July 1857 during the Indian Mutiny as described two years later in *The London Gazette* of 2 September 1859:

'For conspicuous gallantry on the 29th July, 1857, in the attack at Oonao, in leading the way into a loop-holed house, strongly occupied by the enemy, from which a heavy fire harassed the advance of his regiment [78th (Highlanders) Regiment of Foot]. Captain Bogle was severely wounded in this important service.'

Wikipedia provides the additional details that Andrew was a Lieutenant aged 28 at the time of this action and had been promoted to Captain afterwards; his VC was presented to him by Queen Victoria on 4 January 1860 at Windsor Castle. There is a brass wall tablet to 'Major Cathcart Bogle VC' inside the church, on the south wall of the Tower.

Andrew had married a widow Effield (née Messiter) Willmott of Sherborne House in Sherborne, Dorset on 19 December 1876 at South Warnborough, Hampshire; the marriage had been officiated by her father Rev Richard Messiter [*Berkshire Chronicle*, 23 December 1876].



Figure 38 Andrew Cathcart Bogle, awarded the Victoria Cross for gallantry in 1857.

The question then arises of whether the inscriptions on the second and third panels serve only to remember the persons named or else signify that those persons are actually interred in the tomb. In fact all of them are so interred, as the burial register makes clear. Janet, whose abode is confirmed in the register as Gilmore Hill but who died at Boulogne (where many sufferers of pulmonary infections went for their health), was buried at St Lawrence on 3 April 1838 aged '35'; bringing Janet back from Boulogne to Scotland in 1838 would have been a task – Effingham was much closer. In 1841-48 – i.e. before any further burials – Brayley described it as already 'a handsome tomb'. Archibald, whose abode is confirmed as Cheltenham, was buried at St Lawrence on 31 March 1858 aged '61'. Mary, whose abode is given as 27, Arundel Gardens [in Notting Hill, London], was cremated at Woking Cemetery after a ceremony there and her ashes interred 'in the family vault at Effingham'; Andrew, whose abode is given as Sherborne House, was likewise cremated at Woking (officiated by the vicar of Sherborne) and his ashes interred in the Effingham vault two months later, on 14 February 1891; Effield, whose abode is given as Sherborne, had her funeral service at Sherborne Abbey followed by cremation, her ashes being interred in the Effingham vault on 29 June 1905.

The identical sizes, lettering style and syntax found among the three inscribed panels raise the possibility of all three panels having been so inscribed in a single operation around the 1890s; only Effield's inscription, bearing the date 1905, exhibits slightly different letter spacing and syntax. Most striking of all, the inscription for George-B and the two girls is remarkably minimal, not even dignifying them with their ages in 1813; the sparse wording is arguably indicative of its having been decided at a far later date by persons having only a flimsy grasp of the relevant details – details that could have been determined from the burial register. Perhaps in the early years following the deaths in 1813 the structure above the underground vault had been different from what it is today and may have borne a more detailed inscription, all subsequently replaced.

Further notes on the tomb are given in the work *Some account of the Inscriptions and Memorials at Saint Lawrence Church Effingham* by Bryan R Sherwood [publ. Blissetts, London, 2017].

It seems probable that George-B's death was not sudden but was for some time in anticipation, as he made his Will on 29 October 1813 almost two weeks before he died. In it he appointed eight executors including his brothers Robert, Andrew and Hugh besides his nephew John Robertson (the son of his late sister Elizabeth). The Will [National Archives, Ref: PROB 11/1550/327], including a Codicil, would be entirely decipherable were it not for the fact that several of its pages have sections obscured by a repeated stain. Despite this, the following appear to be its main provisions, mostly to be exercised in trust by the executors:

- £25,000 to be invested in trust for the benefit of his daughter Helen upon becoming 21, but qualified by arrangements in the cases of her dying before then or of her marrying; this investment in the meantime to be used to finance her maintenance and education;
- Helen and the other daughter Eliza to be entrusted to the care of John Robertson;
- £4,000 to be used to establish a lifelong annuity for Adelaide;
- £4,000 to be used to establish an annuity for his daughter Rosannah Middleton (aged 28 at the time of the Will);
- £3,000 to be used to establish an annuity for his daughter Janet Middleton (aged 20);
- £2,000 to be used for the benefit of his daughter Ann Middleton (aged 26);
- £1,000 to be used for the benefit of his son Archibald Middleton (aged 24);
- £1,000 to be used for the benefit of his son George Middleton (aged 22);
- £1,000 to be used for the benefit of his son Hugh Middleton (aged 20);
- £500 to be paid directly to his former partner Ann Middleton;
- £10,000 to be paid directly to his nephew John Robertson;
- £1,000 to be paid directly to his friend Charles Samson;
- £500 to be used to establish a lifelong annuity for his servant George Dunlop;
- the residue of his estate to be divided into four equal parts, three of these to be paid directly to his brothers and the fourth part to be used (in trust) for the benefit of his sister Helen.

The Codicil, also dated 29 October 1813, further provided that:

- one year's wages to be paid to each servant living with him at the time of his death.

(It should be noted that in the partial transcript of the Will offered on the UCL Slavery Database some of the amounts intended for the benefit of the legatees are stated there incorrectly.)

The Will was proved on 18 December 1813. Other than entrusting her care to John Robertson it makes no monetary provision for the daughter Eliza, probably because she had already been provided for in the Will of her father John Wigglesworth. Details of interest contained in the Will include the following:

- Adelaide was still residing in Fludyer Street;
- three of his children by Ann Middleton were now residing in England; these were the eldest Rosannah 'spinster at present residing at Chelsea', and the two youngest, the twins: Janet 'spinster at present residing at Tunbridge Wells' and Hugh 'at present residing with a saddler at Newcastle upon Tyne';
- his son Archibald Middleton was still in Jamaica as also was his mother Ann;
- his son George Middleton was also still in Jamaica and occupied as a bricklayer and the Will suggests that the money left for him be spent 'either in the purchase of Negro and other Slaves or otherwise as they [the executors] in their discretion shall think fit and most advantageous for his interest';
- the servant George Dunlop was described as 'my black man servant', i.e. a 'manservant,' a very trusted individual involved in George's personal care and activities; it is not known whether George was a child of a member of the same Dunlop family for whom George-B had worked.
- the Will mentions his estates in the West Indies but does not identify them.

Aftermath of George-B's death

George-B's executors proceeded to dispose of his London and Effingham houses and their contents. His Old Burlington Street home was advertised for sale by auction in the *Morning Post* on 14 January 1814, supplying details of its various rooms (including a library, offices and two staircases) and its detached coach house and stable. It was described as 'held for an unexpired term of nine years'. The same advertisement appeared in *The Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser* on 3 February. The selling of the lease appears not to have been easy. Over two months later the *Morning Post* editions of 8 April and 19 April advertised the sale of the house's contents, to take place on the property over a three-day period commencing on 21 April, both advertisements noting that 'at the same time will be sold the unexpired term in the Lease'. From the details given, George-B's furnishings and fittings had been of a very high standard.

Old Burlington-street.—Capital Town Residence with Coach-house, Stabling, &c.—By WINSTANLEY and SON, at the Mart, on FRIDAY, Feb. 4, at Twelve, by order of the Executors of George Bogle, Esq. deceased,

A Very capital TOWN RESIDENCE, most desirably situate, No. 13, Old Burlington-street; containing an excellent eating room of good proportion, two drawing rooms communicating by folding doors, boudoir, library, numerous airy bedchambers, two staircases, handsome entrance hall, spacious kitchen, and suitable offices; detached is a coach house, stable for five horses, with loft and man's room over. Held for an unexpired term of nine years.

To be viewed by tickets, which, with particulars, may be had of Messrs. Shawes, Le Blanc and Shawe, New Bridge-street; and of Winstanley and Son, Paternoster-row; Particulars also at the Mart.

Figure 39a above, advertising the sale of George-B's house in Old Burlington Street;
Figure 39b below, advertising the sale of its contents.

Old Burlington-street.—Elegant modern Furniture, noble Chimney and Pier-glasses, Mirrors, Library Bookcases, Fire Arms, by Manton, choice Wines, Carriages, Harness, &c.—By WINSTANLEY and SON, on the Premises, 13, Old Burlington-street, on THURSDAY, April 21, and following day, at Twelve, by order of the Executors of George Bogle, Esq. deceased,

THE excellent HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE and Effects: comprising four-post, tent, and press bedsteads, with chintz, dinnity, and other hangings, seasoned feather beds and bedding, mahogany wardrobes, chests of drawers, dressing-stands, &c. handsome drawing room suits of rich chintz cotton, consisting of French curtains for nine windows, Grecian sofas and chairs, two brilliant chimney-glasses, each 70 by 46 inches, a pair of pier-glasses, mirror, chandeliers, Brussels carpets, and hearth-rugs, excellent selection of cabinet articles of superior manufacture, among which are two modern sideboards, dining, breakfast, card, Pembroke, and library tables, a set of ten dining parlour chairs covered with red Morocco, two capital winged bookcases, ornamental bronze figures, hall-lamp, an eight-day clock, Claret, Port, and Madeira Wines, two fowling-pieces, by Manton; fenders and fire irons, kitchen requisites, a Curricie and Harness, and various other articles.

To be viewed on Tuesday and Wednesday preceding the sale; when catalogues, at 6d. each, may be had on the Premises; and of Winstanley and Son, Paternoster-row. At the same time will be sold, the unexpired term in the Lease; particulars of which may be had as above

Both of the two editions just mentioned also advertised the sale by auction of the freehold of Effingham House, describing Effingham as 'a much admired and sporting part of the County of Surrey' and the house as 'suitable for the reception of a genteel family'. The internal accommodation (including library, numerous chambers and designated rooms for housekeeper and butler) was extensive, as also were the detached offices, stable, coach house, saddle rooms and granary. The accompanying land was of sixteen acres, offering three paddocks, ice house, cattle yard, garden and separate cottage. According to Brayley [1841-48, q.v.] the house was sold in April, to Sir Thomas Hussey Apreece. On 13 June the *Morning Post* advertised the sale by auction at the property over a three day period, commencing on that same day, of the contents of Effingham House, also mentioning that these were set out in a sale catalogue priced 6d. They included numerous bedsteads, hangings, carpets, china and clocks, cabinets, tables and chairs of various kinds, besides a generously stocked cellar and a miscellany of other items including a mangle, melon frames and two Newfoundland dogs.

A Very commodious RESIDENCE, called Effingham House, the property of the late George Bogle, Esq. deceased, situate at Effingham, a much admired and sporting part of the County of Surrey, in the high road to Guildford by Epsom, distant from the former place about eight miles, from Bookham two, from Leatherhead four, from London twenty-two. The House is suitable for the reception of a genteel family, containing dining and drawing rooms of excellent proportions, library, morning parlour, numerous chambers and dressing-rooms, kitchen, housekeeper's and butler's rooms, servants hall, and suitable domestic conveniences. The detached offices comprise a six-stall stable, double coach-house, saddle room, granary, and other out-buildings, yards, &c. a good kitchen garden and orchard. The land lies contiguous to the house, in a high state of manurage, is divided into three paddocks, with an ice house, cattle yard, and shed, a cottage and a piece of garden ground; the whole is freehold, and contains about sixteen acres.

To be viewed by tickets, which with particulars, may be had of Messrs. Shawe, Le Blanc, and Shawe, New Bridge-street: and of Winstanley and Son, Paternoster-row; particulars also at the Spread Eagle, Epsom; the Swan, Leatherhead; the Red Lion and White Horse, Dorking; the Crown and White Hart, Guildford; the White Lion, Cobham; the Talbot, Ripley; the Griffin, Kingston; and at the Mart.

Figure 39c above, advertising the sale of George-B's house in Effingham;
Figure 39d below, advertising the sale of its contents.

Effingham, Surrey. - Household Furniture, Pier Glass, Mirrors, Eight Day Clock, China and Glass, a Mangle, two Newfoundland Dogs, Choice Wines, Brown Stout, Scotch Ale, a Market Cart, &c. - By WINSTANLEY and SON, on the premises, Effingham House, between Leatherhead and Guildford, Surrey, THIS DAY, the 13th of June, and two following days, at eleven o'clock, by order of the Executors,

THE excellent FURNITURE, Choice Wines, and other effects, of the late George Bogle, Esq. comprising, sixteen lofty four-post, tent, and other bedsteads, with printed cotton and dimity hangings, prime seasoned feather beds and good bedding, mahogany wardrobe chest of drawers, dressing stands, Brussels and Kidderminster carpets, hearth rugs, fenders, and fire irons, sets of drawing and dining room window curtains, sofas and chairs. A brilliant pier glass 68 inches by 30, a 24 and a 12 inch mirror, a capital set of dining tables, card and pembroke ditto, four French lounging chairs, kitchen, and dairy requisites, a mangle, a filtering stone, melon frames, garden implements and seats, a light market cart, urewood, &c. Also, the cellar of choice wines, consisting of about one hundred dozen of fine old port, eleven years in bottle, East India Madeira, sherry, old hock, champagne, claret, a hog-shead of brown stout, and 24 doz. of do. and Scotch ale in bottles.

To be viewed on Friday and Saturday preceding, and mornings of Sale, when catalogues at 6d. each, (returnable to purchasers), may be had at the Saracen and Ring, Bookham; Red Lion, Dorking; Swan, Leatherhead; White Hart, Guildford; Spread Eagle, Epsom; the Griffin, Kingston; on the premises, and of Winstanley and son, Paternoster-row.

According to O'Connor [1973, q.v.] other houses in Effingham purchased by Apreece from George-B's estate included the three cottages that became today's Middle Farm and The Prince Blücher (today's Crosslands), although we have not independently confirmed this.

George-B's death also brought about changes to the companies in which he been a partner, most notably to AB&Co. This company was terminated when or soon after he died and its business taken up by a newly-formed company Atkinson, Adams & Robertson, the partners in this being George-A and two of George-B's executors Edward Hamlin Adams and Robert Robertson. This transition was reported in *The Royal Gazette* (of Jamaica) on 5 February 1814 but with some confusion of dates, as it stated that AB&Co had been 'terminated on the 31st of October Inst. by the decease of Mr. George Bogle', yet George-B had been still alive on 31 October.)

The servant George Dunlop mentioned in George-B's Will did not live very long to enjoy the annuity bequeathed to him. Just five years later he was buried at St Lawrence on 17 October 1818, the register giving his age as 56 and his abode as Mickleham. His grave lies immediately east of George-B's tomb and his headstone's inscription reads as follows:

'Here lies the body of George Dunlop who departed this life October 12th 1818 aged 56 years.'

In age he was a very close contemporary of George-B. (Note – the recording of this gravestone in the 1929 typed list of the St Lawrence monumental inscriptions gives the day of his death as the 18th which is clearly in error; the stone certainly gives it as the 12th.)

Immediately adjacent to George Dunlop's grave is the somewhat later grave of John Goodchild. The two are located so closely together as to suggest strongly that Goodchild had also been connected with George-B's household. He died in 1843 and was buried on 16 August. The register gives his age as 60 and his abode as Effingham. His headstone inscription reads as follows:

'Sacred to the memory of John Goodchild who departed this life August 10th 1843 aged 62.'



Figure 40 The grave of George Dunlop, St Lawrence.



Figure 41 The grave of John Goodchild, St Lawrence.

Goodchild's age is given very clearly as 62 on the stone and so either this or the burial register is in error on this detail. It means he was born about 1780, but a record of his baptism whether in Britain or in the

Caribbean has not been traced. He would have been about 33 when George-B died. In the 1841 census he was recorded as living in the Effingham household of Charlotte Hodgson who was living on independent means and whose (rounded) age was given as 65. She was probably the 'Mrs Hodgson' whom the 1839 Tithe Schedule shows as the occupier of The Villa. This house, almost opposite Effingham House, had been built a little before 1830 by Sir Thomas Hussey Apreece (as noted in his Will). Perhaps when Apreece had purchased Effingham House he had retained one or more of George-B's servants there, including Goodchild, and Goodchild may have been subsequently transferred to The Villa; the 1841 Census gives Goodchild's occupation at The Villa as a manservant.

George-B's death also brought about a change to Adelaide's living arrangements. The last year in which a Land Tax assessment showed her residing at the Fludyer Street address was 1813, but from 1815 onwards these assessments showed her living at 7, Manchester Square in Marylebone. This beautiful and highly select square consists of multi-storey Georgian town houses arranged around a very extensive and lovely garden containing ornamental shrubs and mature trees, being one of the four such gardens within the Portman Estate established in the 18th century. It may be reasonably assumed that she was holding the property on a lease from the trustees of the Portman family. Why she moved is not known, but perhaps her newly-acquired annuity enabled her to enjoy accommodation even more opulent than what Fludyer Street had to offer. She was to continue living at 7, Manchester Square for the rest of her life. In August 1832 (at least) she insured the property through the Sun Fire Office [Guildhall Library, Ref: MS 11936/538/1143253].



Figure 42 Nos 4-7 Manchester Square, Westminster LB, 1945, London Picture Archive, Ref: 103015, image © London Metropolitan Archives (City of London); Adelaide's home No 7 was the house directly behind the right-most car.

The later years of Adelaide and the daughters

Of Adelaide's two surviving daughters the elder one Eliza née Wigglesworth was the first to marry, in 1817 when she was aged about 18. She married a distinguished surgeon Sir John Hawker English. He had served the King of Sweden and become surgeon-in-chief of the Swedish army, for which he had been decorated in 1813. Two years later he had been knighted by the Prince Regent (who would become King George IV).

He and Eliza married on 7 January 1817 at St George's, Hanover Square, the witnesses being her late father's executor Thomas Baring and her half-sister Helen. She thereafter became known as Lady (or Dame) Eliza Wigglesworth English.

Sir John and Eliza spent their married lives at Warley House in Great Warley, Brentwood borough, Essex, although he practised his medicine in Lower Grosvenor Street, London. They produced four children, all sons born at Warley House. The first was John Francis Hawker English, born on 22 August 1822 [*English Chronicle and Whitehall Evening Post*, 27 August 1822] and baptised at Great Warley on 25 September 1822 [St Mary the Virgin Register of Baptisms]. The second was Augustus Frederick English, born on 20 October 1823 [*York Herald*, 25 October 1823] and baptised at Great Warley on 16 December 1823. The third was stillborn on 22 March 1825 [*The Morning Herald* (London), 24 March 1825]. The fourth was Charles Edward English, born on 9 August 1828 [*Leeds Intelligencer*, 21 October 1828] and baptised at Great Warley on 25 September 1828; he died aged 5 months and was buried at Great Warley on 25 January 1829 [St Mary the Virgin Register of Burials].

Adelaide's other daughter Helen née Bogle did not marry until 1835, when she was aged 31 and her fiancé 33. Her husband-to-be was the highly respected poet, writer, lyricist and Member of Parliament Winthrop Mackworth Praed. After his birth in London in 1802, Winthrop's family had moved to Bitton House in Teignmouth, Devon. His uncle Humphrey Winthrop Mackworth-Praed had founded the banking house of Praed and Co. after whom today's Praed Street in London is named. It is highly probable that Winthrop had shared some of his childhood with that of Charles Babbage (of computing renown) whose family had moved from London to Teignmouth in 1808. The two families had been connected through their partnerships in the company Praed, Mackworth and Babbage.

