PART 2
The enslaved people

Chapter 4
The new owner arrives … and stays (1764-1783)

'It is a Maxim with me not to follow the flights of Passion without suffering Reason to guide the Reins …'
John Pretor Pinney (JPP), July 1769 [1]

Shortly after his twenty-fourth birthday John Pretor (Pinney) left England for the West Indies. He intended to stay abroad for about fifteen months[2] but remained for well over fifteen years. Briefly he visited England twice but his business concerns, personal circumstances and political upheavals kept him in Nevis until 1783.

During his residence in the island he acquired over 170 new enslaved people. He bought some; others had been given as security for mortgages which fell due. About a third he sold again. During his stay in Nevis at least 63 children were born on Mountravers. These plantation-born children became the first generation of parents whose offspring tended to get christened and married in church.

◄► ▼◄►

Accompanied by his indentured servant, Thomas Peaden, on 13 October 1764 John Pretor left England bound for Nevis. Aboard ship, the *London Merchant,*[3] he had over two months in which to ponder his fate. Plagued with a debilitating toothache, his journey was miserable and he must have contemplated his new venture with a mixture of excitement and trepidation. In addition to estates in England, John Frederick Pinney, his mother's cousin, had left him plantations in Nevis, some properties in its capital, Charlestown, and 141 enslaved people.[4] Correspondence from the plantations' manager, William Coker, had forewarned him of their poor condition: nearly thirty men and women were old or very old, crippled, 'lame & useless', blind and 'dismembered', one man had 'but one leg', a young boy was 'ruined by lameness' and others were 'good for nothing'. Once he had added the infants, John Pretor knew from an inventory Coker had sent him that about a third of all his people were able to do no more than a little light work, or they were entirely beyond any productive labour. The estates were in debt and, if he was to turn around his run-down properties, he had to apply himself with industry and perseverance.

Many terms used in historical records reflect attitudes and language at the time and may now be considered derogatory or offensive. Please see the section 'Language Matters' on p20 in the Introduction.

[1] PP, LB 3: JPP, Nevis, to George Warry, 25 July 1769
[2] PP, LB 3: JPP to George Warry, 1 November 1764
[3] PP, LB 3: JPP to Edward Jessup, Writtle Park, 10 January 1765
[4] JPP inherited Mountravers in the parish of St Thomas Lowland, Mountain – also called Governor - in St John Figtree and the Upper and Lower Gingerland plantations in St George's Gingerland. These had been formed out of Choppins' and Cressey's land (see preceding chapters on the developments of these two adjoining estates). Azariah Pinney had entailed his property in the first instance on John Frederick Pinney, then on John Pinney of Hewood, a Thorncombe clothier and, in case both died or failed to have children, to John Pretor, the son of Michael Pretor (UKNA, PROB 11/857).

John Pretor's inheritance had been conditional on him adopting the name and arms of Pinney. In fact he already was a Pinney by descent: his maternal great-grandmother Mary had been the sister of Azariah, the enterprising Monmouth rebel who settled in Nevis in the 1680s. Both John Pretor's great-grandmother and his grandmother had married into the Clarke family - wealthy landowners in Halstock, Somerset.[5] John Pretor Pinney's (JPP's) maternal grandfather, John Clarke, had been an attorney in London. He died some years before JPP's mother, Alicia Clarke, outraged the family by eloping with Michael Pretor, the 25-year-old[6] son of a minor revenue official.[7] Alicia and her mother were then staying at Bettiscombe, the home of the second Azariah Pinney,[8] a nephew of the Monmouth rebel. According to Pares, some family members described Alicia's husband as 'worse than a footman' [9] but Azariah liked and valued him. Of Alicia, however, Azariah had not 'expected much good' and believed that, had she not eloped with Michael Pretor, 'she would one time or other have bestowed herself worse.'[10] At least her chosen husband was a gentleman; his family had owned property in Oakhampton in Devon. Their estate, however, was disposed of or had otherwise fallen out of the family when, shortly before Michael Pretor's birth, the family had moved from Devon to Dulverton in Somerset .[11] It was later thought that he may have been intended to have become an attorney but that he actually worked as a land steward,[12] the British equivalent of a plantation manager. Almost certainly his employer had been Henry Holt Henley, and Michael Pretor had managed Leigh, Henley's estate near Chard in Somerset. After their wedding in July 1737 the Pretors moved to Chard [13] and in June the following year Alicia Pretor, a 'very pretty little woman',[14] gave birth to their first child, Azariah. Their second, John, was born at the end of September 1740. Both boys were baptised in Chard.[15]

The couple enjoyed a happy marriage but then Michael Pretor fell ill. Everyone feared that he might have contracted the smallpox. His wife, risking her life, insisted on staying with him - thereby confirming the impression of a woman who was impulsive and rather irresponsible but also utterly devoted to the man she had married for love. Azariah Pinney visited Michael Pretor in his illness and expressed his high regard for him when he wrote that 'there's no person living that I know more justly merits the favour of his friends than Michael does and I have always treated him most as a companion and intimate …' As a mark of trust and friendship, Michael Pretor appointed Azariah Pinney, together with his employer, Henry Holt Henley, as guardian to his children.[16] Michael Pretor died shortly afterwards, on 11 June 1744, and less than three weeks later the Pretors' first-born son, Azariah, also died. Father and son had fallen victim to the smallpox.[17]

---

[5] PP, Misc Vols 48 Misc Notes
[6] Michael Pretor was born on 3 December 1712 in Dulverton (PP, Dom Box Q: R Pew to Wm Pinney, December 1833) and baptised in Dulverton on 4 March 1713 (Dom Box B6-2).
[7] Pares, R *A West India Fortune* p347 and PP, Dom Box B6-2
[8] PP, AB 4
[9] Pares, R *A West India Fortune* p63
[10] PP, DM 1841/7 Azariah Pinney 15 August 1737
[11] PP, Dom Box Q: R Pew to Wm Pinney, December 1833
[12] PP, Misc Vols 48 Misc Notes
It is likely that Michael Pretor was employed at Leigh when Alicia Clarke met him; Leigh is within walking distance of Bettiscombe. Azariah Pinney had received a 'scolding' from the family for allowing Alicia to make the acquaintance of Michael Pretor and to elope with him. After their wedding, Alicia returned to Chard where her husband had taken lodgings for her (PP, DM 1841/7: Azariah Pinney to Hester Pinney, 1 October 1737).
[13] http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~pinney/j_pinney/d0000/g0000093.html
[14] PP, Misc Vols 48 Misc Notes
[15] PP, DM 1841/6 and DM 1841/4; SRO, D/P/Chard 2/1/2 and LB 2: JPP, London, to George Warry, 24 November 1761, but see also International Genealogical Index – British Isles, Film Number 452863 Ref 34982
[16] PP, Misc Vols 48 Misc Notes
[17] PP, DM 1841/7 and SRO, D/P/Chard 2/1/2

