

Dugg, Kate, Kitty, Little Chloe, Lugg, Lucinda, Louisa, Mary Lane, Madam
Mawell, Myrtilla, Mai, Madlane, Old Dorenda, Old-bumba, Old-Hora,
Old-Prevent, Old-binda, Old-Mary, Old-Chloe, Old-Benebe, Old-Jany, Peggy
Pamela, Pakenah, Phoe, Pindah, Potty, Quasheba, Rose, Ruffy, Rachael,
Rilla, Sunday, Sally, Annetta, Sarah, Susannah, Silvia, Sabina, Abilla, &
Sally, Nelly, Silence, Grace, Jesty, Jany, Violet, Windmill-Leah, Windmill
-Jane, Yellow-Peg, Wroce-Peggy, Mountain-Abba, Annah, Betty, Anne-Ab
Mountain-Jane, Lubba, Mary, Mountain-Molly, Minnah-Betty, Old-Peg,
Old-Hora, Old-Quasheba, Old-Dinah, Old-Ragee, Mountain-Peggy, Peggy, &
Pawella, Mountain-Phoe, Pafia, Phillis, Mountain-Quasheba, Phoe, Sally
Shabra, Old-Violet, Joan, Mountain-Ruffy, Old-Navy (Women), Monday, Mary
Prevent, Lettice, Louis, Gudge, Andrew, Tom-Bombara, Belinda, Dick, Menah
Yanah, Kacust, Phoe, Neptune, Mary, Jany, Jacob, Goliath, Peg, Leah, &

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Hamilton's plantation and its enslaved people

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Contexts

A brief overview of Hamilton's

Hamilton's Estate is a former sugar plantation named after the family of Andrew Hamilton who bought it in 1772. Local lore and tourist literature have sometimes suggested that the plantation belonged to, or was associated with, the family of Alexander Hamilton, the American statesman.¹ Documentary research in the 1990s, and more recently, has shown that this was not the case and that Andrew Hamilton and Alexander Hamilton were not related.²

Hamilton's Estate consists of an amalgamation of several properties: 'Walker's' or 'the Windmill' which had previously belonged to Thomas Walker and which Walker had sold to Ralph Payne (324 acres) and a plantation called 'Payne's Upper or Morgan's (234 acres).³ On his death in 1763 Ralph Payne left both properties to his son of the same name. Ralph Payne junior was knighted in 1771 and appointed Governor of the Leeward Islands. Shortly afterwards in 1772 he sold the inherited estates for £37,000 sterling to Andrew Hamilton, a merchant trading between London, St Kitts and Nevis.

In 1772 Andrew Hamilton married Hannah Vaughan. After giving birth to several sons, she died in England in 1782. Hamilton re-married and with his second wife, Martha Williams Herbert of Nevis, led an expensive lifestyle in London.⁴

In 1802 Andrew Hamilton sold the plantation for £30,000 sterling to his son William Vaughan Hamilton, then in his late twenties, who financed the purchase by way of a mortgage and bonds. William Vaughan Hamilton became a clergyman, married a woman with a Jamaican background and apparently lived for some time in Jamaica.⁵

Owners of Hamilton's and numbers of enslaved people

Year	Plantation owner	Number of enslaved people
1772	Andrew Hamilton	250
1784	Andrew Hamilton	226
1802	William Vaughan Hamilton	270
1817	Thomas Latham	221
1822	Thomas Latham deceased	190
1825	George Latham & Co	183
1828	Alfred Latham	187/194
1831	Alfred Latham	196
1834	Alfred Latham	206

Fluctuations in the sugar economy and increasing costs, combined with the Hamiltons living beyond their means, took their toll on the plantation. Although father and son did spend some time on Nevis, the plantation was during their ownership mostly run by managers and attorneys. Both father

and son mortgaged their estate several times to British merchant houses but, unable to clear their debts, by 1817, when the first official island-wide Slave Register was taken, the estate was in possession of one of the London lenders, Thomas Latham. He died in 1818 and left the estate in trust to his wife Ann and his sons George and Charles. In 1821 the heirs effectively foreclosed on Revd William Vaughan Hamilton.⁶ After George Latham's death in 1825 his brother Alfred became trustee to their father's estate, and Hamilton's remained under his control until Emancipation in 1834.⁷

It is against this background that the enslaved people lived and worked on the estate.

Nevis

The islands of St Kitts and Nevis were among the first in the Caribbean to be colonised by Europeans. English settlers arrived in Nevis in the late 1620s and quickly decimated the native population. The newcomers cleared the land to grow tobacco, cotton and indigo but in the 1640s began switching to sugar cane as their main crop. Sugar and its by-product, rum, were successful and profitable export articles, and by 1700 Nevis plantations produced not only a fifth of all sugar made in the British colonies but theirs also 'won the reputation of being the best made in any of the English islands'.⁸

The settlers at first employed white indentured labourers from the British Isles who contracted themselves to work for free for an employer for a number of years in exchange for free passage and eventual payment. Unable to attract a sufficient number of indentured servants, Nevis also accepted convicts and prisoners and, along with other colonies, began to import enslaved Africans. By the late 1670s the 3,850 Africans living in the island outnumbered white people by about 330.⁹ A hundred years later it was estimated that the enslaved population had grown to 8,420 while the number of whites had dropped to 1,510.¹⁰

The transatlantic trade in enslaved Africans (Transatlantic Slave Trade)

Between 1500 and 1870 approximately 12-15 million Africans were forcibly transported from their homelands in Africa to work on the plantations in the Americas.

- Ships sailed from Europe to the west coast of Africa carrying goods for sale, such as cloth, brass pans, guns and gunpowder.
- African merchants and rulers exchanged these commodities for enslaved Africans - some of whom were criminals or prisoners of war.
- The captives were held in terrible conditions in slaving forts and smaller barracoons along the coast.
- Many had died while being marched to the coast; others succumbed to disease in the stinking holding cells.
- European slaving vessels either took onboard large consignments of captives from the forts, or they stopped off at various locations along the coast to pick up small numbers.
- The average crossing time from Africa to the Caribbean was two to three months.
- Historians have estimated that about two million African men, women and children perished during the Atlantic crossing.

Once in the Caribbean, the slaving vessels had to be cleaned, and carpenters had to refit them so that they could carry barrels of sugar, molasses and rum on their voyage back to Britain. Additional ships shuttled between Britain and the colonies, bringing plantation supplies and returning with plantation produce.

Although enslaved Africans are known to have been on Nevis from the end of the late 1640s, the first recorded voyage was in 1664. Between then and 1725, 125 slaving voyages are documented as landing at Nevis – on average about two a year. In one particular ten-year period between 1672 and 1681 an estimated 7,610 Africans captives were taken ashore either in Charlestown, at Morton's Bay or at Newcastle.¹¹

Between 1728 and until Britain withdrew from the Transatlantic Slave Trade in 1807, only another 18 slaving vessels arrived in Nevis although they still delivered African captives to St Kitts.¹²

Amelioration and abolition

In Britain anti-slave trade sentiments and parliamentary pressure grew in the 1780s, culminating in the British withdrawal from the Transatlantic Slave Trade in 1807. Plantation slavery, however, continued in British colonies until August 1834.

The anti-slavery lobby had hoped that once the flow of Africans stopped, planters would see the need to improve the living and working conditions of their enslaved people so that births would increase, and deaths decrease. This was the position of the so-called ameliorationists who sought to improve enslaved people's condition without seeking to end slavery immediately. In order to monitor the population trends, the British government then required all planters and individual slaveholders to provide information about their enslaved people and account for any increases and decreases. This resulted in the so-called Slave Registers, starting with a detailed inventory in 1817 which was updated at intervals until 1834.

Meanwhile, expecting to be freed, enslaved people found many different ways to assert themselves in an effort to take control of their lives. Revolts and uprisings took place in Barbados and Demerara; in Nevis they rioted, broke canes and set fire to crops and plantation buildings. On one plantation workers refused to follow orders, and the owner brutally punished a large number of them. Edward Huggins's mistreatment and his subsequent acquittal after a sham trial fuelled the debate in Britain about the abolition of slavery.

Against a background of unrest and pressure from British ameliorationists and abolitionists, in the 1820s Christian institutions and schools were established in Nevis and elsewhere in the colonies. Planters realised that it would be in their interest for the church to instil in their workers Christian principles of duty, obedience and abstinence. After pressure from the British Parliament, along with other colonies, the Nevis Legislature abolished the cart-whip and the cat-o-nine-tails as emblems of authority, regulated the number of lashes slaveholders could administer and ordered slaveholders to refrain from whipping anyone with visible marks from a recent flogging until the wounds had healed.

The decade before the abolition of slavery was marked by droughts, hurricanes and earthquakes, and by increased acts of resistance: thefts, arson, burglaries, and murders. In Nevis the 1820s were tough indeed.

Decline

By the 1820s Nevis had lost its prominent position in the sugar market. The soil was exhausted, and an oversupply elsewhere had depressed sugar prices. Europe now produced its own beet sugar, and the island's cane sugar had to compete with products from Cuba and from new British territories - among them Mauritius, Trinidad, and St Lucia. While income from the sale of produce had decreased - sugar was back to its 1750s level and rum was down by 15 per cent - overheads had risen. For instance, the basic raw material for making barrels, the white oak staves, had cost £3 per thousand in the 1750s and by the 1820s had risen almost seven-fold to £20 per thousand. Other imports also cost more so that by the 1820s the average expenditure on the basic plantation requirements had doubled.

With a drop in profits many estates in Nevis were pushed below the margins of viability. The scope for reducing overheads was limited and productivity could not be improved. Nevis, with its rugged terrain and rocky soil, had good cane pieces but these lay scattered about on hillsides and therefore did not easily lend themselves to being worked with ploughs, and there was little spare land for growing food crops. In the years 1756 to 1762 annual profitability in the whole of the Leeward Islands had been 12.9 per cent; during the period from 1820 to 1834 it sank to 3.9 per cent.¹³ Once the damage from hurricanes and droughts was added to the equation, for many plantations, already heavily mortgaged, there was no chance of recovery.

Compensation

With the British West Indian plantation economy in decline and increasingly restless plantation populations demanding their freedom, it became clear that the old system was no longer viable - particularly after a large-scale revolt in Jamaica in 1831/2. Once the British government ceased to protect the West India interests, planters tried to rescue what they could by pressing for compensation and, to make it possible to abolish slavery, the government agreed to their demands. The Slavery Abolition Act 1833 provided for money to be paid to anyone who claimed enslaved people as theirs, and to finance this, the government borrowed £20 million sterling.

Ann and Charles Latham, the then owner of Hamilton's, received a share of that money. Their compensation for a total of 207 enslaved people amounted to £3,504 sterling.¹⁴

Slaveholders who in August 1834 lost their free, forced labour were compensated. The 'free' labour received nothing and had to undergo an unpaid 'apprenticeship' until they became fully free on 1 August 1838.

Where and how were enslaved people sold?

A yard in Charlestown which is bordered by Main Street and Crosse's Alley has long been called the 'Slave Market'. Some people think that it was the site where enslaved Africans were sold after they had been taken off the slaving vessels in Charlestown. Others have suggested that this was more likely to have been the market place where, particularly on Sundays, enslaved people sold the wares they had produced in their spare time and which they could sell on their own account: foodstuffs, small domestic animals and perhaps craft items. The same applied to Independence Square in Basseterre in St Kitts although in the 1820s an auction house did exist in that square and at least one sale of enslaved people had taken place there.¹⁵

So far, no documentary evidence has come to light which confirms that there was a 'slave market' in Nevis. The only market mentioned in the historic records is the 'market place' or the 'public market' which was a base for trading and public announcements, as well as a place where punishments were carried out. Lack of documentary proof, however, does not exclude the possibility that at some point enslaved people were also traded at the site by Crosse's Alley.

Before the sale

Having lain shackled for weeks in the slaving vessels' holds in a space of perhaps 6 ft x 1 ft 6 inches, the African captives arrived dispirited and fearful, sickly and soiled. To prepare them for the sale one captain allowed two days,¹⁶ others three or even four.¹⁷ The ship was cleaned and fresh water distributed so that people could wash themselves. They were given nourishing food,¹⁸ and to make them look 'sleek and handsome',¹⁹ they were rubbed with palm-oil, which not only emphasised their physique but also hid small blemishes. Caustic was applied on sores from yaws so that new skin would grow more quickly.²⁰ Men were shaved²¹ and women encouraged to brush and braid their hair.

Different locations

Various sale locations were mentioned in Nevis and in several other islands. These locations may not necessarily have been fixed, as the 'Hire of a yard and shade for the negroes during the sale' in St Vincent suggests.

Nevis: aboard slaving vessels

One sale was from the *James* which arrived from Barbados in Nevis on Wednesday, 14 June 1676. After Captain Blake had sold at Barbados most of the Africans he and his crew had brought from the Gold Coast (today's Ghana), before he left he took on board 223 enslaved people from another ship. A day after arriving at Nevis, Captain Blake and the local agent sold twenty people from aboard the *James*. On the following Tuesday the remaining people were made ready for sale on Wednesday, and by Thursday almost all had been sold from aboard ship. This included twenty so-called 'refuse slaves' but not 18 others who were ill and one who was mute. They had to be carried ashore where they were sold. Since arriving in Nevis, by Thursday the 22nd eight women and one man died, three of them were 'very thin and weak'.²²

Nevis: at Morton's Bay on board ship, on the beach, or at a storehouse

In the 1670s and 1680s agents for the Royal African Company imported enslaved people on the company account for distribution throughout the Leeward Islands. The company stored its imported goods at a storehouse at Morton's Bay, as well as sugar waiting for export:

'The factors accepted the cargo at the dock on Morton's Bay... They boarded the vessel on its arrival, counted the slaves, checked their health, and auctioned them off to the planters whose carts or sloops had come to line the beach and carry the slaves away. Thereafter the factors collected the payments ... and dunned defaulting purchasers.'²³

In the seventeenth century the Royal African Company held a monopoly over the trade in enslaved Africans, but 'interlopers', pirates and privately financed vessels not licenced by the company brought over enslaved people and tried to land them at Nevis with the connivance and assistance of members of the island's Legislature.²⁴

Antigua and St Croix: from a warehouse or a merchant's house

Once cleaned, in Antigua the captives were taken to the warehouse of the merchant to whom the 'cargo' was consigned. The merchant advertised the sale by trumpet or by hoisting a flag.²⁵ In St Croix a notice of a sale of 249 enslaved Africans 'just imported' from the Gold Coast invited buyers to attend a 'private sale' at an address near the harbour. The sale was to begin at nine o'clock and continue over the following days until every person was sold.²⁶

Nevis, St Vincent and St Kitts: from a slave yard, a Guinea yard, or a court yard

In arguing generally that the experience of enslaved African was different from that of Creoles, an observer wrote of Creoles that they know 'none of that anxious and painful suspense ... when they are exposed to sale in a slave yard'.²⁷

Another term for a slave yard was Guinea yard; Europeans also called the trade in Africans the 'Guinea trade', based on the name for much of the coast of West Africa, the Guinea Coast.

Dr Collins, a doctor and planter active in St Vincent, noted 'Guinea Yards' and other details of sales, and that he had lost very few people, even those bought 'out of Guinea Yards'. By him making this point and by noting the emaciated appearance of captives in the Guinea Yards he confirmed that many enslaved Africans arrived in very poor shape. His statement also shows that there was more than one 'Guinea Yard' in St Vincent.²⁸

Another term for an area in which enslaved Africans were confined until being sold comes from evidence from St Kitts from before 1768. A witness stated that enslaved Africans from the recently arrived *King George* were taken to a court yard and sold there by scramble.²⁹

Nevis: at various auction sites

In cases where planters and others fell into debt, the Deputy Provost Marshall (DPM) held public auctions at which whole estates with all, or some of their enslaved people, were being sold.

Many so-called 'Marshal's sales' of people and property took place during the second half of the eighteenth century on Nevis. The unspecified location of each sale would have been at the discretion of the DPM who was acting as an officer of the Court. This may have been at or near the Courthouse which, until at least 1811, moved around various private houses.³⁰

St Kitts: at a tavern

From St Kitts comes evidence of Baillie's Tavern Sale at which enslaved people already in the island were sold. It took place near Sandy Point.³¹

Different methods

Evidence suggests that in St Kitts and in Nevis enslaved people were sold not just in a variety of places but also by a variety of methods. There appears to have been a difference between sales of those enslaved people who already lived in the Caribbean and those who had just arrived from Africa.

By private sale

Many individuals already in the island were sold privately, often singly or in small numbers. These transactions were confirmed mostly, but not always, by Bills of Sale. That process cost money and needed to be officially witnessed and documented in the Court records.

By 'scramble'

Africans arriving in the Caribbean were sometimes sold by scramble. The sale started with a signal, such as the beat of a drum, or by a gun being fired. This heightened the tension and excitement. As soon as buyers heard the signal, they rushed into the yard, or aboard ship. Some instantly grabbed as many individuals as they could with their hands, while others tied several handkerchiefs together, or they used ropes and with these encircled as many as they could.³² Friends and relatives were invariably separated.³³

'Enjoyed as a spectacle by provincial bores',³⁴ scrambles caused fear and terrible distress among the newly arrived Africans, and buyers found the random snatching unsatisfactory. In their haste they could easily overlook flaws or injuries. Scrambles became less frequent in the latter part of the eighteenth century.³⁵

By ticket

Buyers also did not much like sale by ticket. 'On their arrival, the [enslaved] people are generally divided in three sets; the healthy, well-assorted, or prime people; the puny and ill-assorted; and the emaciated, sickly, or refuse people.'³⁶ The Africans were grouped in lots of perhaps ten and the lots numbered. The agent fixed the price. Buyers drew tickets from a hat, jostling and struggling to pull out as many lots as they intended to take.³⁷ Planters complained that merchants held the upper hand; they alone determined the price and, when sorting the captives into lots, might mix in weaker individuals. For the Africans there was a chance, though, that they might end up in the same batch as their friends and relatives.

At auction

At auction the state of the market dictated the price, and buyers had the advantage of looking over their potential purchases an hour or so before the auction began. Planters who intended to buy many Africans may have taken along a barber-surgeon to physically examine the captives and to determine that they were healthy. The Africans were naked so that buyers could see injuries and flaws, and buyers closely inspected their wares. They marked their choices by tying a 'small piece of thread' on their chosen individuals' fingers or feet. During the auction, each person was called, one by one, to stand on the floor and was offered at a minimum price set by the auctioneer. The men were sold first, then the women, then the boys and the girls. Inevitably, friends and relatives became separated.³⁸

At auction the Africans might, for the first time, see Creoles who were up for sale.³⁹ A contemporary writer pointed out that the experience of being sold made Africans fundamentally different from these island-born people because Creoles had not experienced the indignity of being sold publicly.⁴⁰ While some Creoles were sold publicly, the numbers were relatively small and they came prepared; they knew what to expect from an auction. And they were clothed. One reason why Creoles thought of themselves better than newly arrived Africans was that they 'are brought naked from Guinea and at their sale are seen by all'.⁴¹

Whether attracted by the spectacle of naked Africans or by the general hubbub, for whites these sales were a popular entertainment. They were social occasions, a day out for 'all the citizens of the island'.⁴² This was underlined by the large amounts of food and drink which the agents provided.⁴³

For a sale in St Vincent merchants' agents incurred the following costs:

Advertising sale and handbills and drum and fife attending the sale	£1:8:4
Hire of 2 vessels to Grenada, Tobago and other islands with information of the sale	£22:12:7
Hire of a yard and shade for the negroes during the sale	£6
A dinner, punch etc at the sale	£27:6:9 currency ⁴⁴

Unsold Africans

Having picked the best of the new arrivals, some remained - mostly 'the feeble or the aged' Africans. Their fate might be decided the following day.⁴⁵ In an appalling piece of contemporary terminology these ailing people were described as 'refuse slaves'. The numbers of 'refuse slaves' on any one voyage varied according to the conditions on the voyage across the Atlantic, the so-called Middle Passage, but Dr Thomas Cochrane estimated in 1789 that they could make up seven to eight per cent in any cargo.⁴⁶

Contemporary information about these unsold Africans comes from St Kitts. It was said that some were so weak that they could not be brought ashore⁴⁷ while others were too ill to be sold. They were left to their own devices. They ended up 'lying about the beach at St Kitts, in the market place, and in the different parts of the town.' In terrible shape from their dreadful journey across the Atlantic,

there was no one to look after them and presumably most just perished. Others were mixed in with healthy ones and sold in lots, but those who were 'in too deplorable a state to be exhibited with the others' were 'reserved for sale at the hammer, if they live[d] long enough to be brought to it.' Bundled into small groups, they were mostly bought by free people and poor whites. Some believed that with good feeding and care these sickly wretches could 'turn out as good as the others' but others put their recovery rate at one in three, or even one in four.⁴⁸ They were cheap; when a healthy ten-year-old child cost N£50 (N£=Nevis currency), for the same price one could buy four of these weak, abused people.⁴⁹

A note about money

In the agents' account on the previous page the costs were charged in St Vincent currency.

In this text all other sums are in Nevis currency, abbreviated to N£ - except for those amounts that are in pound sterling.

Before the pre-decimal currency system was introduced, a British pound consisted of 20 shillings and 240 pence.

The exchange rate between Nevis currency and pound sterling varied over time. In the second half of the eighteenth century it was between 160 and 185 per cent; in the first half of the nineteenth century it was 200 per cent, which meant that £2 Nevis currency was then worth £1 sterling.