The satirists made sport of the coming wedding in the newspapers, including about their ages, older than many married for the first time. For example, *The Age* (London) published this 'epithalamic' ditty on 21 June 1835:



Figure 43 Winthrop Mackworth Praed.

'EPITHALAMIC.—On the union of Winthrop M. Praed, Esq., M.P. to Miss Bogle.

Poet and Bogle well are here allied;
For who but Bogle should be Poet's bride?
Joy to their mutual sweets so long delayed for!
In rosy bonds may he to fairy elfe be tied,
And Bogle blest in getting all she's *Praed* for.'

and on the same date *The Satirist* put out this mischievous piece of humour:

'Calico Praed is announced by the fashionable gazettes as on the eve of marriage. It may be interesting to some to know who his future bride is, since she is reputed to be wealthy. The lady's name is Bogle, an antiquated spinster residing in Manchester Square. Her father was a prudent Scotch commissary, and married a native of St. Domingo, of a very questionable fair complexion. Sawney, however, got the money, and the lover sees –

"The charms of Venus in an Ethiop's brow."

Miss Bogle, his daughter, who is now verging towards fifty, has somewhere about eighteen thousand pounds; a very comfortable relief to a briefless barrister, and a placeless, pensionless Tory tool. The Dowager Marchioness of Salisbury is to be the bridesmaid.'

The reference to 'Calico' probably alluded to the criticism he had voiced, during his maiden speech in Parliament in February 1831, of the Government's budget proposal to impose a duty on printed calicoes. Helen was hardly 'antiquated' and the satirist saw fit to comment on the skin colour of her mother

Adelaide. The term 'Sawney' was a nickname for a Scotsman. The Dowager Marchioness was aged 84, of widely-reputed eccentricity, and the idea of her being Helen's bridesmaid would have raised a laugh in many quarters. (Later in 1835 the Dowager caused a fire in her splendid Hatfield House home, burning herself to death as well as destroying most of the house.)

The approaching wedding was announced straightforwardly, if somewhat quaintly, in *The Surrey & Middlesex Standard* on 20 June:

'W. M. Praed, Esq., M.P. for the borough of Yarmouth, is about to lead to the hymeneal altar the amiable and accomplished Miss Bogle of Manchester Square.'

Helen married Winthrop by Licence at St Marylebone Parish Church on 7 July 1835, the register being signed by many witnesses including her half-sister Eliza. After the wedding *The Satirist* had more to say in its issue of 12 July :

'The nuptial knot between the antiquated Miss Bogle and Calico Praed was tied on Wednesday. A most motley crew were gathered together on the occasion. It had been Calico's ambition to get a lord to grace it with his presence, but the deuce a lord could he find in the humour to come. Lady Salisbury nearly had fits at being asked to the wedding; her ladyship utterly disclaims any knowledge of such people. Calico's staunch friend, Horace Twiss, however, was present, and helped to enliven the company with some coarse jokes at Praed's expense. Calico complained rather bitterly of Twiss's unfeeling jocularity ...'

Horace Twiss was the well-known reactionary politician and Commons orator who in this period was writing regularly for *The Times*, whilst Winthrop was a leader writer for London's *Morning Post* in which he frequently defended himself against *The Times* (and against Twiss).

The following further piece was published in *The Satirist* on 2 August 1835:

'A SHARP, FLAT, AND NATURAL.

Mrs Praed is the *natural* daughter of old George Bogle, the contractor, by a woman of colour, and was born in the Island of St. Domingo.

A natural! how things agree,
Sharp TWISS said to his pal;
That you, a *flat*, should married be
To her, a *natural*.'

but was mistaken on the detail of Helen's birthplace.

Winthrop, born on 26 July 1802, had been educated at Eton – where he founded the *Etonian* magazine – before entering and graduating at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became a Fellow in 1827. After training in law at the Middle Temple he was called to the Bar in 1829. In December 1830 he was offered and accepted the vacant seat of St Germans, later holding the seats for Great Yarmouth and for Aylesbury. By the time he married Helen he had become Secretary for the Board of Control in Peel's administration. He had also long been composing and publishing poetry, as well as a great deal of other writings. A detailed account of his life up to 1832 has been published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832*, edited by D R Fisher [Cambridge University Press, 2009]. More intimate vignettes occur in the journal of his relative (Margaret) Emily Shore which she wrote during the 1830s until her early death (from tuberculosis) in 1839 at the age of 19. She refers to him as 'cousin' but strictly it was her father Thomas Shore who was Winthrop's first cousin. A selection of her observations about Winthrop is given in Appendix IV. Some other contemporary memories of him appear in Charles Knight's 1864 autobiography *Passages of a Working Life During Half a Century* and Appendix IV presents these too. Some of the extracts there also make mention of Helen.

Soon after marrying, Winthrop and Helen produced two daughters. The first was Helen Adeline Mackworth Praed, baptised at St Marylebone on 7 July 1836, whilst the second was Elizabeth Lillian Mackworth Praed, baptised at St Marylebone on 24 August 1837.

The marriages of Eliza and Helen to men of distinction in medical, literary and parliamentary circles suggests that they had more than wealth (and possibly physical beauty) to commend them. To be accepted into such circles in the first place would surely have required them also to have had widely-respected parents and good social connections, besides sufficient education and cultivated manners. We do not know much about George-B's reputation in London society but his pedigree within the ancient and extensive

Bogle hierarchy would probably have put him in good stead with many well-placed and influential people, which would have been beneficial in turn to the fortunes and reputations of his daughters.

Adelaide must also have had some special qualities supporting the position she clearly held in society. This is particularly remarkable considering that she had conceived Adeline out of wedlock when aged only about 14, yet while still a teenager had secured very deep and enduring attachment from John Wigglesworth, a major figure in the Whitehall and Caribbean administrations; and upon his death, become accepted in turn as the lifelong partner of George-B. However beautiful and alluring she may have been (if indeed she was), he would not have been able to afford – given his own connections – the embarrassment in England of consorting with an uneducated or uncultivated woman: on the contrary, there must have been a strong foundation in her upbringing from her earliest years. When she arrived in England for the first time she was aged only about 20 but must have already possessed the capabilities and sophistication expected of mistresses of expensive city and country houses full of servants. She was listed by name and address not only in the standard *London Post Office Directories* but also in more selective publications. For instance, she appeared in *Boyle's Court and Country Guide* for 1821 whose remit was to list:

‘... all the Ladies and Gentlemen of Fashion ... For the use of porters in the halls, servants, &c. a separate register of all the fashionable streets is prefixed ... that the reader may see at one view, and become acquainted, in an instant, with the names of the various persons of fashion according to the [house] numbers in each street.’

She was listed also in the *Royal Blue Book* of 1833:

‘... containing the town and country residences of the Nobility and Gentry ... to which are added Foreign Ministers and Consuls, Institutions, Public Offices ... and Bankers in London.’

Newspapers of this period regularly reported the minor comings and goings of the well-to-do. The *Brighton Guardian* may have been referring to Adelaide and Helen in its issue of 3 October 1832 when it reported that:

‘Mrs and Miss Bogle, Mr, Mrs and Miss Fisher, Mr and Mrs Farrar and family are recently arrived at the Bedford [Hotel].’

whilst Adelaide, Winthrop and Helen were certainly the subject of this announcement in the *Brighton Gazette* on 28 January 1836:

‘ST. LEONARDS ON SEA. Departures: Sir Francis and Lady Burdett, Mr and Mrs Chas. Curtis and family, Lady Radstock and the Hon. Capt. Waldegrave, Mrs Bogle, Mr Mackworth Praed, M.P. and family.’

Adelaide and her daughters are also to be found in the lists of subscribers often printed in 19th-century books. They subscribed to literary works and collections of sermons, for instance. An early example in which Adelaide is listed is the book *A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript and from Living Authors* by Joanna Baillie [Publ. Longman *et al*, 1823].

Winthrop had reputedly not had a strong constitution and in 1838 he became significantly unwell. He had contracted tuberculosis and the disease rapidly exerted its grip on him. He died at his lovely home, 64 Chester Square in Belgravia, on 15 July 1839 aged almost 37. Just a week previously he had written a poem ‘To Helen’ honouring the four years they had had together and lamenting the burdens his illness had brought upon her; it is presented in Appendix V. A century later, on 15 July 1939, the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* printed a front page article looking back upon his life and death and stating that a few days before he died he had composed his moving poem ‘Last Words’, starting with the words ‘Fare thee well, love’; but this was not so – that poem had been published in April 1832.

He was interred on 23 July at the General Cemetery of All Souls in Kensal Green (usually known today simply as Kensal Green Cemetery) ‘where a tablet is erected to his memory, bearing an inscription [in Latin] from the pen of the Rev. James Hildyard’ [from an article *Worthies in Buckinghamshire* by Robert Gibbs in *The Bucks Advertiser and Aylesbury News*, 16 July 1887]. Helen was left with two children barely two and three years old who would grow up fatherless.

Just a year later Helen's half-sister Eliza also became prematurely widowed. Her husband Sir John died at St Leonards-on-Sea on 25 June 1840 at the age of 52. The cause is not known, nor why he was at

St Leonards. He was buried at St Mary the Virgin in Great Warley on 6 July. Eliza was left with two teenaged sons.

The 1841 Census finds Helen and her daughters still living at 64 Chester Square. Also present was Eliza (entered as 'Lady English') together with five servants. Eliza's elder son John was at Warley House with three servants whilst the younger son Augustus was a pupil at the Cambrian House academy in Ryde on the Isle of Wight. Adelaide, recorded with rounded age 55 and of independent means, was at her Manchester Square home at which were also present a woman Helen Broadhurst with rounded age 20 and no stated occupation together with five servants.

In 1842 Adelaide was listed in the *Royal Court Guide and Fashionable Directory* at her Manchester Square address and likewise in the *Post Office London Directory* of 1843.

On 5 June 1845 Adelaide died, registered as 'Adelaide Lamoninary Bogle' [GRO Ref: Alverstoke 7 18, 1845 (Q2)]. Her death certificate gives her age as 64 and states that she died at 11am at No. 9 Anglesey in Alverstoke, Hampshire (this address being a short walk to the sea at Stokes Bay and close to the village centre). The cause was entered as cirrhosis and the informant, of the same address, was Thomas Dewdney, present at the death and probably one of her servants. Her death was reported in *The Hampshire Advertiser* on 14 June as follows:

'On the 6th [sic] instant, at Anglesey, near Gosport, Mrs. Adelaide Lamoninary, relict of the late George Bogle, Esq. of Chester Place, London, aged 64.'

It is not known why she had been in Alverstoke at that time. She may have been briefly holidaying in that part of the country, or the house may have been one of several in her possession in which she stayed occasionally. The date of death in the above newspaper report differs by one day from that shown on the certificate. The reference to Chester 'Place' seems inaccurate; probably it should have said Chester Square where she may have normally stayed under Helen's care.

Anglesey in Alverstoke was described as follows in the *Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales* [Wilson, 1870-72]:

'a charming watering-place, in Alverstoke parish, Hants; 2 miles SW of Gosport, opposite Spithead and the Isle of Wight. It was founded in 1826, by the Marquis of Anglesey; it includes a terrace, a crescent, public gardens, marine villas, a hotel, reading rooms, baths, and a church; and it commands splendid views and has delightful environs.'

Adelaide was interred on 11 June at the Kensal Green Cemetery in Catacomb 'B' beneath the Anglican Chapel there. Her original grave position was entered as 4592 in the cemetery's 'Old Burial Register' but the cemetery's staff have advised that she was later moved to position 4593. This Catacomb (one of three) contains 216 vaults arranged in six aisles. Each vault can contain 20 interments and is structured as multiple compartments. Each interment is within a lead-sealed, triple-shelled coffin bearing a nameplate. The entire structure can accommodate about 5,000 interments but is not full. Adelaide's coffin is one of two (and it is not known which, because they are behind a grille preventing their nameplates from being read) in Compartment 5 of Vault 129; hers was the second one to be placed in that compartment.



Figure 44 Adelaide's last resting place – one of these two coffins.

The origin of her cirrhosis – if that had indeed been the true cause of death – is unknown. She may have consumed alcohol over a long period (George-B had kept large wine cellars in both London and Effingham) or she may have harboured a long-term hepatitis infection, among other possibilities. We can be fairly certain that her demise was long-drawn-out and attended by much suffering.

Adelaide had made her Will [National Archives, Ref: PROB 11/2023/315] two years previously, on 3 April 1843. A transcript of it is given in Appendix VI. She left a number of specific items, such as jewels and plate, to her grandchildren and the residue of her estate to Helen (one of her two executors). To Eliza she left such plate as Eliza had previously given to her. She left money to her servants and to a special friend Richard Jones (her other executor). The Will was proved on 12 September 1845.

In 1850 a legal case *English v. Baring* arose in the High Court of Chancery in which the plaintiffs were Eliza's two sons whilst the defendants were Francis Baring, Eliza and Lord Ashburton (another member of the Baring family). At issue was the view of the sons that John Wigglesworth's assets as described in his Will of 1799 had not been properly handled by his executors (Francis and Thomas Baring) to the detriment of the trust established for the benefit of Eliza and her family. The inclusion of Eliza among the defendants may have been just a technicality and not indicative of any dispute between her and the sons. This case rumbled on until 1855, the year after she died. We have not determined the precise nature of the case or its eventual outcome.

The 1851 Census finds Helen staying at Radnor Cliff Villa in Lower Road, Folkestone and described as a landed proprietor. With her were her daughters Helen Adeline and Elizabeth Lillian, both described as scholars at home, together with her half-sister Eliza, a visitor Elizabeth Faulder and five servants.

The same census finds Eliza's son John at 21 Bridge Street in All Saints, Worcester where he was visiting the household of Charles Eckersall, Rector of All Saints; his own occupation was given as magistrate for the county of Essex. Later that year, on 28 August, he married at Lofthouse in Yorkshire to Ann Georgiana (née) Tireman, the daughter of a barrister living at Lofthouse Hall. He and Ann produced at least three children – Adela Georgiana, Reginald Charles and Charlotte Louisa.

Eliza died on 21 March 1854 at Helen's home 64 Chester Square. She was buried on 28 March at St Mary the Virgin in Great Warley, the register giving her age as 55. Her death was reported in several London newspapers as 'deeply lamented'. Her Will [National Archives, Ref: PROB 11/2192/258], made on 7 February 1853, is lengthy and hard to read; we have not transcribed it. The above-mentioned legal case acquired a new dimension after her death and probate, apparently owing to questionable actions then taken by her son John in respect of her estate. Her home Warley House, which stood within twelve acres, was turned into a tuberculosis sanatorium in 1921 and was finally demolished in the second half of the 20th century.

Eliza's younger son Augustus Frederick had joined the Army in the 1840s and become a lieutenant in the Bengal Army, which belonged to the East India Company. By the time of the Indian Mutiny in 1857 he was serving with the 22nd Bengal Regiment of Native Infantry. Many of the Bengal Army's regiments mutinied, the 22nd doing so on 8 June of that year at Fyzabad, about eighty miles east of Lucknow. Augustus and several other officers, in attempting to escape, were set upon in a large bazaar at the small town of Mahua Dabar where, according to a letter written later by an officer in civil charge of the Fyzabad district [*The Daily News* (London), 29 September 1857]:

'... a large body of armed men sallied forth and, without the slightest provocation, cut the unfortunate fellows to pieces. Here English, Lindesay, Cautley, Thomas and Ritchie, with two sergeants, fell. One Artillery sergeant (Busher) alone escaped.'

It is not known where his body now lies. Many of the British soldiers and civilians massacred in the Mutiny were later buried in local cemeteries but most of those cemeteries fell into decay and abandonment after India gained independence in 1947 and are now barely discoverable.

A curious incident arose in 1857 relating to the Praed family's Bitton House, then in Helen's possession although unoccupied for several years. A footman there discovered that two apparently fierce otters had taken up residence in the kitchen and was attacked by them. A local builder rescued him, killing one of the otters in the process. A newspaper [*Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 13 November 1857] reported that:

'The Animal, which measured from the extreme points three feet nine inches, was taken to Mrs Praed, who had it skinned. It was the largest ever known in the neighbourhood.'

By this time Eliza's son John – who, like Winthrop Mackworth Praed, had attended Eton and graduated in law at Cambridge – had become a Doctor of Laws (LL.D) and was now the incumbent Perpetual Curate

of Brentwood. In 1858 he was reported [*Chelmsford Chronicle*, 3 September 1858] as having erected a monumental brass in the parish church in commemoration of his parents. The 1861 Census finds him living at Warley House with Ann with their first two children, one visitor and three servants.

The 1861 Census finds Helen residing at a house named Cliff Den (subsequently Cliff Dene) in Bonchurch, Isle of Wight. Again, she gave her birthplace as Hampton. With her were her two daughters, described as fund holders, together with Elizabeth Faulder – described as a visitor (as in the 1851 Census) and funded proprietor – together with five servants. One of these servants was named Jane Dewdney and, although not decisively proven, there is reasonably persuasive genealogical evidence to indicate that she was a sister of the Thomas Dewdney who had been the informant named on Adelaide's death certificate.

Miss Faulder may have been visiting Helen only on the census nights or may have been her resident companion. She was the daughter of an 'independent' Joseph Faulder whose home was 15 Fitzroy Square, a very fine square indeed in St Pancras. She had been born on 30 August 1818 and baptised at the Old Church in St Pancras on 9 July 1819 and was still at home with her parents in 1841. She never married and it is not known how she and Helen had become acquainted. She died in Boulogne-sur-Mer on 17 January 1873. Her executrices were Helen's daughters and she left effects under £12,000.

Helen died at her home 64 Chester Square on 24 September 1863, aged 59. As they had done for Eliza, newspaper reports of Helen's death described her as 'deeply lamented'. Her death certificate [GRO Ref: St. Geo H Sq 1a 165, 1863 (Q4)] gives the cause of death as 'Congestion of Lungs (2 months)'. The informant was one of her lady's maids, Jane Hammond. She was interred on 10 October at Kensal Green Cemetery in Catacomb 'B' at grave position 4592 (the position formerly occupied by Adelaide) and placed in Compartment 6 of Vault 129, in which someone else had already been interred. So she and her mother are in adjacent compartments and each shares their compartment with some other person. The Probate Register states that Helen's Will left effects under £25,000.



Figure 45 Helen's last resting place – one of these two coffins.

Soon after Helen's death her daughters Helen Adeline and Elizabeth Lillian arranged for the publication of an authorised edition of their father's work. *The Poems of Winthrop Mackworth Praed* was published as two volumes by E Moxon & Co (London) in 1864 and includes an extensive 'Memoir' of Praed's life written by his friend Rev Derwent Coleridge, son of the poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge. At the start of Volume I it is stated that the work had been:

'... prepared for publication after his [Praed's] decease by his widow, and were to have been carried through the press, at her request, by the Rev. Derwent Coleridge, to whom the publication of an introductory Memoir was also entrusted. By her death the prosecution of this undertaking has devolved upon her daughters, under whose direction the present collected edition is now, in accordance with their lamented mother's design, presented to the public.'

