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Abstract

Of the few personal journals that record details of West Indian everyday life during the period of slavery one of the best known is Lady Nugent's *Journal of Her Residence in Jamaica* from 1801 to 1805.¹ The journal's author, Maria Nugent (1770–1834), journeyed to the island with her husband George, on his way to take up appointment as Governor of Jamaica, then one of the most important colonies of the British Empire and at the peak of its powers as a sugar producer. When the Nugents reached Jamaica in July 1801, Maria was just 30 years old and George, who had served in the British army's colonial wars, was aged 44. They were unusual as a couple; few of the earlier governors of Jamaica arrived with wives, and while in the island Maria gave birth to two children, one in October 1802 and the other in September 1803. Although Maria became a 'Lady' only in 1811, six years after she left Jamaica, she has regularly been given the title for her time in the island.

B. W. HIGMAN

Lady Nugent's Second Breakfast

Of the few personal journals that record details of West Indian everyday life during the period of slavery one of the best known is *Lady Nugent's Journal of Her Residence in Jamaica from 1801 to 1805*.¹ The journal's author, Maria Nugent (1770–1834), journeyed to the island with her husband George, on his way to take up appointment as Governor of Jamaica, then one of the most important colonies of the British Empire and at the peak of its powers as a sugar producer. When the Nugents reached Jamaica in July 1801, Maria was just 30 years old and George, who had served in the British army's colonial wars, was aged 44. They were unusual as a couple; few of the earlier governors of Jamaica arrived with wives, and while in the island Maria gave birth to two children, one in October 1802 and the other in September 1803. Although Maria became a 'Lady' only in 1811, six years after she left Jamaica, she has regularly been given the title for her time in the island. Certainly her four years in Jamaica centred around the imperial role of her husband and the growth and development of her children but Maria often found space in her journal — first published in 1839 — to describe and reflect on varied aspects of the larger society in which she found herself. It is the richness of her descriptions and the trenchancy of her opinions, as well as the general rarity of published journals, that have contributed most powerfully to her longevity as a valued historical source.

Some of the most commonly cited passages of Nugent's *Journal* are those that describe what she regarded as the appalling behaviour of the island's whites, particularly their love for food. Nugent traces aspects of this bad behaviour to the insidious influence of slave society but was broadly critical of colonial culture, and disparaged creole speech and sexual mores. The food of the island, from kitchen to table, preparation to consumption, frequently turned her stomach. Even the timing and terminology of creole meals worried Nugent, above all the remarkable 'second breakfast' that the people so loved. The slave-owning creoles used these rituals to mark their status and distinguish themselves from their colonial rulers and British tradition. Locally, eating to excess and eating rare and costly foods were prime markers of conspicuous consumption for whites in Jamaica's slave society. They set themselves apart from the enslaved most publicly and regularly by gorging themselves in the late morning or middle of the day, while plantation workers toiled in the fields or subsisted on coarse foods. Nugent experienced this practice on a grand scale. She distanced herself from such unbecoming behaviour, to uphold her status and class, and to prove her own refinement by her speech,

dress and manners. As Kamau Brathwaite notes, Nugent could be 'quite prissy' (110). The table provided an ideal site to display her superiority.

The Governor's official residence was King's House in Spanish Town, the colony's capital, but he and his family frequently travelled out into the countryside and had regular access to planter society. It was during her tours of Jamaica that Nugent made her most trenchant remarks on the gluttony of her hosts. The planters wished to demonstrate their hospitality in the way they knew best but it was too much for Nugent and the excess and the strangeness of creole culinary culture was seen nowhere more starkly than in the odd custom of 'second breakfast'. She mentioned the institution first after she had been in Jamaica for six months, in her entry for Friday 15 January 1802, but on that occasion she did so without remark and the second breakfast was served at King's House. The Governor had gone off early, at 4.00 a.m., to review the militia in Kingston. Nugent spent some time writing, then, she did not note the hour, had breakfast. After that,

Major and Mrs. Cookson, their two daughters and a little boy, a black maid, and two men, came on a West India visit, to spend the day. Mrs. C. is a perfect Creole, says little, and drawls out that little, and has not an idea beyond her own Penn. Had fruit for the children at 10; then second breakfast a little after 11. — Dined at 3, and the hopeful family took their leave at 6. (52)

How this second breakfast became part of the habits of King's House is not clear but most probably it was an institution before Nugent's time and a normal expectation. Nugent offered no clues to what was served.