To convert historic Nevis currency sums quickly but *very roughly* into *today's pound sterling* amounts, this can most easily be done by multiplying each historic Nevis pound sum by 50. The cost of a healthy ten-year-old child (N£50) therefore equates to a sum *today* in the region of £2,500.⁵⁰

Seasoning newly arrived African captives

Although most of the Africans who were forcibly transported to Nevis were taken from West Africa, they came from many different regions and environments, and many different cultural and religious backgrounds. They spoke different languages, and this great mix of humanity was supposed to form itself into one unit, with all members willing to accommodate themselves to the needs of the plantation.

According to contemporary observers, all African captives arriving in the Caribbean were

... subject to worms, and other disorders, arising from change of climate and food; they should, therefore, when first purchased, be blooded, and purged with *vervain* and *sempre-vive*; they should be allowed plenty of food easily digested, and treated with kindness, they will then take to labour by degrees, and perform their task with cheerfulness.⁵¹

This in effect summed up what constituted 'seasoning': cleansing the Africans physically and mentally of their previous existence, getting them used to plantation life while gradually introducing them to a new work regime so that they became obedient workers.

Some accepted their condition more easily than others but for all 'slavery involved a give-and-take' between the slaveholders and the enslaved people – a give-and-take over how far one could push the other and by how much those that were pushed resisted their exploitation.⁵²

Who did the seasoning?

To introduce the newcomers to the plantation regime, slaveholders paired them with those who had accepted their enslavement: mature and faithful servants particularly those who were past productive labour. If a substantial consignment of new Africans arrived, there had to be a sufficient number of these reliable older folk to guide and instruct them: 'It is very difficult to season a large lot of slaves without the assistance of your most sensible negroes.' One way of dealing with this was to parcel out the newcomers.⁵³

Adjustment

For Africans bought directly from the slaving vessels seasoning was the process whereby they 'learned the ropes of their new life'.⁵⁴ They would begin to acclimatise to their new surroundings and to new diseases, adapt to communicate with people from diverse cultures while getting accustomed to the life of forced labour. Not without reason, the seasoning period was also described as 'breaking in' the new arrivals.⁵⁵

But new arrivals did not just have to adjust to diseases and the physical environment – the climate, housing, food, and work – they also had to overcome the stress and the emotional hurt caused by their forced removal from their homeland and the trauma of the horrendous journey across the Atlantic, as well as the uncertainties and indignities experienced when they had been put up for sale. The children among them had to undergo these frightful experiences on their own, without the

support from their families.⁵⁶ If they were to survive, they had to learn much and they had to learn fast.

Integration

The main task was to integrate the newly arrived Africans. The chosen individuals would teach them the kind of skills which would allow them to negotiate relationships with their fellow workers and their neighbours, as well as the white folk on the plantation. Seasoning included the process whereby the Africans became socialised and integrated into the plantation community.⁵⁷

The Africans became members of an artificial village and of an artificial community. Within this community, they had to find their place, establish themselves. For every man and woman who gave them a home, for every old woman who taught them obedience and subservience, for every person who comforted them, there would have been someone trying to have their fun with the newcomers, play tricks on them, mock their foreign ways. Sexual predators, both white and black, were ready to exploit their bewilderment. Children had to overcome many obstacles on their paths into adulthood. But as a white carpenter, who once served on slaving ships, had observed, these Africans came well equipped. The captives he had encountered were all 'capable of learning any thing much quicker' than whites.⁵⁸

From the day new people set foot on a plantation their relationships with slaveholders began to be defined and, recognising this and wanting to get off to a good start, slaveholders attempted to attach reluctant newcomers by allowing them 'for some time a greater share of indulgence in smaller matters than others'.⁵⁹ By this they created a divide-and-rule situation between new arrivals and existing inhabitants. The island-born people, the Creoles, added to this division by calling the recent arrivals 'saltwater negroes' or 'guinea birds'. They were, however, all united when they dismissed newly arrived whites as 'saltwater bakkro'. These white newcomers, as well as newly imported animals, also needed seasoning; planters recognised that for mules it was 'much better' to remain a year in the island before they were put to work.⁶⁰

Foster parents

Two planters, Bryan Edwards in Jamaica and Sir William Young in St Vincent, found that far from seeing these new arrivals as an additional burden, the settled people welcomed their company and assistance and 'declared that they could support them without difficulty.' Bryan Edwards observed that many

proposed each of them to adopt one of their country-folks in the room of the children they had lost by death, or had been deprived of in Africa ... and all of them, I presume, because, among other considerations, they expected to revive and retrace in the conversation of their new visitors, the remembrance and ideas of past pleasures and scenes of their youth. ... The strangers too were best pleased with this arrangement, and afterwards considered themselves as the adopted children of those by whom they were thus protected.⁶¹

These foster parents were responsible for their 'children' until they died.⁶² It is very likely that, as a result of this artificially created kinship and with their own chain of kinship snapped, the adopted sons and daughters honoured these caring elders by naming their own children after them.

Length of seasoning

Seasoning was also about getting the newcomers used to plantation work and, by allowing them a period of adjustment, planters protected their investments. Plantation owners and their managers knew this and envisaged a gradual progress from light to the hardest kind of work: 'it will of course be a few years before they will be able to go thro' the extreme drudgery of plantation slavery.'⁶³

These 'few years' could have lasted from as little as one to as long as six or seven years, depending on the state of health and of the age of the newcomers. One planter believed that, if children were bought between the ages of 12 and 15, they would be fully seasoned when they reached 19 and 'as handy as them that is born in the country'.⁶⁴ However, generally seasoning appears to have lasted for around three years.⁶⁵ An arbitrary length of time, this would have been elastic and subject to additional factors such as what work needed to be done and who else was available to do it when the new arrivals were first put to work. Three years was also the usual length for contracts of employment for overseers and for some apprentices in trades, and this may have been the foundation for the Africans' period of preparation and adaptation.

Deaths during seasoning

For the whole of the British West Indies, for the second half of the eighteenth-century a historian has put the average rate of deaths of Africans during the seasoning period at between one in every five and one in six,⁶⁶ but in the 1790s a St Kitts planter reported a rate as high as one in four.⁶⁷

Several factors would have contributed to high or low death rates, both pre-purchase and post-purchase. If a slaving vessel had been tightly packed, had a lengthy or difficult passage during which the crew doled out poor provisions, people would have arrived in much worse shape than those who had experienced shorter crossings with relatively better care. The length of time slavers anchored in harbour and the quality of the pre-sale preparations would also have contributed as to how well or how badly Africans fared immediately after being purchased.

The number of deaths during the seasoning period would also have depended on how quickly anyone was put to work and during which part of the annual cycle: whether newcomers started off holing and harvesting or carrying out light maintenance work on the plantation. Some historians have argued, however, that diseases played a greater role than the plantation regime. They attributed high rates of death among unseasoned Africans as 'most probably related to encounters with new disease rather than to deliberate overworking or poor care'.⁶⁸ Particular local conditions would have played a role, too, such as the arrival during an outbreak of smallpox in the island or during the aftermath of a destructive hurricane.

Africans or Creoles?

Africans were generally thought better suited for fieldwork and more expendable than Creoles who did not need seasoning and often brought with them useful plantation skills.

Africans already settled in the island also did not need to be seasoned, and the risk of losing those people in the first few years was thereby lessened. This advantage was reflected in their purchase price; seasoned Africans and Creoles cost more.⁶⁹

Enslaved people's names

Types of names on Hamilton's in 1772

According to a list of 250 enslaved people, in 1772 the names could be divided into the following groups:

- Names indicating origin, African and otherwise
- African names
- Days of the week in the West African tradition
- Names indicating occupations
- Names indicating relationships
- Names indicating physical characteristics
- Classical names
- Place names (males only)
- Miscellaneous names

Several people also had unusual, unidentified names but over half had ordinary, English names.

Names indicating origin

- Men, a woman and a child: Bambara-Bristol, Bambara-Lucy, (twice) Bambara (from primarily today's southern Mali, Ghana, Guinea, Burkina Faso and Senegal)
- Men: Ebbo-Bristol, Ebbo-Constant, Jack Ebbo (present-day Nigeria)
- Men and women: Congo Will, Congo Dick; Congo Lucy, Congo Moll, Congo Molly (from Central Africa, including Angola)
- Women: Minnah Betty, Minah (from Elima, today's Ghana)
- Woman: Papa (Pawpaws, also Popos, or Poppas,⁷⁰ from the southern part of today's Benin)
- Man and woman: Creole Dick, Creole-Lucy (island-born, i.e. in Nevis)
- Man and woman: Saltpond Sam, Saltpond Nelly (from St Kitts)
- Man and woman: Basseterre Jack, Basseterre Nanny (from St Kitts)
- Men and women: Blackrock-Quashey, Blackrock-Jack, Blackrock Ned; Blackrock-Leah, Blackrock-Betty (from Blackrock plantation, Parris's plantation in Nevis, or from Black Rock, St Kitts?)
- 'Mountain' people probably were from Payne's 'Upper' plantation:
 - Men (9): Mountain Ben, Mountain Ned, Mountain-Ormond, Mountain-Oxford, Mountain-Peter, Mountain-Pompey, Mountain Quashey, Mountain Sammy, Mountain Tom
 - Women (8): Mountain Abbah, Mountain Juno, Mountain Molly, Mountain Peggy, Mountain-Pheebe, Mountain Quasheba, Mountain Ruthy, Mountain-Sarah
 - Children (5): Mountain-Phebe, Mountain-Sarah, Mountain-Peter, Mountain-Goliah, Mountain-Tom
- Women: Windmill-Leah, Windmill-Juno (from/on 'Walker's or Windmill plantation')

The origins suggested by the names do not necessarily mean that people were native to, for example, the slaving port of Elima (Minnah Betty). Many African captives were brought from the

hinterland to the coast for shipment, and with slaving vessels often picking up a few people from each holding fort along the coast, much mixing could have taken place aboard ship.

African names (West African)

- Men: Affoe, Cuffee, Quacow, Quamin, Quashey
- Women: Abbah, Affeba, Armah, Beneba, Cumba, Quasheba, Jubo/Juba
- Children: Cudjoe, Mingo, Mimbah

In total, fewer than twenty people had names which were recognisably African. Their origin lies in the naming customs among the Akan people living in today's Ghana and were anglicised versions of Akan names, such as Cuffee (Kofi) for a boy born a Friday and Affeba (Afua) for a girl born on the same day. However, it is not known whether those with African names had been bought directly from the slaving ships and were named on the plantation, or whether they arrived on Hamilton's already named by other slaveholders in Nevis or neighbouring islands. They could also have been plantation-born.

Days of the week in the West African tradition, translated

- Sunday (female), Monday (male)

Names indicating occupations

- Men and women: Watch-Ben, House-Constant, Smithy; Turkey-Jeany, Mary-Cane

Names indicating relationships

- Jackson's Cuffy (link to a previous owner?)
- Betty-Caesar (Caesar's wife or daughter)
- Little-Jemmy and Little-Chloe may have been the children or grandchildren of men and woman called Jemmy and Chloe

Names indicating physical characteristics

- Men: Long Constant, Long Peter
- Men and women: Yellow Bristol, Yellow Johnny; Yellow Bess, Black Bess
- Man (1): Old-Dick; women (7): Old-Bess, Old-Dinah, Old-Flora, Old-Hagar, Old-Quasheba, Old-Rosey, Old-Violet

Classical names

- Men: Achilles, Nero, Pompey, Scipio, Jupiter, Cato, Neptune, Titus
- Women: Juno, Pathena, Dido

A small number of the names on Hamilton's were borrowed from Greek mythology or Roman history. This was a common naming pattern; in St Croix a planter found that *most* names were 'heathen', such as Catto and Jupiter.⁷¹ In England, the commonest of the classical names, Pompey, was by the 1750s said to have been virtually synonymous with a black servant.⁷² The name was popular on Hamilton's, too; in 1772 there were two men and a boy called Pompey.

Classical names were revived in contemporary literature, and it is therefore likely that the names were not taken directly from their original sources, such as the Greek tragedies, but passed into circulation through popular arts. Joseph Addison's tragedy *Cato* (performed in St Kitts in the 1750s),⁷³ reinforced in popular memory the names of the Roman republican Cato and of the dictator Caesar - very common names for enslaved men, and in William Shakespeare's plays, such as *Troilus and Cressida* and *Julius Caesar*, characters like Achilles and Cato reached wide audiences. Many more – and not just classical - names can be traced back to Shakespeare's plays. However, at that time many ships, too, were named after classical figures – Mercury, Hector, Hercules -⁷⁴ and herein may lay the pointer to a slightly different interpretation. Some Africans may have been named after the ship which had transported them to the Caribbean.

Place names (males only)

- Aberdeen, Ebbo Bristol, Bambara Bristol, England, Kent, Leeds, Nevis, Oxford, Pembroke

Nine men on Hamilton's bore the names of towns and counties in Britain, even England itself, as well as Nevis. It has to be remembered that naming someone after place would not have been as insulting as it appears today because there is also an African tradition of using these, as well as special events, or aspects of a person's personality.⁷⁵

When bestowing place names, those who chose names for enslaved people opted for particular locations to which they were connected. On Hamilton's, and in Nevis generally, Welsh, Scottish and Irish were less common than English places which reflected the sort of links the white inhabitants had with the different parts of the British Isles. Some of the place names, however, may also have been those of military and political leaders who were particularly admired or detested: the Duke of Kent, for example, was a son of the reigning monarch while the last Earl of Oxford fought on the Royalist side during the English Civil War.

Miscellaneous names

- Garrick – an English actor (1717-1779)
- Goliah – a biblical name
- Sharloe - a name of a seventeenth century plantation owner, Henry Charlot. His plantation in Nevis became known as Sharloes (part of Mountravers)
- Siphax (Syphax) – King of a Numidian tribe (in North Africa)
- Marote – an English family name
- Mirtilla – probably after a literary character in a play by Aphra Behn ('The Amorous Jilt') or by John Gay ('The Wife of Bath')
- Traes – derived from English, tray or Tray/e
- Taffy – English nickname for a Welshman; could also be a Welsh name derived from David
- Wawee-Betty – possibly derived from oware, a West African board game played with counters

Unusual, unidentified names

Tetuce (later Tetucee, Tetwee), Mushell, Pastine, Jingo, Glassere (later Classere), Orro, Luzong, Sanette, Shubac, Mussy, Queily (mis-spelt for Queeley, an Irish surname?)

English names

More than half the people on Hamilton's had names that were in common usage in Britain: Andrew, Peter, Bridget and Sarah etc. The share was greater among the women; about two thirds compared to less than a half of the men had English names. A similar pattern applied to the boys and girls.

Roughly half of the English names were shortened pet forms, such as Ned for Edward and Peggy for Margaret. Slaveholders thereby imposed on a person not just a name of their choosing but also expressed a non-existent and belittling familiarity.

Elsewhere in the Caribbean names such as 'Love, Braveboy, Patient, Hopeful, Poorman, Fairplay, Hardtime, and Badluck' were in use⁷⁶ but on Hamilton's, and indeed in Nevis, this type of (mostly) aspirational name appeared seldom.

Who named the enslaved people?

First names, or forenames

The transferred use of British place names and the naming after classical and literary figures surely is evidence that purchased individuals were given names by the plantation owners and their managers. This is confirmed by a writer from the Danish West Indies who observed that 'Usually, a newly acquired slave is given a new name by his master.'⁷⁷ Evidence from St Kitts and from Jamaica supports this,⁷⁸ as does evidence from Mountravers plantation in Nevis where the resident owner not only named the Africans he purchased but, in the early days, also some of the plantation-born children. Among the names John Pretor Pinney chose were those of his relatives, including that of his father and a dead brother. The fact that later he honoured this long-dead brother by also naming his own son after him meant that he saw his enslaved people as human beings and did not express 'the habitual contempt with which [colonists regarded] the negro race'.⁷⁹ Pinney also recognised the importance of names; when he sold a girl to her father, he told him that he only 'provisionally named' his daughter, thereby giving the father the option to rename her. One of his managers named his own slave-born children, and white fathers may generally have chosen their own offspring's names. The Young Squire Christopher Jeaffreson, for instance, appears to have done so when, on his way back to England, he wrote to his manager 'If Nanny's child be living, let it be called Valet ...'⁸⁰ Nanny may well have been expecting his child.

From another original source comes the notion that naming a newly purchased person was a privilege. One absentee planter wrote to his attorney in Nevis that he wished 'to have the liberty' to name two of the African children his attorney was about to buy for that man's plantation. It was 'a whim' he begged 'to be indulged in.' His request seems odd; after all, he was the owner, the children were to live on his plantation and he could call them whatever he wanted.⁸¹ But implied in his request may be the notion that, as an absentee, he no longer had an automatic right to name his people. This was now done by those on the spot and, in the politest possible way, this owner asked for his right to be returned to him. Naming enslaved people may, therefore, also have been a favour that an owner could bestow on others. Planters' friends and other family members, and perhaps also enslaved people, consequently had a share in naming newcomers. It was a dispensation which slaveholders could grant, and this raises the possibility that trusted individuals may have been rewarded with the honour of choosing names for newcomers. The survival of plantation slavery

relied on coercion through the granting of a range of small favours, and this was one favour slaveholders could grant easily. It did not cost them anything and they did not lose anything. Herein may also lie a pointer as to why names frequently recurred in plantation communities: enslaved people chose to name newcomers or the new-born after elders and other well-respected people, regardless of practicality or convenience. Particularly if there was an age gap, sharing names may also be an indication that sons were named after their male and daughters after their female relatives. That names were handed down the generations certainly is evident from people on Mountravers plantation where one mother, daughter and granddaughter all carried the same name.

However, managers themselves also appear to have bestowed the same names several times over: to avoid confusion, one absentee asked that his manager refrained from giving any newly born or bought children 'the names of such as are already on the plantation.'⁸² If that was also the intention of the owner of Hamilton's, then his managers did not listen to him: the 636 people identified as having lived on Hamilton's between 1772 and 1834 shared a total of 352 names. At any one time there were several people with the same name. Recurring first names could belong to people who had been purchased from different previous owners and since people's names generally did not change, to distinguish them, sometimes – but not always - a prefix was added, such as 'Old' or 'Creole', or, indeed, a surname.

In terms of who named enslaved people, another factor to consider is that there may have been differences between the elite - the domestics and the skilled people – and the majority, the field workers. In the Danish West Indies one writer stated that some of the domestics named their children in a ceremony beside a river or a well.⁸³ Here the parents evidently had the power to choose. And those parents chose mostly non-African names. Giving their children European names may have endowed them with a certain prestige, a way of showing that they, too, were part of the successful, powerful, white world.

In African cultures names carry great meaning. They can have mystical powers and strengthen or weaken a person's body and mind. This view survived on the plantations. A Jamaican planter recorded how his people requested new names for their children who had ill-omened names, and another noted how sick people acquired additional names: friends and relatives bestowed on them hideous names in the hope that God Almighty would be deterred "from taking them, as they have such an ugly name."⁸⁴

Re-naming a person against their will was a means of exerting one's power but West Indian slaveholders were not alone in this: employers in eighteenth century France, for instance, also changed their servants' names.⁸⁵ Not everyone accepted this imposition. When the slaveholder of the writer and abolitionist Olaudah Equiano called him Gustavus Vassa, after a Swedish king, Equiano tried to regain control by not responding to the new name. The issue became a power struggle:

I at that time began to understand him a little, and refused to be called so, and told him as well as I could that I would be called Jacob; but he said I should not, and still called me Gustavus; and when I refused to answer to my name, which I at first did, it gained me many a cuff; so at length I submitted, and by which I have been known ever since.⁸⁶

'Country names' and private names

None of this, of course, precludes the possibility that among family and friends entirely different names were used. One Jamaican manager, for instance, stated several times that he named his people but elsewhere, in his inventories, he also recorded their 'country names'. Among them were three people who had been named Coobah, Maria, and Pompey but they were actually called Molia, Owaria and Abuse.⁸⁷ In addition, everyone may, of course, have had private names. People probably were known by a variety of family pet names, or the kind of witty, subversive and generally good-humoured nicknames that are common in the Caribbean and in the Caribbean diaspora. Having these private names satisfied people's desire for individuality and placed them outside the system of slavery; they could retreat into a sphere only friends and family could access. It would have been one freedom they could easily and lastingly wrest from the slaveholders.

Surnames or family names

An enslaved person could acquire a second or family name in several ways:

- if they were sold, they often carried their previous slaveholder's surname
- if they underwent baptism, for example, the clergyman may have given them (or they took) the name of their current slaveholder
- particularly if their father was a white man but also a freed man, or an enslaved man from another plantation, they could carry their father's name (more likely than their mother's)
- if they remained in one job for long, their job title could become their surname
- if they themselves chose to add the name of a respected or admired person and that was included in their official, accepted plantation name.

In 1772, none of the enslaved people on Hamilton's had an official second name that was a recognisable family name. By 1817 only one girl and five women had family names (2.7 per cent) while by the same time on Mountravers plantation about a quarter of the people had a family name (22 per cent). Even by 1834, after a decade of people being baptised, this had not increased on Hamilton's. Mountravers was a plantation worked by the resident owner, and one likely explanation is that under the absentee owners, the Lathams, the managers on Hamilton's did not care much about recording additional names and family relationships.

The fact that so few people had surnames may also suggest that

- few people were acquired from other slaveholders
- not many white and mixed-heritage men fathered children born on Hamilton's (the mixed-heritage population on Hamilton's amounted to about 4 per cent; on Mountravers to 20 per cent)
- people generally had little contact outside of the plantation
- few people had undergone baptism.