On 5 October 1864 Helen Adeline married at St Michael's in Chester Square to Rev William Henry White, the vicar of Kenton in Suffolk. They appear to have produced a single child Helen Elizabeth White, baptised at Kenton on 2 December 1866 [IGI: Batch C06319-1]. The family later moved to East Mallin in

Kent and then to The Cottage (also known as Albury House, a 17thC cottage) in the High Street in Charmouth, Dorset where they lived out the remainder of their lives. Helen Adeline died on 7 December 1916 and left effects of just £251.



Figure 46 The Cottage (Albury House) on the right in this 19thC photograph of the High Street in Charmouth; the final home of Helen's daughter Helen Adeline.

Helen's younger daughter Elizabeth Lillian was living in North Town Road, Cookham in Berkshire at the time of the 1871 Census, in the company of her mother's former companion Elizabeth Faulder and three servants. She married in Naples on 30 October 1877 to Prince Ippolito Argyro Mele Barese, Count of the Holy Roman Empire and a Neapolitan Patrician; the wedding was officiated by Rev F Bateman who was the Military Chaplain at Malta. This marriage projected her into a sphere of significant Italian nobility and aristocracy and she became known in Italy as Princess Mele Barese. Living in Naples at Casa Mele in the Solitaria district, she became a vociferous advocate and campaigner for ending the appalling levels of animal cruelty that prevailed in the city, forming the Naples Society for the Protection of Animals. She occasionally reported her activities in the London newspapers. She had also been a keen promoter of suffrage as early as 1878. In 1899, while in Paris, she accepted an invitation to become vice-president of the North of England Society for Women's Suffrage. She produced a daughter Meralda Dati Maria Margherita Argyra Mele Barese, born on 12 January 1879.



Figure 47 Helen's grand-daughter Meralda Mele Barese, the daughter of Elizabeth Lillian.

As for George-B's children by Ann Middleton, the first-born Rosannah married at St Mary Abbots, Kensington on 22 April 1816 to a widower Charles Coates, a surgeon of St George Hanover Square; his previous wife Elizabeth had died in early 1815, at which time he was described as a surgeon of Russell Place, Finsbury [sic] Square [*Madras Courier*, 7 March 1815]. The witnesses were her sister Janet and George-B's nephew John Robertson. Charles and Rosannah produced at least three children: Elizabeth Sophia Coates born on 16 July 1818 and baptised at St George's, Hanover Square on 11 December 1818, when the family's abode was given in the register as Bond Street; Helen Rosanna Coates born on 19 March 1820 and baptised in Ealing (their abode) on 29 September 1820; and Frederick John Robertson Coates born on 9 April 1822 and baptised in Kensington on 19 March 1823. In 1823 the family was living in Thistle Grove (today's Drayton Gardens) in Little Chelsea, Brompton. In 1825 Charles was wrongfully detained one night on his return home by a watchman and kept in custody for several hours [*Morning Post*, 23 March 1825]. Charles died aged '52' in 1832 and was buried on 17 October at St George's, Hanover Square, the register giving his abode as Slough in Buckinghamshire (Slough was transferred to Berkshire in 1974). He appears to have been intestate. On 22 July 1836 Rosannah, named in the register as 'Rosannah Bogle Coates Widow', remarried in New Brentford to a widower and surgeon Frederick Caudle. A year previously he had been required to appear at a court in Horsham for the relief of insolvent debtors [*Kentish Gazette*, 7 July 1835]; his place of abode then was given as North Street in Brighton but previously (in order) Shepperton, Rye, Brighton, London, Tunbridge Wells and Southwark. In 1841 he had been living in Portland Place, Clapham but by October was in a debtor's prison and appearing before an Insolvent Court on 6 October [*Perry's Bankrupt Gazette*, 9 October 1841]. Six months later he was confined in the Debtor's Prison for London and Middlesex and brought before a court in Portugal Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. The London Metropolitan Archives [Ref: 0/084/001] holds an 'Agreement for custody of a mentally sick person' in respect of several persons, including him, in 1842. We do not know what subsequently became of him. Rosannah's daughter Helen Rosanna married on 21 August 1844 at St George's, Hanover Square to an architect William Ward, whilst her other daughter Elizabeth Sophia married on 26 February 1846 at St Mark's, Kennington to a Wiltshire farmer Francis Stephen Long. Rosannah's son Frederick married on 25 November 1847 at St Mark's, Kennington to a clerk's daughter Olivia (née) Pittard. Rosannah died aged '63' in Kennington in 1849 [GRO Ref: Lambeth 4 212, 1849 (Q2)] and was buried at St George's, Hanover Square on 8 May.

George-B's daughter Janet – who usually spelled her name as Jannette – married on 22 July 1830 at St George's, Hanover Square to a bachelor and surgeon George Cornelius Jonson (or Johnson), about seventeen years younger than her; they would not produce any children. On 1 September 1831 George was granted a certificate of qualification at the Apothecaries' Hall [*London Evening Standard*, 2 September 1831]. The 1841 Census finds them living at 1, Grosvenor Street (West) in St George Hanover Square, together with Rosannah's daughter Helen Rosanna. The 1851 Census finds them at the same address and George described as a General Practitioner. Janet died on 15 April 1857 at their then home, 12 Eaton Place South in Eaton Square [*Morning Post*, 17 April 1857]. On 27 January 1859 George remarried at St John's, Notting Hill to Margaret (née) Ashton.

We have not been able to determine details of the life in England of George-B's son Hugh Middleton.

The slave compensations

The long and tortuous process by which slave trading and then slavery itself came to be abolished in Britain has been documented in immense detail elsewhere and requires no lengthy exposition in this article.

Britain had become active in transporting slaves from Africa around the 1660s and by the early 1800s had transported several million Africans across the Atlantic. A powerful stimulus to the growing movement in Britain in favour of abolition was the American Revolution, soon after which a Society for Effecting the Abolition of the African Slave Trade was founded, in 1787. Its mission needed to confront and overcome some formidable obstacles. The profits from the trade had created strata in British society of extremely wealthy and politically influential people – such as George-B – who could be expected to cling tenaciously to the wellspring of their fortunes. The profits had also funded much of the nation's industrial development such as shipping provision and the processing of the raw materials brought back from the colonies. A great deal of employment, both in the execution of the trade and in the activities resulting from it, was also at stake: it was not just the wealthy who benefited from the trade, but a much greater number of ordinary people.

That so many regarded enslavement as desirable and felt no moral compulsion to oppose it was owed to a great extent to widespread blindness to its true horrors, as well as to a natural presumption of the inherent superiority of the white races, as exposed in this fairly typical example from *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 59 (Part The First), published in 1789:

'Mr. URBAN April 23.

The scheme for the abolition of the slave trade is, in every view of it, absurd and impolitic. It is founded on a mistaken notion of humanity, or rather on ignorance, folly, and enthusiasm. The Negroes of Africa, in their native country, are apparently useless in the great scale of human society; they are totally incapable of refinement, arts, or science. The only way to promote their civilization, to make them serviceable in their generation, and happy in themselves, is to introduce them into a state of activity and industry. Man was not designed for a life of idleness. An idle man is a wretched creature. A Negro, removed to the West Indies, is placed in a climate much more agreeable to a labourer than the burning plains of Africa. His work in the Plantations is not harder, or more oppressive, than that of our common labourers in England, such as miners, blacksmiths, founders, paviours, scavengers, coal-heavers, and many others, whose situation is viewed, by those very humane and compassionate people who are advocates for their African brethren, without the least concern! Yet most of these drudges in this country have been *compelled* by necessity to leave the place of their nativity.

The vulgar are influenced by names and titles. Instead of SLAVES, let the Negroes be called ASSISTANT-PLANTERS; and we shall not then hear such violent outcries against the slave trade by pious divines, tender-hearted poetesses, and short-sighted politicians.

Yours, &c. NO PLANTER. Mr.'

Overcoming such attitudes depended much at first upon a small number of highly-motivated individuals working to raise national consciousness, and then national conscience, concerning the suffering and injustice at the heart of the trade. Particularly influential in the late 1780s was one of the above-mentioned Society's founders, Thomas Clarkson. By the early 1790s a significant body of vocal abolitionists, numbering some hundreds of thousands, had arisen, including many formerly enslaved Africans. They gave public speeches in many parts of Britain and published increasing amounts of literature explaining in graphic detail the grim realities of the trade.

Parliament's attention in this period to the case for abolition was stirred in particular by William Wilberforce, aided by over five hundred petitions delivered in 1792 to the Commons. In that year the Commons voted in a majority for ending the trade, but this step was reversed in the House of Lords. More generally, abolitionists were hindered by the public's fearful reaction to the revolution in France and, especially, to the slave rebellion in Saint Domingue. The abolitionists experienced years of setbacks and reversals and were bitterly and very effectively opposed by those with vested interest and empowerment in perpetuating the trade, many of whom held high political office. However, by the time Saint Domingue evolved in 1804 into the independent republic of Haiti, parliamentarians began taking the view that ceasing to trade slaves might prevent further rebellions arising in Britain's Caribbean colonies. Preceded by a Foreign Slave Trade Act in 1806 to end the British trading of slaves in countries not governed by Britain, the Slave Trade Abolition Act of 1807 decisively ended the transatlantic trade, formally at least. It appeared to be a victory for Wilberforce and, to an extent, it was. However, abolishing the trading activity was not the same as abolishing continued enslavement; much illegal trading of slaves took place afterwards anyway, besides resistance to abolition in other countries. More than two decades were to elapse before, at last, the Slavery Abolition Act was passed in 1833. It freed nearly a million Africans. Its passage had been helped by the 1832 reform Bill and also by the example of Jamaica's 'Baptist War' during 1831-32 (besides other rebellions) in demonstrating that the maintenance of slavery by enforced brutality in the region was becoming infeasible. Vigorous campaigning and growing doubts about the economic prospects for slave-based colonies also played their part.

Abolition came with a price, one that was to be paid for more than a century and to impose a cost, effectively, upon all citizens. Because so many in the Commons and in the Lords had built personal fortunes out of the trade and were holding major assets in those colonies (primarily the Caribbean) affected by abolition, they demanded to be compensated for the losses that they and other slave owners would incur from the effect of the Act. A compensation scheme was the ransom they exacted in return for enabling the Act to pass. About one fifth of the wealthy stratum of British society – approximately 40,000 individuals – would benefit. This Act applied to just the slaves held in the Caribbean, Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope. An immense bureaucratic exercise was begun to determine, validate and record all the existing slave ownerships and to put a price upon their value, this depending upon the particular characteristics of the slaves being owned. To their owners collectively it gave about £20 million in compensation, representing nearly half of the Government's entire annual spending budget; it is in this

sense that all citizens contributed to the ransom. A further Slave Compensation Act in 1837 extended the scheme so as to compensate British owners of African slaves in all colonies.

As already noted, a major project has been undertaken to identify the beneficiaries of the compensation scheme and to expose as fully as possible the nature and timeframes of their holdings (estates and slaves). The Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery at University College London has produced an immense online, searchable database holding this data, derived from the scheme's original records. The principal sources of original data – especially in The National Archives – are explained in detail on their webpage <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/estates-sources-notes/>.

We cannot establish fully the benefits obtained from the compensation scheme by George-B's family more than two decades after his death. As observed earlier, one of his direct involvements in plantation ownership was in respect of the Darliston estate in Westmoreland parish. Darliston had remained registered to AB&Co up to 1830, long after the deaths of George-B and Atkinson, and so had presumably passed into the hands of their heirs. But by 1831 the estate and its 105 slaves had been conveyed into the ownership of Dr William Gordon who appears to have had no family connection to the Bogle/Atkinson heirs. It was he who claimed and duly received the compensation four years later (when there were just 94 slaves) to the amount of £1,938-1s-4d [*Parliamentary Papers* (p64): Claim T71/871, 8 February 1836]. Of course, the profits from the prior sale of the estate to Dr Gordon would have benefited the Bogle/Atkinson heirs, but we do not know what those profits were or how they were distributed.

George-B's other main interest in plantation ownership had apparently been in the Dunkley's Dry River estate in Vere. As noted previously, if he had indeed acquired this estate then he must have done so in the narrow period 1811-13. In 1835 a claim for compensation was entered under the title 'George Bogle, the heirs of, Vere, owners' in respect of 286 slaves. The total amount awarded was £6,230-5s-8d [*Parliamentary Papers* (p19): Claim T71/858, 5 October 1835], divided into four equal amounts of £1,557-11-5d paid to each of the following:

- A: jointly to William Hamilton (son of George-B's sister Helen) and Archibald Bogle (probably the son of George-B's brother Andrew);
- B: Archibald Bogle (probably the son of George-B's brother Robert);
- C: George Bogle (the son of George-B's brother Hugh);
- D: jointly to Archibald, Robert and William Hamilton (the sons of George-B's sister Helen) and John George Hamilton (trustee of Helen's husband the late John Hamilton).



Figure 48 Two of John Hamilton's sons, probably Archibald and William, cousins of George-B.

Other awards were made to the Bogles and Hamiltons in respect of slaves they had probably acquired proactively themselves, rather than via their inheritances from George-B. For example, the latter's brother Robert was awarded £39 for two slaves he held in Kingston. Hugh's son George was awarded £396 for 20 slaves he held on an estate in St Thomas in the East. Beyond Jamaica, this same George together with William Hamilton and Robert's son Archibald were awarded amounts totalling in excess of £30,000 for about a thousand slaves they held on various estates in British Guiana. This same William and Archibald were also awarded nearly £16,000 for slaves they held in Trinidad. These were very handsome sums of money: in 1835, £1,000 was worth about £125,000 today. The value of each slave was estimated as about £20-£30 – the ransom for a black man's freedom.

The Cavayé family

The Cavayés were mentioned earlier and we return to them now in order to relate something of their later lives. It will be recalled that William Cavaye and Robert McClelland Cavaye were the sons of William Cathcart by Clare Cavayé, being born in Kingston, Jamaica in c1803 and 1808, respectively. As narrated earlier, these two Cavaye boys were sent in turn by their father to England for their education and both attended Willett's academy at Loughborough House in Brixton. This latter detail was recollected in a seemingly authentic letter written in 1831 by one of them (William) to the other (Robert McClelland), and refers also to their cousin Captain Hugh Grant Cathcart, Hugh's son by Marie René Sainte Bedouet. An extract from the letter is transcribed in the gallery associated with the *Ancestry* tree:

<https://www.ancestry.co.uk/family-tree/person/tree/33944861/person/28040121401/facts>

The letter was addressed to 'Mr Robert Cavaye, To the care of James Dickson & Sons, No. 32, South Hanover Street, Edinburgh' and was stamped 'Dec 1831 India Letter Penzance'. It had been sent via the ship *Earl of Eldon*. The extract reads as follows:

'Dessa 23 July 1831.

My dear Robert,

The last letter I had the pleasure of getting from you was dated the 28 July 1830. I do not know if you have written any since. If you have I have not been so fortunate as to get them. The last accounts I had of you were from Mr Campbell who told me that he had seen you lately and that you were then quite well ...

... I imagine that you have ere this seen Captn Hugh Cathcart of the Bengal Army. I do not know if you ever saw him previous to his touring England. He is a son of the late Mr Hugh Cathcart who you must recollect; he [the latter] called upon us twice or thrice at Loughboro' house. He (Captn C) promised to make a point of seeing you and letting me know how you are getting on. He is a person with whom I was at school for many years and to whom I am very much attached. I am certain that he will be most happy to give you any assistance in his power and you can place any confidence in him, so do not be backward in communicating any thing to him as to your wishes etc [?] for altho' he has not interest or sufficient income to get you all in the world still as a private friend he may be of great use to you.

I am glad that the Misses Cathcart continue kind to you and hope you do all in your power to keep them your friends. I feel their kindness much more both to yourself and me on account of its being voluntary and particularly so from their being the first and only relatives (if I may call them so) who have ever paid me the slightest attention. I hope I shall have the pleasure one of these days of thanking them personally for their kindness - pray give my best respects and regards to them. I wrote Miss C a letter about a month ago or upwards which I hope she has received ...'

At this time Robert was training as a nurseryman with Dickson of Edinburgh. The Mr Campbell mentioned was the Cathcart family's lawyer in Edinburgh. The letter makes it apparent that Hugh Grant had also been at school with William, whether at Loughborough House or elsewhere. The 'Misses Cathcart' are presumed to have been the unmarried sisters Isobel and Helen of Hugh and William Cathcart.

In adult life Hugh Grant adopted further forenames, styling himself as 'Hugh James Grant Buchanan Cathcart'. The reasons behind this are not known, but the 'Buchanan' may connect with the fact that the

son George (of Rosemount) of George-B's brother Hugh Bogle married twice to sisters Margaret and Janet Buchanan. Hugh Grant was mentioned in the above letter from India because he was serving there in the 5th Bengal Native Infantry regiment. At the beginning of that year, while ranked Lieutenant, he had been granted leave on furlough to return to Europe (presumably to Britain) for health reasons [*The Calcutta Magazine and Monthly Register*, 1831 (Vol 1), 14 January]. His promotion to Captain must have taken place later in the year. He died aged 35 in India on the north-east frontier on 21 December 1834 in circumstances unknown to us and was buried in the Old Cemetery, Guahati in Assam. Subsequently a memorial was erected to him in Saugor (now Sagar, in Madhya Pradesh) reading as follows [*The Bengal Obituary*, publ. Thacker & Co, London, 1851]:

To the Memory of
Hugh James Grant Buchanan Cathcart,
Captain of the 5th Regiment Nat : Inf :
and Assistant to the Governor General's Agent
on the N. E. Frontier.

This Monument is erected by his affectionate
brother-officers, in token of their veneration of the
excellencies of his character, in which were
blended the stern virtues of uprightness and
unblending integrity with all the
charities of the kindest and most generous
nature. Obiit. December 21st, 1834.

His Will [The National Archives, Ref: PROB/1983/309] has several parts written during 1833-34 and is transcribed fully in Appendix VII. In part 'A' he appointed Adelaide and her son-in-law Sir John Hawker English as his trustees, requiring them to invest up to £2,000 of such money as he possessed upon his death to provide an income for life for his mother in Kingston. Following her death such money as remained was to go to various other persons depending who was alive at the time and in default of all others was to go to Dame Eliza English's two sons. This part was signed at Eliza's home Warley House in Essex. In part 'B', without setting aside part 'A', he appointed three officers in the Bombay Native Infantry, including William Cavaye, as his executors, requiring them to remit by the safest way possible all his money upon death to Adelaide and Sir John in trust; he also bequeathed to specified individuals various items including watches. A short Codicil followed on 7 January 1834 concerning one of these watches. Additional provisions were written by him on 13 June 1834 when he was in Guahati. One was a Deed by which he modified his choice of executors (no longer including Adelaide) and required that any heritable or moveable residual assets he held upon his death should be conveyed as set out in the previous parts. The other confirmed the previous writings and required the executors, acting only as trustees, to convey any residual assets he held upon his death in India in almost the same manner as set out in part 'A'.