After these two terrible losses Alicia Pretor moved to Dorchester. Sufficiently well off, 'she became a gay widow' and 'visited in good society' but appears to have remained somewhat detached from her family. Soon after Alicia's elopement, her mother, clad in mourning attire, had set off for London.[18] She later moved with Martha, her other daughter, to North Yorkshire. As far as Alicia Pretor's relationship with Azariah and John Frederick Pinney went, there was no longer any common ground: 'It was clear that her education had been too neglected to find any companionship with her relatives at Bettiscombe or their friends'.[19] Although not part of their social circle, she did, however, remain in contact with them; Azariah noted in his diary that 'Mrs Pretor was here March 26 1745 and brought a silver tankard and spoons, two bowls, a pint mug and a salver for me to keep.' Following her husband's death, she probably moved around a great deal and entrusted these items for safekeeping because after collecting her silverware she returned them once more until a final note stated that 'Mrs Hayne has her plate again'.[20] Alicia Pretor by then had become Mrs Hayne; in 1747 she married John Hayne, a farmer from Frome Whitfield near Fordington in Dorchester. In the same year she gave birth to Samuel, a half-brother to her son John.[21]

The marriage to farmer Hayne was not a success. Realising that she had made a mistake in remarrying, 'She became cross … and grew old and disagreeable.' [22] Possibly as a way of coping with her disappointment she took to either drink or opiates, because, after breakfasting with her in Dorchester, John Frederick Pinney found it worth remarking that 'She was quite sober and in her senses.' They talked business, and she confessed to having mortgaged an annuity and readily agreed that the money for her son's education be administered by Azariah Pinney and the family's lawyer, George Warry. Had it remained with her, it would have been spent. In addition to having rickety finances she was in poor health. She became very ill with 'violent bleeding of the nose', and John Frederick Pinney warned that 'If she continues the way of life she at present follows (as I am told) she can never live to see her son Pretor of age.' [23] John was then not quite 16 years old and Pinney was right. Alicia Hayne was dead within three years. She died in January 1759.[24] An attractive woman who had flouted conventions and defied her family, she appears to have lost her way in life after the two sudden bereavements. JPP later remarked that 'Her early death must have been a great advantage'. [25] From his mother JPP inherited an interest in an estate worth £100 a year, a house in Chard [26] and property in Halstock that had come to her from the Clarke side of her family.[27]

His mother's profligacy with money may well explain JPP's sober approach and the very great care he took over financial matters. Added to this, on his coming of age John Frederick Pinney had given him advice on the fundamentals of life which largely remained his guiding principles: he should be careful in his business dealings, be particular in forming friendships and avoid gaming.[28] His other guardian, Henry Holt Henley, had died in 1748, and although Azariah Pinney had been his legal guardian, it appears that

[18] PP, DM 1841/7 Azariah Pinney 15 August 1737
[19] PP, Misc Vols 48 Misc Notes
[20] PP, AB 4
[21] John Haynes, a yeoman of Coker's Whitfield, the father to John Haynes of Frome Whitfield near Fordington, died in 1762. JPP's step brother, Samuel Hayne, later 'lived and died respected in his farm and with an excellent wife Rebecca who always managed to sell her butter well in Dorchester market' (PP, DM 1841/6 and DM 1841/4 and Misc Vols 48 Misc Notes).
[22] PP, Misc Vols 48 Misc Notes
[23] PP, DM 1841/7: John Frederick Pinney, Handley, to Azariah Pinney, 22 June 1756; also Dom Cat III ii Summary
[24] PP, AB 4 and Family Tree dated 1855
[25] PP, Misc Vols 48 Misc Notes
[26] In 1756 the house at Chard was 'much out of repair' and let at an annual rent of £4:10:0 by JPP's mother to Mrs Sarah Marwood (PP, DM 1841/7: JF Pinney, Handley, to Azariah Pinney, 22 June 1756; also Dom Cat III ii Summary). Until at least July 1762 the house was rented to the Marwoods who were based at the rather magnificent Avishays House near Chard (Cat 3 Dom Box 1756-1762: James Marwood to JPP, 26 January 1762, and AB 15: 22 July 1762).
[27] PP, Dom Cat III ii Summary: Azariah Pinney to JF Pinney, 8 March 1759; also Cat II.1755- Dom III.ii – Summary f193/19 February 1754; Family Tree dated 1855, and Dom Cat 2 Summary: Legal Opinion 9 February 1759
[28] PP, Dom Cat 2 Summary: John Frederick Pinney to JPP, 16 October 1761

ever since Michael Pretor's death John Frederick Pinney had taken on the role of the boy's mentor. JPP's relationship with his stepfather was polite and dutiful but never particularly close whereas John Frederick Pinney had given him 'tenderness and affectionacy'.[29] Favouring him with his protection and then the inheritance, John Frederick Pinney certainly had much the greater influence on him. Later in life JPP's uncle, Simon Pretor, took on a fatherly role and added his own advice: to abstain and 'avoid all extreams' (sic).[30]

The windfall inheritance that had come with his mentor's death had scotched any plans JPP might have made for himself. First it determined his immediate course of action and then the path for his entire life. Coupled to his sense of gratitude was a sense of duty, and he would always remember what John Frederick Pinney had written to him shortly before he died: 'I have given you a good education. I have put you to a good trade ... I shall now leave you to yourself. You are henceforward to depend solely on your own industry.'[31] JPP set off to the West Indies with the intention to prove himself worthy of his guardian's love, trust and expectations, and, just as he endeavoured to earn John Frederick Pinney's approval, others had to earn his. The notion of 'deserving' and 'undeserving' was to be the underlying principle in all the relationships JPP was to have with his friends, employees, and with his enslaved workers.