Certainly some people who underwent baptism had surnames which were recorded in the parish register. The only records of baptisms found so far are those of the children Benjamin, Robert and Grace belonging to the black woman Lucky Hamilton and of Thomas, Walter and Fanny Celia, the children belonging to the mixed-heritage parents Thomas Pemberton and Christianna (Thibles). Their sons Thomas and Walter were recorded with their father's surname but when Fanny Celia was baptised, only her mother (then called Christianna Thibles) was mentioned.⁸⁸

The question as to who exactly named the enslaved people on Hamilton's cannot be settled conclusively because it is possible that slaveholders transferred to others their assumed right to impose a name on their people. It is clear, though, that the overwhelming majority of the newly imported Africans were re-named. Plantation-born children may have been named by managers, other enslaved people, possibly even their own parents or relatives.

The main issue about renaming enslaved people was not the processes by which this happened, nor the names they acquired. The mere fact that they *were* re-named was intended to remove part of their self. Any name that was imposed on them was a means whereby slaveholders sought to exert their control.

However, almost certainly each individual held one or more private names – in addition to their official name. By choosing names for themselves, enslaved people could actively reclaim their identity and thereby re-establish themselves as whole human beings.

Enslaved workers on Hamilton's and their jobs

During the era of plantation slavery, enslaved people on sugar plantations were not only employed in the production of sugar. Larger estates such as Hamilton's had their own skilled tradesmen: carpenters who made and repaired timber buildings, wooden fittings and furniture; coopers who crafted barrels and other useful vessels; masons who erected houses, windmills, sugar works and, in the nineteenth century, built the structures that held the steam engines. There were distillers, fishermen and sailors, blacksmiths, stock keepers, barbers and gardeners. Men repaired, unloaded and loaded the ships which brought plantation supplies from Britain and sailed back to Britain with the plantation produce. Trusted people delivered messages, money and goods; some worked in the planters' houses as manservants and butlers. Women and girls were ladies maids, nursemaids, kitchen skivvies and cooks, cleaners, laundresses and seamstresses. They were plantation midwives and nurses and, very unusually, on Hamilton's one woman was employed as a wet nurse. Although some people had specialist jobs, anyone could have been instructed to carry out other tasks.

At any one time a number of people did not work owing to advanced pregnancy or because they had just given birth, were too ill, or too frail through old age. They may, however, still have been able to mind fowl and other small animals or attend to field hands as child-minders and water carriers. Trusted old people inducted new arrivals and helped them to adjust to plantation life. Everyone had to make themselves useful.

Some plantations imported a few specialist workers from Britain: managers, overseers, or men with particular skills, such as blacksmiths, and in the nineteenth century, when ploughs were first tried out in Nevis, ploughmen.

When short of labour or for particular projects, plantations hired extra staff – either gangs of field workers or experts such as millwrights. Planters concerned about the high cost of hiring specialists wanted to be as self-sufficient as possible in tradesmen such as masons, coopers and carpenters. During slack times workers on the plantation were hired out to other employers, with the money going to the plantation. On their one free day, Sunday, people could hire themselves out and keep their earnings.

Public works

Every so often when the need arose each slaveholder had to make available a proportional share of labour for public works, such as cleaning the ponds, or constructing and maintaining roads, bridges, forts and other buildings. Plantation people were 'very averse' to do such work because they were 'apt to be harassed & ill treated' by those who oversaw the projects,⁸⁹ and for that reason some planters hired other slaveholders' people and supplied these to work on the communal ventures.

Jobs revealed

Three different documents dating to 1772, 1784 and 1802 contain information about some of the jobs which some enslaved people, mostly men, were employed to do on Hamilton's. A few of these workers lived until 1817 and beyond. In brackets are the years in which they appeared in the documents.

- Blacksmith: Smithy, also Smith (1772, 1784/8, 1802)
- Boiler: Quacow (1772, 1784/8)
- Carter: Sam (1772)
- Coopers: Bristol (1772)
London, African (1784/8, 1802, 1817; alive in 1831 aged 64)
Manilla (1784 and 1788)
Nat (1772)
Sam (1772)
Tom, also Cooper Tom (1772, 1784/8)
- Domestics: House-Constant (1772, 1784/8)
House-Present (1772; alive in 1831 aged 70)
- Field worker: Mary-Cane (1772, 1784/8, 1802, 1817; died aged 80-85 between 1817 and 1822)
- Fowl attendant: Turkey-Jeany (1772)
- Hunter: Peter (1772, 1784/8, 1802)
- Mason: Scipio (1772, 1784/8, 1802)
- Midwife: Joan (1772, 1784/8)
- Watches: Jemmy (1772, 1784/8)
Watch-Ben (1772, 1784)
- Wet nurse: Jebba, also Jubba, Juba (1784, 1802, 1817; alive in 1831 aged 84)

Unfortunately there is no list of all the workers on Hamilton's stating everyone's specific roles, and, in order to provide some general background information, other sources had to be consulted. Much of the text quoted is from the author's work on *The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834*. Additional sources are listed at the end.

Blacksmiths

Only few of the large plantations had their own forges and blacksmiths;⁹⁰ generally planters called in blacksmiths when needed.

Blacksmiths not only shod horses and mules but forged everyday items like nails, hinges, hooks, locks and all manner of items that were used in the mills and the boiling houses. While they made and repaired tools and implements like hoes, axes and wheel rims, they also became part of the brutal punishment regime of enslaved people. The blacksmith on Hamilton's called Smithy would have been called upon to make and fit all manner of restraining implements on people who had broken rules, for instance by stealing or by absenting themselves. An example from Mountravers shows how a blacksmith had to get involved when a man called Mulatto Charles was being punished. Charles was known as a 'runaway', having some years earlier managed to escape to St Eustatia, and on 25 September 1789 the plantation manager felt he had reason to order the blacksmith to fit '2 clogs, with 2 loop rivets & splicing a chain to them and putting it on Mulatto Charles'.⁹¹ In this case it took almost a year until the manager instructed another blacksmith to take off these two clogs;⁹² generally people were forced to drag or carry those heavy, painful restraints for shorter periods.

Boilers and stokers

The sugar boilers' work place was the 'boiling wall' or 'boiling bench' with its row of iron cauldrons (called coppers) of decreasing size. It was very hot work since underneath the coppers a fire was kept going constantly. It was the job of the stokers to feed the fires with large amounts of cane trash or wood. It has been estimated that making one ton of sugar (1,000 kg) required five tons of firewood.⁹³ Stokers worked in very cramped conditions in the 'most unpleasant job'.⁹⁴

The cane juice had been placed into the largest of the coppers, the receiver, and the boilers' task was to evaporate as much of the water content as possible while cleaning out any impurities. To assist the clarification process, boilers tempered the mixture with lime which had to be added at the right time and at the right quantity: too little and the sugar would become too soft, too much and it would turn 'rocky'.⁹⁵ While adding the correct amount of lime required good judgment, skimming off the dirt and the frothy scum and transferring the boiling juice to the next copper required strength and dexterity - boilers had to safely handle heavy equipment such as large copper ladles that held two gallons.⁹⁶ Although physically demanding, the job of skimming (or scumming) was also dull. Making 'circle after circle' proved 'incessant and monotonous labour' but planters adhered to the maxim that 'Liquor cannot be scummed too much ...'⁹⁷

By the time the liquor reached the last copper it was about a quarter of its original volume,⁹⁸ and it was up to the head boiler to determine the exact point at which the concoction was ready to 'strike' - the stage at which it would transform from syrup to granules. One way of measuring this was to pull apart a drop of hot syrup between thumb and forefinger and, if it formed a continuous thread, it was time to dampen the fire and transfer the mass into the coolers - usually flat, wooden trays. The cooling mixture then had to be raked to keep the granules apart while they crystallised. If the mass set too firmly, it was broken up with a heavy iron paddle.⁹⁹

At this point the sugar boiler would have known whether or not a good batch had been made, whether gutters and coppers had been kept clean so that the juice did not spoil, and whether the mass was of the right texture and a pleasing colour. It was said that using wet fuel and boiling the juice too slowly ruined the colour.¹⁰⁰

When the viscous mass was ready for 'curing', it was ladled into containers. In the early days these were conical clay pots about three feet high with small holes at the tapered end,¹⁰¹ but later the mass was shovelled directly into large barrels. In the curing house these barrels - called hogsheads - were propped up on stanchions to allow the molasses to drain out. Molasses, the part of the sugar which does not crystallise, was collected as a useful by-product. Some of it was exported but most was made into rum, given to plantation workers to supplement their diet, or fed to livestock. It could also be re-heated and made into low-grade sugar.

The other part of the sugar, the coarse brown crystals of the moist muscovado sugar, settled in the hogsheads. The final weight of each hogshead was recorded in a ledger and endorsed on the bills of lading. Once branded with their owners' initials, the hogsheads could be carted down to the bay.

In the 1780s a boiler cost perhaps N£130 while a head or chief boiler fetched at least N£20 more.¹⁰²

Carpenters

Carpenters served an apprenticeship, either under white men or under men who had been enslaved and then freed. In the 1770s one year's training as a carpenter cost about N£30. The plantation owner bore the cost.¹⁰³

Working on the plantation carpenters made and built all manner of things: yokes for the draft cattle, carts, wheels, furniture, doors and windows for the plantation owner's house, and parts for the mills - although some of that work was done by specialist millwrights. Carpenters built transportable watch houses and crafted the thin wooden shingles which some of the elite people on the plantation used as roofing material. When they were not employed on the plantation they were hired out, either to other plantations or to private households. Many were hired to the ships that had arrived from Britain with plantation supplies. Not all the vessels that went back and forth across the Atlantic carried their own carpenter¹⁰⁴ which meant that if ships sustained damaged during their voyage some captains had to hire local labour to carry out repairs before returning to Britain. Plantation carpenters mended cracked masts and replaced any broken wood while other men repaired sails and cordage and re-caulked damaged seams.

In the days when slaving ships arrived from Africa and their below-decks had to be re-arranged to accommodate plantation produce instead of human beings, some of this work would have fallen onto enslaved carpenters while others would have had to scrub the woodwork with vinegar to rid the vessel of the smell of blood and excrement.

In the 1780s a ships captains had to pay 4 shillings 1 ½ pence Nevis currency to hire an enslaved carpenter for a day;¹⁰⁵ to buy one would have cost him between N£130 and N£165.

Carters

The job of a carter was a much sought-after; it offered some variety and freedom of movement and was generally reserved for the island-born men, the Creoles.¹⁰⁶ Through their job men also gained respect: 'Even the carter, who like the driver carried a whip, had a certain authority within the slave hierarchy.'¹⁰⁷

A carter led or drove mules, horses or cart cattle, but on Hamilton's, like on Mountravers and some other plantations in Nevis and elsewhere, there were also camels. It is likely that the man Sam who in 1772 was listed as a carter, was an African man who would have been assigned this job because he had, or was thought to have, an aptitude for working with these animals.

Carters handled their animals with great skill, something visitors to the West Indies noticed. One admired the 'adroitness' with which men drove these 'very active handsome mules... six or eight in a team'.¹⁰⁸ Carters made light work of huge loads but if the land was too steep for vehicles, workers had to carry the cane, bundle by bundle, to the mill.

The carters' duties were varied. On Mountravers his job included the following tasks in a typical year:

January	one with small cart and two with large cart, carrying canes to mill
February	small gang carting woura (cane trash) from Burnt Ground
March	two with the cart bringing scum and sugar from the upper plantation
April	two with a cart bringing wooden staves from town
May	two with a cart taking rum to town
June	bringing dung from town
July	four carting sugar to the bay
August	four with carts bringing puncheons of flour from town
September	two bringing shingles from town
October	three with cart bringing board from town
November	three with cart carrying stones off the bay
December	carting provisions to the house.

Cooks

Men as well as women were employed as cooks. On Mountravers two men were cooks of whom one doubled up as a watchman. In the 1780s they were both valued at N£100, the same as a very strong and reliable fieldhand.

Any cook who worked in the planter's house was in a trusted position. Slaveholders always feared being poisoned by their staff – perhaps with some justification since enslaved people had at their disposal items like castor oil and cassava which, if not treated in the correct way, could kill. When an absentee planter wanted castor oil sent to England, he only ordered this from certain trusted, well-integrated women.¹⁰⁹

Coopers

Coopers, like carpenters, underwent a paid-for apprenticeship.¹¹⁰ They learnt how to make and repair all manner of containers: barrels, casks, tierces and puncheons in which to store and ship the sugar, molasses and rum. They made small containers for holding other goods – anything from flour to gunpowder.

They worked largely indoors¹¹¹ which set them apart from those who laboured outdoors. Their raw materials were valuable imported commodities: ready-made wooden staves from North America and iron hoops mostly from England. It took between 42 and 50 oak staves to make one hogshead, the large wooden barrels in which sugar was shipped across the Atlantic. Hogsheads held different gross amounts from about 16 to 19 hundredweights (813 kg to 965 kg).¹¹²

Coopering was a craft that required judgment, strength and a good eye. To make barrels, a cooper's first task was to select each piece of wood for its purpose and then heat the staves so that they reached the right degree of flexibility and could be bent into shape. If he heated them too much, they burnt; if he heated them too little, they were not pliable enough and snapped. Having laid the staves inside a metal hoop that served as his assembly jig, he would then force the iron hoops over the carcass, using just the right amount of pressure. Then he carefully heated the staves some more. This rendered them flexible so that he could gradually arch them and form them into a barrel shape. By the end of the process the joints had to be tight, and the heads had to fit snugly at either end - the final product was a work of utmost precision.

With so much workmanship going into vital plantation equipment it is not surprising that coopers were among the most highly valued people. In the 1780s a cooper cost between N£120 and N£150. At least one enslaved cooper worked on each plantation.

Distillers

Rum was distilled as a by-product of the sugar-making process. It was made from the molasses which had drained from the barrels during the resting period. Water was added to the molasses and then yeast which turned the sugars into alcohol. The mixture was left to ferment. A couple of weeks later the distiller boiled off the resulting alcohol in a pot still.

Apart from distilling rum, on Mountravers the distillers also knew how to distil 'orange-flower-water,' 'bay-rum,'¹¹³ and a curative concoction known as 'Doctor John' which was sweetened with the syrup made from watered sugar.¹¹⁴

Distillers were valued for their skills which was reflected in their price; in the 1780s a distiller could cost N£200 - the same as a mason. The distiller's job was not as physically demanding as some others on the plantation, and it seems that once some men lost their strength, they were employed as distillers. They might also double up as watchmen. At times white men such as overseers worked as distillers.

Domestic servants

In Britain the duties of domestic servants working in large country houses were highly demarcated: housemaids changed the family's linen but did not wash it; the wash maid washed the linen but left the starching to the chambermaid or the laundry maid.¹¹⁵ In smaller establishments and in West Indian households the lines between the servants were less defined and generally domestic arrangements were more relaxed - to the point where visitors to the West Indies were shocked by the informal atmosphere which they considered peculiarly creole. One visitor commented on the custom of house servants sleeping 'on the floors, in the passages, galleries, &c'.¹¹⁶

In Britain smaller households contracted out many services, such as washing and carpet beating, but planters had at their disposal any number of people unfit for heavy field work who could still perform useful domestic chores, such as mend clothes; clean boots; polish the silver ware, the pewter and the brasses; repair small items such as lampshades, or restring cane chairs.

Most household chores were, by today's standards, cumbersome. Before practically any work could begin, materials such as washing-up liquid, furniture wax and boot polish had to be prepared, and a good domestic servant had to have a thorough knowledge of the ingredients and how to mix and safely apply them.

Although some of the housework was physically demanding, it was not as hard as field labour, and for many jobs children would have been employed, or the aged and infirm. Of a 'rather' sickly woman on one plantation it was said that she could 'make herself useful as a domestic under-servant'.¹¹⁷ She would have become a scullery maid (dish washer) or a kitchen maid.

Two people are known to have been domestic servants on Hamilton's: House-Constant and House-Present. A girl in 1772, Present was alive in 1834 aged about 73.

Drivers

The work of the field labourers was overseen by a driver. Each gang had its own driver, usually men, but the gang which employed children could also be led by an elderly woman.

Drivers held key positions. Subordinate to the white managers and overseers, they ensured that field labourers worked in an orderly manner and on schedule. They received from the owner or manager instructions as to what work was required, allotted tasks accordingly and chose when to rest and whom to punish. They had to keep alert at all times. One driver described how he let a man 'go to one side to ease himself' and when that man stayed away rather too long, he went to look for him.¹¹⁸ In the evening drivers reported to the plantation owner or manager incidents such as these, along with matters relating to progress, sickness and accidents.¹¹⁹

Drivers maintained discipline by physical punishment. Their licence to inflict pain on their fellow workers made them reviled figures. They might strike people with their bare hands but also used whips which were the symbol of their authority. They could not punish as severely as owners or managers but had to inform them of the supposed misdemeanours; drivers could then be ordered to carry out the punishment.

Drivers started work as field hands and were selected for their proven abilities. They were not necessarily the strongest or healthiest but had to be 'the smartest, of all the slaves; otherwise the other slaves would have no respect for him.'¹²⁰ These men had the power to inflict degrading, painful punishments but they had to earn their authority – not just from the plantation owners. As the long arm of their owners' authority, drivers were accused of conniving in the system of slavery, of becoming oppressors themselves. While some may have had the job thrust upon them, others may have actively sought to hold this office because it meant that, at the very least, they were freed from physical labour. They may also have believed that they would do the job better than others. Perhaps some thought that they could ameliorate the situation of their fellow workers, for instance, by allowing them more slack and dishing out fewer punishments. Chosen for their abilities and in a position of trust, they could act as intermediaries in disputes between the plantation people and the owner and also lobby for improving conditions.

Drivers gained considerable personal benefits, not just for themselves but also for their families; they generally had better housing and greater food and clothing allowances. While they could protect their families from the hardest work by allocating lighter tasks and overlooking small transgressions, at times drivers may have had to chastise their wives, children, or elderly parents. If they failed to do so, they were in danger of being punished themselves for neglecting their duty. Being a driver required maturity, good judgment, quick thinking and skilful handling of people – both subordinate and superior.

Drivers were given control and authority over their community and needed to navigate their relationships carefully lest their actions estranged them from their families, friends and neighbours. Their responsibilities were reflected in their high value of between N£130 and N£150 in the 1780s.

Field workers

On sugar plantations success depended on good timing so as to coincide with the annual weather cycle. Newly planted cane had to establish itself before the weather turned drier towards the end of the year,¹²¹ and the finished product had to be ready for shipment before the onset of the hurricane season so that the fully laden vessels could safely leave the West Indies.

The most important and most numerous workers on a sugar plantation were the field workers. On Nevis they were generally sorted into three work gangs. Each gang was led by a driver.

Membership of the gangs was not fixed but depended on the annual cycle of work and the health and fitness of the plantation people. Very young children did not work, and when youngsters began their working lives depended on the number of children available and each individual's strength. On Mountravers plantation children began work aged five under one manager and aged nine under another while on Clarke's Estate (now the site of the Four Seasons Resort) one four-year-old boy already worked in the third gang but no other four-year-olds had work allocated to them.

Number 1 field gang, also called the great gang

This field gang performed the heaviest tasks: holing, planting, cutting cane and loading it onto carts to be taken to the works.

The first task, preparing the soil, was best done during the early months of the rainy season. It not only allowed the cane to grow sufficiently but if holing commenced during dry weather, the soil would not yield and, if done later, it would be too wet and heavy. To prepare the soil for planting the workers had to loosen it manually with a hoe. Provided they were supplied with decent hoes, which was not always the case, on Nevis's stoney soil a field gang was expected to hole two acres in a day, or one and a half on the more difficult upper land.

The area to be planted was marked out, either with rope, chain or sticks, and at regular intervals people dug out holes or trenches several inches deep and several feet wide.¹²² This holing, as it was called, was back-breaking work and usually reserved for the strongest. On Mountravers no youngsters under the age of 15 were employed to do this particular task.¹²³

Holing required not just strength but also the skill to heap banks of soil in such a way that it would not be washed away during heavy rains.

Sugar was cultivated by stem cuttings. From these, shoots or eyes sprout at both ends. Pieces of cane about a foot long were placed horizontally into the holes and, to collect the rainwater, an indentation was made around the plant. Normally young shoots developed in four to five weeks but it took about 14 to 18 months for the grass to reach a height of about eight feet (2.5 m).

When the cane was ripe for harvesting, first the leaves were trimmed off and then the stalks slashed down with a billhook. Some planters claimed that females were best suited for cutting cane because they chopped low to the ground but this could have been said to justify employing women to do this tough job. To slash through stems one or two inches thick (2.5 to 5 cm), day after day, required great strength and stamina, and workers had to take care not to injure themselves.

On Clarke's Estate in the 1820s the first gang consisted of nine men and 31 women, three of whom were pregnant.

Number 2 field gang, also called the small gang

This gang tended to consist of weaker adults and boys and girls in their teens who performed physically less demanding tasks, such as weeding and dunging.

One of the tasks of the small gang was to manure the fields during the cane growing period. Once the cane started to shoot, they had to clean several times in between the plants until the advancing growth surpassed the weeds and made the job unnecessary.¹²⁴

Animal dung tended to be used but planters were always on the look-out for other sources of fertiliser: ash from the boiling house, decayed vegetation from the mountainside, mould from the ghuts, or plants that grew on the foreshore. Mules transported the dung in horsehair bags¹²⁵ but to reach the steeper-lying grounds people had to carry it head-load by head-load. For this they used specially-made dung baskets. Some planters used a more direct method: they staked their animals and left heaped cane trash for them to stand and lie on.¹²⁶

It was said that applying fertiliser increased the yield by about a third,¹²⁷ and as the soil wore out it became ever more important to nourish it. In the early days of sugar-growing it was 'good agricultural practice to spread 30 baskets of dung on an acre of land'.¹²⁸ Baskets varied in capacity from about 25 pounds¹²⁹ to as much as 80 pounds (11.3 to 36.3 kg).¹³⁰

The bundled cane stalks were carted or carried to the mill for processing. Different types of mills operated in Nevis: they were powered either by animals or wind and later by steam. Other islands also had watermills. Mules or cattle drove the animal mills.