Nugent's second mention of second breakfast came a couple of weeks later, on 4 February, and this time she provided details. First she had to tell of a substantial creole breakfast, eaten before the second breakfast. She had set out early with her husband and some others for Bushy Park, the sugar estate of William 'King' Mitchell, located in St. Dorothy parish. In the plantation's 'truly Creole' house, with its 'galleries, piazzas, porticoes, &c.', they

breakfasted in the Creole style. — Cassada cakes, chocolate, coffee, tea, fruits of all sorts, pigeon pies, hams, tongues, rounds of beef, &c. I only wonder there was no turtle. Mr. M.'s delight is to stuff his guests, and I should think it would be quite a triumph to him, to hear of a fever or apoplexy, in consequence of his good cheer. (55–56)

From Bushy Park they went on to Spring Gardens, the estate of an absentee planter, to review the militia. The ragged performance of this 'motley crew' was followed by 'a magnificent second breakfast, which ... proved that, at Spring Gardens, the business of ménage, or eating and drinking, was better understood than military tactics' (56). No wonder fevers were common, she thought, reflecting on the second breakfast:

Such loads of all sorts of high, rich, and seasoned things, and really gallons of wine and mixed liquors as they drink! I observed some of the party, to-day, eat of late breakfasts, as if they had never eaten before — a dish of tea, another of coffee, a bumper of claret, another large one of hock-negus; then Madeira, sangaree, hot and cold meat, stews and

fries, hot and cold fish pickled and plain, peppers, ginger sweetmeats, acid fruit, sweet jellies — in short, it was all as astonishing as it was disgusting. (57)

A week later, Nugent mentioned another second breakfast, this time eaten at 11.00 a.m. at the Old Harbour Inn, when returning from Vere, and on a top of ‘a fine breakfast’ eaten at their host’s place at sunrise (59).

The pace picked up when, in the early stages of her first pregnancy, Nugent set out on a grand tour of the island, with husband and entourage, in March and April 1802. On 11th March she had ‘a profuse second breakfast’ at Holland Estate, in St. Thomas-in-the-East (69), followed two days later by ‘a sumptuous second breakfast’ at Castle Comfort, in Portland (71). At Bog Estate, near Port Antonio, on 15th March, Nugent sat down to ‘a second breakfast at two o’clock’, without protesting its timing (73). A ‘profuse second breakfast’ taken at Agualta Vale on 21st March was even later in the day, probably, and Nugent remarked that this was ‘in every respect an immense dinner, though otherwise denominated’ (77). On 24th March, in the middle of the morning, following another review of militia, this time that of the parish of St. Mary, there was ‘a sumptuous second breakfast, consisting of hot fish, all sorts of cold meats, pies, &c. abundance of cakes, confectionary, fruit, &c. and the greatest variety of wines’ (79).

The next day, 25th March 1802, at Ramble near Port Maria, the Nugents had ‘second breakfast’ at about 2.00 p.m., following breakfast at 8.00 a.m. (79). It was a revealing meal for Nugent:

I now found the reason that the ladies here eat so little dinner. I could not help remarking Mrs. Cox, who sat next to me at the second breakfast. She began with fish, of which she ate plentifully, all swimming in oil. The cold veal, with the same sauce!! Then tarts, cakes, and fruit. All the other ladies did the same, changing their plates, drinking wine, &c. as if it were dinner. (79)

Nugent escaped to her room as quickly as she could and slept, but returned to dinner at 7.00 p.m. and dancing at 10.00 p.m. The following day, 26th March, the same thing happened, with an ‘immense second breakfast’ served at 2.00 p.m. at Shaw Park Estate, St. Ann, the time determined by the party’s slow travelling (79). From Shaw Park they proceeded to St. Ann’s Bay and Seville, where the Governor was summoned urgently to Spanish Town to deal with matters of state. Nugent spent most of the day, 28th March 1802, in her room ‘crying and reading’, feeling unwell. She ‘joined a large party at dinner’ but it was this meal that evoked her best known broadside, saying it was hardly a surprise the white men were so unhealthy, ‘for they really eat like cormorants and drink like porpoises’ (80–81; qtd James 127; Brereton 243.)