JPP came to Nevis determined to discharge all his debts down to the 'last shilling'. As soon as this was accomplished, he planned to return to England. Once clear of debt, he envisaged that, 'easy and independent of the world', he might be able to spend 5 or 600 Pounds a year 'as well as any Gentleman'.[32] This modest aspiration reflects his prudent disposition and sober temperament.

John Pretor Pinney's arrival in Nevis

Only a few of the old-timers on Mountravers would have remembered the last resident proprietor, and the expected arrival of another, no doubt, caused mixed emotions and eager speculation. Would this new master push harder and demand more work? Would he flog longer and give shorter rations? Or might he even improve their allowances? Would he tolerate the little freedoms they had wrest from the Brownes over the years? What did this young man from England know or care about their customs and their traditions, and would he start interfering with them? Would anyone be promoted to skilled work or demoted to the field, or even be freed from labour? Women may have feared that they might be forced to become their new master's mistress but some, no doubt, would have seen this young man's arrival as an opportunity to gain advantages for themselves and their families. Others might have stood aside, reminding everyone that all this idle speculation amounted to nothing as long as they remained enslaved.

JPP recorded his first impressions of Nevis:

> It is small but very pleasantly situated and commands a full and clear prospect of no less than seven neighbouring islands; it has a very high mountain in the middle covered with trees on the top, on the North and South sides there a few high hills covered with trees also on the top. The plantations ascend gradually from sea to mountain and you may see at one point of view, land preparing, others just holed for planting, adjoining young cane just upspringing out of the earth, near that canes almost ripe and often the next piece cutting and carrying to the mill and pieces of

[29] PP, LB 2: JPP to John Frederick Pinney, 9 September 1762
[30] PP, WI Box D: Simon Pretor, Sherborne, to JPP, Nevis, 21 August 1765
[31] PP, LB 2: John Frederick Pinney to JPP, 11 October 1762
[32] PP, LB 3: JPP to George Warry, 6 February 1765

> potatoe and intermixed which with the sea and shipping, etc. I think it affords a very pleasing prospect.[33]

The scene he painted for his female friend in England was pastoral, peaceful and devoid of people. He described a landscape which was worked by men and women but he did not include these people in his description. He ignored that it was men, women and children who dug the holes, cut the cane and carried it to the mill, and that they tended the potato plants. When he listened, he might have heard his driver crack the whip and someone crying out in pain. He might even have heard the workers sing as they moved along the rows of cane, but JPP did not write about any of this. By airbrushing out the people who inhabited the landscape he spared his female correspondent the distressing truth that it was enslaved men, women and children who did all the work.

When JPP arrived on Mountravers a few days before Christmas 1764, Little Agree, the most recently born infant, was just over two months old. Since Coker had compiled his last list in July 1763, five children had been born on the plantation and six people had died, four men in the last five months alone. When JPP looked at his workforce, the picture was even worse than the impression he had gained from Coker's information two years earlier. Including the young children, about half of the people could only be expected to do light work. He immediately freed from labour sixteen 'old & useless' people but thought that thirty others, although of advanced age or in poor health, could carry on working a while longer. They presented a sorry sight. Some were 'good but old', or even 'good but very old', one was 'almost a cripple'. One woman was unwell from having a 'falling of the womb'; others were blind, infirm, 'dismembered', or 'much ruptured'. JPP could console himself with the fact that the sixteen infants then too young to do anything would become useful in a few years' time when they could pick grass for the animals or mind the sheep.

On the plus side JPP counted just over fifty 'good and able', and 'good' or 'able' young people and adults. He knew that the three 'good for nothings' and the 'very bad, being very lazy' men and boys may prove beyond control but he would have hoped that the five 'runaways' and the five 'lazy' and 'able and lazy' adults could be put to work. Those seven men and women he classed as 'indifferent' might provide a few more years of labour and the ten older children, who were then just doing minor tasks, would soon be old enough to join the small gang for more sustained employment. All in all, in January 1765 about 80 people were deemed fit for normal plantation labour. Some women were pregnant, and he knew that there would always be a proportion of otherwise capable workers he could not employ during spells of pregnancy or sickness.

JPP knew what to expect; Coker had warned him:

> Your gang of negroes must be increased otherwise your interest must suffer for in gangs of negroes that are of ancient standing, as yours is, there will always be a great number of old, superannuated, useless slaves, and also many children besides what are occasionally sick.[34]

In all, about three quarters of the whole plantation population were in some kind of employment. Some did specialist, skilled work but most laboured in the fields.

---

[33] PP, LB 3: JPP to Mrs Williams, 3 April 1766
[34] PP, WI Box D: Wm Coker to JPP, 26 March 1764

Distribution of activities among 108 entailed people on Mountravers, January 1765

	Field	**Other occupations**
45 men	Great Gang: 21 Small Gang: 1 'Useful in crop': 1 Field and boiler: 4 Field and distiller: 2	Boiler: 1 Distiller: 1 Driver: 2 Cooper: 1 Carpenter: 1 Watch: 3 Watch and boiler: 1 Watch and cooper: 1 Cattle keeper: 1 Mule keeper: 2 House: 1 Gardener: 1
33 women	Great Gang: 22 Small Gang: 6	Nurse: 2 House: 2 'At the Mountain': 1
9 boys	Great Gang: 1 Small Gang: 5	Cooper: 1 Cattle keeper: 2
11 girls	Great Gang: 5 Small Gang: 5	Sheep keeper: 1
5 boy children	Grass Gang: 4	Working with mules: 1
5 girl children	Grass Gang: 3	House: 1 Attending negroes: 1

[35]

In addition, 16 men and women were 'old & useless' and 16 infants too young to work.

For those he freed from labour he had to make arrangements for their upkeep. Just before he died, John Frederick Pinney had asked that, in order to reduce taxes, anyone who had become 'useless' should 'have their freedom'.[36] Saving tax on non-working people was a well-established practice; the Legislature of Nevis had long ago agreed that those judged 'poor should be writt off',[37] and most plantations carried a proportion of 'non-dutyable' individuals. Some became non-taxable when they suffered a physical disability, others through old age. These retired folk usually had no choice but to remain on the plantation.