After the cane was cut, this gang had the task of gathering the canes and binding them into bundles with cane leaves. One person followed several cutters. Although a planter claimed that the strong moved quickly, could then rest while the 'slow and lazy' followed behind,¹³¹ it was the driver's task to ensure that the line of cutters moved along in unison.

After the harvest the cane leaves had to be taken off the field. They were then used to line animal pens, as thatch for the enslaved people's houses, or as fuel in the sugar-making process. Dried in the sun and turned several times, this fuel was variously called bagasse or megass.¹³²

The third gang, also called the grass- or sheepmeat gang

This gang carried out light chores, such as weeding, picking grass for animals and taking away ashes from the copper holes. Their work was important but also intended to get children used to labour. The daily task of picking grass for the plantation animals was very unpopular because it not only took up some of people's lunch break, but they also lost out of earning cash by selling bundles to townsfolk as fodder for their livestock. With cane tops and grass picked from the roadside people could 'raise a comfortable addition to their own subsistence.'¹³³

At times the second and the third gang were amalgamated to complete tasks together.

Hunters

Hamilton's was very unusual in that in 1772 it employed one man, Peter, as a hunter. His job was not to hunt animals but to track down anyone who had sought to escape from the plantation. Escaping and thereby freeing oneself was the ultimate form of resisting one's enslavement and required planning, much courage and at times help from others.

Having a dedicated hunter suggests that the enslaved population on Hamilton's was not well settled and that many people absented themselves for longer than was generally accepted when they went to visit friends and relatives on other plantations. In the early 1830s two young men escaped from Hamilton's for good. They were among more than 130 individuals who during the period 1817 to 1834 are known to have left their slaveholders on Nevis but there would have been many more who had escaped but been recaptured. Most managed to get away from the island but they may have returned after Emancipation in 1838.

Plantations which did not have a dedicated hunter sent out trusted individuals who received a reward when they returned the wanted person. On Mountravers the amount of money depended on the importance of the absconder, whether they had escaped before and on the length of time they had been absent.

Peter and hunters like him required not just perseverance but also strength of character since their jobs made them unpopular in their communities. It is very likely that he was hired out to other slaveholders when they wanted their fugitives returned.

Laundresses

Many women were employed as washers and since women's work often goes unnoticed in the historical records it is worth investigating their work in detail.

Cleaning linen involved lengthy preparations and several different processes. It started with the laundress sorting the articles that required washing. These tended to be separated into five different piles: white bed linen and body linen, coloured cotton fabrics, fine muslins, woollens, and coarse and greasy kitchen cloths. The laundress would examine each item for missing buttons, rips and holes, as well as spots and stains, and before washing could begin, she would have to take care of these. If something required more than a few stitches, or the mending had to be particularly fine, she might hand the item to a woman skilled in needlecraft.

Doing the laundry tended to involve extensive steeping. The linen was left to stand in urine or lye, or a mixture of both. If only stale urine was used this would have been at the ready, having been collected beforehand, but the lye had to be prepared. An alkali-based cleaner, the basis for this was wood ash. In order to quickly prepare the solution, the well-organised laundress would have had at the ready a supply of ash balls (also called wash balls). These were made of wood ash mixed with water. The resulting paste was then shaped into balls, or into rings with a hole in the middle, for stringing up. In England the manufacture of ash balls was a cottage industry and on Hamilton's, too, someone may have earned money from producing these.

It is very unlikely that expensive imported soap would have been used for the heavy laundry. Instead, soap could have been prepared in the West Indies. A recipe for making soft soap went something like this: boil lye with animal fat (mutton or pork) for three hours. Stir almost continuously. Add salt. Once the mixture is set, roll into balls. For hard soap, add caustic lye made with urine and unslaked lime. If a less astringent soap is called for, add the squeezed-out jelly from the leaves of the aloe plant.

After steeping was complete, the next step was to loosen the dirt by rubbing, batting or pounding the material. To enhance white linen, a natural textile dye was added to the wash, mostly indigo – one of the crops the island's early settlers grew. The final step of the washing process was to rinse the linen many times to get rid of the smell, and then to rinse it with herbal infusions or orange flower water.

In Nevis some of the linen was washed in the hot water of the Bath stream. The women did the laundry naked - one day a passing sailor diligently counted 79 females who, on spotting him, quickly got dressed.¹³⁴

Some plantations had wash houses (Scarborough's)¹³⁵ or a laundry building (Golden Rock) but women also washed clothes in brooks or on the beach. There the laundry was first sprinkled with fine sand, then beaten on large stones or rocks,¹³⁶ dragged through water 'and spread out by the sea to whiten'.¹³⁷

Periodically the linen also had to be bleached. This was necessary because the material yellowed from using urine or poor-quality soap, or, if it was not properly wrapped, from storing, unused, for long periods. Bleaching linen involved slinging it over shrubs, sprinkling it with clean, soft water or diluted lye, keeping it damp while it dried in the sun, turning it and repeating the process several times.

Once dry, the final stage was to uncrinkle the material and make it shiny. This process was achieved by repeatedly passing a heavy wooden board over a large wooden roller on which pieces of almost dry bed and table linen had been wound. Small items such as collars were burnished to a glossy sheen by being rubbed with a lump of glass while frills were treated on the crimping board - a wooden, grooved implement on which damp, starched articles were laid and repeatedly pressed with a small wooden roller. Anyone who did the hot-ironing or roller-pressing needed to have a delicate touch.

In addition to laundering the different household linens, cleaning clothes made from other materials would have entailed different processes; a recipe for cleaning silk or ribbons, for instance, required a mixture made with equal measures of gin and water and of honey and soft soap.

Masons

Masons built the plantation infrastructure – the mills, boiling houses and outbuildings, the owners' houses, cisterns, walls and bridges. They underpinned houses and built steps, hung coppers in boiling benches, erected stone chimneys and turned arches.¹³⁸ Their work is still visible in Nevis today.

At times they oversaw the work of others when on some projects they were allotted assistants who cut and carried the stones and mixed the mortar. This made masons supervisors and managers of members of their community and elevated their status accordingly.

When not employed on the plantation, masons were hired out from N£4 to N£6 a month, or at daily rates from between 1 shilling 8 pence and 5 shillings Nevis currency.¹³⁹ Costing in the 1780s between N£130 and N£200, they were among the most highly valued tradesmen.

Masons enjoyed a greater variety in their occupation than the field workers, and they could earn money from their skills and, perhaps, one day, save enough to buy their freedom. As planters saw it, they, in turn, could set an example and inspire others to follow suit.

Midwives

Joan, a woman who had been on Hamilton's since at least 1772, was in 1784 for the first time identified as a midwife. The addition of a midwife and the wet nurse, Jebba, suggests that greater care was being taken over pregnant women and women giving birth. This may have been due to the high rate of deaths among infants but the appointment of a midwife also happened against a backdrop of changing attitudes to the trade in enslaved Africans. It is likely that on Hamilton's females were beginning to be valued for their ability to reproduce and provide future generations of workers.

On Mountravers, the importance attached to job of the midwife was reflected in her appraised value, N£100 in 1783. One of the midwives there, Patty, also knew how to prepare and administer natural remedies so that her role probably was also that of a nurse. Men, too, were healthcare providers; the driver, for instance, was known to be well versed in medicinal plants, and later another man proved himself a 'valuable slave for sick people'. No doubt there were also people on Hamilton's who were skilled in various methods of what today would be called traditional healing.

One midwife from Mountravers, Old Rose, was in fact employed to assist two women giving birth on Morgan's estate. This could, possibly, have been the 'Payne's Upper or Morgan's' which became part of Hamilton's, but Robert Morgan was also in possession of other lands. Old Rose was paid over a pound Nevis currency for delivering two of Morgan's women,¹⁴⁰ with the bill having been paid by Joseph Gill, a kinsman of John Pinney's, the owner of Mountravers. Gill had been managing Robert Morgan's estate and undoubtedly these two women gave birth to his children. It is likely that Gill chose Old Rose to assist with the births because there was then no resident midwife on Morgan's estate. With the money she earned she could have bought four turkeys, a box of laxative pills, or 11 blue and white china plates. She may well have assisted women giving birth on other plantations.

Nurses

It appears that generally enslaved people took on health care duties late in life once they had become unfit for strenuous employment. Often it was an old woman who had 'some knowledge of the power of various leaves and roots who [was] placed in the position of a physician'.¹⁴¹

Plantations tended to have some sort of hospital or sick room. On Mountravers this was destroyed in a hurricane in the early 1750s, and it is possible that one woman who received money to rebuild her house was meant to include a sick room in her home.¹⁴² This would have been in addition to the hospital/lying-in room.

Generally, each large plantation had its own health workers: usually female nurses or midwives, less often male healers, or doctors. There were no legal requirements to provide any of these and no set ratios. Together with a healthy man, a nurse, herself 'troubled with fits', administered to 260 enslaved people on Stapleton estate in Nevis.¹⁴³

Nurses dressed sores but generally did not bleed patients which was a common treatment for a whole range of illnesses; on Mountravers enslaved men were trained to carry out this procedure. When nurses administered medicines this might include weighing out of the ingredients 'such as the doctor ordered' and making up the concoctions,¹⁴⁴ but equally well the compounds could be delivered ready-made. On an Antiguan estate the nurse received her instructions from the manager, who, in turn, had got them from the doctor's messengers who had brought the medicines in little packets, one for each patient. As the nurse was illiterate, she had to remember for whom these were intended, and she did this by placing a packet between each of her fingers.¹⁴⁵

Their duties exposed nurses to the risk of catching contagious diseases such as smallpox and yaws, a bacterial skin infection. Yaws patients were separated from their friends and families and kept in isolation, and, depending on the patients' general condition and the care they received, the ailment could last for weeks, months, or even years. Yaws was an illness associated with isolation - physical as well as personal because the yaws sufferers' disfigurement could lead to ostracism within their community.¹⁴⁶ This was a heavy burden indeed for those who required their comrades' emotional support to withstand their enslavement and the rigours of plantation life.

The isolation gave yaws nurses power over their patients which could tip over into abuse of power – as demonstrated by the allegations against the head nurse on Madden's plantation in Nevis. She was accused of pilfering food and, without seeking the manager's permission, of sending patients back to work even if they were still ill.¹⁴⁷

Nurses were also drawn into the whole punishment process. They cooked food for people confined in stocks and sick houses, and they bathed and dressed the wounds of those who had undergone floggings.¹⁴⁸ Always at the sharp end of having to deal with the wounds caused by beatings, there is no direct evidence as to how they dealt with their patients', and their own, emotional pressures. Some insight, however, comes from the testimony of Lujer, a nurse on the Stapleton estate. She described how she had tried to ease one man's suffering. Eneas had been beaten and put in the stocks. When he was in pain and blood ran out his mouth, she gave him medicine, felt his pulse, dressed his foot and tried to make him comfortable. When he was about to die, she stayed with him.

Being a nurse carried with it great responsibility and provided women with opportunities to exercise a certain amount of power and judgment. The physical isolation of yaw nurses in particular, away from interference by their employer and the white doctor, also gave nurses greater scope for

treating patients with medicines of their choice, including spiritual therapies and African ways of healing that might otherwise have been frowned upon or forbidden.

Seamstresses and tailors

Plantations were supposed to supply each person with clothing; in practise many planters tried to get away with the least expense, and their people had to go about wearing few garments or none.¹⁴⁹ The Leeward Islands Melioration Act of 1798 finally laid down minimum requirements: a set of good quality clothes issued twice a year, consisting of a jacket and a pair of trousers for males; a wrapper and a petticoat for females. With the enslaved person's agreement, one set could be replaced with 'a good and sufficient blanket, and a hat or cap'.¹⁵⁰ Despite the legislation, planters still did not necessarily issue sufficient clothing.

The material for the plantation-issued clothes was imported and included Osinbrig or Ozenbriggs and Holland (a rough linen and fine linen), and baize or bays and Pennistone (a coarse woollen cloth and a heavy woollen cloth, sometimes referred to as flannel). Domesticated tended to be issued with more and better-quality items; women might have worn white muslin,¹⁵¹ or plain cotton and fine woollen materials, such as cambric or calamanco. Popular among enslaved and free women were 'handkerchiefs of gauze or silk, which they wore in the fashion of turbans'.¹⁵²

The imported textiles had to be stitched into clothes as well as blankets, and it appears that the female seamstresses sewed the dresses, petticoats and wraps for the girls and women while the male tailors made the clothing for boys and men: trousers, shirts, and jackets.

In the 1780s it cost 10 shillings currency a week to hire Tom Thraske, a tailor who normally worked on Mountravers and who was allowed to hire himself out.¹⁵³ To assist him, he hired another man from the plantation, Tom Punch who was 'ruined by lameness'. At a cost of 5 shillings currency a week this was a relatively low rate; men who were temporarily employed on ships cost 4 shillings ½ pence currency a day.¹⁵⁴ This hiring of one enslaved person by another was not entirely unusual, and it allowed both men to enjoy a degree of independence and to shape their lives as they saw fit.

Stock keepers, camel men and mule minders

In 1772 there were relatively few animals on Hamilton's: 46 head of horned cattle, 21 mules, a horse and two camels.¹⁵⁵ Cattle and mules drove the animal mills and carried canes and other loads, as did the camels who were valued not just for their ability to transport more than mules but also for the amount of dung they produced. Although it was said that wet ground, unsuitable diet and disease killed camels prematurely in the Caribbean,¹⁵⁶ by the early 1850s there were still eleven camels on Nevis and apparently working well.¹⁵⁷

On Hamilton's one of the camels had died by 1784 but the other livestock had increased to:

- 111 horned cattle
- 29 bulls
- 52 cows and 19 calves
- 11 working steers
- 40 mules and 2 asses
- 1 stallion and 1 mare.¹⁵⁸

This number of animals required several men to break them in and to look after them. On Stapleton plantation in Nevis the youngest of five males responsible for looking after livestock was a boy of eleven. On Mountravers there were also five stock keepers.¹⁵⁹

Planters in Nevis bought their mules and cattle from Britain,¹⁶⁰ North America, North Africa¹⁶¹ and from Puerto Rico.¹⁶² The animals often arrived in a very poor condition and had to undergo a 'seasoning period' similar to that of humans. For the first twelve months mules, for instance, only were supposed to do light work before they were fully occupied.¹⁶³

During crop time sugar was processed day and night, and people as well as animals worked in shifts. This regime wore the mules out quickly, and after the hard toil of the cane harvest they were exhausted and visibly wasted away. They had lost so much of their strength that they could not even transport light burdens.¹⁶⁴ Stock keepers would have to tend to sick and injured animals and fatten them up again with corn, or corn mixed with oats.¹⁶⁵ Since there were then no veterinary surgeons, stock keepers had to know how to deal with common ailments, such as the teeth of cattle becoming loose, or they had to be able to remove ticks from the ears of horses, which, 'if not frequently pulled out, will strangely emaciate, or render them lean.'¹⁶⁶ The men may also have known how to bleed livestock. As with human patients, this was thought to have 'a good effect' if an animal was in pain. The treatment did not call for subtlety: 'it should be persevered in until the creature is either dead or cured.'¹⁶⁷

Stock keepers generally worked longer and stayed healthier than craft specialists and field hands since looking after livestock was physically less demanding work¹⁶⁸ - unless they were chosen because they were no longer strong enough to work in the fields, in which case they tended to die earlier than field hands.¹⁶⁹

In their work they enjoyed a certain amount of freedom. They escaped the drivers' and overseers' constant scrutiny, and they had to make decisions and apply skills that were not required of those working in the field. These small tokens of power and independence probably led them to be more confident and outspoken; they gained a reputation for standing up for their rights and resisting their enslavement by shirking and other forms of protest.¹⁷⁰ These men expressed their individuality which developed from a lifestyle that was at odds with the obedience and submission planters expected of their workers.

Watchmen

Depending on the cane-growing cycle, the number of watches, as well as stock keepers, fluctuated. Cane-breaking was one recurring act of resistance and as the harvest progressed, there was less need to guard against sabotage and theft or roaming animals.

Based in portable watch houses, plantation watchmen guarded the cane fields, the stores and the owner's or manager's dwellings but also had under surveillance the plantation village. They were to prevent 'runaways' burgling the houses and to prevent people running away at night. From St Croix comes evidence that two teams kept watch during the night.¹⁷¹

Watchmen held a very responsible position in which they were expected to exercise leadership and authority. They had to keep the plantation owner or manager informed of any transgression committed by anyone from outside and from within their community; through their job they thereby became part of a plantation's punishment regime. If they failed in their duty – either wilfully or through negligence – they were punished. A manager on another estate in Nevis recorded how he punished watchmen for various misdemeanours: he whipped Mattais 'for letting corn be stole in the night', Ebo Dick 'for letting his cane be brook where he watched' and Somersett 'for not locking Dubling up with an intent to let him git away'. Another man, who was not at his post at night, also got thrashed. This particular manager was accused of whipping the people under him too freely and they complained to the attorney,¹⁷² but any watchmen who failed in their duties would have been subject to some sort of punishment.

Wet nurses

Although in slave societies wet nurses were known to have breast-fed the children of the white plantation owners, on Hamilton's the wet nurse Jebba probably was employed to breast-feed the babies of mothers who were working in the field, or the babies of mothers who were unable to produce sufficient milk, or indeed, children of mothers who had died after giving birth. Since both the midwife and Jebba were in 1784 for the first time known to have been employed in their respective roles on Hamilton's, it is likely that they were meant to increase the chances of survival of women giving birth as well as of new-born infants.

Resistance

Resistance to enslavement started in Africa, with men freeing people held captive aboard slaving vessels lying offshore. It continued during the awful Atlantic crossing and then, once sold in the colonies, many of these men and women continued to fight for their freedom, as did the enslaved island-born Creoles. Enslaved people have often been portrayed as passive victims, but many were also active agents who sought to resist their condition which denied them basic rights. In fact the earliest mention of African slavery in Nevis, and also of someone's struggle against enslavement, comes from a will of 1649 in which a plantation owner's bequests included four 'Nigros' - of whom one 'was out in rebellion'.¹⁷³

With the exception of an incident in 1725, there are no definite records of an organised island-wide rebellion in Nevis as happened in places like Haiti, Barbados, Demerara and Jamaica. But people found many ways to challenge their enslavement. Some of their actions were misunderstood and seen as laziness, obstinacy, stupidity, or, indeed, cowardice: 'running away'. Their resistance ranged from what today would be called civil disobedience to outright armed rebellion and murder.

Through their actions not everyone sought to achieve a single aim but instead sought to destabilise, weaken and damage the system that kept them enslaved. They tried to exhaust their enslavers and drain their resources, reduce their profits. By engaging in protest enslaved people took control of their lives; they sought to assert their power to influence and shape events – even if they had to suffer the consequences.¹⁷⁴

The rebellions in the Caribbean and other acts of resistance fed into the debate about abolition of slavery which was taking place in Britain from the 1780s onwards. They became part of the push and pull between enslaved people's actions and parliamentary intervention in Britain that finally led to Emancipation.

Resistance on Hamilton's

As noted above, in 1772 the job of one man, Peter, was that of a 'hunter'. His task was not to hunt animals but to hunt down people. The presence of a designated hunter on Hamilton's suggests that its plantation population was unsettled, and that people sought to escape. There are, however, no further details.

The only known acts of resistance which took place on Hamilton's were the escapes by two young men in their early twenties, Buonaparte and Cooper. They left the plantation and, most likely, the island between 1831 and 1834 – just before the abolition of slavery. Absconding required courage, planning and often the support of others.

Apart from Buonaparte's and Cooper's escape, there was another intriguing incident regarding a man from Hamilton's. In 1821 a jury at a trial awarded damages amounting to the valuation of Tom, then in his early thirties. If an enslaved person was condemned to death and subsequently hanged, the Legislature re-imbursed the slaveholder for the loss of their 'property' to an appraised value; in

this case the island's Treasurer was to pay N£100 to a free mixed-heritage man, John Arthurton, and the balance of N£40 to the attorneys of Ann and George Latham, the London merchants then in possession of Hamilton's.¹⁷⁵ The notes relating to this case are not very clear and there is no indication why John Arthurton should have received money but the scenario tallies with the Slave Registers whereby Tom absconded from Hamilton's between 1817 and 1822, then returned and before 1825 was 'hanged for a felony'. While his law-breaking may have been a purely criminal deed, it could also have been an act of resistance which cost him his life.¹⁷⁶

Collective resistance

Organised rebellion

Throughout the period of slavery the authorities feared open revolts. As soon as they suspected that there might be unrest, they called in the militia. In 1735, for instance, they were afraid that news of an intended rebellion in Antigua had spread to Nevis 'and not knowing how near the like evil may be our own doors', they increased their vigilance.¹⁷⁷ News of rebellion elsewhere apparently did encourage individuals on Nevis to assert themselves: in 1817, after reports of the uprising in Barbados reached Nevis, Thisbee, a woman on Thomas Cottle's Round Hill plantation, 'again began to behave very unpleasantly'.¹⁷⁸ Seen in the context of earlier events, what Cottle deemed unpleasant behaviour can be seen as her personal acts of defiance.