We do not understand very much of the extensive business affairs of the Cavaye boys' father William Cathcart. The correspondence in his letterbooks is packed with dense detail concerning the financial environment, considerations, decisions and transactions of numerous accounts he dealt with in association with various companies and individuals. The extracts in Appendix IX form only a tiny fraction of the whole and they focus on the few lines of personal and family-related material sparsely interspersed among much greater amounts of financial material. To understand his business life properly would require a much deeper knowledge than we have of the trading activities of the particular companies and partnerships he engaged with and what his roles were in those activities. In the letterbook for 1801-03 it is seen that he wrote from Jamaica primarily to Hugh Bogle and, after George-B had returned to England, to him also; a few letters were written to other persons such as Andrew Blane and Robert Lindsay. The letterbooks for 1810-13 show him writing from England primarily to William Thomas Barnes and William Lancaster Whitfield, two owners of plantations and slaves in Jamaica and attorneys to the Smellie family there. It is in his letters to these gentlemen that useful mentions are made of what George-B and his family were doing in London, Effingham and elsewhere during those years. Although most of these letters were written from 33, Half Moon Street, or occasionally from Effingham, two were written in August 1810 from (for reasons unknown) 32, Half Moon Street.

As noted previously, Land Tax records indicate that George-B had in about 1811 taken occupancy of 13, Old Burlington Street. This is not mentioned in William Cathcart's letters; he continued writing from 33, Half Moon Street until 1813 and demonstrated continuing awareness of the states of health of George-B and the family. So we do not know whether George-B was occupying both properties or had

perhaps passed on a lease of No. 33 to William. However this may be, by July 1813 William was no longer writing from London but from various places in Yorkshire and Scotland.

There does not appear in William's letters or accounts (at least, in those we have seen) much acknowledgement of the life of his former mistress Clare Cavayé, left behind in Jamaica. In a letter to Mr Barnes dated 4 March 1812 he remarked 'Miss Clare should consider the expense I am at for her son here' – not '*our*' son but '*her*' son. He appears to have been reluctant to admit being the father of her two sons, although he did openly acknowledge the relationship in his Will; descendants have reported that only when the Will was disclosed in 1827 did William Cavaye first learn who his father had been.

Seven weeks later William Cathcart, in a letter dated 25 April to Mr Whitfield, stated that he regretted 'to observe the death of poor Clare'. He expressed his doubts as to what should be done about his continuing financial support of the remaining family, including his younger son Robert McClelland Cavaye, and bemoaned what he saw as the family's lack of industry and their bad management. He was grateful that Clare's funeral had been 'conducted with so much ceremony'. The Ledger records that he paid the funeral expenses of about £53.

He appears to have settled permanently in Scotland by 1814. There he acquired the mansion known as Tours (or Tower) in the parish of Kilmaurs, East Ayrshire, and so was referred to in later sources as 'William Cathcart of Tours (or Tower)'. Some account of this acquisition is given in the work *History of the Counties of Ayr and Wigton*, Vol. 3 (Part 2, page 476) by James Paterson [publ. James Stillie, Edinburgh, 1866]:

'In 1694 the property went to William Watson, through marriage, we presume, and continued with his descendants till 1814, when it passed by the female line to William Cathcart, of the Carlton [sic – Carleton] family, formerly of Jamaica, who, on his death, in 1828 [sic – 1827], devised it to his nephew George James Cathcart, brother of Sir John of Carlton, from whom it was purchased in 1841 by Robert Parker Adam, formerly of Brazil, a merchant from Glasgow. The property was greatly improved by plantation while in the possession of the late Mr Cathcart ...'

It seems probable that the above William Watson was related to William Cathcart's mother Isobel Watson.

At this time William Cathcart was already residing in Edinburgh where, on 31 March 1814, he made a Trust Disposition and Settlement (transcribed in Appendix VIII) appointing his brother Hugh and brother-in-law Henry Ritchie as his trustees and executors. The document established firstly that his estate at 'Tower' in Kilmaurs was to go to his nephew George James (consistent with the above-quoted extract) and certain other houses to his two sisters. It went on to make further provisions for the sisters and also handsome legacies of £2,500 to each of his two Cavaye sons by 'Mademoiselle Clare Cavayé'. There was no mention of his children by Sarah Taylor. All his residuary estate after these provisions was left to his brother Hugh. It was noted that he revoked an earlier settlement he had made in Jamaica on 13 April 1810.

On 10 July 1820 William, with many other influential and wealthy people including Henry Ritchie, was elected in the Hall of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh to the Highland Society of Scotland [*Inverness Journal and Northern Advertiser*, 21 July 1820], being listed as 'William Cathcart, Esq. of Tower'. On 27 December 1821 he was appointed Deputy Lieutenant for the County of Ayr [*The British Press*, 16 January 1822].

In the 1820s he was residing at 135, George Street in Edinburgh. He died – probably at this address – on 22 August 1827. It is very difficult to find any sources confirming the latter date other than a very brief announcement in the *Caledonian Mercury* published on 1 September 1827, viz: 'DIED. At Edinburgh, on the 22nd ultimo, William Cathcart, Esq. of Tours.' His trust settlement of 1814 now came into effect. His brother Hugh had died in Bath in 1819 and so the only surviving executor was his brother-in-law Henry Ritchie to whom administration of the estate was granted in London on 26 November 1827.

A few months later William's property was sold at an auction opened on 17 March 1828 at his home in George Street. The advertisement for it [*The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 15 March 1828] listed his extensive furnishings, library, silver plate and crystalware, 'almost every article necessary for a large and genteel establishment'. A catalogue of his finest 400 dozen wines was made available too, to be sold on 21 March. A report on that auction [*The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 27 March 1828], listing the prices paid for the many kinds of wine, mentioned that some of the Madeira had been kept by William for several years in Jamaica and then bottled in 1810. Another part of his Madeira stock had been owned by Simon Taylor (presumably Sarah Taylor's father) who, it was noted, had died in 1814. A small quantity of Madeira had also been the stock of his late brother Hugh while in Jamaica. There were many other wines sold too.

Two years later, in a court session held on 25 May 1830, William's trust settlement was being dissected at the Royal Court of Scotland (First Division) in order to adjudicate upon a case brought by Hugh's eldest lawful son Sir John Andrew Cathcart against two younger sons. The matter was highly technical and was reported in full in *The Scottish Jurist*, Vol. 2 [publ. Michael Anderson, Edinburgh, 1830]; the court found in favour of Sir John.

Although William's trust settlement had made no provision for his illegitimate daughter Sarah Hunter Taylor Cathcart, his sister Helen's Will of 20 August 1836 did so: she bequeathed to Sarah a life annuity of £35, payable annually [National Records of Scotland, Ref: SC70/1/61]. Sarah had been still in Jamaica in 1832, as in September of that year she signed there a Return of Slaves (stating that she owned two Creoles, one male and one female) and stated that her place of permanent settlement at that time was St David parish in Jamaica. From the slave compensation scheme she was awarded £19-10s-10d. By the 1840s, and probably earlier, she was in England and on 17 May 1848 at St Peter's in Walworth she married a dentist Frederick John Wells, giving her address as 10, Brighton Place. She gave her father's occupation as 'Gentleman'. She and Frederick continued living in various parts of London and produced a daughter Henrietta Wells in 1852. Sarah died in 1889 [GRO Ref: Fulham 1a 129, 1889 (Q2)].

At the time of the 1841 Census William's spinster sisters Isobel (or Isabella) and Helen were living together with several servants in the Portobello area of Edinburgh at Windsor Terrace, Duddington and South Leith parish, described as independents. Helen died in 1841 and was buried in Edinburgh's famous graveyard, the Greyfriar's Kirkyard, on 18 June. The register describes her as aged 60 and from Portobello. A settlement she had made was proved on 25 February 1842 [National Records of Scotland, Ref: SC70/1/61], describing her as the daughter of John Cathcart, Esquire of the Town of Greenock. Four decades later this settlement became the centre of a legal dispute within the Cathcart family as reported at length in the *Irvine Express* on 9 February 1883. Isobel died in 1842 and was buried at Greyfriar's on 22 July, described as aged 65 and from Portobello. She too left a settlement which was proved on 25 October 1842 [National Records of Scotland, Ref: SC70/1/62], describing her as John's Cathcart's daughter and residing at 2, Windsor Terrace. In Greyfriar's there is a plaque mounted on an external wall bearing the simple engraving 'Miss Cathcart' and no other information. It was the subject of a sweet poem 'Sleep Well, Miss Cathcart' by A. M. Oliver printed in (reputedly) *The Scotsman* in the late 1950s.

Military biographies agree that in May 1818 William Cavaye was gazetted to the East India Company's army as an ensign and was initially placed in the 11th regiment of the Bombay Native Infantry (N.I.). His arrival, with others newly appointed, at Bombay Castle in September of that year was reported in the *Bombay Gazette* on 30 September as follows:

'The undermentioned Gentlemen cadets, who arrived in the Victory and the Honorable Company's Extra Ship Lady Lushington, having produced certificates from the Secretary at the East India House of their appointments on this Establishment:

... (Infantry) Wm. Cavaye 9th Sept 1818'

The same newspaper reported on 19 May 1819 that he had arrived in Bombay from Pallee (an army fort, perhaps near Mirzapore) on 17 May, listing him as Lieutenant with the 2nd N.I. regiment. It reported on 16 June 1824 that, while still ranked Lieutenant, he was now with the 21st N.I. On 13 August 1828 it reported that he had been promoted to Captain; on 23 April 1836 it reported that he had been promoted to Major; on 9 April 1842 it reported that he had been promoted to Lt.-Colonel. On this same date he was reported by the *Naval & Military Gazette* as being furloughed to Europe (i.e. sent on paid leave to England) on (unspecified) medical grounds; this newspaper also reported on 10 June 1843 that he had been transferred from the 21st to the 6th N.I. In 1844 he was in England, reported as having arrived at the Regent Hotel in Leamington [*Leamington Spa Courier*, 6 January 1844]. Later that year he was reported as arriving at Chamberlin's Royal Victoria Hotel in St Leonards, Sussex [*Brighton Gazette*, 17 October 1844].

The Southside Heritage Group in Edinburgh has claimed that William was 'in the field force in Kutch in 1825-26, also with the Parkur field force in 1832-33, was present at the taking of Balmeer, served in Upper Sind, and above the Bolan Pass in 1840-41'.

On 14 March 1845, described as still serving with the 6th N.I., he married in Edinburgh to Isabella Jane, the daughter of the late Major Thomas Frederick Hutchinson of the Bengal Army and his wife Isabella [*The Atlas*, 22 March 1845]. The marriage register states that they married in the parish of South Leith [LDS: Film No. 1067777]. Isabella Jane had been baptised in Calcutta on 4 February 1819 [LDS: Film No. 496811]. Some sources assert without proof that she had been born there on the preceding 11 December; whether this be so or not, she was clearly much younger than William. Their first child William Frederick

was born in December 1845 at Abercrombie Place in Edinburgh [*Limerick Chronicle*, 24 December 1845]; he too would follow a distinguished career in the Army after training at Sandhurst, as well as pursuing an active life in local politics. Altogether William and Isabella Jane produced twelve children, many of them having very interesting and widely-reported lives.

In late 1846 William, having returned to India, was transferred back to the 21st N.I. [*Morning Herald* (London), 19 December 1846] and three years later was promoted to Brigadier [*Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 8 December 1849], to take command of a newly-formed brigade at Rajkote. He was promoted in 1852 to the brevet rank of Colonel (brevet being a temporary promotion made when considered necessary for particular conditions requiring exceptional leadership), as reported in the *Bombay Gazette* of 15 June. In 1855 *The London Gazette* reported on 2 January his (brevet) promotion to Major-General, this commission to bear the date 28 November 1854. He was evidently back in Britain at the time of the 1861 Census which finds him in residence at 12, Royal Circus in Edinburgh, giving his age as 58 and his occupation as Major-General with the East India Company. Besides his wife, the household contained nine of his sons and one daughter together with two visitors and six servants.

In 1866 he was promoted to the brevet rank of Lieutenant General with effect from 3 May [*The Globe*, 27 June 1866] and in 1870 to the brevet rank of General with effect from 25 June [*The London Gazette*, 24 June 1870]. It is not known whether he been resident in Britain or India after 1861. The 1871 Census finds him again at 12, Royal Circus described as a General for HM Forces, still on the Acting List. By now his wife Isabella Jane had died. Her death at age 49 had occurred in London on 2 June 1868 [GRO Index: Pancras 1b 85, 1868 (Q2)]; she was buried in the Grange Cemetery, Edinburgh. We have not ascertained the registered cause of her death but may speculate that bearing a dozen children in two decades could have played a role in it.

The 1881 Census finds William at the same address and now described as a retired General. Three of his children were still at home with him. His entry in the 1891 Census was similar but there were then no other family members present, just four servants. He died aged 94 on 11 October 1896 [*Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 12 October 1896]. Various newspapers reported that he had retired in 1877 and that five of his sons had served in the Army; some mistakenly stated that it was only when he had retired that he was given the rank of General. He was buried with his wife at the Grange Cemetery. The Scottish National Probate Index recorded his estate as being valued at £44,000-16s-2d.

Robert McClelland Cavaye evidently lived a life quite different from that of his brother William. Although he had been working as a nurseryman up to at least 1830 (judging by the above-cited letter that William had written to him in 1831), he seems to have given that up and been content to live afterwards on what he'd inherited from his father. On 11 May 1840 he married at South Leith to Mary (née) Black [LDS: Film No. 1067777] who was about ten years younger than him. The 1841 Census finds them living at Northfield Place with their first child William (Junior), born in August 1840. Robert was described as an independent. Northfield Place was in the area known as Jock's Lodge (or Piershill) in the eastern part of Edinburgh. A second child Robert (Junior) was born in March 1842. The family was still at Northfield Place at the time of the 1851 Census, Robert being then described as an annuitant born in the West Indies and a British Subject. No other children had been produced by them. On 19 June 1853 Mary died aged 33. She was buried in a common (non-private) grave at the Warriston Cemetery on 22 June, the register entering her under her maiden name, describing her as 'wife of Cavaye' and stating that the 'funeral proceeded from' Northfield Place, Piershill; the cause of death was entered as consumption.



Figure 49 Major-General William Cavaye;
City of London Corporation.



Figure 50 General William Cavaye.

On 7 July 1857 Robert remarried in Leith [LDS: Film No. 280161] to Margaret (née) Boyd, who was about thirty years younger than him. According to her early census returns she had been born in County Armagh, Ireland. The 1861 Census finds them living at 2, Northfield Place together with three new children born to Margaret, as well as Robert (Junior). Several boarders were also present, but apparently no servants. Robert was described as a landed proprietor. On 31 May 1862 Robert (Junior) died and was buried in the churchyard at Restalrig, not far from Warriston, on 3 June. The register gave his address as Northfield Place, his age as 20 and the cause of death as consumption. He had been described as a turner in the 1861 Census. The 1871 Census finds the family at Northfield Cottage and Robert described as an annuitant born at Port Royal (Kingston, Jamaica). By now Margaret had produced five more children. Two lodgers were present, but no servants.

On 28 May 1876 Robert died and was buried at Restalrig on 31 May, the burial register giving his address as Northfield Cottage in Piershill. No cause of death was entered. However, *The Scotsman* printed on 31 May the following short report:



Figure 51 Robert McClelland Cavaye.

‘Suicide at Jock's Lodge. – An old man named Robert M. Cavaye, residing at Northfield Cottages, Jock's Lodge, has committed suicide by cutting his throat. He lingered for six days after inflicting the wound.’

The 1881 Census finds Margaret living at Northfield Cottage with six children, a grandson and one boarder. She was occupied as a dressmaker and now gave her birthplace as Glasgow. Her 1891 Census return repeated these details, but now she had with her just two sons and two grand-daughters. Her 1901 Census return was similar, but now she was accompanied by just one grand-daughter and a boarder; no occupation was cited for her, although she had been listed as a dressmaker in the *Trades Directory for Edinburgh and South of Scotland* for 1900.

Margaret died on 5 January 1906, as briefly reported in the *Edinburgh Evening News* of 6 January:

‘Cavaye. – At Northfield Cottage, Jock's Lodge, on the 5th inst., suddenly, Margaret Boyd, widow of R. M. Cavaye – funeral private.’

She was buried at the Edinburgh Eastern Cemetery in Leith.

Retrospect

This has been a long tale, emanating from our initial ponderings, many years ago, of the prominent Bogle monument in our Effingham churchyard with its plain and uninformative line ‘George Bogle, Esq^{re} of Effingham House and his daughters Adeline and Emma. All died 1813.’ Their deaths posed a mystery calling for investigation and we now have a better idea of what may have caused them. What our study has mainly revealed, however, is our first instance of a slave owner having once lived in Effingham. Moreover, George-B was not just one of the many thousands of Britons exploiting slavery in the Caribbean – he had operated at almost the highest levels in the administration of slave-dependent colonies and commercial exploitation of the enslaved. Here was a man deeply connected by family relationships with many illustrious Scotsmen; possessed of undoubted organisational and mercantile skills; an owner of fine houses liberally furnished with all the accoutrements of culture and refined tastes – fine wines, silver plate, well-stocked libraries and so forth. It is an enigma in our own times as to how all this could have sat alongside the indisputable horrors and sufferings of Africans as they laboured to generate the wealth upon which his cultivated life depended. What are we to make of him, and what might he have made of us? Two centuries separate the mindsets, across a mental gulf we cannot grasp.

Although cast as the story of George-B, this tale is equally the story of Adelaide. Her background is largely unknown, but she must have been acutely aware as a child of the terrors of the Saint Domingue revolution. She had become a mother as a very young teenager. Had she been just a plaything for rich and powerful white men? Seemingly not, given John Wigglesworth's powerful sense of obligation and affection towards her, the manner in which she was later accommodated by George-B in England and the generous provisions that both he and John made for her in their Wills.

What a future lay before her in 1802, as she stood at age twenty on the deck of that ship in Kingston, about to embark upon a journey of six thousand miles across the grey ocean to a wholly unfamiliar world, utterly dependent upon her protector waiting there for her. Her two little daughters were perhaps standing beside her and she was pregnant with another. Could she have believed, if foretold to her, that as the years passed she would be mistress of some of London's finest houses? That two of her children would never see adulthood but would lie together with their father forever in an obscure Surrey churchyard? That another daughter would marry a famous poet and yet another a distinguished surgeon? That both these daughters would be prematurely widowed? That a grandson would be hacked to pieces by a mob in India, or that a grand-daughter would become an Italian princess? As the swaying ship glided out from the harbour of Port Royal, all that life to come lay unknown before her as she stared out to the horizon with the salt wind in her hair.