[35] PP, LB 3: A List of Negroes; see also R Pares *A West India Fortune* p129
[36] PP, LB 3: John Frederick Pinney to Shaw and Coker, 15 October 1762
[37] UKNA, CO 186/2: 25 February 1731/2

They were no longer fit enough to earn a living in the outside world, and they had no free children or other family members who could support them.

Freeing the unfit and the aged from work not only saved taxes, it was also another way of exerting control over people. These retired folk were intended to set an example to others and encourage them to persevere into old age. One St Kitts planter had just that in mind but he wanted to go a step further and asked his attorney to 'think of some scheme to show our humanity to our fellow creatures'.[38] This particular plan, though, did not develop into anything more than the usual freeing from labour with rations of food and clothing.[39] It was said that there was hardly a master who did not supply his useless people with allowances,[40] but to set them free from slavery and to provide them with a regular sum of money for their food and housing away from the plantation went beyond what planters considered their duty, and it probably never occurred to them to do so. Some owners did free some individuals, pensioned them off with a gift of a plot of land and an allowance, but it was more likely that these were family servants of long standing, or mistresses.

JPP did not actually legally free anyone who had become 'useless'. This would have required an official process, the registration of their manumissions in the Court House. They only became free insofar that they were no longer required to work and so spared him having to pay taxes. But he also faced an impediment: as a tenant for life he could not grant manumissions [41] since the estate with its people was entailed upon his son.[42] Unless JPP broke the entail, this meant that, until he had a male heir and until this heir came off age, no valid manumissions could be granted - the enslaved people belonged to the future heir. (This also meant that he could not sell an entailed person although, in two cases, he did so.) But as John Frederick Pinney had requested, 'useless' people continued to receive their plantation allowances of food and clothing. It was part of the social contract between master and servant: he took on the responsibility of providing for his people in their old age while they were expected to fulfil their obligation to work loyally, obediently and for as long as they could.

One of JPP's first tasks was to replenish his exhausted workforce. After all, they were supposed to cultivate not only Mountravers but also develop his as yet unsettled lands on the other side of the island.

On 11 January 1765 JPP set off to buy his first consignment of Africans at St Kitts. Knowing that the latest slaver had come from the Nigerian coast, he may have taken with him someone whom he expected to communicate with the new arrivals.[43]

---

[38] Ellis Younge spelt out the thinking behind his scheme, he wanted to 'prove the regard of those able to work, & encourage them that if they behave well their lot may fall to receive the same good usage in their old age, or otherwise incapacitated' (Stapleton Cotton MSS 20: Ellis Younge, Acton, to Alexander Douglas, St Kitts, 29 July 1766).

[39] Pers comm. Brian Littlewood, March 2005

[40] Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p77

[41] PP, WI Box D: Undated request for a legal opinion

[42] Pares, R *A West India Fortune* p132

[43] Taking translators on board ship was not always successful. One problem was that even within one country many different languages might be spoken, making communication difficult. This was illustrated by Bishop Samuel Crowther, who in the 1820s tried to communicate with people who spoke the Lagos dialect of southern Nigeria. Being a native of Oyo in northwest Nigeria, he could scarcely understand them. He also found it hard to understand the speech of the Egba, who lived to the northeast of Lagos and south of Oyo, and of the Ijebu from northeast of Lagos. Nowadays increased travel and movement within the country has made the differences in the dialects less marked than they used to be (James L Gibbs jr (ed) *Peoples of Africa* p551).

In another instance taking on board ship a trusted man to calm and reassure Africans backfired. Over at St Kitts it caused 33 slaves to drown themselves in Basseterre harbour. These people had arrived in March 1737 on the *Prince of Orange*, a Bristol ship, and, weak and bewildered as they were after their voyage, they had believed what this man had told them: that, once sold to the plantations, their eyes would be gauged out and they would then be eaten. It was intended as a joke but in their despair over a hundred people threw themselves overboard. Most were rescued but, in addition to the awfulness of the Middle Passage, the survivors must have forever suffered from the trauma of this event (David Eltis *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM*

The experience of attending the sale unsettled JPP sufficiently to remark on it afterwards, but it is worth noting that, titillated rather than outraged, he was shocked by 'human flesh exposed to sale' and not by human beings exposed to sale. He told his friend Harry Pouncy in Dorchester:

> Since my arrival I've purchased nine negroe slaves at St Kitts and can assure you I was shock'd at the first appearance of human flesh exposed to sale. But surely God ordain'd 'em for ye use & benefit of us: otherwise his Divine Will would have been made manifest by some particular sign or token.[44]

Having squared his conscience by reference to no less than the Highest Authority, he planned to purchase 'a few negroes annually'. They were to strengthen his present gang and 'a few' were intended for Choppin's in the Gingerland parish. He reckoned that a sufficient number of workers would be capable of producing 30 or 40 hogsheads a year more than they did at present [45] but knew that if he wanted to make new purchases, he needed credit from his London factors, the company of Coleman & Lucas. They received his sugars from Nevis, and in order to persuade them to advance the purchase money for new workers he held up the promise of much larger remittances: once his labour force was strengthened, he would increase production. JPP acknowledged that his workers were 'the chief instrument to the making of sugar'[46] and he valued them as such. Echoing Coker's words, he called them 'the very sinews of a plantation'[47] and added: 'without them we can do nothing'.[48] Simon Pretor, his uncle, reminded him of his obligation as their master and chipped in some solid Christian advice: 'above all treat your servants and slaves with humanity and kindness remembering that we have also a master to whom we are accountable ...'[49] The hierarchy was simple: slave, master, God.

JPP followed John Frederick Pinney's advice on the gender mix - to buy no more than four females in every ten – and the majority of African children he bought in 1765 and 1766 were boys; at least half the Ebboes and four fifth of those from the Gold Coast. Reflected in this was the need to restock the plantation with strong workers as quickly as possible. Planters at this time certainly were beginning to value girls; one St Kitts absentee, wanting to buy 'chiefly girls of about 14 or 15 years old, not older', was 'convinced that the females must be of greater value in the end, on account of generation'.[50] However, as yet JPP could not address the long-term aim of making the plantation population self-sustaining by having a sufficient number of women of child-bearing age.