It is not clear how far plans for organised uprisings developed in Nevis; there are too few records. They do, however, mention one particular instance: in 1725 a supposed plot by enslaved people in the St John's and St James' parishes to murder planters was discovered and two alleged leaders were burnt alive.¹⁷⁹ A somewhat unreliable source also claimed that in 1761 a conspiracy was discovered for 'massacring the whites' but so far no further details have come to light.¹⁸⁰

Rioting

In the first three decades of the nineteenth century several well-documented acts of resistance occurred in Nevis. On 6 November 1815, a riot of 'free persons of colour and slaves' took place in Charlestown,¹⁸¹ and in June and July 1826 'mobs of slaves and free people' rioted together, striking the Deputy Provost Marshal with stones when he tried to disperse a crowd armed with sticks and stones. Later in July 'parties of 30-40 negroes' raided vessels lying offshore and robberies took place in Chapel Alley in Charlestown. The disturbances continued; in 1828 the Legislature was worried about 'the disorderly practices of the boys and persons in the street and alleys and the Bay of the town ...'.¹⁸² These unrests occurred against a backdrop of destructive hurricanes, much sickness, food shortages and debt-ridden planters not doling out the usual food allowances. Many instances of rebellions took place in times of stress; in 1726, during a severe drought, fugitives 'plagu'd everybody' on Nevis.¹⁸³

Refusing to work

Most plantations on Nevis would have experienced mutinies at one time or another. One case of people refusing to obey orders became so well publicised that in Britain it contributed to the debate about the abolition of slavery. In 1810 workers on Mountravers plantation refused to accept the new proprietor's authority and repeatedly disobeyed commands. At one stage twenty or thirty

people reported sick; at another time a group of sixty left their work. The then owner, Edward Huggins senior, ordered a number of them to be brutally and publicly punished.¹⁸⁴ While Huggins's cruel treatment and his subsequent trial received much publicity, other instances were only known to a few individuals. On Clarke's plantation, for instance, people were starving and became 'very clamorous and would not work'.¹⁸⁵ Refusals to work can also be linked to large numbers of people absenting themselves from work, as in the case of Bowrin's estate where a gang was on the run and the proprietor asked the Legislature to pay for sending out hunters to retrieve them.¹⁸⁶

Since enslaved people had to renegotiate privileges taken for granted by one manager but not tolerated by another, by engaging collectively in a series of subversive acts they could undermine a manager's authority, make life so difficult for him that he chose to leave and move elsewhere.¹⁸⁷

Escaping

For some the final act of resistance was to leave the plantation and flee the island.

In 1687 a visitor to Nevis reported that near the top of the central mountain a small stand of timber sheltered escapees¹⁸⁸ but generally Nevis's size and geography did not lend itself to hiding out for long. Some people did, however, manage to conceal themselves for several weeks in cane fields. Anyone wishing to free themselves had to get away from the island – to St Kitts at least, but better still to one of the colonies not under British jurisdiction. The authorities recognised this and passed legislation so that anyone caught assisting a person's escape had their boats burnt, was severely punished with up to forty lashes in the public market place and then imprisoned.¹⁸⁹ Two free men were hanged for assisting a man to flee to St Bartholomew's. They were only caught because on their way there they had thrown him overboard, and he had managed to swim back to Nevis.¹⁹⁰

Slaveholders tended to tolerate a certain amount of absenteeism when people left the plantation to visit friends and family elsewhere in the island. But if they stayed away for longer than was generally accepted, hunters were sent out. On one plantation, Mountravers, during the period 31 October 1762 to 7 August 1803 the managers paid rewards after 88 people had been returned but there would have been many more instances that went unrecorded because no money changed hands, or people came back on their own accord when they thought the time was right.¹⁹¹ The escapees on Mountravers were relatively few; on plantations where the people were ill-fed, worked hard and severely punished, it was common for a tenth, or even a quarter of the workforce to go into hiding, sometimes for months.¹⁹²

Some had more opportunities for escaping than others - with the so-called 'sailor negroes' who worked on many coastal vessels having the best chances. In one well-known instance a crew of four - one man was from Nevis, two were Virginians and one an African - rose against the captain and made their escape with the vessel, a small sloop owned by a Nevis merchant.¹⁹³

Individual resistance

Sabotaging property

With each field destroyed, each piece of equipment broken or valuable item stolen, enslaved people lessened not only their slaveholders' profits but also asserted their own power when otherwise their lives were controlled not just on an individual basis by their slaveholder but by the whole legal system which underpinned plantation slavery and denied them fundamental rights.

Arson was a weapon at enslaved people's disposal, and in Nevis there are several reported instances. In the 1770s, for instance, they were suspected of having resorted to laying fire in protest at the renewed enforcement of the law which banned them from growing cotton, and in 1778 the Legislature brought in the death penalty for setting alight buildings or cane fields.¹⁹⁴ Over time several buildings were set alight: 'Wells's negroes' were said to have burnt down on purpose 'the still house by the camp',¹⁹⁵ in 1784 Dr Archbald's premises were on fire,¹⁹⁶ and in 1802 his works were ablaze - possibly through arson.¹⁹⁷ More cases of arson are known to have happened in the 1820s during a period of much want and much sickness: in 1826 when people rioted in Charlestown, a reward of N£100 was offered for apprehending the culprit who set fire to Ward's Trust Estate, and two years later the same amount was offered for catching those who had torched and burnt down the boiling house at Richmond Lodge, a plantation which belonged to a freed mixed-heritage man, John Fraser Arthurton.¹⁹⁸

Cane breaking was another way of reducing a planter's profit, and it happened on various plantations, among them Mills's¹⁹⁹ and Mountravers.²⁰⁰ In the 1820s a planter reported that 'several hundred hhds [hogsheads] were lost to cane breakers' and that they had destroyed much more than he could remember.²⁰¹

Some thefts, of course, occurred out of necessity or sheer opportunism but thefts could also be acts of resistance. If enslaved people stole something, this diminished the slaveholders' profits since he had to make good the theft and re-imburse the victim. The slaveholder was responsible for the loss because the enslaved people were his or her 'property'. Rather ingeniously the enslaved people used their status as 'property' to argue that, if they took something from their 'masters' for their own use, this did not count as theft since they themselves were their master's property; they merely *transferred* some of their master's belongings and he therefore 'loses nothing by its transfer'.²⁰²

Records attest to several instances in which animals were deliberately harmed by having their legs broken or being severely beaten. While this was another way of directly lessening the planters' profits (a steer cost about N£16 and a mule N£20),²⁰³ at the same time the shortage of working animals could delay harvest, or halt other plantation jobs.

Other forms of resistance

All enslaved people had it in their power to engineer incidents within their particular sphere of influence. Cooks spoiled meals; coopers heated precious staves so much that they broke; masons mixed mortar that set too quickly, too slowly, too crumbly. Cattle keepers let animals roam into cane fields to trample crops. Others dawdled, lingered and loitered. Domesticated, considered not intelligent

enough to understand the conversation of whites, were well informed since they could easily eavesdrop and overhear business discussions and family secrets.²⁰⁴ This knowledge gave them, and their community, ammunition for targeted acts of resistance.

Lying, back-chatting, mis-hearing instructions and idling were facets of everyday resistance, as were persistent complaints, 'reluctance', foot-dragging, resisting rape, shamming illness.²⁰⁵ Faking illness was a widespread practice, and a new manager was pleased to report that 'The field Negroes are getting into pretty good order, they do their work now without much trouble and sildom complain without being realy sick.' The domestics on that plantation had their own way of making life difficult for him: they did the housework grudgingly and badly, were 'very unwilling' to wait on him and pilfered on a large scale after obtaining false keys. They hid the stolen items and, when challenged, stuck together and 'denied it strongly'.²⁰⁶

Generally white people feared African cultural traditions, such as drumming and dancing, and to maintain those practises was another way of resisting the restrictions slaveholders imposed. The tradition of storytelling, too, was important; it forged deeper bonds among the enslaved people but could also be subversive. Another cultural practise was that of Obeah. Whites living in the colonies always feared being poisoned and equated practising Obeah with poisoning. In Nevis this resulted in a law which promised the death penalty to 'all negroes or coloured persons' who practiced Obeah.²⁰⁷ In 1860 the Legislature in Nevis finally abolished the death sentence for 'Obeah doctors'.²⁰⁸

Murder

The ultimate form of resistance was murder, and in the 1800s there were at least three recorded instances: in 1811 the poisoning of an overseer, George Vaughan; in 1822 the killing of Toney, an enslaved watchman on Dasent's, Magnus Morton's estate; and in 1829 the murder of Thomas Hurman, the manager on Indian Castle, one of Edward Huggins's estates.

George Vaughan's killing occurred after enslaved people had not been issued with allowances 'for months past'.²⁰⁹ The Legislature offered a reward of N£100,²¹⁰ and five enslaved people were suspected and held²¹¹ but it is not known what happened to them. The deaths of the watchman Toney and of Thomas Hurman also occurred during a difficult time when food shortages combined with expectations about imminent freedom led to thefts, burglaries and arson. Toney died on 29 September 1822 aged about 70. Despite the offer of a reward of \$100 from the public purse, it appears that the killers were not apprehended.²¹²

Thomas Hurman died on 10 August 1829 aged 31.²¹³ Since the suspected murderers were his 'possessions', the planter Edward Huggins junior had to pay for their legal defence during their two-day trial. Found guilty, on 29 August four men were hanged: Will, Bob, and Joe from Indian Castle and Stirling from Huggins' Eden Estate.²¹⁴ In 1831 Huggins was due the appraised value of these four men: N£480 plus a reimbursement of over N£16 for the defence Counsel.²¹⁵

Sold: Polly Burke

Polly Burke was sold from Hamilton plantation to a private buyer. Her sale demonstrates how enslaved people were separated from friends and family and how they had to adjust to new situations – in some instances several times during their lives.

First listed in 1802 as a 'female child', Polly Burke almost certainly was born on Hamilton's around 1793. She was described as a 'mulatto' which in the colonies invariably meant the child of a black mother and a white father. It is not known who her mother was while her father may, possibly, have been the merchant William Burke or one of his nephews, John or William. Not counting prefixes such 'Old' or 'Mountain', as a child she was one of fewer than half a dozen individuals with a second name on Hamilton's. Apart from indicating family ties, surnames could also denote a previous 'owner'.

Polly Burke was the only person to be sold from Hamilton's in the two decades before the abolition of slavery in 1834. It is likely that it was thought she could be spared; planters considered white people's offspring unsuitable for the heavy work in the fields and the boiling houses. Mixed heritage people tended to be employed as house or personal servants, with some boys undergoing apprenticeships as carpenters or masons while girls were schooled in needlecraft or domestic work.

Polly Burke's 'buyer' and his family

Polly Burke was sold on 1 November 1824 to Horatio Iles, a man in his early forties and originally from Montserrat.²¹⁶ He may have previously worked on Hamilton's as a manager; in 1817 he had signed the official Slave Register for that estate.²¹⁷ When he bought Polly Burke, he was working on Prospect plantation in St John Figtree²¹⁸ but by 1827 he managed Parris's in St Thomas Lowland.²¹⁹

Horatio Iles had living with him his partner, Grace McKinnon, a free woman of colour and a slaveholder in her own right. In 1816 she had purchased two enslaved females for just over N£200, Molly and Mary. As was customary, Horatio Iles had acted as a witness in the transactions by Bills of Sale.²²⁰ She also purchased from him a boy which had left him with a young woman and three young men whom he had acquired from William Burke, his uncle,²²¹ after his uncle's death. In his will Burke had left him N£100 which could have gone towards paying for these people.²²² Purchasing an enslaved person represented a major expense; in the 1820s a plantation manager on Nevis earned a basic salary of between N£250 and N£350 a year, an overseer less than half.²²³

Unlike Grace McKinnon's purchases of Molly and Mary, Horatio Iles did not buy Polly Burke with an official Bill of Sale but through an informal transfer, with an attorney on Nevis acting on behalf of the London merchant house then in possession of Hamilton's and all its people.

It is likely that Horatio Iles bought Polly Burke because of the family connection but, no doubt, his partner also needed her to assist with childcare and household chores. The couple had several children. The youngest, Horatio, was just three months old when he was baptised the day after Polly Burke arrived.²²⁴ However, like so many infants, he died young, and less than a fortnight later the

boy was buried.²²⁵ Grace McKinnon gave birth to another boy and a girl who were baptised in St Paul's church in Charlestown²²⁶ where in September 1829 Horatio Iles and Grace McKinnon also got married.²²⁷ Mr and Mrs Iles had altogether seven surviving children.

Living in a new household

When Polly Burke joined the Iles household, one of the enslaved women also had a very young child, and over the following years the women gave birth to two more girls. One of the enslaved girls was baptised on 6 January 1826, the same day as Grace McKinnon's son Henry.²²⁸ Since mothers passed their enslaved (or free) status to their children and Grace McKinnon was free, Henry was born free.

If one of the Burke men was her father, Polly Burke was related to Horatio Iles as a cousin, or a first cousin once removed, which meant she was, in theory at least, family. This may have affected her relationship with him and his wife, as well as the other people around her. Living in this large household Polly Burke had to find her place and establish herself. Any hard-won privileges she may have enjoyed on Hamilton's no longer applied; she had to negotiate with her new employers and find out where the boundaries lay. She also had to find a way of relating to the other women and the young men who all came from different backgrounds. One young man had in the previous five years belonged to two other people on Nevis while another had been imported from Anguilla, suggesting his previous 'master' had found him uncontrollable. Being sold into exile abroad was the ultimate punishment. If Polly Burke did not obey, she may have been subjected to physical punishment or been threatened with being rented to a plantation as a field worker – a great indignity for a woman of colour who worked as a domestic. While slaveholders could punish (and control) their workers by hiring them to other employers, it was also a way of extracting more value from them.

Towards the end of 1831 Horatio Iles was ill, and he made his will. To his 'affectionate wife Grace Iles' he left all his property in trust, including land with buildings in Charlestown on the Main Street by the Parsonage and about ten acres in St John Figtree parish near the Bath Gut. Grace Iles was to inherit everything, including his six enslaved people, among them Polly Burke. If his widow thought fit, she could sell them and other property to finance their children's education.²²⁹ Although he was 'weak of body' when he made his will in November 1831, he lived for another two years, and it is almost certain that caring for him would have fallen on Polly Burke and the other women in the household. Horatio Iles died in January 1834, aged 51.²³⁰ His widow had a stone vault erected in St Paul's churchyard.²³¹

Some months later, on 1 August 1834, slavery ended in most British colonies. Enslaved people had to undergo a four-year-apprenticeship period while slaveholders could claim money from the British government to compensate them for the loss of their free, forced labour. Mrs Grace Iles was awarded £172 sterling for her and her husband's remaining people – including Polly Burke.²³²

Two women - one remembered, one forgotten

Polly Burke would still have been an apprentice living with the widow, her children and the other apprentices when Mrs Iles's property became the subject of a very public complaint. The Court of General Sessions heard that 'the privys' (toilets) attached to Mrs Grace Iles's and another woman's houses in Charlestown had become 'great and serious nuisances', and the judges ordered the penal gang to clean the streets.²³³ This unpleasant image, however, bears no relation how Mrs Iles came to

be remembered in Nevis. She was very involved with the Wesleyan Church and turned out to be one of its leaders. Praised for her 'estimable qualities as a Christian' who had looked after the sick and the dying 'with maternal tenderness and unwearied attention', Grace Iles died peacefully in 1852. She left behind 'an interesting family ... among whom [were] several daughters, who [were] found treading in the footsteps of their excellent—now sainted—mother.'²³⁴

This very public acknowledgement of Mrs Iles's contribution to Nevis society is in contrast to how Polly Burke is remembered. It is not known when she died and where she was buried.

The Slave Registers, 1817-1834

116718

An Alphabetical List and Return of all the Negro and other Slaves now resident on the Estate called HAMILTONS and belonging to or in the lawful possession of Thomas Latham Given in by me this fifteenth day of July One thousand eight hundred and Seventeen
Horatio Fildes

No	Names	Sex	Country	Colour	Age	Years
1	Aaron	Male	Creole	Black	12	
2	Abby	Female	do	do	25	
3	Abel	Male	do	do	15	
4	Amy	Female	do	do	50	
5	Amelia	do	do	do	14	
6	Ando	Male	African	do	36	
7	Andrew	do	Creole	do	16	
8	Anderson	do	do	do	4	
9	Angele	Female	do	do	3	
10	Ann	do	do	do	8	
11	Barton	Male	African	do	30	
12	Bayel	do	Creole	do	10	
13	Beck	Female	do	do	17	
14	Becky	do	do	do	5	
15	Betsy	do	do	do	45	
16	Betsy	do	do	do	15	
17	Betsy Dolphin	do	do	do	55	
18	Bella	do	African	do	35	
19	Benj	do	Creole	do	30	
20	Benj	do	do	do	36	
21	Billy	Male	African	do	33	
22	Billy	do	Creole	do	30	
23	Bitty	Female	do	do	32	
24	Bob	Male	African	do	40	
25	Bonaparte	do	Creole	do	7	
26	Caracas	Female	do	do	10	
27	Castilla	Male	do	do	40	

Page 1 of the 1817 register for Hamilton's plantation (Image from Ancestry.co.uk)

Much of the information about the enslaved people on Hamilton's comes from the so-called Slave Registers which were introduced in order to monitor colonial slaveholdings. Following Britain's withdrawal from the Transatlantic Slave Trade in 1807, enslaved people were still being trafficked between the islands until that trade also became illegal in 1811. The Slave Registers were to reveal whether enslaved people were still being trafficked and to monitor population trends.

Ameliorationists in Britain had hoped that once the trade in African captives had stopped and labourers could no longer be procured from that continent, slaveholders would improve working and living conditions so that the enslaved population would increase naturally and thereby secure future generations of unpaid labour.

In order to examine whether this was indeed happening, the British government required its colonies to establish a complete inventory of all enslaved people, with each slaveholder updating their lists every three years. Nevis completed its first register in 1817 but delayed the first update

until 1822 and then followed with registers in 1825, 1828, 1831 and 1834. Other colonies completed theirs in different years and at different intervals.

Records were kept on site in the colonies, and copies of the local registers were sent to the Office for the Registry of Colonial Slaves in London. After that office was disbanded, some 200,000 pages of names were placed in the UK National Archives. This still holds the paper volumes for all the years, including the 1834 register for Nevis which is missing from the online registers; the ink on most of this book's pages had faded too much to take digital images.

Having been instructed by the British government to produce a register of all enslaved people, the colonies introduced their own formats. In Nevis slaveholders were asked to complete six columns: *Number - Names - Sex - Country - Colour - Reputed Age*. Other colonies extended the categories and also listed occupations (e.g. St Kitts, Barbados, Dominica), physical characteristics (Trinidad, Grenada), or height (St Lucia, Trinidad).

The first registers was a complete inventory of all the island's enslaved people. In 1817 the 66 estates and 244 individual owners in Nevis submitted a total of 310 registers. Subsequent registers for 1822 and so on were intended to update the previous lists.

No	Name	Sex	Country	Age	Reputed age	By Birth Purchase or Return and if purchased by whom
222	Alfred	Male	Nevis	Slack	2 years	by Birth
223	Anney	Female	"	"	10 Months	"
224	Ann	"	"	"	3 years	"
225	Abby	"	"	"	5 Months	"
226	Eliza	"	"	Adult	2 years	"
227	Mary	"	"	Slack	3 Months	"
228	Quay	"	"	"	1 year	"
C.						
<p><i>Alphabetical List and Returns of all Deductions from the original list of Slaves resident on the Estate called Hamiltons, belonging to or in the lawful possession of George Latham and whether by Death Sale Manumission Absconding or otherwise since the last Return</i></p>						
Original list subsequent Return	Name	Sex Manumitted sold or absconded	Held to whom	Date of Sale		
1	Ann	Dead				
2	Abby	"				
9	Angelic	"				
11	Basta	"				
13	Beck	"				
15	Betsy	"				
18	Bella	"				

Part of the 1822 update for Hamilton's, listing the additions and some of the deductions (Image from Ancestry.co.uk)

The column headed 'by birth purchase or return and if purchased by whom' gave slaveholders space to complete the required information and state all the individuals born, purchased, gifted or

inherited since completing the previous register. Similarly, in a section for *Deductions* slaveholders declared any decreases through *death, sale, manumission, absconding, or otherwise*. Some slaveholders carefully recorded the day someone had died or when other events had taken place but not everyone afforded their people this dignity. If since the previous register no additions or deductions had occurred, slaveholders submitted a register, stating ‘no alteration’, or ‘nil’ but in many cases they simply did not inform the authorities that some change had taken place.

Despite ameliorative legislation being introduced in the 1820s and some societal changes taking place, the Slave Registers reveal that the island’s slave population declined after 1817 from 9,602 to 9,142 in 1831. In all but one of the three-year periods the deaths outnumbered the births. By 1834 the total number was further reduced to 8,769.²³⁵

Nevis enslaved population, 1817 to 1831

Years				Increase/births			Decrease/deaths			Manumissions*
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	
1817	4,685	4,917	9,602	---	---	---	---	---	--	---
1822	4,583	4,678	9,261	547	517	1064	685	537	1222	42
1825	4,591	4,695	9,286	349	316	665	358	335	693	38
1828	4,574	4,685	9,259	323	315	638	328	301	629	61
1831	4,526	4,616	9,142	334	309	643	343	336	679	66

²³⁶

*Manumission was the act of a slaveholder freeing an enslaved person.

The Slave Registers for Hamilton’s show a similar picture, with the total number of 77 deaths between 1817 and 1834 outweighing the 64 births during the same period.

Hamilton’s population, 1817 to 1834

Years				Increase/births			Decrease/deaths			Manumissions
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	
1817	91	130	221	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
1822	75	115	190	1	6	7	16	21	37	---
1825	71	112	183	4	4	8	9	6	15	---
1828	72	115	194	13	7	20	5	4	9	---
1831	77	119	196	4	8	12	5	4	9	1
1834	84	122	206	7	10	17	0	7	7	---
1817-1834				29	35	64	35	42	77	

²³⁷

* Additional decrease was through a sale and absconding.