From Seville, where the Nugents had breakfast at 8.00 a.m. on 31st March, they went on to Rio Bueno and found there ‘a profuse second breakfast prepared for us, at the inn’ (82). Continuing westward along the north coast of the island, Nugent remained unwell and had to rest regularly. While in Falmouth, she noted on 7th April that ‘At 2 the *white* housekeeper came and said, “Ma’am, shall I

have the honour to offer you your breakfast", luncheon being always called so. — Mine consisted of chicken soup, ham, oysters swimming in oil, &c.' (86). Two days later, at Ironshore Estate, there was 'a great second breakfast' some time after midday (87), and the following day at Montego Bay 'an immense dinner party, as well as breakfast and second breakfast, and crowds of visitors all day' (88). On 11th April, a Sunday, Nugent was given a 'splendid second breakfast' after church, and on the Monday a 'more than usually large second breakfast' on account of the review of the militia (89). The party then travelled overland from Montego Bay to the south coast.

Halfway across the island, at Knockalva, the party got up at 4.30 a.m., hoping to 'escape' before their hosts rose, but found 'the house lit up, and a profuse breakfast prepared'. Worse was to come. When they reached Paradise Estate, there was 'A large party, breakfast ready'. Once they had dealt with this, they proceeded to Savanna-la-Mar, another review of militia and another 'grand second breakfast'. These three breakfasts were capped by a 'a profuse dinner' around 6 p.m. and finally a dance and supper (91–92). Then on Easter Sunday, 18th April 1802, after service in Black River, there was 'a grand second breakfast' at Luana (94). The following day they set off after 'breakfast' for Lacovia Estate and arrived to find 'another breakfast ready, though it was only ten o'clock'. Still at Lacovia, they were served at 1.00 p.m. 'a third breakfast of fish, hot stews of all sorts, &c.' (94). The next morning at 7.00 a.m., Nugent 'sat down in the piazza to a complete overseer's breakfast of salt fish, salt beef, Irish butter, &c. &c.' (94–95). At Derry in upper Clarendon, on 21st April, she found a 'fine second breakfast prepared for me' when she reached there at 2.00 p.m. (95). They reached Grove Place, near Porus, at 1.00 p.m. the next day and found a 'superb second breakfast ready' (96), and the day after had breakfast at 6.00 a.m. and 'second breakfast' at Mr. Osborne's at 2.00 p.m. (97). On 24 April they were back in Spanish Town.

Following the grand tour, Nugent stopped mentioning second breakfasts until after the birth of her son on 12th October 1802. She described in detail her 'Creole confinement' and the role of her black nurse Flora (123–24). Exactly a month after the birth, Nugent was staying at Government Pen, south of Spanish Town, and it was there she once more referred to 'second breakfast' as a part of her household schedule (128). There was another 'second breakfast' at the Pen in February 1803, by which time Nugent was once again pregnant (147). The next mention came in April when she had 'second breakfast' somewhere in interior St. Mary (154). On 17th April at Decoy, visitors arrived 'just as we were taking our second breakfast in the piazza' (154). Then on 13th June at Government Pen she had both breakfast and 'second breakfast' (162). Thus second breakfast was firmly established as part of the regime followed by the Nugent household, whether at home or visiting.

A second interruption of Nugent's journal-writing occurred around the time of the birth of her second child, a daughter, born on 8th September 1803. Nugent began recording second breakfasts again, starting on 28 October, when one



'Nurse Flora' reproduced from the 1839 edition of Lady Nugent's journal.

was given for a large group at King's House. There were many French people in the island and much talk of the revolution in St. Domingue. Further second breakfasts were noted by Nugent, on 31st October, and 3rd, 6th, 7th and 17th November (180–82). They were great occasions for collecting stories but Nugent said nothing about the food eaten or the times of its consumption. After this flurry, she recorded no more for almost a year, then on 13th September 1804, she noted that she had, 'at 11, a second breakfast, of fruit, wine, cake, &c.' before setting off from Spanish Town to Admiral's Pen, near Kingston (213). The next morning, Nugent had breakfast, went into Kingston to shop, and found a second breakfast ready when she returned to Admiral's Pen at 2 p.m., the meal consisting of 'mutton chops, &c.' The party then 'creolized till 3, when we went to dinner in our morning dresses; and, notwithstanding the late second breakfast, the whole party did ample justice to the Admiral's dinner' (213–14).