The oldest in the first group of Africans which JPP bought was estimated to have been twenty years old, and when he chose this man, Friday, he adhered to another of John Frederick Pinney's diktats: that new purchases should be aged between ten and twenty years. Twenty years was the upper limit although at another time John Frederick had said that 'none should exceed the age of eighteen years'. [51] In general JPP stuck to this guideline but he also bought younger children; the average age of the 39 'Ebboes' he purchased between 1765 and 1767 was just over ten years, while the twenty Gold Coast individuals were, on average, a year older. This was very much in line with current thinking. One contemporary writer

---

Voyage No 16873; also VK Hubbard *A History of St Kitts* p75; Madge Dresser and Sue Giles (ed) *Bristol & Transatlantic Slavery* p20 and Hugh Thomas *The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* p437; original source in E Donnan *Documents* Vol 2 p460).

[44] PP, LB 3: JPP to Harry Pouncy, 2 March 1765
[45] PP, LB 3: JPP to Edward Jessup, Writtle Park, 10 January 1765
[46] PP, LB 3: JPP to Thomas Lucas, 15 January 1765
[47] PP, LB 3: JPP to Thomas Lucas, 10 January 1765, and JPP to George Warry, 6 February 1765
[48] PP, LB 3: JPP to Revd John Hinton, 28 May 1765
[49] PP, WI Box D: Simon Pretor, Sherborne, to JPP, Nevis, 21 August 1765
[50] Thoms, DW *West India Merchants and Planters* Letter 457 John Mills Junior to Wm Mills Junior, (no day) 1769
[51] PP, LB 3: John Frederick Pinney, Bettiscombe to William Coker, 13 October 1762

asserted that captives from the Gold Coast should always be bought young; the older ones were 'always sullen and unteachable, and frequently put an end to their own lives'. [52]

John Frederick Pinney had not given any instructions as to the region from which the Africans should originate. Planters had stereotypical ideas about the qualities people from different areas possessed. These were passed on in pamphlets and in publications such as the *Gentleman's Magazine.* In it appeared an article on the 'History of the Sugar-Cane' which contained observations 'worthy to be remembered'. It stated, for instance, that 'Congo negroes are comely and docile, but not hardy enough to labour in the field'. To get the most out of them, they should be 'kept in the household business or taught the mechanics arts', while the Pawpaw from the Gold Coast were thought best suited for field labour.[53] Another writer, Revd Smith, explained why he considered those from the Gold Coast 'the most valuable and hardy': they were toughened by heat and hunger, while those from Congo and Angola had 'plenty of provision in their own, more temperate and cool countries'. This rendered them lazy and consequently they were less 'able to endure work and fatigue'.[54] In Virginia, however, planters valued Angolans and thought them 'preferable to any other country slaves': Angolans were only surpassed by people from the Gold Coast.[55] Most agreed that people from the Gold Coast were 'the strongest of all the negroes, able to pull and carry loads just like the mules'. But planters also attributed negative qualities to them: they were 'wicked and lazy' and would rather starve to death than grow their own food, and they were 'quite headstrong and tyrannical'. It was claimed that they would commit suicide rather than do work or even eat something they did not like: 'In so doing, they remain very quiet, taking a sharp instrument or a pointed stick and thrusting it into their intestines. From this they die immediately. They must therefore be treated with care.'[56] If not handled carefully, Gold Coast Africans were not only apt to destroy themselves, but also murder their masters. [57] Those from the 'Ebo country', on the other hand, had a tendency to commit suicide because they became depressed and gave up on life.[58] One North American planter explained that Eboes were 'remarkably high spirited'; they were less resilient and did not 'brook slavery so well as those from several other countries'.[59] All planters would have agreed that a mix of people from different areas was most desirable, not only for their supposed qualities but also because disparate groups who spoke a variety of languages would find it more difficult to unite and plot rebellion. To the enslaved people it meant being isolated and deprived of the support of their fellow country people. Their resilience was tested at every stage.

It was said that a master's first six months would establish his 'character with the slaves'. If he was too lenient, they would take advantage and, if he allowed this to happen, he would later find it difficult to assert his authority. Therefore, toughness in the early stages prevented 'severities later on'. [60] JPP's correspondence does not reveal what line he followed in his first few months but he clearly got to know many individuals through direct contact. He bought their produce - meat, fish and occasionally vegetables - lent or gave them money and paid for some items, such as putting up a new house. While he acquainted himself with his people, at the same time his actions reinforced their dependence on him - he could assist some with optional extras and punish others by withholding privileges. Master and slave were linked by a chain of dependence. The women who received money from JPP to build their houses would

---

[52] Grainger, James 'History of the Sugar-Cane' in *Gentleman's Magazine* October 1764 p487
[53] Grainger, James 'History of the Sugar-Cane' in *Gentleman's Magazine* October 1764 p487
[54] Smith, Revd William *A Natural History* p225
[55] BULSC, DM 1061: Captain David Duncombe, Bristol, to Captain Chilcot, March 1767
[56] Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p7
[57] Grainger, James 'History of the Sugar-Cane' in *Gentleman's Magazine* October 1764 p487
[58] Angier, FR, SC Gordon, DG Hall and M Reckord *The Making of the West Indies* p74
[59] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 73 George Baillie's evidence
[60] Cochrane, Thomas MD 'Answers to the Fifth Table of Queries' pp141-76

then have to ask him for some rum and molasses to give to the people who assisted them in their building work, and these helpers, in turn, would have had to ask for time off work to do so.