Among the 64 children born, three died very young: Eliza died between 1822 and 1825 aged 2 to 5 years; Peggy (born on 25 October 1825) died on 17 December 1826 aged just over a year and Money died on 27 August 1830 aged eight. Many more infants would have been born and would have died young; under-recording of young children’s births and deaths was a common feature of record-keeping on plantations.

The enslaved people on Hamilton's, 15 July 1817

According to 1817 Slave Register for Hamilton's, there were then 221 people on the plantation, 91 males and 130 females. They were listed roughly alphabetically. Below is the complete 1817 list in the original order with reference to previous lists and each person's subsequent fate up and until 1834, with their ages being based on their estimated ages in 1817.

Names	Sex: Male or Female	Country: Creole or African	Colour	Reputed Age	Additional Notes
Aaron	M	C	Black	12	Died 1817-1822 aged 12-17
Abby	F	C	Black	25	A female child in 1802 (Abba); died 1817-1822 aged 25-30
Abel	M	C	Black	15	Alive 1834 aged 32
Amy (Amey)	F	C	Black	50	A woman in 1802; died 1822-1825 aged 55-58
Amelia	F	C	Black	14	A female child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 31
Ando	M	A	Black	36	A man in 1802; alive 1834 aged 53
Andrew	M	C	Black	16	A male child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 33
Andrew	M	C	Black	4	Alive 1834 aged 21
Angelic	F	C	Black	3	Died 1817-1822 aged 3-8
Ann	F	C	Black	8	Alive 1834 aged 25
Barton	M	A	Black	38	A man in 1802; died 1817-1822 aged 38-43
Bazel	M	C	Black	10	Alive 1834 aged 27
Beck (Beek)	F	C	Black	17	A female child in 1802; died 1817-1822 aged 17-22
Becky	F	C	Black	5	Alive 1834 aged 22
Betsey	F	C	Black	45	A woman in 1802; died 1817-1822 aged 45-50
Betsey	F	C	Black	15	Alive 1834 aged 32
Betsy Dolphin	F	C	Black	55	Died 1831-1834 aged 69-72
Bella	F	A	Black	35	A woman in 1802 (Isabella); died 1817-1822 aged 35-40
Bess	F	C	Black	38	A female child in 1784; alive 1834 aged 55
Bess	F	C	Black	36	A female child in 1784; alive 1834 aged 53
Billy	M	A	Black	33	A man in 1802; died 1817-1822 aged 33-38
Billy	M	C	Black	30	A boy in 1802; alive 1834 aged 47
Betty	F	C	Black	32	A girl in 1802; alive 1834 aged 49
Bob	M	A	Black	40	A boy in 1802; alive 1834 aged 57
Buonaparte	M	C	Black	7	Absconded 1831-1834 aged 21-24

Names	Sex: Male or Female	Country: Creole or African	Colour	Reputed Age	Additional Notes
Candis	F	C	Black	10	Alive 1834 aged 27
It is likely she was the 'Candice' who, according to Martha Williams Hamilton's will, was to take care of all of Mrs Hamilton's dogs. Candice was to be allowed N£10 Nevis a year for the maintenance of each dog. This was roughly equivalent to just under £6 sterling.					
Castilla	M	C	Black	40	A man in 1802; died 1817-1822 aged 40-45
Catharena	F	A	Black	35	A woman in 1802; alive 1834 aged 52
Caroline	F	C	Black	32	A woman in 1802; alive 1834 aged 49
Clarey	F	C	Black	40	A woman in 1802; alive 1834 aged 57
Charity	F	C	Black	38	A girl in 1802; alive 1834 aged 55
Charles	M	C	Black	13	A male child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 30
Chloe	F	C	Black	36	A woman in 1802; alive 1834 aged 49
Christianna (Thibles)	F	C	Mulatto	14	Alive 1834 aged 31
Christiana, as an adult on Hamilton's, was baptised on 30 January 1824. She had three children, two with the mulatto Thomas Pemberton, also on Hamilton's: Thomas Pemberton (born 18 August 1825) and Walter Pemberton (12 April 1827). The boys were baptised on 8 August 1828. Her daughter Fanny Celia (born 28 March 1829) was baptised on 6 October 1830. Christianna then had the surname Thibles – probably the name of her daughter's father. All baptisms took place in St Paul's church in Charlestown.					
Collin	M	A	Black	40	A man in 1802; alive 1834 aged 57
Cordelia	F	A	Black	38	A woman in 1802; alive 1834 aged 55
Cooper	M	C	Black	7	Absconded 1831-1834 aged 21-24
Cotto	F	A	Black	60	A girl in 1784; alive 1834 aged 77
Cubba	F	A	Black	28	A girl in 1802; died 1817-1822 aged 28-33
Daniel	M	C	Black	5	Alive 1834 aged 22
Daniel	M	C	Black	6	Alive 1834 aged 23
Diana	F	C	Black	36	A girl in 1802; alive 1834 aged 53
Diana	F	A	Black	90	A woman in 1802; died 1822-1825 aged 95-98
Dick	M	A	Black	48	A boy in 1772; died 1822-1825 aged 53-56
Dezey (Dizey)	F	C	Black	8	Died 8 November 1829 aged 20
Dorinda	F	A	Black	30	A girl in 1802; died 17 April 1826 aged 39
Duncan (Dunkin)	M	A	Black	36	A man in 1802; died 10 May 1829 aged 48
Edward	M	C	Sambo	2 mo	Alive 1834 aged 17
Eliza	F	C	Black	7	Alive 1834 aged 24
Elcy (Elsy)	F	C	Black	5	Alive 1834 aged 22
Eve	F	C	Black	14	A female child in 1802; died 1831-1834 aged 28-31
Fanny	F	C	Black	7	Alive 1834 aged 24

Names	Sex: Male or Female	Country: Creole or African	Colour	Reputed Age	Additional Notes
Fanny	F	C	Black	4 mo	Died 1817-1822 aged 1-5
Felix	M	C	Black	8	Alive 1834 aged 25
Frances	F	C	Black	66	A woman in 1772; died 1817-1822 aged 66-71
Frances	F	C	Black	45	A female child in 1784; alive 1834 aged 62
Frances	F	C	Black	1	Alive 1834 aged 18
Frank	M	C	Black	10	Died 1817-1822 aged 10-15
Frank	M	C	Black	6	Alive 1834 aged 23
Frankey	F	C	Black	3	Alive 1834 aged 20
Flozan	F	C	Black	20	A female child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 37
Fortune	M	C	Black	30	A boy in 1802; alive 1834 aged 47
Fox	M	A	Black	40	A man in 1802; alive 1834 aged 57
Glasgow	M	A	Black	55	A boy in 1772; died 1817-1822 aged 55-60
George	M	C	Black	5	Alive 1834 aged 22
Grig	M	A	Black	32	A boy in 1802; died 1817-1822 aged 32-37
Greeta	F	C	Mulatto	25	A female child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 42
Goliah	M	C	Black	2	Died 1822-1825 aged 7-10
Harry	M	C	Black	45	A male child in 1784; died 1822-1825 aged 50-53
Harry	M	C	Black	36	A boy in 1802; alive 1834 aged 53
Hector	M	A	Black	68	A boy in 1772; died 25 April 1826 aged 77
Hetty	F	A	Black	30	A woman in 1802; died 29 May 1828 aged 41
Henny	F	A	Black	45	A woman in 1802; died 1831-1834 aged 59-62
Hester	F	C	Black	38	A female child in 1784; alive 1834 aged 55
Hancotte	F	C	Black	2	Alive 1834 aged 19
Hannah	F	A	Black	30	Died 1817-1822 aged 30-35
Hannah	F	C	Black	8 mo	Died 1817-1822 aged 1-5
Henry	M	C	Black	3	Alive 1834 aged 20
Homer	M	A	Black	55	A man in 1772; died 13 October 1829 aged 67
Isaac	M	C	Black	45	A boy in 1772; alive 1834 aged 62
Jack	M	C	Black	20	A male child in 1802; died 24 February 1825 aged 28
Jack	M	A	Black	40	A man in 1802; died 1817-1822 aged 40-45
Jackson	M	A	Black	40	A man in 1802; alive 1834 aged 57
James	M	C	Black	1	Alive 1834 aged 18

Names	Sex: Male or Female	Country: Creole or African	Colour	Reputed Age	Additional Notes
Jane	F	C	Black	3	Alive 1834 aged 20
Janette	F	C	Black	6	Alive 1834 aged 23
Jeffry	M	C	Black	28	A male child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 45
Jenken	M	C	Black	12	Alive 1834 aged 29
Jenny	F	C	Black	45	A girl in 1784; alive 1834 aged 62
Jenny	F	A	Black	40	A girl in 1802; died 15 February 1826 aged 49
Jenny Wallace	F	C	Black	18	A female child in 1802; died 1817-1822 aged 23-28
Jem	M	C	Black	20	A male child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 37
John	M	C	Black	38	A male child in 1784; alive 1834 aged 55
John	M	C	Black	2	Drowned 1822-1825 aged 7-10
Joan	F	C	Black	36	A female child in 1784; died 1817-1822 aged 36-41
Joe	M	C	Black	40	A male child in 1784; died 1822-1825 aged 45-48
Jobe	M	C	Black	8	Alive 1834 aged 25
Julant	F	A	Black	38	A woman in 1802 (Gillante); alive 1834 aged 55
Julant	F	C	Black	30	A female child in 1802 (Gillante); alive 1834 aged 47
Juba	F	A	Black	70	A woman in 1802; died 1831-1834 aged 84-87 (Lubar)
Judy	F	C	Black	65	A woman in 1772; alive 1834 aged 82
Katey	F	C	Black	2	Alive 1834 aged 19
Kitty	F	C	Black	16	A female child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 33
Kitty	F	C	Black	55	A woman in 1772; alive 1834 aged 72
Kitsey	F	C	Black	4 mo	Died 1817-1822 aged 1-5
Lady Bell	F	C	Black	7	Alive 1834 aged 24
Lavina	F	C	Black	6	Alive 1834 aged 23
Lewe	M	C	Black	46	A boy in 1772; died 1817-1822 aged 46-51
Lewis	M	C	Black	3	Alive 1834 aged 20
Lezett	F	C	Black	38	A woman in 1802; alive 1834 aged 55
Lettice	F	C	Black	10	Alive 1834 aged 27
Linchey	F	C	Black	9	Alive 1834 aged 26
London	M	A	Black	50	A boy in 1772; alive 1834 aged 67
London	M	C	Black	20	A male child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 37
London	M	C	Black	3	Alive 1834 aged 20
Lubbo	F	C	Black	11	Died 1817-1822 aged 11-16
Lukey	F	C	Black	12	Alive 1834 aged 29

Names	Sex: Male or Female	Country: Creole or African	Colour	Reputed Age	Additional Notes
(Lucky Hamilton)					
As Lucky Hamilton her three children were baptised on 8 January 1834 in St Paul's church: Benjamin (born 18 November 1827), Robert (31 June 1831) and Grace (29 May 1832). All her children were black.					
Lydia	F	C	Sambo	12	Alive 1834 aged 29
Madlane	F	C	Black	34	A girl in 1802; alive 1834 aged 51
Mary	F	C	Black	80	A woman in 1772; died 1817-1822 aged 80-85
Mary	F	C	Black	55	A girl in 1772; alive 1834 aged 72
Mary	F	C	Black	19	A female child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 36
Mary	F	C	Black	2 mo	Alive 1834 aged 17
Mary	F	C	Mulatto	1 mo	Alive 1834 aged 17
Margaret	F	C	Black	12	Died 1817-1822 aged 12-17
Martha	F	C	Black	8	Alive 1834 aged 25
Matilda	F	A	Black	30	A woman in 1802; alive 1834 aged 47
Marena	F	A	Black	32	A woman in 1802; alive 1834 aged 49
Maria	F	A	Black	34	A girl in 1802; alive 1834 aged 51
Marotte	F	C	Black	38	A girl in 1802; alive 1834 aged 55
Marian	F	A	Black	42	A woman in 1802; alive 1834 aged 59
Matthew	M	A	Black	36	A man in 1802; died 1817-1822 aged 36-41
Mimba	F	C	Black	39	Alive 1834 aged 56
Meneon (Minion)	M	C	Black	26	A male child in 1802 (Minion); alive 1834 aged 43
Menerva	F	A	Black	50	A girl in 1784; died 1817-1822 aged 50-55
Molly	F	C	Black	35	Alive 1834 aged 52
Molly Wilkins	F	C	Black	36	A woman in 1802; alive 1834 aged 53
Monday	M	C	Black	50	A boy in 1772; died 1817-1822 aged 50-55
Monday	M	C	Black	48	A male child in 1772; died 31 May 1826 aged 59
Mona	F	C	Black	2	Alive 1834 aged 19
Morice (Morace)	M	C	Mulatto	32	A boy in 1802; purchased himself 7 July 1829 aged 44
Moses	M	C	Black	10	Alive 1834 aged 27
Myrah	F	C	Black	44	A female child in 1784 (Mira); alive 1834 aged 61
Nancy	F	C	Black	52	A woman in 1772; died 1831-1834 aged 66-69
Nanny	F	C	Black	23	A female child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 40
Nanny	F	C	Black	46	A female child in 1772; alive 1834 aged 63

Names	Sex: Male or Female	Country: Creole or African	Colour	Reputed Age	Additional Notes
Nat	M	C	Black	28	A male child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 45
Ned	M	C	Black	50	Alive 1834 aged 67
Ned	M	C	Black	14	Died 25 December 1829 aged 26
Neptune	M	C	Black	50	A boy in 1772; died 1822-1825 aged 55-58
Nelly	F	A	Black	60	A girl in 1784; died 1822-1825 aged 65-68
Obba	F	C	Black	65	A woman in 1802 (Abba); died 8 February 1826 aged 74
Onslow	M	A	Black	36	A man in 1802; alive 1834 aged 53
Pallace	M	C	Black	8	Alive 1834 aged 25
Patience	F	C	Black	2	Alive 1834 aged 19
Patty	F	C	Black	40	A female child in 1772; alive 1834 aged 57
Pareen	F	C	Black	36	A woman in 1802 ; alive 1834 aged 53
Peg	F	C	Black	3	Alive 1834 aged 20
Peter	M	A	Black	40	Died 1817-1822 aged 40-45
Peter	M	C	Black	45	Died 1817-1822 aged 45-50
Peter	M	C	Black	18	A male child in 1802; died 22 November 1825 aged 26
Phillip	M	C	Black	45	A man in 1802; alive 1834 aged 62
Phibba	F	C	Black	40	A female child in 1788; alive 1834 aged 57
Phena	F	C	Black	30	A girl in 1802; died 9 August 1830 aged 43
Phebe	F	C	Black	28	A girl in 1802; alive 1834 aged 45
Porlia	F	A	Black	32	A girl in 1802; alive 1834 aged 49
Polly	F	C	Black	38	A woman in 1802; died 1822-1825 aged 43-46
Polly Burke	F	C	Mulatto	24	A female child in 1802; sold 1822-1825 (1 November 1824) to H Iles Esq aged 31
Polly Bass	F	C	Black	25	A female child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 42
Posey	F	C	Black	35	A female child in 1784; alive 1834 aged 52
Present	F	C	Black	56	A woman in 1772; alive 1834 aged 73
Prosper	M	C	Black	5	Alive 1834 aged 22
Pressey	F	C	Black	7	Alive 1834 aged 25
Pentoin	F	C	Black	5	Alive 1834 aged 22
Quashey	M	A	Black	70	A man in 1772; died 30 July 1827 aged 80
Quashey	M	C	Black	12	A male child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 29

Names	Sex: Male or Female	Country: Creole or African	Colour	Reputed Age	Additional Notes
Quasheba	F	A	Black	50	A woman in 1772; died 1817-1822 aged 50-55
Quasheba	F	C	Black	60	A woman in 1772; alive 1834 aged 77
Quaco	M	C	Black	19	A male child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 36
Quelay	F	C	Black	56	A girl in 1772 (Queily); died 1831-1834 aged 70-73 (Qualy)
Range	M	C	Black	6	Alive 1834 aged 23
Ritta	F	C	Black	7	Alive 1834 aged 24
Robert	M	C	Mulatto	38	A boy in 1802; died 1822-1825 aged 43-46
Rose	F	A	Black	32	Died 1831-1834 aged 46-49
Rose	F	A	Black	36	A woman in 1802; died 1817-1822 aged 36-41
Rover	M	C	Black	7	Died 2 February 1830 aged 20
Ruthey	F	C	Black	44	A female child in 1784; alive 1834 aged 61
Sam	M	C	Black	30	Alive 1834 aged 47
Sam	M	C	Black	1	Alive 1834 aged 18
Sammy	M	C	Black	9	Alive 1834 aged 26
Sampson	M	C	Black	25	A male child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 42
Sabina	F	C	Black	18	A female child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 35
Samelia	F	C	Black	5	Alive 1834 aged 22
Sabella	F	C	Black	3	Alive 1834 aged 20
Sally	F	C	Black	34	A female child in 1772; alive 1834 aged 51
Sarah	F	C	Black	50	A woman in 1772; alive 1834 aged 67
Santy	M	A	Black	40	Died 1817-1822 aged 40-45
Slygo (Seggo)	M	C	Black	44	A male child in 1788; died 7 April 1828 aged 55
Sharper	M	C	Black	42	A male child in 1772; died 1822-1825 aged 47-50
Shaba	F	C	Black	26	A female child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 43
Sophey	F	C	Black	21	A female child in 1802; died 1817-1822 aged 21-26
Sue	F	C	Black	45	A female child in 1772; alive 1834 aged 62
Susey	F	C	Black	14	Alive 1834 aged 31
Sunday	M	C	Black	6	Died 1817-1822 aged 6-11
Suckey	F	A	Black	36	A woman in 1802; alive 1834 aged 53
Susannah	F	A	Black	38	A woman in 1802; alive 1834 aged 55
Tilla	F	C	Black	4 mo	Alive 1834 aged 17
Tom	M	C	Black	28	Hanged aged 33-36

Names	Sex: Male or Female	Country: Creole or African	Colour	Reputed Age	Additional Notes
Tom absconded 1817-1822, returned 1822-1825, was hanged for felony 1822-1825. The age of '41' in the 1825 register shows that people's ages were guessed; according to the 1817 register he would have been between 33 and 36 years old when he died.					
Tomina	M	C	Black	30	Alive 1834 aged 47
Tommy	M	C	Black	24	A male child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 41
Thomas (Pemberton)	M	C	Mulatto	14	Alive 1834 aged 31
Thomas Pemberton had two sons with the mulatto Christianna: Thomas Pemberton (born 18 August 1825) and Walter Pemberton (12 April 1827). The boys were baptised on 8 August 1828.					
Tuesday	F	C	Black	36	A girl in 1802 (Toosey). Died 1817-1822 aged 36-41
Venus	F	A	Black	58	A girl in 1784; died 1822-1825 aged 63-66
Virgin	F	C	Black	16	A female child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 33
Violet	F	C	Black	4 mo	Alive 1834 aged 17
William	M	A	Black	65	A male child in 1784; alive 1834 aged 82
<p>One of the two men below became known as William Stokes. The surname was most unusual in Nevis.</p> <p>William Stokes, an adult apprentice labourer on Hamilton Estate, was baptised in St Pauls' church on 10 December 1834.</p> <p>The labourer William Stokes died about 6 June 1855. In his will he bequeathed his property to Mary Warwick, William Riley, Betsey Croke, Adrian Wallin and two others. William Stokes had no next of kin; Mary Warwick was a beneficiary of greater extent than the others and petitioned for his estate. She made her mark by way of a signature.²³⁸</p>					
William	M	C	Black	38	A boy in 1802; alive 1834 aged 55
William	M	C	Black	19	A male child in 1802; alive 1834 aged 36
Will	M	C	Black	30	Alive 1834 aged 47
Wood	M	A	Black	36	Died 1817-1822 aged 36-41
Yanakey	F	C	Black	50	A girl in 1772; alive 1834 aged 67

The enslaved people on Hamilton's, 1 January 1834

In 1834 there were 204 enslaved people on Hamilton's, some of whom had lived and worked on the plantation for decades:

- Of the 250 people on Hamilton's in 1772, 2 men and 11 women had survived to 1834 (5.2 per cent)
- of the 221 people registered in 1817, 143 people were still on Hamilton's in 1834 (64.7 per cent)
- of the 48 Africans listed in 1817, 20 lived until 1834 (41.7 per cent)

Since 1817,

- 74 people then on Hamilton's had died before 1834, including a boy who is known to have drowned and a man who was hanged for an unspecified 'felony'
- of the 74 people who died, exactly half (37) had died between 1817 and 1822 - a sixth of all the people on Hamilton's in 1817
- of the 64 children born, 3 had died young
- one mixed-heritage woman was sold
- one mixed-heritage man purchased himself and thereby became free
- two men had absconded.

Ages

In 1817 the youngest person was Mary at one month old and the oldest person was Diana whose age was estimated at 90 years. Without plantation records it is impossible to tell how old Diana actually was; it must be assumed that some ages were over- and others underestimated.

Of the nine people aged 60 or over in 1817 only two lived until 1834.

In 1817 the average age of all people on Hamilton's was almost 28 years; by 1834 this had risen to almost 30 years. This suggests that conditions were improving so that people were living that little longer.

Ages of the 37 people who died between 1817 and 1822

Age groups, 1817	0-20 years	21-40	41-60	60+
Numbers who died	10	13	12	2
Percentage of their age group	11.1	15.7	30.8	22.2

The age group 0 to 20 years was the largest with 90 individuals in total. The ten children and young adults who died represented 11.1 per cent of that whole age cohort.