Back at King's House, Nugent noted second breakfasts on 2nd and 4th November 1804 (216). These were remarkable because of the large numbers of people present. On 26th December there was a smaller second breakfast at King's House, some friends of the Nugents joining them to witness the festival in the square and on the nearby streets of Spanish Town, with 'bonjoes, drums, and tom-toms, going all night, and dancing and singing and madness, all the morning' (219). The next second breakfast was not noted until 19th April 1805, when the regiment was in Spanish Town, and two others, in May and June, when the militia was reviewed (229, 235, 242). Nugent was then preparing to leave Jamaica for England, and mentioned just one more second breakfast, on 24th June 1805, four days before she embarked at Old Harbour (244). On board ship, her regime was to take ginger tea or coffee when she woke, followed by breakfast, then 'luncheon' at midday, and dinner soon after 4.00 p.m., and some porter at 8.00 p.m. before sleep (250–51). Second breakfasts disappeared from her journal.

While in Jamaica, Nugent recorded eating 'creole' breakfasts, some of them 'abundant', at various times before 9.00 a.m. Breakfasts of the more generic variety were eaten no later than 8.00 a.m., and as early as 6.00 a.m. or sunrise. Her second breakfasts were never earlier than 11.00 a.m. or later than 2.00 p.m. Although she recorded more occasions (seven of them) when she sat down at 2.00 p.m. than for any other particular time, these may have been remarked because of their lateness and attributed to delays on the road. Second breakfast was good for any day of the week. During the 1802 tour, that lasted fifty-two days overall, Nugent noted sixteen 'breakfasts', seventeen 'second breakfasts and forty 'dinners'. She 'dined' an additional six times. 'Suppers' were rare, eaten only after dances in the middle of the night and Nugent thought they were not part of the Jamaican regime (11). In spite of her protests that 'second breakfast' really constituted 'luncheon' she hardly ever referred to a meal by this term while in Jamaica (41).

The *Dictionary of Jamaican English* prepared by F.G. Cassidy and R.B. Le Page in the 1960s listed 'second breakfast' as a Jamaicanism, identifying the

earliest citation as Nugent's initial reference of 15th January 1802. Earlier uses are indeed rare but the first half of the nineteenth century produced a large crop (Marsden 6; Anon. 69; Madden 1:237). The practice was not confined to the plantation regime but shared by the town merchants who had 'second breakfast' typically at 11.00 a.m (Marsden 6). John Stewart in 1808 identified a pattern peculiar to creole women, saying 'The ladies here ... sit down to breakfast about nine, or past it, have what they call second breakfast at twelve, dine at three or four, and drink tea at eight; but seldom eat much, if any supper'. Of all these, he declared, 'the meal called second breakfast is the most favourite'. Further, 'This meal has something peculiar in it. It must consist of certain favourite viands [and] must be eaten with the assistance of the fingers alone; for knives and forks are on this occasion proscribed! In short, so fond are the ladies in general of this second breakfast, that they would ... relinquish all the other three, rather than part with this one' (190–91).

Nugent's experience of second breakfast reflected the eclectic mix of endemic, indigenous, naturalised and imported plants and animals that characterised Jamaican food culture more broadly. The process of naturalisation paralleled the social creolisation that Nugent often associated with these meals. Some of the ingredients, with roots far away across the globe, had already come to be thought of as Jamaican, and their creole status took on a rooted indigeneity. Other things, such as breadfruit and ackee, were too new to the island to have acquired such a standing. The process was still working itself out at Nugent's table. The great *melange* celebrated at second breakfast was a significant contributor to the selection of what would and would not enter the culture. It was a meal indulged in by the leisured classes during slavery but its dishes were directly or indirectly the creations of enslaved cooks, both African and creole-born, for whom the process of culinary creolisation was equally important.²

What exactly was served when Nugent was present? For creole breakfasts, eaten before 9.00 a.m., there were cassava cakes, fruit, pigeon pies, hams, tongue and rounds of (salt) beef, salt fish, oysters (with lots of oil), butter, chicken soup, and to drink chocolate, coffee and tea. Specifically for second breakfast, Nugent mentioned hot and cold meats (including mutton chops and cold veal), pies, stews and fries, most of these dishes highly spiced, as well as hot and cold fish pickled and plain (in lots of oil), peppers, tarts, cakes, confectionary, ginger sweetmeats, fruit (some of it 'acid'), sweet jellies, and to drink wine (including claret and hock-negus, Madeira and sangaree), mixed liquor, coffee and tea.