ILLUSTRATIONS

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a) issue of 23 April 1793

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b) and c) issue of 19 April 1814

d) issue of 13 June 1814

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Two particular published sources have contributed greatly to our knowledge and understanding of the life of George Bogle and his family. The superbly researched and most enjoyably readable book *Mr Atkinson's Rum Contract* written by Mr Atkinson's descendant and namesake Richard Atkinson brought much-needed illumination to the context in which the Bogle and Atkinson families operated in Jamaica and Saint Domingue, tracing their careers, companies, entanglements and adventures in great detail. This source was complemented by the equally informative PhD Thesis *The British Occupation of Saint Domingue 1793-98* submitted in 1978 by David Geggus who is now one of the world's foremost authorities and writers on the Saint Domingue revolution. We are especially grateful to Professor Geggus for permitting us to quote passages from his thesis. Were it not for his work we might never have discovered such gems as the fact that George Bogle had suffered since the 1790s from a musket ball embedded in his thigh, almost certainly the ultimate cause of his death and of the many years of excruciating suffering and debilitation that had preceded it.

A potentially very useful source turned out, for us, to have no historical utility whatsoever, but its existence led us to a goldmine of new information about George and Adelaide. In 2003 a descendant of the Cavaye family, Dorothy (née Cavaye) Kelly, wrote a novel *Need a Body Cry* [Librario Publishing Ltd]. She had for many years undertaken research into the Cavaye and Cathcart families and had often given public talks about this subject in the Portobello district of Edinburgh where she lived. The novel purports to draw upon two sources, one being 'Clare's Journal' – a supposed journal kept in the early 1800s by William Cathcart's mistress in Jamaica, Clare Cavayé – and a series of letters supposedly written by William to various persons. The Journal was a complete fiction, as were most of the letters, although the latter drew their inspiration from genuine letters of his that Dorothy had once been able to view and in some cases copy. Whether, as a novel, her book has any literary merit is for others to decide and we shall pass no comment on that. However, most of the details in the story about the characters involved in it – especially William, Clare and their three children, besides George and Adelaide – are seriously at odds with the known facts and, most unfortunately, have become extensively cited by others as though they were factual and as though the book were to be considered as a historical source – it most certainly is not. It now seemed essential to track down William's original letters. Invaluable guidance as to a possible way of finding them was given by Lin Atherton and Glenn Cavaye, two key researchers of the families concerned, and it was by this means that contact was made with Richard D C Maughan, owner of four letterbooks and other important volumes once owned by William. We are immensely grateful to Richard for enabling this material, which provides so much insight into the lives of William, George and Adelaide, to be viewed, scanned and assimilated into this article. Without his generosity in making his archives available to us we would never have discovered the likely causes of the deaths of George and two of his daughters, nor would we have been able to become clear on the journeys that they and Adelaide made from Jamaica to Britain; these are just two examples among a large number of valuable insights into their lives.

We are grateful to Paul Cox, Curator of the Reference Collection at the National Portrait Gallery for checking that its Heinz Archive and Library holds no portraits of George, Adelaide or their children. We are grateful also to Eliot Forsey who is one of only two living adult descendants of Adelaide's granddaughter Helen Adeline; he has kindly confirmed to us that no material pertaining to Adelaide has been passed down to him. (We have not yet attempted to pursue the same question in relation to descendants of Helen Adeline's sister Elizabeth Lillian, a much harder task.)

We are especially thankful to Peter Humphries, Head of Planning and Projects at Kensal Green Cemetery, for entering the Catacombs there to photograph for us the last resting places of Adelaide and her daughter Helen; and to the Cemetery's Administrator Emma Porter for explaining the relocation of Adelaide within the vaults.

As with so much of our research we have in this present endeavour obtained much benefit from the resources of *Ancestry*, the British Newspaper Archive and the London Picture Archive. We are grateful to the London Metropolitan Archives for granting us a licence permitting the display in this volume of three particular images from the London Picture Archive.

Finally, we express our deep appreciation to our colleagues Sue Morris and Jeremy Palmer for reading, correcting and greatly improving earlier drafts of the article.

APPENDIX I

*Details of the life of Richard Atkinson (1739-85)**drawn from 'Mr Atkinson's Rum Contract' by namesake Richard Atkinson [4th Estate (Harper Collins), 2020]***Richard Atkinson, London merchant in the sugar and shipping trades**

Richard began his business career, probably in the 1750s, as a clerk in the merchant house of Samuel Touchet in Aldermanbury, City of London, on the recommendation of the highly-placed banker Alexander Fordyce. Samuel was the eldest son of the country's wealthiest manufacturer of linen and cotton goods. Richard's work for Touchet brought him into contact with Francis Baring who was to become his close and life-long friend; Baring would later become a director of the East India Company.

Touchet's business was based fundamentally upon the slave trade. He and his brothers ran twenty ships in the so-called 'Triangular trade' whereby ships laden with goods would firstly sail from ports like Bristol and Liverpool to the west coast of Africa, there trade those goods in return for slaves; then, secondly, those ships would transport the slaves in brutal and horrendous conditions to the West Indies and there sell them to the plantation owners; thirdly, to complete the 'triangle', the ships would return to England bringing with them the money so raised back to the London companies. This pattern was followed by many merchant houses and was a mainstay of the British economy. Britain's exploitation of West African slaves had been set in motion as early as 1672 by King Charles II and by the 1750s Britain was transporting about 25,000 slaves annually across the Atlantic. Other countries, especially Spain and Portugal, were operating similarly in respect of their own colonies in the Caribbean and the Americas.

In 1761 a financial crisis brought Touchet and other merchants to their knees. Richard assisted in the winding-up of Touchet's company and then moved on a new position, again as a clerk, with the company owned by Hutchison Mure in Nicholas Lane off Lombard Street. Mure, from an old Renfrewshire family, had acquired many estates in Jamaica through his marriage and now operated many ships – as many as eighteen by 1764 – doing the 'triangle'; during the period 1762-76 his ships in the course of eight voyages took nearly 3,000 Africans over the Atlantic, losing several hundred on the way, and disembarked most of the survivors in Jamaica. Mure, who had been in business with his son Robert, had made so much money that, now in his mid-fifties, he wished to retire from active life as a trader and to follow his greater interest, which was in agriculture. Thus it was that in 1776 he made Richard a partner in the firm, so that his own hand need be no longer on the tiller, creating the new partnership Mure, Son & Atkinson (hereafter MS&A). In that same year the company was engaged by the Treasury to supply the British Army's camps in America with rum, under what was to become the notorious Atkinson 'rum contract'. Fighting in the American War of Independence had commenced the previous year, April 1775, so this deal was concluded in the heightened financial context of war.

By 1778 republican America and France had formed an alliance against the British and the Treasury plunged into profound difficulties in supplying the Army. MS&A continued to be the primary means of sourcing and shipping supplies, arranging repeated sailings from Cork to New York. The partnership came under increasing public scrutiny as nationwide discontent arose over the country's finances, whilst fears grew of a perceived threat to the security of Jamaica. By 1780 MS&A were supplying not only rations to America for the soldiers but also prodigious quantities of oats to feed the Army's horses, on a contract worth hundreds of thousands of pounds. The De Lancey family, an American loyalist family, who also feature in Effingham's history and in the history of Effingham House, were themselves active in this conflict as part of the military force trying to defeat the rebels.

In October 1780 the West Indies experienced its worst recorded hurricane and Hutchison's personal fortunes took a downturn. This circumstance enabled Richard to purchase at a good price two of the Mure estates in Jamaica – the Dean's Valley Dry Works estate in Westmorland parish and the Bogue estate in St James parish. He thereby became also the owner of about five hundred enslaved African men, women and children.

Soon afterwards another of Hutchison's sons joined the partnership which accordingly became renamed in April 1781 as Mures, Atkinson and Mure. By 1782 Richard's teenaged nephew George Atkinson, born in 1764, had been engaged by the company, working in the Fenchurch Street counting house; he would later become an important partner of George Bogle.

In this period there had been growing calls for tighter regulation of the East India Company whose powers and influence threatened to eclipse those of nation states, so great were its tentacles in trade with both the East and the West. An India Bill, designed to control the company, was brought before the Commons but was opposed by many. Richard played a key role in the defeat of the Bill in 1783. Moreover, he was instrumental in preparing an analysis of support in the Commons for William Pitt (the Younger) becoming Prime Minister; it was on the strength of this analysis that Pitt, who had been initially hesitant, accepted the premiership whilst only in his mid-twenties. The following year saw Richard also acting as an instrumental figure in the enactment of the 1784 India Act which laid the foundation for the next seventy years of British administration in India. In that same year Richard was elected as an Alderman of the City of London.

It was a shock to many that Richard died, probably from tuberculosis, in Brighton on 26 May 1785 at the relatively young age of about 46 and still unmarried (he had long been in love with Lady Anne Lindsay and the pair had remained intimate friends, but she had declined to marry him). He was buried under the central aisle of Brighton's parish church of St Nicholas of Myra. In the course of dealing with his estate it was discovered that just a few weeks before his death a Deed had been drawn up whereby Samuel Mure (one of Hutchison's sons, operating

estates in Jamaica) had agreed to sell to Richard 'four Negro slaves', being a woman named Betty and her three children, for £120 in Jamaican currency. This remains a mystery, but it has been conjectured that Betty may have been Richard's mistress and her children his offspring.

A good deal of trouble arose with Richard's Will, which made many bequests including generous provision for Lady Anne Lindsay and her sister Margaret. The Mures' fortunes plunged after Richard's death and protracted legal arguments ensued as to what was owed to the Mures from Richard's estate. Eventually, assistance from Richard's family and his old friend Francis Baring led to a settlement with the Mures which enabled some degree of fulfillment of Richard's bequests. The process took five years to sort out, concluding in 1790.

APPENDIX II

Overview of the Saint Domingue Slave Rebellion, 1791-93

There are many historical sources for the rebellion and this brief overview draws upon just a few of them. These include David Geggus's PhD Thesis; his paper *Jamaica and the Saint Domingue Slave Revolt, 1791-1793* [in *The Americas*, 38, Issue 2, October 1981, pp. 219-233]; and the *Wikipedia* article *Haitian Revolution*. The most acclaimed work on the subject, but not without its critics, is arguably the book *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* by Cyril Lionel Robert James [publ. Secker & Warburg Ltd, 1938].

The catalyst for the uprising of African plantation slaves in the French colony of Saint Domingue was the French Revolution of 1789. Saint Domingue covered the western third of the island of Hispaniola, roughly 150 miles east of Jamaica. At that time the colony, which had been governed by France for 130 years, was the greatest wealth-creating colony in the world and its economy relied upon the annual importation of about 40,000 manacled slaves shipped across the Atlantic from west Africa. No other colony contributed so much to its mother country and it was regarded as 'The Pearl of the Antilles'. It was producing 40% of the world's sugar and 60% of its coffee, and constituted 40% of France's foreign trade. Nearly all of the created wealth went back to numerous absentee plantation owners and the government in France, whilst the colony itself remained in a poor state of development. Only about 7% of its population were whites, and only a quarter of them – mostly women – were native to it.

There were several layers in the class hierarchy. The dominant tier was composed of the 'grands blancs', being the wealthy, mostly French, white owners of plantations and slaves. These held a seething resentment against the French government because of its strict laws requiring them to trade only with the mother country, laws which in practice they mostly flouted in order to make higher profits from trading with America. What they mostly wanted was for Saint Domingue to be independent, with them in charge of it. Beneath them was a tier of non-wealthy whites known as the 'petits blancs' such as shop keepers, craftsmen, teachers and minor officials, generally loyal to France. An interesting further tier consisted of those known as 'gens de couleur libres'. These were chiefly mixed-race persons – commonly known as 'mulattoes' – born to African women but fathered by white planters, whether through consensual or quasi-consensual partnership or by the widespread practice of rape. Typically they were *free*, having purchased their freedom from their owners. Many were well-educated, ran their own plantations and owned their own slaves. They numbered some tens of thousands, owned up to a third of the colony's productive land and about a quarter of its slaves, there being no limit to the number of slaves they could own or inherit. Vastly outnumbering all the above groups combined were the unfree African slaves, numbering approximately half a million. As noted, many tens of thousands had to be imported annually. Of those who survived the appalling Atlantic journeys, then purchased in the degrading slave markets and conveyed in chains to the plantations to be subjected to long and brutal forced labour, half would be dead within a year, mostly from yellow fever. The slaves and the mulattoes despised each other, perhaps even more so than they did the whites. The French historian Paul Fregosi summed up this violent tinderbox of racial, caste and economic conflict with these words:

'Whites, mulattoes and blacks loathed each other. The poor whites couldn't stand the rich whites, the rich whites despised the poor whites, the middle-class whites were jealous of the aristocratic whites, the whites born in France looked down upon the locally born whites, mulattoes envied the whites, despised the blacks and were despised by the whites; free Negroes brutalized those who were still slaves, Haitian born blacks regarded those from Africa as savages. Everyone – quite rightly – lived in terror of everyone else. Haiti was hell, but Haiti was rich.'

In Saint Domingue reaction to the news of the French Revolution in the summer of 1789 differed among the various classes but inflamed the passions of all of them. A key fulcrum on which sentiments turned was the *Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen* made in August by the National Constituent Assembly. Superficially meritorious, this Declaration was nevertheless ambiguous as to how its precepts might apply to slaves or to colonial peoples. This ambiguity brought the whole matter of slavery into a sharper and more immediate focus. In Saint Domingue the white planters made no secret of their desire for the colony's independence. The Africans, concerned that if such independence came about and conferred unfettered mastery upon the whites (and upon the latter's almost-bedfellows the free people of colour) then their conditions of enslavement would become even worse. Therefore, they at first allied themselves with the French royalists opposing the Revolution and supporting King Louis XVI. (At this stage royalism was still strong across much of France, the Revolution being much a phenomenon of the area around Paris.)

The free coloureds wanted full civil equality with the whites, a proposition unattractive to either the whites or the black Africans. So in Saint Domingue many differing aspirations and conflicting positions were stirred up by France's Revolution, whilst the ever-changing politics in Britain, Spain and America besides France itself resulted in a high degree of fluidity in the alliances made and broken within the colony at this time and in the following few years.

During 1789-90 there was much talk and low-level agitation within Saint Domingue, besides representations and manoeuvrings by certain colonists and the authorities in France, but to no great avail and with no very great unrest. A small-scale and localised insurgency did take place in the autumn of 1790 led by a wealthy free coloured Vincent Ogé intent upon establishing racial equality, but his several hundred followers were captured in early 1791 and he was subjected to gruesome public torture and execution. The African slaves played no significant role in the skirmishes of this period, being mere spectators of the quarrels between the whites and the mulattoes. The quarrels between these two factions developed into active fighting in May 1791 when the French government decided to grant full citizenship to the wealthiest of the free coloureds. The grand blancs and white planters would not accept this, whilst it was absolute anathema to the most racist group in the colony, the petit blancs.

The major rebellion began in August 1791 and was reputedly sparked by a secret voodoo ceremony at which a runaway slave priest named those who were to lead it. The event was accompanied by a tropical storm, interpreted as an omen in favour of the revolt. On the 21st of the month huge numbers of slaves erupted in an orgy of destruction and massacre against the whites. Fuelled by the long-festering resentment of their oppression, they wreaked a savage vengeance upon the planters, committing uninhibited and unspeakable atrocities against men, women and children. Over the next two months their numbers swelled to at least 100,000 and they killed at least 4,000 whites besides destroying 180 sugar plantations and 900 coffee plantations. In turn, surviving whites retaliated by killing 15,000 blacks. Huge areas of the colony became smouldering ruins. In some parts the free coloureds allied themselves with the black slaves in the fighting. In an attempt to counter this, the colony's Assembly announced on 20 September that they would recognize the earlier May declaration and moreover extend it to offer full citizenship to all free coloureds; but this did nothing to appease the slaves. In France, however, a different logic was emerging. The National Constituent Assembly decided just three days later, on the 23rd, to revoke the May declaration. In addition, they directed commissioners to go to Saint Domingue with 18,000 soldiers and forcibly restore order and the continuation of slavery. In the event, however, the commissioners took just 6,000 soldiers and it soon became apparent that they had not the strength to put down the rebellion; effectively they became prisoners within a landscape of ruin. Realising this, France now reversed its earlier revocation and issued a new decree on 4 April 1792 that property-owning free people of colour would have full citizenship on the same terms as the whites. The Assembly further decided in June to send to the colony a second commission spearheaded by the abolitionist Léger-Félicité Sonthonax, who would become the colony's new Governor.

The motivation of the Assembly in this action was not born out of any noble sentiments. It was to end conflict between the whites and the free coloureds in the hope of bringing them into unified loyalty to France and thus persuading them to drop their ideas of independence – for then, the slave rebellion would be more easily quashed and the Africans restored to slavery, so securing France's economy in the region. It was not until September 1792 that Sonthonax reached Saint Domingue. By this time about a third of the colony was controlled by the slaves. Sonthonax quickly took steps to forge an alliance with the free coloureds with the dual aims of suppressing the slaves' revolt and combatting those whites who were promoting the idea of independence. As 1793 unfolded, Sonthonax managed to achieve a temporary and fragile peace with the slaves and had marginalised the white opposition. His mission seemed to be going well until the news arrived that on 21 January Louis XVI had been executed. The slaves, who had felt in alignment with France's royalists now transferred their allegiance to the King of Spain. Spain governed the eastern two thirds of Hispaniola, this part being known as Santo Domingo (today the Dominican Republic). Then, at the beginning of February, France declared war upon Britain. This was a severe blow to Sonthonax, knowing that a blockade by the superior forces of Britain's Royal Navy could prevent essential supplies from reaching him. Fearing the prospect of France putting an end to slavery, the grand blancs had sought to persuade Britain to take over the colony.

Prime Minister William Pitt, still quite a young man, was receptive to this request, being keen to maintain the support of all those in Britain having vested interests in slavery and even more keen to preserve the enormous wealth it generated. He was also anxious that events in Saint Domingue should not ignite a similar rebellion in Jamaica. He therefore instructed Jamaica's Governor, Major-General Adam Williamson, to seek agreement with the grand blancs of Saint Domingue concerning the restoration of slavery were Britain to invade. Spain was now also joining the fray, training a large army of slaves in Santo Domingo ready to fight alongside the British. All this put Sonthonax in a very difficult position, which he attempted to resolve by reversing his stance vis-a-vis the rebelling slaves. He now, in late August and without the consent of the authorities in France, decreed that the rebels – about half a million of them, whom he hoped would help him oppose invasion by Britain and Spain – should be entirely freed from slavery.

Far from deterring Britain, this action could only encourage it to act, and an initial small armed force of over 600 soldiers was despatched from Jamaica, landing at Saint Domingue's port Jérémie on 19 September 1793, greeted with much acclaim by the grand blancs property owners.

This brings events to the position in this article's main narrative at which George-B becomes involved in Britain's military intervention in Saint Domingue.