In their daily lives plantation folk had to ask every little favour, and once favours were granted, gratitude was expected, as well as obedience. JPP's contemporary Richard Nisbet acknowledged this and added that slaveholders often granted simple requests only grudgingly. Nisbet recognised that this was oppressive. He was a relatively sympathetic observer of plantation life, but in an essay on slavery he also perpetuated the notion that only some people were deserving of favours. Nisbet recounted the story of Joseph Herbert, an enslaved man of 'fidelity and good behaviour'. In Herbert's case his owner's destitution led to his freedom, which in turn led to gratitude by his former mistress. It was an interesting story in which the tables were turned, and in which poverty created complete interdependence between a freed man and his former mistress. Joseph Herbert had belonged 'to an aged lady', who had become so impoverished that she could neither maintain herself or him. The only way to secure her future support was to set Joseph Herbert free and depend upon him for her own maintenance. Joseph Herbert was a compliant man which 'made him deserving of his freedom'. Once free, he did not disappoint his former owner. Richard Nisbet reported that 'He built her a house in Charlestown and has since continued to serve her with the most dutiful and unremitting attention; even anticipating her wants and providing her with little delicacies so far as the small profits of his trade, which is that of a cooper, will enable him to purchase them.' Very old and infirm, in the late 1780s the woman was still alive, and Nisbet was pleased to inform his readers that Joseph Herbert had 'never diminished in his care and respect towards her'. He told the story to make the point 'that a negro is not deficient in a sense of gratitude' and, without mentioning details, he stated that there were similar instances of 'grateful behaviour' in Nevis.[61] Gratitude, obedience, loyalty – these were the attributes expected of what would have been termed a 'good slave', and JPP would have been eager to instil these qualities in his workforce.

By March 1765 JPP reported that his people 'seem quite settled & enjoy a good state of health'.[62] But not all was well because at the end the year he sold into exile one of the women, Grace. [63] Coker had already marked her out as 'lazy' and a 'runaway', and under JPP she appears to have continued to resist her enslavement. Grace suffered the supreme sanction of being sold abroad. The practice of exporting disruptive individuals to other Caribbean islands or to North America was not uncommon. In its intention it was similar to judicial transportations carried out in Britain – to remove offenders or difficult people as far

---

[61] Nisbet, Richard *The Capacity of Negroes for Religious and Moral Improvement* pp36-7 and pp45-6
The display of enslaved people's gratitude made white people feel good about their benevolent actions. The anti-slavery movement used this to good effect as a tool with which to re-enforce their message to the converted and to make converts. In a report about a young Mrs Stumbles this was taken to extremes; her story was overlaid with a mixture of religious ardour, syrupy emotion, and corny dialogue that was supposed to add 'local colour' and authenticity.

In 1829 Mrs Stumbles from Stonehouse near Plymouth, together with her brother, inherited a small property in Nevis with four slaves: two women, one man and a little boy. Her brother was a manager of an estate in Nevis. Owing to her faith and commitment to the cause of anti-slavery Mrs Stumbles wanted to set the slaves free, 'But how could she proceed? Could she confide the cause to her brother? No! He was a slave master and she knew him only too well.' In 'straitened circumstances' and 'with an infant in her arms' she travelled to Nevis to set her slaves free. 'Her brother met her with scorn; the surrounding slave masters sought to daunt her with perplexity; but, burning with holy love, cheered on by God, supported by the laws of her country, and refreshed with many local sympathies, she persevered and succeeded. She fulfilled her divine commission, and returned with the smiles of God, and the blessing of his delivered poor, to her native country.' The two women freed by Mrs Stumbles went into trading and re-appeared when a young Methodist minister, Mr Rice, was returning to England and was looking for presents of 'some shells, preserves, &c. to take with him'. Over a full ten lines of text the writer spun out the conversation that was supposed to have ensued between Mr Rice and the women over the cost of some goods he had chosen. They resolutely refused payment. As it turned out, they intended to send whatever he had selected as a present: '"No! Massa, we neber can forget her; derefore we getting dese tings Massa, to send to her to England, to tell her how much we love her always."' The story concluded with: 'Why, alas! Will not the mighty learn, that love *wins*, with peace and sweetness, what force wades in vain through tears and blood, to *compel*.' ('The Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine' Vol 1 (January 1836) No 2 p116)
[62] PP, LB 3: JPP to Harry Pouncy, 2 March 1765
[63] PP, AB 18 Schooner *Plantation Economy* a/c (Captain Joshua Hayes)

away as possible. British transportees would often be condemned to fixed periods of exile but for enslaved people the sale was a life sentence. They were often sold 'for little or nothing'; planters were prepared to shift troublemakers cheaply because of 'the good effect it had on the rest'. One contemporary of JPP's, the planter Thomas Mills senior, claimed that selling one of his people abroad instilled such 'a terror' in the others that it stopped them from running away, and by getting rid of one he saved the others from having to be 'constantly punished for it'.[64] Grace's sale to North America may have had a similar effect; certainly during the following year no cash rewards were paid for catching runners.

During JPP's first year on Mountravers nine people were known to have died: one each in April, June, July, August and October and two each in September and November. Among the dead were old, manumitted women (Brooms Cuba and Great Sheba) but younger people also perished (Jack, Mimba and Old Man) and children, too (Little Harry, Boan, Margot and Cambridge). But by then JPP had bought a sufficient number of people to make up for the losses, and he was even able to return the extra workers William Coker had hired from the widow Cruft.[65] It probably meant, though, that newly purchased Africans had their seasoning period cut short and were put to work earlier than would have been desirable. Despite this, a substantial number of them survived the new disease environment and the rigours of plantation work: of the 39 'Ebboes' JPP acquired between January 1765 and February 1767, 32 survived until 1 January 1769 and of the twenty Gold Coast people he bought in June 1766 all but one. The two from the Windward Coast whom he purchased in July 1768 also lived, and they grew old on Mountravers. Nevertheless, the Africans lost during the seasoning period accounted for 13 per cent of those 61 he had bought between January 1765 and July 1768.