A modern Jamaican, lining up at the buffet of a Sunday brunch would expect to find ackee and salt fish, mackerel rundown, escoveitched fish, liver, callaloo, boiled yam, boiled green bananas, roast breadfruit, bammy, flour dumplings fried and boiled, fried plantain, avocado pear, fruit, juice, coconut water and coffee. Nugent mentioned none of these specifically, apart from the fruit and the coffee. Her pickled cold fish was probably the equivalent of escoveitch and her cassava

cakes came close to the bammy, but the gap remains wide. One reason for this perhaps surprising difference is simply that some of the signature dishes of modern Jamaica are in fact more recent arrivals than may be commonly appreciated.

Although ackee and salt fish, Jamaica's so-called national dish, has been attributed by some writers to the period of slavery, firm evidence of the combination does not appear until after abolition, and until the middle of the twentieth century it was always called 'salt fish and ackee' with the weight decidedly on the fish. Nugent knew the 'acqui' but seems not to have tasted it herself and merely reported what others said about the fruit (26). The ackee was a recent introduction to the island, though, and coming from West Africa, it was well known to the enslaved people. The breadfruit was also a late arrival, reaching Jamaica with Bligh only in 1793. Nugent mentioned it but only to say that the trees flourished (28). The people of Jamaica were still to develop a taste for this Polynesian food. The absence from Nugent's list of boiled green bananas is no surprise because, although the fruit had been long established in the island, it was not highly regarded until the late nineteenth century.

Nugent may have omitted some items from her lists of foods (or mentally placed them among her frequent etceteras) because they were just too common, as regulars on the menu or absolute basics. This may apply to the roasted and boiled tubers such as yam, coco and sweet potato, which dominated the diet and provision grounds of the enslaved people and were common on the tables of the planters. The same might apply to roast plantain, though fried plantain was a food the poor could rarely afford. The avocado was common and freely available to all comers and, Nugent noted, used by some of the English instead of butter on their breakfast toast (26). It was no luxury.

Again, it is fair to say that Nugent listed few exotic items among the things she had for breakfast. The pigeon baked in a pie may have included the ringtail pigeon which became scarce in the twentieth century but was regarded as one of the iconic delicacies of Jamaica in Nugent's time. Similarly the fish she ate may have included the mountain mullet, the second of the most praised delicacies of the island. The third delicacy, the black land crab, is completely missing from her account.

Among the hot and cold meats mentioned by Nugent, the mutton chops would have come from the island's sheep, though 'mutton' was soon to become more commonly associated with the goat. The cold veal, the flesh of young cows, was a luxury in Jamaica at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the late seventeenth century the island's veal had been highly praised but the expansion of the sugar industry created a great demand for working cattle so it became much more usual to kill cows for meat only after they had spent some years hauling the wagons of the estates (Marsden 12). The methods of cooking these meats were derived directly from British practice, stewed in stewpans, fried in frying pans and baked in ovens, but given a Jamaican flavour through the application

of pimento (allspice), hot peppers, and seasonings such as thyme, garlic and scallions. Nugent did not mention salt meat in this context, though it was much favoured by the planters, who especially enjoyed hams. It was frying and baking that set the cooking of the planters apart from that of the enslaved who generally had access only to boiling, stewing and roasting. The same applied to the cooking of fish, only the richer people possessing the pans and oil needed for frying, and as Nugent noted they chose to be profligate in the use of oil, lard and butter even for salt fish dishes.

Nugent did not specify the kinds of cakes that formed part of a Jamaican second breakfast, but they must have approximated the 'breakfast cakes' included in *The Jamaica Cookery Book* published in 1893 by Caroline Sullivan (89). This was the island's first cookbook. Nugent and her cooks had nothing specifically Jamaican to consult in their time. To make breakfast cakes:

Throw a cupful of wheat flour on a pastry board and mix it with half a teaspoon of baking soda and half a teaspoon of salt.

Add a walnut-sized lump of butter and an equal amount of lard, and chop into the flour mixture.

Beat an egg and mix with a saucerful of bani.

Add this mix to the flour and make a dough.

Roll out the dough about 1 cm thick and cut into shapes.

Bake for about 30 minutes in a hot oven.

In this recipe, based on Sullivan's version, the most obviously Jamaican element was the bani, derived from the Anglo-Irish 'bonny-clabber' meaning curdled milk or milk naturally clotted or coagulated on souring. Cassidy and Le Page identify bani as a variety of the Jamaicanisms 'bonny' and 'banikleva'. It was the bani and egg, and the lard, that distinguished these breakfast cakes from scones. Cow's milk can be substituted for the bani.