Males and females

On Hamilton's the females with almost 60 per cent represented a much larger share of the total plantation population, compared to the overall female population in Nevis (51.3 per cent). The island-wide gender distribution was very much in line with the gender distribution found in the majority of sugar colonies.²³⁹ With such a large number of females, of whom over half were of child-bearing age, it can be assumed that Hamilton's population would have grown after Emancipation.

Male and female ratios on Hamilton's, 1817 and 1834

Year	Number of males	Percentage males	Number of females	Percentage females	Total number of all enslaved people
1817	91	41.2	130	58.8	221
1834 ²⁴⁰	82	40.2	122	59.8	204

Africans

In both Nevis and St Kitts one person in seven was identified as African,²⁴¹ while in 1817 on Hamilton's one person in every five was an African. This shows that new people had been bought for the estate in order to maintain a viable workforce.

By 1834 the ratio of Africans had dropped to one person in every ten. Over time, no African-born person would have been alive on the plantation – only their descendants.

Percentage of Hamilton Estate's population who were enslaved Africans, 1817 and 1834

Year	Number of male Africans	Percentage male Africans	Number of female Africans	Percentage female Africans	Total number of all enslaved people
1817	21	9.5	27	12.2	221
1834	8	3.9	12	5.9	204

This list shows all 204 people on Hamilton's on 1 January 1834. Since there is no official final, full list for 1834, the following was worked out from adjusting all the previous lists and then ordering people by age. For children born from 1825 onwards, the birthdates are known. All children under the age of six were automatically free when on 1 August 1834 slavery was replaced by the apprenticeship system. This meant they were no longer entitled to the food and clothing allowances given out by the plantation; their mothers had to support them from their own allowances until 1 August 1838 – the day of complete Emancipation.

Enslaved people on Hamilton's, 1834

Names	Sex	Country	Colour	Reputed Age
William	Male	African	Black	82
Judy	Female	Creole	Black	82
Quasheba	Female	Creole	Black	77
Cotto	Female	African	Black	77
Present	Female	Creole	Black	73
Mary	Female	Creole	Black	72
Yanakey	Female	Creole	Black	67
London	Male	African	Black	67
Sarah	Female	Creole	Black	67
Ned	Male	Creole	Black	67
Nanny	Female	Creole	Black	63
Jenny	Female	Creole	Black	62
Frances	Female	Creole	Black	62
Isaac	Male	Creole	Black	62
Sue	Female	Creole	Black	62
Myrah	Female	Creole	Black	61
Ruthey	Female	Creole	Black	61
Patty	Female	Creole	Black	57
Phibba	Female	Creole	Black	57
Collin	Male	African	Black	57
Fox	Male	African	Black	57
Jackson	Male	African	Black	57
Bob	Male	African	Black	57
Mimba	Female	Creole	Black	56
Kitty	Female	Creole	Black	55
Bess	Female	Creole	Black	55
Hester	Female	Creole	Black	55
John	Male	Creole	Black	55
William	Male	Creole	Black	55
Cordelia	Female	African	Black	55
Julant	Female	African	Black	55
Lizetta	Female	Creole	Black	55
Suckey	Female	African	Black	55
Susanna	Female	African	Black	55
Charity	Female	Creole	Black	55
Marotte	Female	Creole	Black	55
Bess	Female	Creole	Black	53

Names	Sex	Country	Colour	Reputed Age
Harry	Male	Creole	Black	53
Ando	Male	African	Black	53
Onslow	Male	African	Black	53
Chloe	Female	Creole	Black	53
Pareen	Female	Creole	Black	53
Diana	Female	Creole	Black	53
Posey	Female	Creole	Black	52
Catharena	Female	African	Black	52
Molly	Female	Creole	Black	52
Molly	Female	Creole	Black	52
Sally	Female	Creole	Black	51
Madlane	Female	Creole	Black	51
Maria	Female	African	Black	51
Caroline	Female	African	Black	49
Marena	Female	African	Black	49
Porlia	Female	African	Black	49
Betty	Female	Creole	Black	49
Matilda	Female	African	Black	47
Fortune	Male	Creole	Black	47
Julant	Female	Creole	Black	47
Sam	Male	Creole	Black	47
Tomina	Male	Creole	Black	47
Will	Male	Creole	Black	47
Philip	Male	Creole	Black	45
Phebe	Female	Creole	Black	45
Jeffry	Male	Creole	Black	45
Nat	Male	Creole	Black	45
Meneon	Male	Creole	Black	43
Sheba	Female	Creole	Black	43
Marian	Female	African	Black	42
Sampson	Male	Creole	Black	42
Greeta	Female	Creole	Mulatto	42
Polly Bass	Female	Creole	Black	42
Tommy	Male	Creole	Black	41
Clarey	Female	Creole	Black	40
Nanny	Female	Creole	Black	40
Jem	Male	Creole	Black	37
London	Male	Creole	Black	37
Flozan	Female	Creole	Black	37
Quaco	Male	Creole	Black	36
William	Male	Creole	Black	36
Mary	Female	Creole	Black	36
Sabina	Female	Creole	Black	35
Andrew	Male	Creole	Black	33
Kitty	Female	Creole	Black	33
Virgin	Female	Creole	Black	33
Abel	Male	Creole	Black	32
Betsey	Female	Creole	Black	32

Names	Sex	Country	Colour	Reputed Age
Amelia	Female	Creole	Black	31
Christianna (Thibles)	Female	Creole	Mulatto	31
Susey	Female	Creole	Black	31
Thomas (Pemberton)	Male	Creole	Mulatto	31
Billy	Male	Creole	Black	30
Charles	Male	Creole	Black	30
Quashey	Male	Creole	Black	29
Jenken	Male	Creole	Black	29
Lukey (Lucky Hamilton)	Female	Creole	Black	29
Lydia	Female	Creole	Black	29
Bazel	Male	Creole	Black	27
Candis	Female	Creole	Black	27
Lettice	Female	Creole	Black	27
Moses	Male	Creole	Black	27
Linchey	Female	Creole	Black	26
Sammy	Male	Creole	Black	26
Ann	Female	Creole	Black	25
Felix	Male	Creole	Black	25
Jobe	Male	Creole	Black	25
Martha	Female	Creole	Black	25
Palace	Male	Creole	Black	25
Eliza	Female	Creole	Black	24
Fanny	Female	Creole	Black	24
Lady Bell	Female	Creole	Black	24
Pressey	Female	Creole	Black	24
Ritta	Female	Creole	Black	24
Daniel	Male	Creole	Black	23
Frank	Male	Creole	Black	23
Janette	Female	Creole	Black	23
Lavina	Female	Creole	Black	23
Range	Male	Creole	Black	23
Becky	Female	Creole	Black	22
Daniel	Male	Creole	Black	22
Elsy	Female	Creole	Black	22
George	Male	Creole	Black	22
Pentoin	Female	Creole	Black	22
Prosper	Male	Creole	Black	22
Samelia	Female	Creole	Black	22
Andrew	Male	Creole	Black	21
Frankey	Female	Creole	Black	20
Henry	Male	Creole	Black	20
Jane	Female	Creole	Black	20
Lewis	Male	Creole	Black	20
London	Male	Creole	Black	20
Peg	Female	Creole	Black	20
Sabella	Female	Creole	Black	20
Hancotte	Male	Creole	Black	19
Katey	Female	Creole	Black	19

Names	Sex	Country	Colour	Reputed Age
Mona	Female	Creole	Black	19
Patience	Female	Creole	Black	19
Frances	Female	Creole	Black	18
James	Male	Creole	Black	18
Sam	Male	Creole	Black	18
Edward	Male	Creole	Sambo	17
Mary	Female	Creole	Black	17
Mary	Female	Creole	Mulatto	17
Tilla	Female	Creole	Black	17
Violet	Female	Creole	Black	17
Ann	Female	Creole	Black	15
Alfred	Male	Creole	Black	14
Amey	Female	Creole	Black	13
Abby	Female	Creole	Black	13
Qualy	Female	Creole	Black	13
Joseph	Male	Creole	Black	12
Judy	Female	Creole	Black	12
Margaret	Female	Creole	Mulatto	11
Abraham	Male	Creole	Mulatto	10
Caesar	Male	Creole	Black	10
Fanny Bowes	Female	Creole	Mulatto	10
John	Male	Creole	Black	10
Rebecca	Female	Creole	Black	10
Mary Anne (born 3 February 1825)	Female	Creole	Black	9
Bass (13 February 1825)	Male	Creole	Black	8
Barrington (8 April 1825)	Male	Creole	Black	8
Collin (8 April 1825)	Male	Creole	Black	8
Thurman (5 June 1825)	Male	Creole	Black	8
Thomas (Pemberton) (18 August 1825)	Male	Creole	Mulatto	8
Nevis (13 January 1826)	Male	Creole	Black	8
John James (27 March 1826)	Male	Creole	Black	7
Polly (9 April 1826)	Female	Creole	Black	7
Eliza (18 December 1826)	Female	Creole	Mulatto	7
Satira (3 February 1827)	Female	Creole	Black	7
Monday (11 February 1827)	Male	Creole	Black	6
Amos (18 February 1827)	Male	Creole	Mulatto	6
Nanny (18 February 1827)	Female	Creole	Mulatto	6
Hagar (12 April 1827)	Female	Creole	Black	6
Walter (Pemberton) (12 April 1827)	Male	Creole	Mulatto	6
Benjamin (18 November 1827)	Male	Creole	Black	6
Johnny Lea (2 December 1827)	Male	Creole	Black	6
Whisker (nd December 1827)	Male	Creole	Black	6
Bella (28 June 1828)	Female	Creole	Black	5
Philly Pain (5 August 1828)	Female	Creole	Black	5
Fanny (Celia) (28 March 1829)	Female	Creole	Mulatto	4
Nancy (17 July 1829)	Female	Creole	Mulatto	4
Jane (7 December 1829)	Female	Creole	Mulatto	4

Names	Sex	Country	Colour	Reputed Age
Rover (10 February 1830)	Male	Creole	Black	3
Sarah Anne (5 March 1830)	Female	Creole	Black	3
Israel (1 May 1830)	Male	Creole	Black	3
Constant (4 June 1830)	Male	Creole	Black	3
Adelaide (4 November 1830)	Female	Creole	Black	3
King George (25 November 1830)	Male	Creole	Black	3
Betsey (1 January 1831)	Female	Creole	Black	3
Cecilia (5 January 1831)	Female	Creole	Black	2
Charity (31 May 1831)	Female	Creole	Black	2
Robert (31 June 1831)	Male	Creole	Black	2
Elizabeth (8 August 1831)	Female	Creole	Mulatto	2
Gustavios (22 October 1831)	Male	Creole	Black	2
Anne Marie (22 June 1832)	Female	Creole	Black	1
Grace (29 May 1832)	Female	Creole	Black	1
Kitsey (11 November 1832)	Female	Creole	Black	1
Anne (5 December 1832)	Female	Creole	Black	1
Ellick (29 January 1833)	Male	Creole	Black	1
Stedman (27 May 1833)	Male	Creole	Black	8 months
Rose (30 July 1833)	Female	Creole	Black	6 months
Siah (2 September 1833)	Male	Creole	Black	5 months
Eliza (3 September 1833)	Female	Creole	Mulatto	5 months
Will (3 October 1832)	Male	Creole	Black	4 months
Richard (24 October 1833)	Male	Creole	Black	3 months
Adriana (3 December 1833)	Female	Creole	Mulatto	2 months

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Endnotes

¹ An example of research assuming the story of Alexander Hamilton's family having owned the estate is found in the article by Neil Wright and Ann Wright, 'Hamilton's Sugar Mill, Nevis, Leeward Islands, Eastern Caribbean', *Industrial Archaeology Review* (Spring 1991) Vol 13 No2, pp114-141. The Wrights appear to have taken information about the origin of the name of the estate from Mary Pomeroy's 'Alexander Hamilton and Nevis - A biographical sketch' (Nevis, 1957).

² See research from the Nevis Court Records was done by David Robinson who wrote 'A Short History of Hamilton Plantation', *NHCS Newsletter* (May 1992) pp4-6.

For further information on Alexander Hamilton's origins see Michael E Newton, <http://discoveringhamilton.com/james-hamilton-birth-father-of-alexander-hamilton/>

³ Small, D and C Eickelmann, 'Hamilton House', Charlestown, Nevis ...' p10. See Vere Langford Oliver, *History of the Island of Antigua* Vol 3 p10 'Pedigree of Payne' which summarises from Close Roll, 8 Geo III, pt 13 No.s 1 and 2.'

⁴ Martha Williams Herbert was the daughter of the owner of Montpelier Estate on Nevis, John Richardson Herbert.

⁵ Lambeth Palace Library, Fulham Papers, Vol 2 Part 1, 1803-1827

⁶ Eastern Caribbean Supreme Court Registry, Nevis (ECSCRN), Common Records (CR) 1838-1847 ff497-510 (available online via British Library Endangered Archives Programme EAP 794)

⁷ It is likely that this picture of decline continued under the Lathams and subsequent merchant owners until the estate was bought in 1864 by (Sir) Thomas Graham Briggs. He was a planter from Barbados who bought a large number of estates on Nevis and modernised them, putting in steam-driven machinery in a vain attempt to make the island's sugar production more profitable in the long term.

⁸ Bridenbaugh, C and R Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line; the English in the Caribbean, 1624-1690* (Oxford University Press, 1972) p81, quoting Jean-Baptiste Labat

⁹ Dunn, Richard, *Sugar and Slaves – The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (University of North Carolina Press, 1972) p129 Table 13 Social Structure in Nevis and Barbados, 1678-1680

¹⁰ Martin, Robert Montgomery, *Statistics of the Colonies of the British Empire in the West Indies ...* (London: WH Allen & Co, 1839) p87

¹¹ Donnan, Elizabeth, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (Washington DC: Carnegie Institution, 1931) Vol 1 (available online)

¹² Eltis, David *et al*, Database 'Slave Voyages' (available online)

¹³ Ward, JR, *British West Indian Slavery, 1750-1834 – The process of Amelioration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988) pp43-5, p47, pp79-80; Richard Pares, *A West India Fortune* (London: Longmans, 1950) p91

¹⁴ University College London (UCL), Claim No 157 Hamilton's (available online via UCL Centre for the Study of the Legacy of British Slavery)

In 2023 the relative value of £3,504 sterling ranged from at least £436,000 (using the Retail Price Index - RPI) to £5.31 million (using the per capita Gross Domestic Product - GDP). <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/>

¹⁵ Eickelmann, Christine, 'The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834' Part 2 Chapter 2 p238; also Victoria Borg-O'Flaherty, pers. comm., October 2009. See also <https://www.historicstkitts.kn/places/independence-square>

¹⁶ 'Voyage of the *James*, 1675-1676', courtesy of Brian Littlewood, January 2004; extracted from Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents* Vol 1 pp199-209 (available online via the Hathi Trust)

¹⁷ Galenson, David W, *Traders, Planters, and Slaves* (Cambridge University Press, 1986) p35 fn14, citing Colin Palmer, *Human Cargoes: The British Slave Trade to Spanish America 1700-1739* p45

¹⁸ University of Bristol Library Special Collections (BULSC), DM 1061: Captain D Duncombe, Bristol, to Captain Joseph White, March 1767

¹⁹ Smith, William Revd, *A Natural History of Nevis and the Rest of the English Leeward Charibbee Islands in America* (Cambridge, 1745) p225

²⁰ Cochrane, Thomas MD, 'Answers to the Fifth Table of Queries published by the Society in London ...' (Edinburgh: D Willison, 1789), reprinted in Kenneth Morgan *et al*, *The British Atlantic Slave Trade* Vol 3 (London: Routledge, 2003) pp141-76

²¹ Luffman, John, *A Brief Account* Letter XIX 6 July 1787 in VL Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua* (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1894) Vol 1

²² 'Voyage of the *James*, 1675-1676', in E Donnan, *Documents* Vol 1 pp199-209

²³ Hancock, David, *The Letters of William Freeman, London Merchant, 1678-1685* (London Record Society, 2002) pxix

²⁴ Donnan, Elizabeth, *Documents* Vol 1 pp260-61 RAC factors at Nevis to RAC, 16 July 1680 and pp250-51 RAC factors at Nevis to RAC, 15 July 1679

²⁵ Luffman, John, *A Brief Account* Letter XIX 6 July 1787 in VL Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua*

²⁶ Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds), *The Kamina Folk* p121

²⁷ Nisbet, Richard, *The Capacity of Negroes for Religious and Moral Improvement Considered: with Cursory Hints ...* (London: J Phillips, 1789) in 'Anti-Slavery Collection' World Microfilm Publications, from the Collection of the Library of the Society of Friends, 1978 Microfilm 16 pp19-21

- ²⁸ Collins, Dr ('A Professional Planter'), *Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies* (London: Vernor, Hood and Sharp, 1811, reprinted Books for Libraries Press, Freeport, NY, 1971) p9, p39, pp44-52 and pp150-69
- ²⁹ Lambert, Sheila (ed), *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century* (Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc, 1975) Vol 69 Written evidence of William James, brought by Thomas Clarkson to the 1789 House of Commons Slave Trade Enquiry
- ³⁰ For sale examples see Christine Eickelmann, *The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834* pt2 ch 4 pp363 and p515 and later chapters <https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/mountravers~part2chapter4.pdf>
- ³¹ Yorke, Philip Chesney (ed), *The Diary of John Baker (1712-1779) Barrister of the Middle Temple Solicitor General of the Leeward Islands* (London: Hutchinson, 1931) p185
- ³² Falconbridge, Alexander, *An Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa* (London, 1788) p34
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- ³⁴ Craton, Michael *Sinews of Empire - A Short History of British Slavery* (London: Maurice Temple Smith, 1974) p101
- ³⁵ Cochrane, T MD, 'Answers to the Fifth Table of Queries', reprinted in J Oldfield (ed), *The British Atlantic Slave Trade* pp141-76
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- ³⁷ Bristol City Council Reference Library, Braikenridge Collection, 9961: Baillie, George *Interesting Letters Addressed to James Baillie* (Joyce Gold, Shoe Lane, 1809)
- ³⁸ Tyson, George F and Arnold R Highfield (eds), *The Kamina Folk – Slavery and Slave Life in the Danish West Indies* (US Virgin Islands: Virgin Islands Humanities Council, 1994) p17 and p44
- ³⁹ Craton, Michael, *Sinews of Empire* p101
- ⁴⁰ Nisbet, Richard, *The Capacity of Negroes ...* pp19-21
- ⁴¹ Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds), *The Kamina Folk* p117
- ⁴² Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds), *The Kamina Folk* p45
- ⁴³ Donnan, Elizabeth, *Documents* Vol 2 p383
- ⁴⁴ Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool, MMM D/Dav/13/3/6: Baillie & Hamilton, St Vincent, to William Davenport & Co, Liverpool, 14 July 1784
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- ⁴⁷ Thomas, Hugh, *The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440-1870* (London: Picador, 1997) p437, quoting Reports and Papers, British Parliamentary Series, 1790 Vol 72 p160; Dr Collins, 'A Professional Planter' pp44-52; also BULSC, DM 1061: Captain David Duncombe, Bristol, to Captain Joseph White, March 1767
- ⁴⁸ Lambert, Sheila (ed), *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 69 pp141-42; BULSC, Pinney Papers (PP), Letterbook (LB) 3: John Pretor Pinney to William Coker, 31 August 1771
- ⁴⁹ See C Eickelmann, *The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834* Part 2 Chapter 4 p350 (available online)
- ⁵⁰ Converting historic sums of money is not an exact science, and by using different measures one can arrive at widely varying sums. The following gives some idea of the values as of 2023, the last year for which data is currently available. Here are three examples of the different indicators used for translating £1 sterling into today's money:

Year	Commodity indicator used	Worth of £1 in today's money
1800	Relative Price Worth (RPI)	£102
	Wage or income worth	£1,460
	Output worth (GDP)	£7,910

Choosing a different year would result in different multipliers. For further information on the meanings of the different measures, see 'Relative Values UK' <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/>

⁵¹ 'History of the Sugar-Cane' in *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1764 p487

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⁵⁵ University of Wales at Bangor, Stapleton Cotton MSS 20: Ellis Younge, Acton, to Alexander Douglas, St Kitts, 29 July 1766

⁵⁶ For further details about culture shock, see C Eickelmann, *The Mountravers Plantation Community* Part 2 Chapter 3 pp243-44