The new arrivals had to be integrated with those already settled on the estate. For this task, which was part of their seasoning, JPP had to rely on trustworthy and experienced people. Africans already in the island did not need to be seasoned, nor Creoles, 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.[66] However, according to Richard Nisbet who had recounted the story of the grateful James Herbert, Africans were preferable because they brought with them qualities that planters valued. He argued that among Creoles, raised from birth in bondage, there was no foundation or room to 'erect an idea of a moral duty' and asserted that their relationships were unstable, that parents often neglected their children and that the Creole children treated their parents with indifference. In contrast, he considered Africans the most loyal husbands, the most affectionate fathers and the truest friends – attributes which they had brought with them from Africa. According to Nisbet, they also made the most obedient workers: 'The constant, laborious field negro, who attached himself to his little hut and spot of ground upon the plantation is usually found among the Africans.' Frequently they were obliged to make up for the idlers and runaways. To Nisbet, Africans were 'the very sinews of an estate'.[67]

In addition to buying African children, in his first few months in Nevis JPP also began acquiring Creoles. He started with a boy and his two sisters – they were bought with a seasoned African woman - and then he purchased a Creole woman and two children. After that he chose mostly single Creoles from several different owners. In the first five years women owners represented about two thirds of all the people from whom he acquired new people. They were widows, as well as unmarried women, and may have been forced to mortgage, or sell, their enslaved people after their husbands died. The women did not lag

[64] Thoms, DW *West India Merchants and Planters* Letter 402 Thomas Mills senior to JR Herbert, 29 November 1764
[65] PP, AB 18 JA Cruft's a/c
[66] Stapleton Cotton MSS 20: Ward's Opinion of the St Kitts Estate, June 1766
[67] Nisbet, Richard *The Capacity of Negroes for Religious and Moral Improvement* pp19-21

behind their male counterparts in the number of people they put up for mortgage or sale – the number of individuals JPP acquired from them was in equal proportion to those he acquired from male owners.

It is not always apparent whether he obtained people through mortgages falling due or by way of a straightforward purchase. The first mortgage JPP was known to have granted can be dated to April 1769 when, in a complicated deal that was to be typical of future transactions, the widow Mary Clarke assigned nine individuals to JPP. If owners gave their people as security and then defaulted on repayments, JPP could demand that they be handed over, and in the 1770s the majority of people came to Mountravers through loans falling due - with the estate workers from Woodland representing the biggest single addition. People from Woodland formed the core of those whom he later reserved for his own use; they were his personal possession and he received their hire income even after Mountravers was sold to the Hugginses. JPP's acquisition of Woodland caused controversy in the island but in another instance he earned approval for having been a patient creditor. He did not press the widow Anne Hutton for money owed from the estate of her dead husband, James Browne, and her attorney showed himself 'much obliged to him for the friendship' JPP had afforded her.[68]

Not all the people JPP acquired were to his satisfaction. For instance, to replace a boy whose manumission he had facilitated JPP bought another but two years later found it necessary to get rid of this replacement. Sold in the island of St Thomas, he was one of three people JPP was known to have condemned to exile abroad; later his managers were allowed to follow the same practice. While these sales suggest disobedience, and therefore resistance, at the same time there is evidence to suggest that other people integrated and made Mountravers their home. Women began to have children, people established their gardens and soon some were able to sell surplus produce and small domestic animals they had reared.

JPP favoured some of his workers with small gifts of money and encouraged boilers and skilled workers with presents, but his paternalism stopped there. When it came to selling goods and plantation produce to any of his people he treated them as equals, as trading partners in their own right. Several individuals bought rum from the plantation and later two women in particular, Black Polly and Mulatto Polly, were to purchase a range of commodities from him. He granted them credit but expected them to repay even the last ha'penny. He did this not out of stinginess – although, at times, he could be mean and penny-pinching - but because he respected their independence and their ability to make money. He was keen to encourage enterprise among his people. For instance, he bought dung baskets from one man and also hired an old woman to him. In another case he compensated a young woman who had been short-changed by the manager with a barrel or two of rum - this she could sell at a profit and, if she was smart, make a tidy sum. Being able to earn money would give people a goal as well as satisfaction; they could take control of a part of their lives while at the same time gain a stake in the plantation's internal economy - indeed, the island's economy. This, in turn, would strengthen their attachment to the world they inhabited, which, ultimately, benefitted the interests of JPP and other planters.

Underlying JPP's support of his people's enterprise was a belief in achievement through hard work. For him sloth was the worst of the Seven Deadly Sins. In his white fellow citizens he saw plenty of it, as well as any number of other wrongdoingd. Their private lives ruled by 'intemperance and debauchery', he found their business dealings full of trickery and cunning. He believed that the white inhabitants were responsible for the 'disorder' in the island.[69]

[68] UKNA, CO 108/268: James Baker to Mrs Anne Hutton, 1 December 1779
[69] PP, LB 3: JPP to George Warry, 6 February 1765, and JPP to Edward Jessup, 29 May 1766

In particular he resented the island-born whites:

> The Creoles in general are a sett of lazy indolent people and some of them will not scruple to go to any lengths to save appearances and serve a turn. In short int[erest] and self preservation are their only objects, but there are a few really sensible and good men.[70]

To him, these people wasted their time while he had a mission. He was focused on his objectives: 'I am determined not to follow the vice of the country, but to live the life of an honest sober and diligent planter, for it was my only motive in coming here'.[71] He had come to Nevis to discharge his debts and to make money. His grand scheme was to settle his affairs in the island and then leave.

He made a start by renting out the house at the Mountain estate to a clergyman, Revd John Bowen. This brought in N£60 a year.[72] He was in luck; the following crop promised to be a large one, and at Mountravers he invested in building new houses for his people and a new sugar works. [73] Having experienced what he called his 'seasoning',[74] he began to make himself more comfortable. His step father supplied him with garden seeds [75] and he asked Coker, who had left Nevis for some family business, to send from England more household items, such as plate and linen.[76]

JPP had been wondering what to do with William Coker. His friend from London, John Hay Richens, arrived around the time Coker left for England,[77] and while JPP was planning to carry on running the main operation from Mountravers, he wanted Richens to supervise the Gingerland properties. When the manager on Jesup's estate, Benjamin Laggett, died, JPP saw an opportunity to place Coker there and he offered him as a replacement.[78] Jesup declined.[79] Having Coker on nearby Jesup's Estate would have suited JPP well because his friend was the more experienced planter. However, not everything was to JPP's satisfaction. From a Bristol sugar merchant came news that the quality of the sugar Coker had sent was no more than 'indifferent' and the more serious charge that some weights did not correspond to Coker's invoice.[80] JPP defended his manager and blamed the careless Bristol captains. [81] The indifferent sugar was another matter, though, and in the coming years JPP continually strove to improve its quality.