The tarts noticed by Nugent probably contained local fruits such as plantain, mango and chocho (long recognised as a substitute for stewed apple). They may also have included gizadas, the pastry shells filled with grated fresh coconut, sweetened and spiced, and these items blended into the confectionery and ginger sweetmeats. Nugent's acid fruit would have included indigenous varieties such as pineapple, pawpaw, soursop, guinep and cherimoya, and introduced exotics such as citron, seville orange, shaddock, jimbling, bimbling and pomegranate. Sugar was readily available, so all of these could be made into sweets with sufficient proportions added.

Jamaica produced none of the wine derived from grapes because the fruit did not flourish. Thus the claret, hock-negus, and Madeira were all imported. Hock was a dry white wine, originally associated with that produced along the Rhine. Negus was made by mixing wine (particularly port or sherry) with hot water and sweetening with sugar. The combination with hock and other wines was popular in the eighteenth century.

Madeira was much more common. It began as a cheap and simple table wine but by the beginning of the nineteenth century had become one of the most favoured of drinks, and modified specifically to satisfy West Indian taste. It was by Nugent's time highly-processed and expensive, a drink fit for the Governor's table. Madeira was typically produced from unblended stock and fortified with brandy to reduce the wine's sweetness. However, David Hancock contends that the planters preferred 'dark, sweet wines' with less brandy, and sometimes specifically ordered 'a quarter cask of red must [new wine or the unfermented juice as pressed from the grape] and another of brandy along with a pipe of unfortified wine so that it could be colored and strengthened to taste' (1998 197, 207; 2005).

Sangaree was made with sherry, mixed with water, nutmeg, lime peel and sugar. Nugent also mentioned unspecified 'mixed liquor' and it was probably in such concoctions that the island's rum came to the fore. As to the coffee, Jamaica emerged as an important producer only at the end of the eighteenth century but by Nugent's time, with the St. Domingue industry depressed, it had become one of the world's greatest exporters, and she must have drunk the local brew. Tea, of the Indian and China varieties, was imported but was joined by local styles such as ginger tea and a wide variety of herb teas.

During slavery, second breakfast was a term and a meal rarely shared by the enslaved (Lewis 407; Sturge and Harvey 263; Bleby 114). After abolition, it became a more common and broadly spread expression, but by the middle of the twentieth century 'second breakfast' was largely confined to the rural peasantry. It was then generally reduced to 'breakfast' (though eaten around midday) and contrasted to 'morning-breakfast' or 'tea' (the first meal of the day) when nothing more might be taken than herb tea (Cassidy and Le Page 68, 305, 399). The moveability of breakfast became a broader social model, as expressed in the Jamaican saying 'no ev'ry man brekfas ready de same time', meaning that individuals must set their own pace and accept that their responsibilities and possible good fortune may come at different stages of life (Watson 129).

Second breakfast may be forgotten in modern Jamaica but elements of the meal, and of its association with Nugent, do survive. In 1994 the Friends of the Georgian Society of Jamaica, in the United Kingdom, served an inaugural 'Lady Nugent's Breakfast', the menu including salt fish and ackee, escoveitched fish, mackerel run down, fried plantain, avocado pear, hard dough bread, fried johnny cakes, boiled green bananas, orange juice, coffee, and rum punch.³ As in the typical modern Jamaican brunch, not all of these items were known or recorded by Nugent, and the event was not designated as a *second* breakfast. Internationally, by the end of the twentieth century, the best known practitioners of 'second breakfast' were J.R.R. Tolkein's hungry hobbits, who squeezed it in early in the day, between breakfast and elevenses, but for them it was simply an element in day-long snacking. The creoles of Jamaica who enjoyed second breakfast in Nugent's time would have viewed such offerings as pitifully insufficient to

demonstrate their wealth and status and quite incapable of satisfying their vast and varied tastes.

NOTES

- ¹ Since first publication Nugent's journal has appeared in edited versions, beginning with those of Frank Cundall in 1907, 1934 and 1939, and Philip Wright in 1966, the last of these being reissued with a foreword by Verene Shepherd in 2002 (University of the West Indies Press). References here are to Wright's 1966 edition. On Nugent, see Brathwaite 109–110; Mohammed 145–66; Brereton; Klepp and McDonald.
- ² See Higman.
- ³ Information kindly supplied by Pamela Beshoff, who conceived the event, and Stephen Porter.

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