APPENDIX III

*The Will of John Wigglesworth, dated 13 October 1799***John Wigglesworth Esquire**

Considering the uncertainty of all human affairs and the necessity for making a due disposition of the property with which I may be possessed in case of accident or sudden death

I John Wigglesworth at present residing in Liverpool but late Commissary General to His Majesty's Forces serving in St Domingo [sic] do make and declare this my last Will and Testament

In the first place I have to request my particular friends Francis Baring Baronet and his son Thomas Baring Esquire both of Lee in the County of Kent to become Executors to this my last Will and to their wisdom and integrity do I confide the due administration of the Effects I may die possessed of

As my Transactions with the Crown have been to great extent and as those amounts are not adjusted I most earnestly recommend to my Executors to employ Mr Charles Samson in the arrangement of them he is fully competent to the Trust and from my knowledge of his fidelity and integrity for the last three years I have reason to believe there is no man so fit for the importance of the Charge

I request my Executors to make Mr Sampson [sic] a liberal allowance during his employment under their controul [sic] and on the close of the accounts if his Conduct meets their approbation to grant Mr Samson a reward of one thousand pounds on the public accounts being adjusted the balance paid and the Quietus obtained an estimate may be formed of my property

I am indebted to four persons and none to large amount unless Mr Assistant Commissary Bushby should establish his balance which of course must be paid

In a paper sealed up with this will be found a state [sic] of Effects which do not appear on my Books and which my Executors will have the goodness to call in supposing the residue of my property considerable

I hereby declare my daughter Eliza Wigglesworth by Mademoiselle Adelaide Lamonanirie [sic] born on the twenty sixth day of December one thousand seven hundred and ninety nine [sic – eight?] at Kingston on the Island of Jamaica to be heir to such property as at the Execution of this instrument

I have no other children nor will I acknowledge any others subject to the following bequests.

To my Executors Sir Francis Baring Bart and Thomas Baring Esquire and their Heirs respectively I bequeath one thousand pounds each

To William Molleson Esquire of Cannon Hill [in Morden] in the County of Surry [sic] or in case of his death to his wife Eleanor [née Russell] Molleson I bequeath one thousand pounds but in case of both their deaths the Legacy to revert to the Estate

To my friends John Dawes Esquire of Combe Farm in the County of Surry To John Humphrey Babb Esquire of Queen Square Westminster and to William Chinnery Esquire of the Treasury and to their Heirs respectively I bequeath one thousand pounds each

In case of my having other children by the said Adelaide Lamonanirie I hereby declare such children shall become equally entitled to a Division of the residue of my property after paying the before mentioned Legacies on the said children being identified to the satisfaction of my Executors should a fatal accident befall [sic] me on my passage

Matthew Atkinson and Hugh Bogle both of Kingston Jamaica can identify my daughter Eliza

I hereby further declare if I arrive in Jamaica and cohabit with the said Adelaide Lamonanirie and not make any additional Will or Codicil and should die and the said Adelaide prove pregnant and bear a child within ten calendar months after my death it is my will that such child be entitled to its full portion of my Estate

I request my Executors to allow my dear friend Mademoiselle Adelaide Lamonanirie of Kingston Jamaica a yearly stipend of two hundred pounds to commence from the day of my death and be continued during her life

I likewise bequeath to her one thousand pounds as I am under manifold obligations to her for her kindness fidelity and grateful attachment during my connection with her

I likewise bequeath to her my plate and household furniture

In the management of my Estate during the minority of my Child or Children I have nothing to recommend having full confidence in the wisdom and uprightness of my Executors

Should I die leaving only my daughter Eliza I request of my Executors to send for ... and rear her with kindness afford her a well founded education and give her countenance and protection until she may be married and if that should take place with the entire consent of my Executors to transfer her fortune into her possession on the day of marriage on such terms as may seem to them to afford my said daughter a provision during her life

If my said daughter should not be married on attaining the age of twenty one years and require my Executors to render an account of their Trust and pay her the residue I desire it may be done and the purposes of this Will closed

In case of the death of my daughter Eliza and having no other children I hereby declare my counin Thomas Wigglesworth of Padsid Hall near Paitley [sic - Pateley] Bridge in the County of York to be Heir to the residue of my Estate.

It is to be understood that in case of my having more than one child each is to be entitled to his or her portion of my property on attaining the age of twenty one years

I trust my Executors will pardon me for loading them with so heavy a Charge

I know of no men so honorable or so fit to undertake so complicated an administration had the Divine providence ordained to me the means by my actions of shewing them an upright conduct by which they would have essentially benefitted but I submit with complete resignation and recommend the fair same that attaches to me to the Guardianship of my Executors

I am not conscious of ever having injured any man breathing in any transactions public or private and in that I feel wonderful gratification

This Will I have written with my own hand on this and the six preceding pages on the thirteenth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety nine and declare it to be my only Will and Testament and it contains the purpose of my wishes regarding my property at this period

[signed] Jn Wigglesworth

March 19th 1801

Appeared Personally Charles Hadfield of Margaret Street Cavendish Square in the County of Middlesex Esquire and James Fisher of Great Pultney Street Golden Square in the said County Esquire and severally made oath that they well knew John Wigglesworth late Commissary General of His Majesty's Forces in the Island of Saint Domingo Esquire deceased in or about the Month of March in the year of our Lord one thousand and Eight hundred as they have been informed and believe and are well acquainted with his manner and character of hand writing and subscription having seen him write and subscribe his name and have carefully viewed and perused the last Will and Testament of the said deceased beginning thus

“Considering the uncertainty of all human affairs and the necessity for making a due disposition of the property with which I may be possessed in case of accident or sudden death”

ending thus

“This Will I have written with my own hand in this and the six preceding pages on the thirteenth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety nine and declare it to be my only Will and Testament and it contains the purpose of my wishes regarding my property at this period”

and thus subscribed Jno Wigglesworth they the deponents say that they do verily believe the Whole Body and contents of the said Will beginning ending and subscribed as above and the same John Wigglesworth at the bottom thereof to be all of the proper hand writing and subscription of the said deceased

[signed] Charles Hadfield and James Fisher the same day the said Charles Hadfield and James Fisher were duly sworn to the Truth of the affidavit Before me William Adams Surrat [Surrogate] pres.

This Will was proved at London the twentieth day of March in the year of [our] Lord one thousand eight hundred and one before the Worshipful Samuel Pearce Parson Doctor of Laws Surrogate of the Right Honourable Sir William Wynne Knight also Doctor of Laws Master Keeper Commissary of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury lawfully constituted by the oaths of Sir Francis Baring Baronet and Thomas Baring Esquire the Executors named in the said will to whom administration was granted of all and singular the Goods, Chattels and Credits of the deceased they having first Sworn duly to administer.

APPENDIX IV

Winthrop and Helen Praed: Selected Observations

From *The Journal of Emily Shore (Digital Edition)*, The University of Virginia Press, 2006.

Chapter 11 (July to December 1837)

‘August 4: Another cousin, Winthrop Praed, has just come in for Aylesbury, having withdrawn from Yarmouth. Both these are Conservatives.’

‘August 5: On coming home, we were surprised to find our Parliamentary cousin whom I mentioned yesterday, Winthrop Praed, who had come here to vote, together with his wife, to whom he has been married two years ... He is a very clever and very agreeable man ... about thirty-five years old, as thin as a lath, and almost ghastly in countenance; his pallid forehead, haggard features, and the quick glances of his bright blue eyes are all indications, I fear, of fatal disease. He seems, alas! sinking into a consumption which his Parliamentary exertions are too likely to

hurry forward, if indeed he be not in one already. The profile of Winthrop's face is very like that of Lord Byron, and at times there is a sort of wildness in his look, but the usual expression of his countenance is remarkably sweet.'

'August 7: This day took place the chairing of the two newly elected members for South Devon ... Our party went to see the chairing from Winthrop's apartments in the New London Inn [in Exeter] ... We were there at eleven o'clock, wearing the proper colours, pink and blue, which we exhibited in the shape of a pink carnation and blue convolvulus. The chairing did not begin till after twelve ... On this occasion the horsemen assembled first in a dense crowd before the New London Inn, threw themselves into a sort of order, and rode to the castle, where they marshalled, and then the procession began. Every window was crowded with heads and gay with banners, the street and area were thronged with spectators, and the repeated hurrahs gave notice of their approach long before they appeared. It was a fine spectacle, though not equal to what I had expected. First came a band; then a long line of men carrying boughs of oak, and flags of pink and blue with mottoes of gold; then the herald, a portly man in a sky-blue dress, with a brass helmet and bearing a bugle; then the procession of horsemen, which seemed almost endless. The members were distinguished by their bare heads, their repeated bows and looks of satisfaction ...

When the procession had passed, all our party went back to Baring Crescent, except me, Mrs. W. Praed having kindly offered to take me with her to hear the speeches after the election dinner ... We three sat down in the inn to a quiet dinner; presently some one tapped at the door. It was Mr. Parker, come to call Winthrop to the dinner, where every one was waiting. So away they went. When we had dined, Lady Frances Stephens and her daughter, Miss Bentinck, friends of the Praeds, came to offer us tickets of admission to the orchestra, where we were to look down on the electors, and to tell us that it was time to come and secure good places. So away we went. We ascended the orchestra, where we had two front places which Lady Frances had kept for us. It was a fine sight, four hundred electors seated at four long tables ... The chairman gave the toasts, accompanying each with a pompous and prosy speech. As the whole was a scene quite new to me, I was much amused to see the whole body of electors rise at every toast, wave their glasses in the air, and with united voice fill the whole room with hurrahs.

At last was given "Winthrop Praed." Immediately followed shouts of "Praed! Praed!" and a long loud hurrah. Then "Sir Robert Peel and the Conservative Members of the House of Commons," a toast Mrs. Praed and I had been anxiously expecting, as it was the signal for Winthrop to speak, and we knew he would far outshine all the rest. He rose when the hurrahs had ended. During the preceding time he had been sitting silent, grave, and thoughtful; to my eyes there was even a shade of melancholy across his pale and interesting countenance, as if he had secret forebodings of the result of the unseen malady within him, that malady which is so often the accompaniment of fine genius and deep feeling. But when he had risen and begun to speak, the pensive look was gone, and was succeeded by a union of intellect and animation; his eyes lighted up, and, as he kindled, flashed round him with bright and rapid glances.

His speech was long and excellent, and his delivery ready, natural, and graceful. Both matter and manner were as different from those of the other orators as light from darkness. Sir John Buller's was full of awkward pauses between numbers of sentences; Winthrop's was spoken with perfect ease and fluency. Mr. Parker's was learnt by heart; much of Winthrop's must have been quite unpremeditated, as it referred to what he had just heard uttered. In short, it was quite a treat to hear him, and so the electors thought; they listened far more attentively than they had previously done, and continually gave the most hearty and universal cheers. In Winthrop's speech alone there was point and wit, which frequently produced loud laughter. He wound up very cleverly, and finally sat down amid roars of deafening applause.'

From *Passages of a Working Life During Half a Century* by Charles Knight, Cambridge University Press, 2014. Chapter XV.

'I republished one of Praed's charming *Enigmas*, with an illustration by Harvey ... Of Praed's *Enigmas* I published fourteen. In the desire to prevent the memory of my early friend from falling into oblivion amongst a new generation, I gave "Some Specimens" of his writings in addition, with a brief memoir. In 1839 this extraordinary genius died in the prime of life. He had married in 1835. In the last American edition of his *Poems* we are presented with "the following sketch of his appearance, from the pencil of N. P. Willis, Esq.":

"It was our good fortune, when first in England (in 1834 or '35), to be a guest at the same hospitable country-house for several weeks. The party there assembled was somewhat a famous one – Miss Jane Porter, Miss Julia Pardoe, Krazinski (the Polish historian), Sir Gardiner Wilkinson (the oriental traveller), venerable Lady Cork ('Lady Bellair' of D'Israeli's novel), and several persons more distinguished in society than in literature. Praed, we believe, had not been long married, but he was there with his wife. He was apparently about thirty-five, tall, and of dark complexion, with a studious bend in his shoulders, and of irregular features strongly impressed with melancholy. His manners were particularly reserved, though as unassuming as they well could be. His exquisitely beautiful poem of 'Lillian' was among the pet treasures of the lady of the house, and we had all been indulged with a sight of it, in a choicely bound manuscript copy – but it was hard to make him confess to any literary habits

or standing. As a gentleman of ample means and retired life, the kind of notice drawn upon him by the admiration of this poem seemed distasteful. His habits were very secluded. We only saw him at table and in the evening; and for the rest of the day he was away in the remote walks and woods of the extensive park round the mansion, apparently more fond of solitude than of anything else. Mr. Praed's mind was one of wonderful readiness – rhythm and rhyme coming to him with the flow of an improvisatore. The ladies of the party made the events of every day the subjects of charades, epigrams, sonnets, &c., with the design of suggesting inspiration to his ready pen; and he was most brilliantly complying, with treasures for each in her turn."

It would be difficult for the most bungling limner that ever tried his hand at "Pencilings," to produce any sketch so unlike as this of Praed. He was not "of dark complexion;" his features were not "strongly impressed with melancholy;" his manners were not "particularly reserved." To the forward American he was unquestionably cold. The reason has been told me by one who best knew. There was archery going on. Mrs. Praed had been lucky in hitting the mark, and Mr. Willis offered her some extravagant compliment, such as well-bred Englishmen are careful not to venture upon even with their most intimate friends. From a stranger the adulation was impertinence. Mr. Praed overheard this, and accordingly took his measure of the man with the note-book.

My brief memoir of my early friend concluded with a glance at his parliamentary career: "The two great speakers of the Cambridge Union, Thomas Babington Macaulay and Winthrop Mackworth Praed, sat on opposite benches, when the oratory of sport had become a stern reality. The one has fulfilled all the hopes of his youth; the other, we can only speak of him with unbidden tears."

APPENDIX V

*'To Helen' by Winthrop Mackworth Praed
composed on 7 July 1839*

Dearest, I did not dream, four years ago,
When through your veil I saw your bright tear shine,
Caught your clear whisper, exquisitely low,
And felt your soft hand tremble into mine,
That in so brief – so very brief a space,
He, who in love both clouds and cheers our life,
Would lay on you, so full of light, joy, grace,
The darker, sadder duties of the wife, —
Doubts, fears, and frequent toil, and constant care
For this poor frame, by sickness sore bested;
The daily tendance on the fractious chair,
The nightly vigil by the feverish bed.

Yet not unwelcomed doth this morn arise,
Though with more gladsome beams it might have shone:
Strength of these weak hands, light of these dim eyes,
In sickness, as in health, — bless you, my Own !

APPENDIX VI

The Will of Adelaide Lamoninary Bogle, dated 3 April 1843

This is the last Will and Testament of me Adelaide Lamoninary Bogle of Manchester Square in the County of Middlesex

I revoke all my herebefore executed wills

Hereto I direct that all my just debts funeral expenses and the expense of proving this my Will be paid and if I die in England I desire that my remains be deposited in the Cemetery of Kensall [sic] Green

I give all my plate on which there is a Crest unto my Grandson John Francis English ... [and it is?] my desire that all the pieces [?] of plate which have been given to me by my daughter Eliza English be returned to her

I also bequeath to her a Bracelet with Mosaic Clasp and a large Gold Chain

I bequeath all my Jewels rings trinkets watches and chains not otherwise specifically given as also my Scarlet India Shawl and White India Shawl unto my Grand daughter Helen Adeline Mackworth Praed

I bequeath my Gold Bracelet with Onyx Cameo Head to my Grand daughter Lillian Mackworth Praed

I bequeath to my faithful friend Richard Jones of Mount Street Grosvenor Square Esquire the sum of Ten pounds for a mourning ring

I bequeath to each of my old Servants who shall be in my service at the time of my death half a years wages over and above what may be due to them

and I bequeath to my Servant Stephen Robinson in addition the sum of Ten pounds in consideration of the zeal and fidelity with which he has uniformly conducted himself

I desire that all the legacies hereinbefore mentioned to be paid exclusive of Legacy duty

Whereas I am possessed of one hundred shares in the Pennsylvania Bank and Eighty shares in the Louisiana Bank in the United States of North America each of which said Banks have suspended payment of dividends Now I desire that in the event of the said two Banks or either of them resuming the payment of the arrears of the dividends already due and any future dividends accruing [?] due I do hereby bequeath the said dividends and the principal sums invested in the said two Banks unto my daughter Helen Praed charged with the payment of one hundred pounds to each of my Grandsons John Francis English and Augustus English

all the Rest Residue and Remainder of my Estate and Effects I give and bequeath to my said daughter Helen Praed whom together with the before named Richard Jones I hereby appoint joint Executors of this my last Will and Testament

In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal namely my hand to the preceding page and by hand and seal to this second and last page this third day of April in the year of our Lord eight [sic - eighteen!] hundred and forty three

[signed] Adelaide L. Bogle

Signed and sealed by the said Adelaide Lamonary Bogle as and for her last Will and Testament in the presence of us who at her request in her presence and in the presence of each other have subscribed our names as Witnesses thereto

[signed] E M Baker ... Manchester Square John Pnulli [?] 64 Chester Square

Proved at London 12th Sepr 1845 before the Worshipful John ... Doctor of Laws and Surrogate by the Oaths of Helen Praed widow the daughter and Richard Jones Esquire the Executors to whom admon [administration] was granted having been first sworn duly to administer

APPENDIX VII

The Will of Hugh James Grant Buchanan Cathcart, dated 1833-34

A.

I Hugh James Grant Buchanan Cathcart, a Captain in the service of the Honble. East India Company Bengal Establishment and now on Furlough in England do make this my last Will and appoint Sir John Hawker English Knight of Great Warley Essex and Mistress Adelaide Bogle of 7 Manchester Square London Trustees for that and the following purpose. That the Seventeen thousand Sirra Rupees that I have in the six per cent Bengal Remittable Loan is to remain there till the Loan is paid off, then the sum of two thousand pounds and if I possess not as much whatever I may have to be invested in the English Funds for the purpose of paying to Mare [Marie] René Bedouet now of Kingston Jamaica during her lifetime the annual interest after the trust expenses have been deducted at her death the life rent of these sums I bequeath to Miss Helen Cathcart of One hundred and thirty eight 138 Princes St Edinburgh at her death if the communication reaches Charles Cathcart a Captain of the Honble. East India Company's Service Bombay Establishment in time for him to make a Will he is to have the principal otherwise it is to go on the same terms to William Cavaye a Captain in the Honb. East India Company's Service Bombay Establishment failing him on the above mentioned terms to Robert MacLeland [McClelland] Cavaye now of Edinburgh failing him to Eliza English spouse of Sir John Hawker English the life rent and the Capital at her death to her two sons John Francis Hawker English & Augustus Frederick English and their heirs & failing them if I possess more than the seventeen thousand Sirra Rupees or the two thousand pounds at my death all the surplus on the very conditions that I bequeathed those sums already I do now bequeath the surplus first to Charles Cathcart if he hears of my death in time to make a Will failing him to William Cavaye failing him to Robert MacLeland [McClelland] Cavaye failing him the life rent to Eliza English and at her death the principal to John Francis Hawker English & Augustus Frederick English on the same terms mentioned for Charles Cathcart but which is not to be for the English's their heirs in case of their deaths to get it. I further direct if Miss Helen Cathcart declines the life rent the succession to commence from the death of Mare [Marie] René Bedouet on the terms mentioned. Signed and sealed by me at Great Warley County of Essex this twenty ninth day of June Eighteen hundred and thirty three

before Reverend Hastings Robinson Rector of Great Warley and Thomas Hammond Carpenter Great Warley and Samuel Phillips servant to Sir John Hawker English Knight of Great Warley Essex

[signed]

Hugh James Grant Buchanan Cathcart
Hastings Robinson Rector of Great Warley Essex
Thomas Hammond Carpenter Gt. Warley
Samuel Philips Servant to Sir John English Witnesses

B.