- ⁵⁷ Brathwaite, Edward Kamau, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971) p298
- ⁵⁸ Lambert, Sheila (ed), *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 82 p15
- ⁵⁹ Tyson, George F and Arnold R Highfield (eds), *The Kamina Folk* p169
- ⁶⁰ BULSC, PP, LB 3: JP Pinney to Edward Jessup, Writtle Park, 10 January 1765
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- ⁶² Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds), *The Kamina Folk* p96
- ⁶³ BULSC, PP, WI Box D: William Coker to JF Pinney, 21 October 1762
- ⁶⁴ Harvard Stapleton MSS: David Stalker to Sir William Stapleton, 5 June 1730
- ⁶⁵ Craton, Michael, *Empire Enslavement and Freedom in the Caribbean* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle, 1997) p152; S Lambert (ed), *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 71 Dr Robert Thomas's evidence; also David Barry Gaspar, 'Slave Importation, Runaways, and Compensation in Antigua 1720-1729', citing Robert Robertson, *A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London*, J Wilford, London 1730, in Joseph E Inikori and Stanley L Engerman (eds), *The Atlantic Slave Trade* p312
- ⁶⁶ Ward, JR, *British West Indian Slavery 1750-1834 – The process of Amelioration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988) pp126-27
- ⁶⁷ Caines, Clement, *Letters on the Cultivation of the Otaheite Cane; the Manufacture of Sugar and Rum; the Saving of Melasses; the Care and Preservation of Stock; with the Attention and Anxiety which is due to Negroes* (London, 1801) p263
- ⁶⁸ Klein, Herbert S and Stanley L Engerman, 'Fertility Differentials Between Slaves in the United States and the British West Indies: A Note on Lactation Practices', *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol 35 No 2 (April 1978) p362
- ⁶⁹ Stapleton Cotton MSS 20: Ward's Opinion of the St Kitts Estate, June 1766
- ⁷⁰ Gaspar, David Barry, *Bondsmen and Rebels: A Study of Master-Slave Relations in Antigua* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985; 1999 edition) p90
- ⁷¹ Tyson, George F and Arnold R Highfield (eds), *The Kamina Folk – Slavery and Slave Life in the Danish West Indies* (US Virgin Islands: Virgin Islands Humanities Council, 1994) p13
- ⁷² Fryer, Peter, *Staying Power- The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984) p24
- ⁷³ Yorke, Philip Chesney (ed), *The Diary of John Baker (1712-1779) Barrister of the Middle Temple Solicitor General of the Leeward Islands* (London: Hutchinson, 1931) p85
- ⁷⁴ Common classical names used for ships were *Mercury* and *Diana* (they made 57 voyages each), *Hector* (45 voyages), *Cato* (20), *Hercules* (12), *Baccus* (11), *Scipio/Scipion* (10), *Achilles* (9), *Pallas* (8), *Pompey* (7), and *Caesar* (4 voyages). In the context of Royal Navy's ships with classical names, Kathleen Chater pointed out that to call a ship by 'a name regarded as derisory would be unthinkable now and even more so in the eighteenth century' – particularly as among the white population in Britain classical names could also be found (*Untold Histories: Black People in England and Wales during the period of the British slave trade, c 1660-1807* (Manchester and New York: Manchester UP, 2011) pp184-85.
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- ⁸⁶ Equiano, Olaudah, *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings* (Penguin, 1789; 1995 edition) p64 and p252 fn129
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- ⁸⁸ Hamilton College Library, St Paul's Baptismal Records 1824-1837 Numbers 673-675, and 359, 360 and 487 (available online)
- ⁸⁹ University of Wales at Bangor, Stapleton Cotton MSS 23: Robert Thomson, St Kitts, to Lady Stapleton, 27 July 1780 (with grateful thanks to the late Brian Littlewood)
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- ¹¹² For more information about volumes of hogsheads, see also C Eickelmann, *The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834* Part 1 Contexts p46 footnote 155
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- ¹¹⁴ BULSC, PP, LB 9: JP Pinney to TP Weekes, 12 November 1790
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- ¹²⁹ Lambert, Sheila (ed), *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 72 Alexander Douglas's evidence
- ¹³⁰ Ward, JR, *British West Indian Slavery* p15, citing J Stephen, *The Slavery of the British West India Colonies Delineated* 2 Vols 1824, 1830
- ¹³¹ Barclay, Alexander, *A Practical View of the Present State of Slavery in the West Indies: or, an Examination of Mr Stephen's 'Slavery of the British West India Colonies ...'* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1827) p310
- ¹³² Luffman, John, *A Brief Account* Letter XXI 1 August 1787 in VL Oliver *The History of the Island of Antigua* Vol 1
- ¹³³ Cochrane, Thomas MD, 'Answers to the Fifth Table of Queries published by the Society in London instituted for the purpose of effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade Edinburgh, Society Instituted at Edinburgh for the purpose of effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1789', reprinted in John Oldfield (ed), *The British Atlantic Slave Trade* Vol 3 (Routledge, 2003) pp141-76
- ¹³⁴ Aaron Thomas: *the Caribbean Journal of a Royal Navy Seaman*, researched and transcribed by Elizabeth H Locke p52
- ¹³⁵ Devon Archives and Local Studies Service, Exeter, Ref 337 add 3/1/8/2 (Box 25)

- ¹³⁶ Tyson, George F and Arnold R Highfield (eds), *The Kamina Folk* p205
- ¹³⁷ Higman, BW, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p174, quoting George Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies* 1806
- ¹³⁸ BULSC, PP, AB 26 Richard Lynch & Co a/c
- ¹³⁹ BULSC, PP, AB 43 f29 Jn Keepe's a/c 31 December 1790; DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f68 Negro Hire a/c; AB 35 Walter Nisbet's a/c and AB 30 Negro Hire a/c
- ¹⁴⁰ BULSC, PP, AB 20 Joseph Gill's a/c
- ¹⁴¹ Dunn, Richard S, "'Dreadful Idlers' in the Cane Fields' pp803-04 fn; John Luffman *A Brief Account of the Island of Antigua* Letter XXII 15 September 1787; Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p87
- ¹⁴² BULSC, PP, AB 17: 20 June 1765
- ¹⁴³ Stapleton Cotton Manuscripts 16 iii D; BULSC, PP, Dom Box T5-2: From a translation of an original appraisal of Peter's Rest, Sion Hill and Catherine's Rest
- ¹⁴⁴ NHCS Archive, RG 12.10 Indictment of Manager on Stapleton pp293-95
- ¹⁴⁵ Higman, BW, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p266, citing The Burke Library, Hamilton, and Kirkland Colleges, Clinton, New York, Johnson MSS: 'Reports Relating to Mr Gordon's Estates in the West Indies', 1824, pt 2 p7
- ¹⁴⁶ Sheridan, RB, *Doctors and Slaves: a Medical and Demographic History of Slavery in the British West Indies, 1680-1834* (Cambridge UP, 1985) p83
- ¹⁴⁷ NHCS Archive, RG 12.10 Indictment of Manager on Stapleton p300, pp293-95
- ¹⁴⁸ HoCPP 1818 Vol xvii pp1-91 'Papers Relating to the Treatment of Slaves in the Colonies', Chadwyck-Healey mf 19.86 Eugene Moriarty's evidence, 16 October 1817
- ¹⁴⁹ Lambert, Sheila (ed), *House of Commons Sessional Papers Vol 69* p458 Evidence by James Ramsay; Thomas Cochrane MD, *Answers to the Fifth Table of Queries published by the Society in London instituted for the purpose of effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade* Edinburgh, Society Instituted at Edinburgh for the purpose of effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1789 reprinted in John Oldfield (ed), *The British Atlantic Slave Trade Vol 3* (2003) pp141-76; A Nevis manager in a letter to his master, May 1732, taken from Keith Mason, 'The World an absentee planter and his slaves made...' Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 1993 quoted in Chris Evans, *Slave Wales: The Welsh and Atlantic Slavery 1660-1850* (University of Wales Press, 2010) p50
- ¹⁵⁰ Leeward Island Melioration Act 1798
- ¹⁵¹ Wright, Philip (ed), *Lady Nugent's Journal of her Residence in Jamaica from 1801 to 1805* (Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2002) p55
- ¹⁵² Andrews, Evangeline Walker and Charles McLean Andrews (eds), (Janet Schaw) *Journal of a Lady of Quality: Being the narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the years 1774 to 1776* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1921) p107
- ¹⁵³ BULSC, PP, AB 31 Thomas Thraske alias Tom Tross a/c, AB 35 Loose page Tom Tross' a/c
- ¹⁵⁴ BULSC, PP, AB 30 Negro Hire a/c, AB 39, AB 43 f23 and f32 and AB 35 f9
- ¹⁵⁵ ECSCRN, CR 1771-1773 ff283-300 Indentures of Lease and Release 21 and 22 May 1772 (frame 287+) and CR 1776-1777 ff470-93
- ¹⁵⁶ Watts, David, *The West Indies: Patterns of Development* p198
- ¹⁵⁷ Day, Charles William *Five Years Residence in the West Indies* (London, 1852) Vol 2 p208
- ¹⁵⁸ ECSCRN, CR 1783-1785 f624 (frame 629)
- ¹⁵⁹ BULSC, PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
- ¹⁶⁰ BULSC, PP, LB 3: John Pretor Pinney to Wm Coker, Nevis, 14 October 1767
- ¹⁶¹ UKNA, T 1/512 f208 re master Kennedy and master Tristram bringing mules from the Barbary Coast; also BULSC, PP, LB 3: JPP to Captain John Beach, 13 October 1767 about Captain Shipherd going to the coast of Barbary for 150 mules.
- ¹⁶² BULSC, PP, LB 57: Pinney, Ames & Co to JC Mills, 1 July 1823
- ¹⁶³ BULSC, PP, LB 3: John Pretor Pinney to Edward Jessup, Writtle Park, 10 January 1765
- ¹⁶⁴ Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds), *The Kamina Folk* p143
- ¹⁶⁵ BULSC, PP, AB 43
- ¹⁶⁶ Smith, Revd William, *A Natural History of Nevis and the Rest of the English Leeward Charibbee Islands in America...* (Cambridge, 1745) p222
- ¹⁶⁷ Caines, Clement, *Letters on the Cultivation of the Otaheite Cane* p129
- ¹⁶⁸ Dunn, Richard S, "'Dreadful Idlers' in the Cane Fields' p810
- ¹⁶⁹ Higman, BW, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p334
- ¹⁷⁰ Caines, Clement, *Letters on the Cultivation of the Otaheite Cane* p124; BULSC, PP, Box R (4), file 4: 'Memorandums reports etc respecting schools in Nevis': 'Observations on the necessity, formation and progress of the Infants School in the Island of Nevis – West Indies' Undated but from the 1820s; Higman, BW, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p26
- ¹⁷¹ Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds), *The Kamina Folk* p8
- ¹⁷² Museum of London Docklands, Sainsbury Studies Centre, Mills Papers, Vol 4 2006.178/10 (12 September 1776, 23 October 1776, 6 June 1776, 17 September 1776 and 21 October 1776)
- ¹⁷³ William Burleigh's will, owner of Bath Plantation (Vincent K Hubbard 'Slave Resistance in Nevis' in NHCS Newsletters (November 1995 and February 1996)
- ¹⁷⁴ Lovejoy, Paul E, *Fugitive Slaves: Resistance to Slavery in the Sokoto Caliphate* in Gary Y Okihiro (ed) *In Resistance, Studies in African, Caribbean, and Afro-American History* (Amherst, The University of Massachusetts Press, 1986) p73
- ¹⁷⁵ UKNA, CO 186/12 Legislative Council; Assembly Minutes 1819-1825: 27 February 1821 and 14 October 1822

¹⁷⁶ UKNA, T 71/364-6 Nevis Slave Registers, 1817, 1822 and 1825

Another instance of compensation being paid concerned a man called Frank Moore who was said to have belonged to Hamilton's Estate. In this case, however, the Slave Registers do not confirm the minutes of the Legislature which state that Robert Claxton, a planter, customs official and Justice of the Peace, was allowed N£100 for Frank Moore who had been 'executed lately'. Frank Moore actually belonged to The Whim plantation, and it is likely that he had been hired by Robert Claxton to Hamilton's; Claxton was the attorney for the proprietor of that plantation. In The Whim Slave Register it was noted that Frankmoore (sic) was a 'Criminal & hanged by Sentence of Law'. The absconding by Joe Moore which was also noted may have been linked to Frank Moore's death (UKNA, CO 186/13 Legislative Council; Assembly Minutes 1826-1829: 19 June 1827; T 71/367 Nevis Slave Register, 1828).

¹⁷⁷ UKNA, CO 186/2 Council; Assembly; Council in Assembly Minutes 1730-1756: 22 December 1735 and 12 January 1735/6

¹⁷⁸ Parliamentary Papers House of Commons 1818 vol. xvii pp1-91, Chadwyck-Healey microfiche mf 19.86: Papers relating to the King vs Huggins 1817

¹⁷⁹ Hubbard, Vincent K, *NHCS Newsletter* (February 1996) p9, and Sir Alan Burns *History of the British West Indies* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1965) p460 quoting CSP 1726-1727 No 1; Natalie Zacek's 'Reading the rebels: currents of slave resistance in the eighteenth-century British West Indies' (available online); see also Franks' Story on <https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/otherwork.html>

¹⁸⁰ Southey, Thomas RN, *Chronological History of the West Indies* (Longman, 1827) Vol 2 p343 quoting 'Annual Register', 1761, p95, p160; also quoted in Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Slaves, Sailors, Commoners and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000) pp221-22 and p224 and in Noel Deerr, *History of Sugar* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1949) Vol 2 Chapter xx p322

¹⁸¹ ECSCRN, Court of General Sessions 1815-1850 ff10-11 (available online via British Library Endangered Archives Programme EAP 794)

¹⁸² UKNA, CO 186/13 Legislative Council; Assembly Minutes 1826-1829: 15 and 26 July 1826; 29 April 1828

¹⁸³ Gaspar, David Barry, *Slave Importation, Runaways, and Compensation in Antigua 1720-1729*, quoting Robert Robertson *A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London*, J Wilford, London 1730, in Joseph E Inikori and Stanley L Engerman (eds) *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992) p310

¹⁸⁴ UKNA, CO 152/96 Trial King vs Edward Huggins, 1 May 1810; see also C Eickelmann, *The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834* Part 2 Chapter 7 pp786-91

¹⁸⁵ BULSC, PP, LB 56: Mills & Galpine, Nevis to Pinney, Ames & Co, 13 October 1822

¹⁸⁶ UKNA, CO 186/13 Legislative Council; Assembly Minutes 1826-1829: 27 August 1827

¹⁸⁷ Ryland Stapleton MSS 7.1: Timothy Tyrrell to Lady Frances Stapleton, 22 March 1722/3

¹⁸⁸ Bridenbaugh, Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line* p270

¹⁸⁹ 'Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council appointed for the Consideration of all Matters relating to Trade in Foreign Plantations' Part III (1789); also UKNA, CO 185/4 Nevis Acts passed 13 June 1737, Act No 111.8

¹⁹⁰ For the details of the escape and the subsequent change in law regarding an enslaved person's right to bear witness, see C Eickelmann, *The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834* Part 2 Chapter 7 pp841-43

¹⁹¹ See also *The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834* Part 2 Chapter 4 Polydore's biography number 301, Mulatto Charles's biography number 399 and Violet's biography number 269

¹⁹² Shyllon, Fçlarin, *James Ramsay, the Unknown Abolitionist* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1977)

¹⁹³ Scott, Julius S, 'Criss-crossing Empires' in Robert L Paquette and Stanley L Engerman (eds), *The Lesser Antilles in the age of European Expansion* (University of Florida Press, 1996) p133

¹⁹⁴ Goveia, Elsa, *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965) pp164-65 quoting CO 162/34 Burt to Board of Trade 13 June 1778 and 15 June 1779

¹⁹⁵ Harvard College Library, Stapleton MSS: 23 May 1723

¹⁹⁶ BULSC, PP, AB 31 Cash received for Negro Hire a/c

¹⁹⁷ Bodleian Libraries, Oxford (formerly Rhodes House Library), MSS W.Ind. S.24 (a) Diary of WL Bucke: 22 May 1802

¹⁹⁸ UKNA, CO 186/13 Legislative Council; Assembly Minutes 1826-1829: 15 July 1826, 26 December 1828

¹⁹⁹ Museum of London Docklands, Sainsbury Studies Centre, Mills Papers, Vol 4 2006.178/10 (12 September 1776, 23 October 1776)

²⁰⁰ BULSC, DM1173/4: 12 December 1799

²⁰¹ BULSC, LB 56: JC Mills, Nevis to Pinney, Ames & Co, 13 December 1822

²⁰² Bush, Barbara, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society 1650-1838*, quoting John Stewart, *A View of Jamaica with Remarks on the Moral and Physical Conditions of Slaves and the Abolition of Slavery in the Colonies* (Edinburgh, 1832) (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP; London: James Currey, 1990) p246

²⁰³ BULSC, PP, AB 36 Plantation a/c 28 March 1787; AB 26 p81 Mary Keep's a/c 7 January 1777; PP, WI Box 1826-1828 Stoney Grove Accounts; UKNA, CO152/96 Trial King vs Edward Huggins, 1 May 1810; see also C Eickelmann, *The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834* Part 2 Chapter 7 p830

²⁰⁴ Muir, Lucille Mathurin, *The Rebel Woman in the British West Indies during Slavery* (Institute of Jamaica Publications, 1995) p16; Philip Wright (ed), *Lady Nugent's Journal of her Residence in Jamaica from 1801 to 1805* (Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2002) p107

²⁰⁵ Marshall, Woodville K, *Provision Ground and Plantation Labour in Four Windward Islands: Competition for Resources during Slavery* in Ira Berlin and Philip D Morgan (eds), *The Slaves' Economy - Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas* (London: Frank Cass, 1991) p61

For a case of the brave 13-year-old Harriet Knight who fought against being raped by her slaveholder and who was subsequently unjustly punished, see C Eickelmann, *The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834* Part 2 Chapter 7 p845.

²⁰⁶ BULSC, PP, Domestic Box P: JW Stanley to JF Pinney, 27 December 1805; see also C Eickelmann, *The Mountravers Plantation Community, 1734-1834* Part 3 Chapter 3 pp1227-228

²⁰⁷ NHCS Archive, RG 1.12 Minutes of the Council and Assembly: 8 July 1802; *Second Report of Commissioner on Civil and Criminal Justice in the West Indies* pp228-29 Q4; *Third Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry* p43, Act No 246

²⁰⁸ UKNA, CO 187/34 Blue Book Nevis 1860

²⁰⁹ UKNA, CO 152/98 Extracts from Letters from (JWT) of Nevis, 1 August 1811

²¹⁰ UKNA, CO 186/9 Minutes of the Legislative Council 1810-1812: 17 August 1811

²¹¹ UKNA, CO 152/98 Extracts from Letters from (JWT) of Nevis, 1 August 1811

²¹² UKNA, CO 186/12: 30 October 1822

²¹³ NHCS Archive, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1857

²¹⁴ Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, Box MSS. W. Ind. S. 24 (b) Typed Manuscript; A fifth man, Jack Jones, was suspected of having been involved and a reward of \$20 was offered for his capture (UKNA, CO 186/13 Legislative Council; Assembly Minutes 1826-1829: 26 and 27 August 1829).

²¹⁵ UKNA, CO 186/14 Legislative Council; Assembly; Privy Council Minutes 1830-1833: 5 May and 16 June 1831

²¹⁶ Oliver, VL, *Monumental Inscriptions in the British West Indies* (Dorchester: Friary Press, 1927) p80 (available online)

²¹⁷ For some years all slaveholders in the British colonies had to submit information about their enslaved people in order to satisfy the British government that the people in their possession were held legally. In Nevis registers were submitted in 1817, 1822 and then every three years until 1834.

²¹⁸ BULSC, PP, Dom Box C1 bundle 7: JC Mills to Charles Pinney, 12 August 1823

²¹⁹ BULSC, PP, Letterbook (LB 60): JC Mills, Nevis to Pinney, Ames & Co, 4 December 1827

²²⁰ ECSCRN, CR 1814-1817 ff717-19 and ff719-20

Grace McKinnon's name was also spelt McKinnen, Mackenen and Mackennin

²²¹ The (UK) National Archive, Kew (UKNA), T 71/365 Nevis Slave Register 1822 f118 (available online via Ancestry.co.uk)

²²² ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1805-1818 ff323-24

²²³ BULSC, PP, Dom Box C2-8; WI Box 1823-1825: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate 1824 and 1825, and Accounts Symmonds Estate March 1824- March 1825; LB 60: JC Mills, Nevis, to PA & Co, 2 February 1827; BROR, D/EX292 E1: Ledger for The Hill Estate of John Estridge dec'd 1815-1824: William Greatehead Crooke's a/c

²²⁴ NHCS Archive, St Paul's Baptisms, 1824-1835 No 60

²²⁵ NHCS Archive, St Paul's Burials, 1825-1837

²²⁶ NHCS Archive, St Paul's Baptisms, 1824-1835 No 146 and No 392

²²⁷ NHCS Archive, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842

²²⁸ NHCS Archive, St Paul's Baptisms, 1824-1835 No 147

²²⁹ ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1830-1837 ff195-98

²³⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Box MSS. W. Ind. S. 24 (a) Diary of Walter Lewis Bucke, listed as Burke's diary; NHCS Archive, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 547

²³¹ Oliver, VL, *Monumental Inscriptions in the British West Indies* p80

²³² University College London, Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery: Nevis Claim No 243

²³³ ECSCRN, Court of General Sessions 1815-1850 Unnumbered but Frame 134, 3 October 1837 (available online via British Library Endangered Archives Programme EAP 794)

²³⁴ Horsford, John Revd, *A Voice from the West Indies: Being a Review of the Character and Results of Missionary Efforts in the British and Other Colonies in the Caribbean Sea* (London, 1856) p14

²³⁵ *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers 1837-8* (215) Vol 48 Accounts of the Slave Compensation Claims pp357-58

²³⁶ Martin, Robert Montgomery, *Statistics of the Colonies of the British Empire in the West Indies ...* (London: William H Allen & Co, 1839) p87 Chapter X – Nevis

²³⁷ UKNA, T 71/364-369 Slave Registers Nevis 1817 to 1834

²³⁸ ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1837-1864 ff452-54

²³⁹ Table S1.1 Registered and Mean Slave Populations by Colony and Sex, 1813-34 gives different figures from those in other tables and have been ignored (BW Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p413). The figures were those given in Table S4.4 (p477).

²⁴⁰ According to the 1834 Slave Register, there were then on Hamilton's a total of 206 people. Included in the 206 were two men who had absconded and, unless they returned and their return was noted, they should not have been included in the total count (UKNA, T 71/369).

²⁴¹ Higman, BW, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p463 Table S4.1 Age Structure of Slaves by Sex, Birthplace and Colony, 1813 to 1834 [1817 in the case of Nevis]