I Hugh James Grant Buchanan Cathcart a Captain in the service of the Honorable East India Company Bengal Establishment do make this my Will in addition to the one dated at Great Warley County of Essex England the twenty ninth day of June Eighteen hundred and thirty three which is in no way to set that aside and appoint as my executors to this Will James Charter Major Fifth Regiment Bengal Native Infantry William Mackintosh Lieutenant in the same Regiment and William Cavaye a Captain in the Twenty first Bombay Native Infantry requesting that the enclosed will be not opened except by William Cavaye and sent by him as directed but that my Indian Executors will remit home all my money in the safest way to Sir John Hawker English Knight and Mistress Adelaide Bogle to them in trust only for the purpose mentioned in the enclosed Will I request that Lt. Mackintosh and in case of his death that Major Charter will do with my little French enamelled watch and two chains as I have put down and bequeathed in the enclosed letter To Lieut. William Mackintosh 5 N.I. I bequeath my McCabes Gold Watch with its Chain and Seal all my other trinkets to William Alexander a Captain in Fifth Bengal Cavalry and to him the Gold Watch in case Lt Mackintosh is dead before he gets it and should he have died the Watch to William Cavaye Captain all my clothes to be given to my Sirdar [sic – Sirdar] bearer Signed and sealed by me at Calcutta this twenty fifth day of December Eighteen hundred and thirty three. Before Thomas Edmund Sampson Captain 22 Bengal N.I. John Shaftoe Hawks Ensign 7 N.I.

Hugh James Grant Buchanan Cathcart T E Sampson Capn 22 Rgt. N.I.
Jno. Shaftoe Hawks Ens. 7 Regiment N.I. Witnesses.

Codicil I direct the French Gold Watch that I have directed to be sent out to me be delivered according to my wishes in the enclosed letter as I have therein bequeathed any expenses on it to be paid out of my estate.

Calcutta Seventh of January Eighteen hundred and thirty four before Ensign J. S. Hawks & Lt. Walker – Hugh James Grant Buchanan Cathcart.

[signed] – Jno. S Hawks 7 Regt. N.I. Bengal – T. Walker Lieut. 1st Regt. N.I. Bengal

Know all Men in these presents that I Captain Hugh James Grant Buchanan Cathcart in the Military Service of the East India Company on their Bengal Establishment do hereby give grant assign dispoñe convey and make over to and in favor [sic] of the firm of Alexander Hunter Arthur Campbell David Cathcart writers to the Signet Edinburgh Sir John Hawker English Knight of Great Warley County of Essex England and William Cavaye a Captain in the Military Service of the East India Company Bombay Establishment and the survivors and survivor of the acceptors or acceptor of them the Majority of the accepting survivors being a quorum while more than two are alive my whole property habitable and movable real and personal wherever situated that now belongs or which shall belong to me at the time of my death But that in trust always and for the following purposes viz: First for payment of all my just and lawful debts and the expenses of this trust Second after realizing all my funds and estate and paying my debts and expenses as aforesaid I direct my said Trustees to pay over the clear residue to such person or persons as I may have already nominated or shall hereafter nominate by any Will made by me or by any paper of directions however informal signed by me I hereby nominate my said Trustees to be my Executors and declare that they shall only be liable for their own acts and deeds and not for each other and that they shall have full power to nominate Factors or Attorneys for managing the Trust affairs hereby committed to them I hereby reserve to myself full power to revoke or alter these presents at any time I shall think proper I consent to the Registration hereof in the Books of the Council and Session in Scotland or other Books competent therein to remain for presentation and execution in common form and thereby constitute my procurators In witness whereof these presents written by me as this and the two preceding sheets of paper (where no Stamps are used and none to be had) are subscribed by me at Gowahatie [Guahati] Assam this Thirteenth day of June Eighteen hundred & thirty four before these witnesses Francis Jenkins a Captain Forty seventh Bengal Infantry Archibald Bogle Captain Second Bengal Infantry William Bolton Davies Assistant Surgeon Bengal Establishment

[signed] Hugh James Grant Buchanan Cathcart Francis Jenkins Witness Archd. Bogle W. B. Davies

I HUGH JAMES GRANT BUCHANAN CATHCART a Captain in the Service of the Honl. East India Company Bengal Establishment being of sound mind and having this day executed a Deed appointing as my Executors the Firm of Alexander Hunter Arthur Campbell & David Cathcart Writers to the Signet Edinburgh Sir John Hawker English Knight of Great Warley County of Essex England William Cavaye Captain Twenty first Bombay N. Infantry

I do make this my last Will confirming the two I have previously made one under date the twenty ninth day of June Eighteen hundred and thirty three the second under date the twenty fifth day of December Eighteen hundred and thirty three with its Codicil of the seventh of January Eighteen hundred and thirty four moreover that the Executors therein mentioned are for the carrying into effect those Wills those above named being only Trustees for the provisions of this viz: That whatever heritable or moveable property real or personal out of India that I die possessed of or which I shall possess or shall belong to me at the time of my death or which before my death shall have been bequeathed me or have come to me in any way whatever I bequeath all such description of property as above mentioned firstly to Charles Cathcart now a Captain in the tenth Bombay Infantry should he die before notice of my death has reached him or on its reaching him fail to make a Will before he dies I bequeath what would have come to him on every one of the above mentioned conditions alone [?] to be divided between William Cavaye a Captain Twenty first Bombay Infantry and Robert Maclellan [McClelland] Cavaye of Edinburgh should either die before hearing of my death the other to succeed to the whole and should both have died without hearing of my death and fulfilling the conditions aforementioned the liferent of the property heritable or moveable to be given to Eliza English wife of Sir John Hawker English Knight of Great Warley County of Essex on her death the property to be equally divided among her surviving children in default of any the property of every description as mentioned above to be at her sole disposal this Will having been written by me on this and the two preceding pages of paper and signed and sealed at Gowahatie [Guahati] Assam this thirteenth day of June Eighteen hundred and thirty four before these witnesses Francis Jenkins a Captain of Forty seventh Bengal Infantry and William Bolton Davies an Assistant Surgeon Bengal Establishment

[signed] Hugh James Grant Buchanan Cathcart – Francis Jenkins Witness – W.B. Davies

PROVED at London as contained in paper writings marked A & B with three Codicils 7th August 1843 before the worshipful John Danbury Doctor of Law and Surrogate by the Oath of William Cavaye the Executor named in the Will and second Codicil to whom Admon was granted having been first sworn only to administer power reserved of making the like grant to Alexander Hunter Arthur Campbell and David Cathcart Esquires the only persons constituting the firm of Alexander Hunter Arthur Campbell and David Cathcart and as such the other surviving Executors named in the said second Codicil save as to India when they shall apply for the same

APPENDIX VIII

The Trust Settlement of William Cathcart: written in 1814, implemented in 1827

At Edinburgh the twenty ninth day of August Eight hundred and twenty seven years

In presence of the Lords of Council and Session compeared [sic] Mr Thomas Thomson Advocate Procurator for William Cathcart afore designed and gave in the Trust Disposition and Settlement underwritten to be registered in the Books of Council and Session conform to Law which the said Lords ordained to be done accordingly whereof the tenor follows

I William Cathcart Esquire late of the Island of Jamaica now residing in Edinburgh for the Love and favour I bear to Hugh Cathcart Esquire my Brother and the other persons aforementioned and in order to settle my affairs do hereby in the Event of my death without lawful heirs of my own Body give grant assign and dispoine to and in favour of the said Hugh Cathcart and Henry Ritchie of Busbie Esquire and the Acceptor and Survivor of them whom failing the heir male of the last survivor as Trustees for the purposes after mentioned heritably and irredeemably all and sundry lands and heritages debts heritable and moveable and whole goods gear Sums of Money and Effects and in general my whole means and estate heritable and moveable real and personal of whatever nature or determination or wherever situated presently belonging or which shall belong to me at the time of my death with the whole vouchers instructions and conveyances of the said debts and the Writs and Evidents of my said heritable Estates with power to the said Trustees to uplift receive and discharge sell and dispose of and transfer the whole debts means estate and Effects hereby conveyed and generally every other thing to do thereanent that I could do myself if in life and I bind and ever oblige myself my Heirs and Survivors to grant all necessary debts in favour of my said Trustees for implementing and fulfilling the disposition and conveyance before written of my heritable and moveable means and estate

But excepting from the said disposition and conveyance the Estate of Tower with pertinents thereof lying in the parish of Kilmaurs Bailliary of Cunningham and Shire of Ayr disposed by me of this date to George James Cathcart second son of the said Hugh Cathcart as also two Lodgings or dwelling houses in Dundas Street Edinburgh disposed by me of this date to Misses Helen and Isabella Cathcart my sisters

and I do hereby nominate and appoint the said Hugh Cathcart and Henry Ritchie and the Acceptor and Survivor of them whom failing the heir male of the last Survivor to be my said Executors and intromitters with my moveable means and Estate including all others therefrom declaring always that the said Trustees and Executors shall not be liable for omissions nor for one another but each only for his own actual Intromissions and also declaring that these presents are granted by me In Trust for the purposes aforementioned viz.

in the first place for payment of all my just and lawful debts and deathbed and funeral Expenses

in the second place for payment to the persons after named of the following Sums of Money which I hereby leave and bequeath to them respectively viz.

to each of my Sisters Helen and Isabella Cathcart the Sum of Ten Thousand Pounds Sterling

to my other sister Mrs Elizabeth Cathcart wife of the said Henry Ritchie and to her children in such proportions as she shall direct by any Writing under her Hand and failing thereof equally among them the sum of Four thousand pounds Sterling which sum I hereby declare is bequeathed to the said Mrs Elizabeth Cathcart for her own use exclusive of her husband's jus mariti or right of administration and it is less than the Sum bequeathed to each of her sisters not because I entertain less friendship or affection for her but because being well and happily married her circumstances and the circumstances of her husband do not require any aid from me

and to each of William Cavaye and Robert McLelland [sic] Cavaye my two natural children by Mademoiselle Clare Cavaye the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds Sterling and I recommend [?] these to the countenance and protection of my said Brothers and Sisters which several Legacies I hereby declare shall be payable to the several persons before mentioned in whose favour the same are conceived at the first Term of Whitsunday or Martinmas which shall happen three Months after my death with interest from that term till paid and as fifth part more of each of the said Sums of liquidate penalty in case of failure

in the third place for payment and delivery of such other and further legacies pecuniary and specific as I shall bequeath by any Writing under my Hand executed at any time of my Life even on deathbed and that to the persons respectively in whose favour the same shall be bequeathed

and in the fourth place whatever residue or reversion shall then remain of my said Means and Estates shall belong to the said Hugh Cathcart and his heirs whom I hereby appoint my Residuary Legatees

and I direct my said trustees and Executors to dispose assign and pay over the same to him and his heirs accordingly and I hereby revoke all Settlements and Latter Wills formerly executed by me particularly a Settlement executed by me in Jamaica on or about the thirteenth day of April one thousand eight hundred and ten

and I reserve for myself not only the full use and enjoyment during my own Life of the means Estate and Effects before conveyed but also full power and authority at any time of my life even deathbed to alter renovate or revoke these presents in whole or in part as I shall see cause

But declaring that the same so far as not altered or revoked shall be now valid and effectual though found lying by me at the time of my death or in the hands of any other person to whom I may entrust the same undelivered with the delivery whereof I have disposed and hereby dispense for ever

and I consent to the Registration hereof in the Book of Council and Session or others competent therein to remain for preservation for which purpose I constitute Mr Thomas Thomson Advocate and Procurator

In Witness whereof I have subscribed these presents written on this and the two preceding pages of Stamped Paper by David Ramsay writer to the Signet at Edinburgh the thirty first day of March Eighteen hundred and fourteen before these Witnesses Andrew Blane writer to the Signet and the said David Ramsay and Thomas McClymont his Clerk

Signed Wm Cathcart Andrew Blane Witness David Ramsay Witness Thos McClymont Witness

Extracted furth [?] of the Recorder of the Court of Session in Scotland upon this and the eight preceding pages of Stamped Paper by me Thomas Peat Writer to the Signet Principal Keeper of the Record of Deeds and Probates Writs [&] conform to Act of Parliament

Proved at London 26th November 1827 before the judge by Oath of Henry Ritchie Esquire the Surviving executor to whom admon [administration] was granted being first sworn by Canon duly to administer

APPENDIX IX

Extracts from the letterbooks of William Cathcart: 1801-03 and 1810-13

Letterbook spanning 17 May 1801 to 1 May 1803

17 May 1801, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

We have all been kept very busy since your Brother's arrival ...

18 July 1801, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

Your Brother George goes home in the *Lowestoffe* Captain Plampin that convoys the July fleets, by him you will receive list of Balances of HB&Co's Books ... your Brother is so very much hurried he has not time to write you.

23 July 1801, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

Your brother has requested £50 per annum addition to be given to S. Robertson and I beg leave to mention to you in her present house she has no furniture.

15 August 1801, from Kingston, Jamaica, to George Bogle

The enclosed letter from Mademoiselle Adelaide will give you all the news of that Family and to which I refer. Miss Middleton will not sell the small strip of land as she intends it for her son.

4 September 1801, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Andrew Blane

My cousin George Bogle embarked the 24th July for England on board the *Lowerstoffe* [sic] Frigate, and was wrecked on the Island of Haneiga [sic] with six of the fleet. Mr Bogle has not in the least impaired his health by this accident, he saved every thing.

6 September 1801, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

The *Lowerstoffe* [sic] Frigate was wrecked off the Island of Hanega [sic] with six of the ships under her Convoy, your brother George was passenger in the *Lowerstoffe* and I congratulate you on the very narrow escape he has made, he saved all his papers and baggage and I am happy to say his health has not suffered by the accident, he was five days on the Island and when he and about four hundred more got off in the *Bonita* [sic – *Bonetta*] and arrived here [Kingston] five days afterwards to all our astonishments, all his valuable papers he sends home tomorrow by the *Amphion* so that he can embark in whatever vessel he pleases. He has not yet determined when he goes but I suppose he will wait now for the October fleet.

11 October 1801, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

Your Brother George talks of taking his Passage in the next Packet if she is a good vessel.

1 November 1801, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

Your Brother George has mentioned to me, to give you every particular regarding the arrangements made in the settlement of Bogle and Cathcart business, which has already been done ... The £66-1-1 paid Hill Mair Orr & Co on account of S. Robertson was done at your Brother's desire, you have tied up my hands so well in these respects that had your Brother not been here her and her children might have been in a manner starved or lived at the bounty of Mr Atkinson, none of which I am certain you would allow, you have requested nothing besides her allowance to be paid her. Your Brother has already desired she might have £50 per annum additional which with her allowance may do. Still circumstances may occur, such as sickness, that it will be absolutely necessary to give her assistance.

1 December 1801, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

The specie on board the *Lowerstoffe* [sic] shipped by the house was insured at home, six boxes of cash, but will be recovered from the underwriters. I sincerely hope a few days after the date of your last [letter] you would learn of the return of your Brother George to this [Jamaica], and of his being in perfect good health and having been fortunate, in saving all his papers and baggage. Since the arrival of your Brother things have been managed so well that the house has made remittancy to the Amount of 500,000 and at this moment Sir Francis Baring & Co are very little in advance ...

22 December 1801, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

Your Brother George is not yet determined on what vessel he takes his passage. I wish much he would stay to the Spring, but he seems to treat the risk of a winter's Passage very lightly.

2 January 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

Your Brother has been looking into the bad and dubious debts of HB&Co and I am sorry to say finds nothing can be got from it ... Your Brother George does not write you by this Conveyance, he is in perfect good health, he has not yet determined on what Vessel he takes his Passage.

19 January 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

Your Brother positively leaves us by first good Conveyance in February.

27 January 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

Your Brother has had much trouble with Sally Robertson since he arrived here last and when he consented to hand claims paying £100 for a Hall and Bed Chamber. Upon his arrival here he found her living on the Bounty of Mr Atkinson, in his Court, where some misunderstanding took place, and she was obliged to leave it and he could not think of allowing his Brother's Girl work her Children to go on the Streets and before he would agree to the rent being paid every search was made to get one on more moderate terms. You can be no stranger to the very extravagant rate of rents here. Miss Robertson has agreed to allow in part of the half year's advance, what rent she has received from Dunkerly [sic]. Your Brother requests you will send me a Statement what Negroes money that you have ever given S. R. ... I cannot help observing your Brother sent all his Children to a distant country [England], with no other views than that when he was gone [i.e. had left Jamaica] there might be no heart burnings. Your Brother's intentions for wishing you might send me a statement of what you have given S. R. is for me to point out to her and explain that you have amply provided for her and Family.

31 January 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

Andrew and his Lady were in perfect good health yesterday. Your Brother George left them early in the morning. They are to remain there for some time.

31 January 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

Your brother George talks of leaving this [Jamaica] very soon indeed by first good Conveyance, he is at present with Andrew and his Lady at the Cottage.

9 April 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

This goes by your Brother George, he embarks on board the *Melampus* this evening and I sincerely wish him a safe and quick passage, he carries home with him the undermentioned accounts ...

11 April 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

On [the] other side you have duplicate of what I wrote you by your Brother who sailed yesterday morning. Miss Sally Robertson has at last got into her house which I am sorry to say is much in want of repairs, as you will in all probability see your Brother before this reaches you, he will inform you regarding her situation, she says you promised to put her house into repair and this Morning she has been with me on the subject and I wish to know from you if it is to be done.

17 April 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to George Bogle

The ship *Alert* Cap [Captain] McDonald is the Vessel fixed for Mademoiselle Adel [sic] to take her passage, she is a good Vessel & her accommodations are pretty good, the Captain has taken home two or three families, and is well spoken of; adding to that, he is strongly recommended by M^{lle} E. Robertson, she will sail about the 1st of May, she has already on Board most of her Cargo – Adel writes you herself by this Conveyance – no other passengers are as yet engaged to go in the *Alert*.

25 April 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to George Bogle

The Ship *Alert* will not sail till after the 10th of next month. Mademoiselle Adele has been on board the vessel and is much pleased with the accommodation.

2 May 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to George Bogle

Madame Boublin in the only [other?] passenger who goes in the *Alert*.

27 June 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to George Bogle

In expectation of hearing from you by next Packet.

13 July 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to George Bogle

We are disappointed at not having heard of your arrival ere this.

22 July 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to George Bogle

It was with much satisfaction we learned of your safe arrival by the *Princess Elizabeth* Packet that arrived the 19th instant. You were very unfortunate in having such a long passage and from your letter to Mr Atkinson by no means a pleasant one ... I will thank you deliver the enclosed with my kind Compliments to her [Adele?] and her children.

23 July 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

It is with much pleasure we have heard of your Brother's arrival, he has had a long passage and by no means a pleasant one. I suppose you would go to London immediately on learning his arrival.

25 July 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to George Bogle

Madame Sanite writes Adel [sic] by Emily Villers that is passenger on board the *Retreat* [under Captain] Thaw that sails tomorrow evening.

7 August 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to George Bogle

The Biles Parcels for the two former are marked GB and previous to Mademoiselle Adele leaving this [Jamaica] I asked her & her mother if the articles charged in your account had been received which were all acknowledged.

19 August 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to George Bogle

I have received your much esteemed favour the 8th July acknowledging Receipt of my sundry Letters up to the 9th May ... It gave me much pleasure to hear of Adel's [sic] arrival. Remember me kindly to her & her two children.

5 September 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to George Bogle

Gould and Tyrrel are at present in the office and request to be remembered with kind compliments to Adelle [sic].

17 October 1802, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Hugh Bogle

My last letter to you was dated the 19th Ult. Since then I am favoured with yours of the 5th August from London & it is with much satisfaction I observe you found your Brother George in such good health.

16 January 1803, from Kingston, Jamaica, to George Bogle

Madame Sanite, Fiette and Eloise, you will be so good as to say to Madam Adele, are in perfect good health. I have given Eloise the four half-Joes. I shall write Adel [sic] with her account in a short time, in the mean time I will thank you to remember me kindly to her.

22 February 1803, from Kingston, Jamaica, to George Bogle

With my kind compliments to Adele, hand her the inclosed [sic] account with list of her papers... Mademoiselle Adel's [sic] A/C with W^mC&Co. up to 31st Dec 1802 with Continuation.

Letterbook spanning 1 July 1810 to 2 February 1811

5 July 1810, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

Mr Bogle is very much occupied about his matters, indeed Mr B is harrassed with business of other people.

1 August 1810, from 32 [not 33], Half Moon Street, London, to unknown

On my getting here [London – he had arrived after an 8-week voyage] I was very much hurt at learning the very serious sickness Mr Bogle was just getting over at Brighton, since his return he has been confined to his house, the life he leads is far from being envied, from six o'clock in the morning till six in the evening the Pen is never out of his hand, what with one thing or another; his medical friends have insisted on his going to Effingham, what with the Treasury Commissioners of Public Accounts, Willis & Co and Dicks arbitration he is completely harrassed, and will actually hurt his constitution, his kindness and anxiety to bring forward and conciliate all causes him thus to be harrassed and with the business of other people ... Mr Bogle has as late letters as are in Town from his friend Sir Brent Spencer – it is even doubtful if there will be an engagement.

3 August 1810, from 32 [not 33], Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

Mr Geo. Bogle I perceive is regularly charged with Commissions of the Contingencies of his respective properties, sales, remittances ...

26 November 1810, from Craigton [south-west Glasgow?], to William Thomas Barnes

I shall remain in Scotland till my presence is actually necessary in London and from a letter I had from Mr Geo. Bogle yesterday the time I should think is not so far distant when my arrangements will be completed.

Letterbook spanning 1 February 1811 to 4 May 1812

7 April 1811, from Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

I have not seen Mr Bogle since my return to Town, he is at Effingham at present but will be in Town in a day or two.

3 May 1811, from Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

... this would not have closed these discussions as to transfers of Rum and Provisions, wharf, etc, etc and still exposed Mr Bogle to the very unpleasant task of deciding these matters, with his anxiety to conciliate us all and to do what he considers the best, it was placing him in a Situation of all others he most wished to avoid. ... I came to the determination of retiring from a safe and certain Business, and although the Sacrifice may appear great at my early period of Life, it was the only mode I could relieve Mr Bogle from that responsibility that attaches to him as my relation, in doing so I do not regret it, as I cannot do too much for the Peace of that Man who has been to Me more than a Father.

29 June 1811, from Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

On the arrival of the May Packet with you, you would have my final arrangements, and my having for the present retired from Business. It was the only plan I could adopt, to permit Matters to go on smoothly, for I could perceive, as long as I continued, these would exist [excite?] discussions, which I saw harrassed Mr George Bogle and made him so very uncomfortable. I was anxious at every Sacrifice, to endeavour to stop it as far as it lay in my power, as Packet after Packet only brought to Mr Bogle such representations, that altho' they did not merit attention, still I saw they gave him much uneasiness, as his only Wish was to conciliate and to do what was best for us all, this having failed to relieve him, induced me to take the step I did, leaving the terms entirely to himself; only I stipulated and have it under his signature and Mr Geo. Atkinson's that you and Mr Whitfield was [sic] to succeed to the Business conducted under my Name from the 1st Jan^y. As my Name can no longer be an Eye sore I can, when I think proper, return to Jamaica,

enter into Business here or there, as may be judged best, unfettered, and can act perfectly independent without the control of any. My anxious desire, and only Wish, during the time I was in business, was to give Mr Bogle as little trouble as possible, and every satisfaction, being the only method I could pursue, to make him any return for his kindness towards me. ... It is with much satisfaction I inform you Mr Bogle is now on the recovery, he had six weeks excruciating Pain during the forming [of] the abcess until it broke, he is of course much reduced, the pain and long confinements he bears without a single complaint, and with the unpleasant prospect of having a return next year, having only with every precaution been able to escape one year out of twelve, and upon a retrospect finds, during that long period, one fourth of his time has been in Bed; his life is not to be envied. He is at present in Effingham. I go there tomorrow, and should you not hear from me on other Subjects, or write Mr Whitfield, because they do not press at present.

29 June 1811, from Half Moon Street, London, to William Lancaster Whitfield and William Thomas Barnes

Mr Bogle has been too unwell to trouble him with Business for these two Months past, otherwise I would have had your Names mentioned to that house.

1 July 1811, from Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes WC&Co

As soon as Mr Bogle gets so far well to be able to attend to Business, it is my intention to come to some arrangement with him respecting the outstanding debts of this Concern, which I will communicate to you.

1 July 1811, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

Mr Bogle has perused them [your letters] and express [sic] his approbation, he has made a memorandum to your Letter, representing charging Hugh Bogle Commissions on the Sale of Hayfield Negroes, thus "No Commission should be charged". As I am now not interested, it will not be proper for me to interfere in this respect.

12 July 1811, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

I also wrote you a few lines from Effingham the 7th Instant.

12 July 1811, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Lancaster Whitfield

I am glad to say Mr Bogle is now almost as well as ever, and I believe was either to have written you, or you and Mr Barnes jointly by this Packet. ... Remember me kindly to Filette [sic – Fiette?]. Adel [sic] and the Children are quite well and often mention you. They are at Worthing at present for the Sea Bathing quarters.

13 July 1811, from Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

... these letters reached me at Effingham the 6th inst. and perused by Mr Bogle.

4 September 1811, from Harringswell [sic – Herringswell (Suffolk)], to William Lancaster Whitfield

Mr Bogle writes you respecting having a Credit with Mssrs Baring Brothers & Co. I will decline saying anything on this Subject till I return to Town. I wish to have it arranged so that the Mssrs Baring is to be your Correspondent. ... I am here with Mr Samuel Mure, on a shooting party with Hugh and Geo. Bogle, Mr Rob^t Shaw, Mr Canning and old Sampson. Mr Geo. Bogle, altho' very fond of the sport, and is for the express purpose, is too lame even to go out, it seems his only happiness in the World is to do good to others, and it is cruel to press on him, many succeed actually by driving him, and his good Nature in many instances have [sic] made him suffer. You will be glad to hear the late Mr Wigglesworth's Accounts are nearly closed, his Executors may expect to get a final discharge from Government in about six Months.

25 September 1811, from Effingham, to William Thomas Barnes

The Memorandum of agreement of Settlement of the 2nd May not having particularised that no Entries should be made to prevent that Arrangement being disturbed, and at the wish of Mr Bogle and Mr Atkinson, I have again consented they should be made; being actuated by the same Motives as I have hitherto been complying with the Wishes of these two Gentlemen, and to stop if possible all further discussions, in doing so my Interest does not suffer.

10 October 1811, from Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

The two Turtles by the *Jeanie* arrived in excellent Order. Mr Mure had his, and Mine I gave to Mr Bogle.

7 November 1811, from Half Moon Street, London, to William Lancaster Whitfield & Co

Mr Bogle has left Me for Stanwell on a Visit to the [T...os?] for a few days. I was to have accompanied him but cannot get away from the Doctors.

18 December 1811, from Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

I hope you have been able to get the old Madeira from Mr David Dicks, I would wish one of the best sent Me to London it is for Mr George Bogle, and another one to Leith to my address.

23 December 1811, from Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

It is with much regret I inform you Mr Bogle is again confined, he has been for these two weeks complaining more or less, ten days ago he went to Effingham with the intention of remaining there till after the Holydays, but not finding himself mending, returned to Town last Saturday and has been confined ever since, he is very low, still both he and Mr Cline think he will escape an abcess, which I most sincerely trust may be the Case, as far as I can judge he is nearly in the same Situation as he was last May previous to the supuration [sic] taking place. I am again confined to the house and I have not been out for these two Weeks. I have had but little enjoyment in the Country as yet.

5 February 1812, from Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

Mr Bogle is still confined to his Bedroom, he is so far recovered that he sits up, and writes by this Packet very fully, two abcesses had formed, one opened of itself, the other from the application of Caustic, both were probed, no Ball, Cloth or splinters of Bone was [sic] found, and We are as much all in the dark as ever to what causes these Abcesses.

9 February 1812, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Lancaster Whitfield

Mr George Bogle is now almost well. Admiral Rowley is very kind calling often on him. Mr Atkinson and Mr Bogle wish to show him every civility for his attention to AB&Co.

9 February 1812, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Lancaster Whitfield & Co

I am uncertain wether [sic] Mr Bogle will be able to write you with this Conveyance, respecting your Mr Whitfield's Letter to him about his procuring you a Credit with the Mssrs Barings, for which he must be guarantee, these times do not give much confidence making oneself responsible and you will be surprised to learn that it required Mr Bogle's Interest and influence with them, previous to their consenting to be your Correspondents, and was only after a very particular communication Mr B had with Them it was effected. You are also aware he is your Security for the Rent of the Naval Office. I am inclined to think he may not for the present comply with your wishes in that respect. ... I am afraid the Prospects to the Sugar Planter is [sic] not very flattering, how fortunate Mr Bogle is in having his Sugars all sold in Kingston.

4 March 1812, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

I am glad to observe you continue to write my Brother [Hugh Cathcart] which is very proper – keep him advised about his money matters. I hope you will soon close them all. I do not keep House, and Turtle is only acceptable to give my friends. Mr Bogle has always occasion for them, and it is a mark of attention your sending Mr Mure one, whenever I have a home, I shall have to trouble you about your procuring me many of these comforts. ... Miss Clare should consider the expense I am at for her son here; I am happy to learn she has got well again. ... Mr Bogle is so far recovered that he is gone to Effingham today.

4 March 1812, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Lancaster Whitfield

Mr Bogle is much better.

4 April 1812, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to unknown

Mr Bogle came from Effingham last Wednesday, very far from being well. I am fearful of another Abcess forming, he has almost been confined to the House since last December, he suffers very much, and bears it all without a single murmur. Your and Mr Whitfield's last letters gave him and Mr Dunlop much pleasure ...

4 April 1812, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Lancaster Whitfield

Mr Bogle is again confined to the House, he went to Effingham about four weeks ago, the weather was such he could not get out, he returned to town three days ago and has these unpleasant symptoms, as if an abcess was forming, however Mr Cline seems to attribute these feelings to cold. You will hear by this Conveyance of the death of his Father, he died at a good old age of 82. ... My Brother has had an addition to his family of another son about two weeks ago both are doing well. ... Adel [sic] and the children are perfectly well.

25 April 1812, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

Mr Bogle is getting better, the easterly Winds which has [sic] prevented [sic – presented?] for these last four Weeks has been much against him. Mr Allan Bogle arrived a few days ago in good health and spirits.

25 April 1812, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Lancaster Whitfield

I regret to observe the death of poor Clare and I am really at a loss to recommend what should be done, in the meantime till I decide on something, continue the same Allowance to the Family as heretofore, which is adequate with having a free house, to all their expenses, I am obliged by yours what money was necessary to defray the Funeral Expenses, and I will have not a doubt but every Economy has been attended to. If they permitted themselves to be

distressed, it must have been their own faults, arising from their want of Industry and bad Management, a doubloon per month with a free house and Taxes paid, with two slaves, and their own Exertions was certainly sufficient; how many families in Kingston do I know who entirely support themselves without any assistance whatsoever from others. I wish you to take the trouble of explaining these Matters to the Mother, with my kind compliments to Fiette, say to her I feel much obliged in her attention to the remains of poor Clare and I approve very much of her having the Funeral conducted with so much ceremony; should the Boy ever come to this Country, the house's House would have to be sold to defray his Expenses here; indeed I do not know what to write you respecting him, the expense of their Education in this Country is very great and you are much at a loss what to do with them afterwards. Mr Bogle is still confined to the House, but in a few days will be able to get out; he has had a most miserable time of it, still he is in excellent spirits and has a kind word for every Person, had he an irritable [sic – irritable?] disposition he never would have gone thro' what he has done. ... Adel [sic] and children are well.

5 May 1812, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Lancaster Whitfield

Mr Bogle is so far recovered that he is in hopes of getting to Effingham next week, and from thence he will most likely go to Brighton for the warm Salt Water Baths, it is most astonishing how he keeps his spirits up, and is not so much reduced as you would have expected. From what Mr Barnes writes Me, I am afraid Clare's little boy is not so comfortable as I could wish. I would thank you for your opinion what should be done; his Grandmother and Aunt would not like him to be placed under the charge of others, and this Country is too expensive to bring him to, a hundred a year at least, which cuts deep into a limited income, and no immediate prospect of bettering one's Circumstances.

6 May 1812, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

I am glad to say our worthy friend Mr Bogle has now the near prospect of getting out, after his long confinement, he has been but little out of the house for these four months, and it surprises every Person how he bears it; it is to be hoped he will not again have another Attack, indeed every Abcess gives us the hopes it may be the last, it is a most cruel case, so good a man should suffer much.

Letterbook spanning 14 May 1812 to 8 December 1813

30 June 1812, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Thomas Barnes

Mr Bogle is now at Effingham and on the recovery, he has had a long confinement, and no hope of these attacks terminating, it must if they continue terminate sooner or later his existence – as they gradually will undermine his constitution, no immediate danger is expected, it is the astonishment of all how he bears it and keeps up his spirits. I understand Mr Robertson is with him and will be a desirable [sic] companion from him in the Country. ... When I hear of your having sent Turtle to Mr Mure or Mr Bogle I will be glad to communicate it to them. Mr Mure is at Harringwell at present, he enjoys most excellent health.

5 October 1812, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Lancaster Whitfield

Mr Bogle has again got out of Town, having left this for Effingham last Tuesday and was to proceed as this morning for Brighton, he is accompanied by his nephew John Robertson who has been very poorly of late. My return from Cheltenham was only a few days previous to his leaving Town. I saw but little of him, he looks as stout and as well as ever he did, and in his usual good spirits, his long confinement cannot be perceived. The only conversation I had with him, wherein you are interested, was respecting the naval office ...

9 October 1812, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Lancaster Whitfield & Co

Mr Bogle writes from Brighton his health is much improved, but the weather is much against him – he is much harrassed with Business, many go to him on the most trivial occasions, he has not only his own accounts with the Public to settle, but every person connected with Jamaica or St Domingo – Whitford gives him much trouble, his accounts are going over again.

5 November 1812, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Lancaster Whitfield & Co

Mr Bogle is at Brighton and so far recovered as to be able to walk about, when he gets perfectly recovered from this last attack, he may for a length of time have no more, this is given to me as from the Medical authority – as I shall be most happy if it is confirmed.

3 December 1812, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Lancaster Whitfield & Co

Mr Bogle returned to Town yesterday and is in as good health and as stout as ever I saw him.

4 January 1813, from 33, Half Moon Street, London, to William Lancaster Whitfield & Co

I am happy to say I have this morning received a few lines from Mr Samson at Effingham informing me Mr Bogle is much better and he never saw him have so quick a recovery.

13 May 1813, from London, to William Lancaster Whitfield

It gives me much happiness to inform you Mr Bogle is as well as ever I saw him and for the first time for these many months is discharged out of the Doctor's list – he is much occupied with his little daughter Emma who I am sorry to say I think cannot live, she may exist for some months to come, I consider her far gone in a consumption.

15 May 1813, from the Cocoa tree Club, St James, London, to John Drysdale

I am happy to say George after nearly twelve months confinement is now as well as ever I saw him.

5 June 1813, from London, to William Lancaster Whitfield

Mr Bogle is well – and little Emma is much better.

5 June 1813, from London, to William Thomas Barnes

Mr Geo. Bogle is still in Town and in excellent health.

28 July 1813, from The Green Dragon, Harrowgate [sic], Yorkshire, to William Lancaster Whitfield

Mr Bogle has received the Turtle you sent him and I have not a doubt but the noyeau [a French liqueur] is also safe.

4 November 1813, from Killochan [Ayshire], to William Lancaster Whitfield & Co

The severe loss Mr Bogle has met with in the deaths of his two daughters Adeline & Emma & his being threatened with a return of his old complaint, has prevented my corresponding with him on business & nothing further has since been done respecting Petersfield.

15 November 1813, from Killochan [Ayshire], to William Lancaster Whitfield & Co

I have had no further correspondence with Mr Bogle respecting Petersfield, nor do I wish at this particular time to correspond with him on the subject – I am glad to find the subject of the naval office is now at rest and that your Mr Whitfield will be sworn in, on Mr Adams leaving the Island. I had much conversation with Mr Bogle on the subject the 20th June and not so pleasant as I could have wished, and ended by the business being entirely taken out of my hands – with directions to refer your Mr Whitfield to him, and what he would write by the Packet.

8 December 1813, from Craigton, to Taylor Cathcart

It is with much grief I inform you of George Bogle's death, he died the 11th last month, justly and sincerely regretted, he was a most excellent man; his Executors in Jamaica are his Brother Andrew with Mr Adams and Mr Robertson; in this Country, his two Brothers Robert and Hugh, with his Brother in Law John Hamilton, his nephew John Robertson and Mr Dunlop; he has left a very large fortune to his three Brothers and Mr Hamilton to be equally divided, after the Legacies to his Children are paid. His bad health stopt [sic] our correspondence, respecting my Brother and self having been called on, to pay or grant our acceptances for the Balance due, on Petersfield purchase money, amounting to with Interest £8,484-2-11 as stated in my former letter, his death poor man has in the mean time suspended the matter but Mr Geo. Atkinson will soon renew it when we shall have to comply if persisted in.