John Frederick Pinney had asked Coker to build a new sugar work at Gingerland but the project had been suspended. There simply were not sufficient people to cultivate the unsettled lands and the Gingerland estate was rented out.[82] The tenant, however, did not have enough labourers and was unable to clean and work the land and, having heard that this man would 'soon be absolutely ruined and obliged to leave

---

[70] PP, LB 3: JPP to Mrs Williams, 3 April 1766
A planter in Virginia had earlier expressed similar views about white people and blamed the importation of large numbers of enslaved Africans: 'They blow up the pride and ruin the industry of our white people who, seeing aa rank of poor creatures beneath them, detest work, for fear it should make them look like slaves.' (Hugh Thomas *The Slave Trade* p459, quoting a letter by Colonel William Byrd to Lord Egmont, 1736)
[71] PP, LB 3: JPP to George Warry, 6 February 1765
[72] PP, AB 18 Revd John Bowen's a/c
N£ means Nevis currency
[73] PP, LB 3: JPP, Nevis, to Wm Coker, England, 3 April 1766
[74] PP, LB 3: JPP to Harry Pouncy, 2 March 1765
[75] PP, WI Cat 3 Index III.ii Domestic: John Hayne, Frome, to JPP, Nevis, 20 October 1765
[76] PP, LB 3: JPP, Nevis, to Wm Coker, England, 3 April 1766
[77] PP, Cat II.1755- Dom III.ii – Index: Samuel Nicholls, London, to JPP, 29 September 1765
[78] PP, LB 3: JPP to Edward Jessup, 2 May 1765
[79] PP, WI Cat 3 Index III.ii Domestic: Edward Jesup to JPP, 7 July 1765
[80] PP, WI Cat 3 Index III.ii Domestic: James Laroche to JPP, 15 September 1764
[81] PP, LB 3: JPP to James Laroche, 30 June 1765
[82] PP, LB 3: JPP, Nevis, to George Warry, 6 June 1765

this country', in April 1766 JPP took possession of the estate again.[83] In the previous summer he had paid four enslaved workers N£6 'for cleansing the land at Gingerland wherein I intend to build the boiling house',[84] and in preparation for this he had also ordered various materials from England. These included a 'barrel of hair for plaistering [sic] cisterns',[85] '10 hogsheads good building lime, 2 tierces of boiling lime, loads of nails, woodworking tools, 24 prs of Garnet hinges for hanging windows', and three pairs of strong hinges for hanging doors.[86] He also ordered two large iron square or rectangular furnaces to hold 500 gallons each. These would receive the molasses.[87] He also bought four new coppers, a lignum vitae mill frame and mill case and imported a fresh supply of mules.[88] At a cost of over S£2,000,[89] building and equipping the sugar works already represented a considerable investment but JPP expected that the cost would rise to at least double.[90]

Intent on settling the Gingerland estate 'as fast as possible' and 'determined to persevere till it is completely settled',[91] on 1 May 1766 JPP selected 58 people to work there.[92] The first task was to finish clearing the land. He had hired additional hands for this, but by August this task was still ongoing[93] and the sugar works had also not been completed. JPP chose the Gingerland labourers from the existing, entailed people and from those he had bought. Planters generally thought Africans better suited for fieldwork and more expendable than Creoles since those did not need seasoning and often had useful plantation skills, and more Africans ended up at Gingerland than purchased Creoles. Equally, more Ebboes than Gold Coast people were sent there: 18 Ebboes and 10 or 11 from the Gold Coast, as opposed to 14 Ebboes who remained on Mountravers and eight or nine from the Gold Coast. When he bought more Africans, JPP split these between the two plantations, except for the last group he bought. They were all sent to Gingerland. Of the others, at least two of the people he acquired for Gingerland he placed on Mountravers instead, and two 'Congaw boys' died before they could be put to work. A year on, by May 1767, there were 65 people on the Gingerland estate and 119 on Mountravers.

A local man, James Bowrin, was employed to take care of the stock on the Gingerland estate. But rather than just employ a stock keeper, JPP was after a regular overseer who was 'used to horses' and who understood husbandry. He asked Coker to look out for a likely young man in England. Articled for three years at N£60 a year, he was to be sent out steerage with Captain Beach. JPP held out the promise that the young man could rise to become manger: 'Should I approve of his conduct I will give him the care of my Gingerland estate when I return to England.'[94] He was expecting to pay off in full a major debt during the following year,[95] and he probably planned that, upon his return to England, the new man would manage the Gingerland estate and John Hay Richens Mountravers. For the time being his friend was in charge of Gingerland.

◄► ▼◄►

[83] PP, LB 3: JPP to John Hayne, 31 March 1766
[84] PP, AB 17: 25 July 1765
[85] PP, LB 3: JPP to George Warry, 6 June 1765
[86] PP, LB 3: JPP to James Laroche, 30 June 1765
[87] PP, LB 3: JPP to Captain John Beach, 15 April 1766
[88] PP, AB 15 Gingerland a/c
[89] PP, LB 3: JPP to John Hayne, 31 March 1766
[90] PP, LB 3: JPP to Dr John Hankeens, 25 July 1766
[91] PP, LB 3: JPP to Coleman & Lucas, London, 25 July 1766
[92] Pares, R *A West India Fortune* p80
[93] PP, LB 3: JPP to William Coker, 15 August 1766
[94] PP, LB 3: JPP to William Coker, 15 August 1766
[95] PP, LB 3: JPP to Coleman & Lucas, 18 February 1766

In the year 1766 Nevis was beset by unrest. This time, however, the white people did the rioting. They objected to a new tax, introduced by the British Parliament. The government intended to raise funds to pay for troops stationed in the American colonies and, after the Seven Years War had depleted the Treasury, it levied a stamp duty on all official documents. When this became law in March 1765, outraged citizens in the North American colonies destroyed stamped paper and burnt effigies of the men charged with collecting the new tax. In other West Indian colonies the new charge was quietly introduced but not in St Kitts and Nevis. Incited by sailors from New England, people in St Kitts went on the offensive. They harassed the official in charge of the stamped paper and threatened to hang him if he did not deliver up the stamps. In fear of his life he resigned his job and handed over the stamps. Another official fled to Nevis but rioters followed him. They filled a navy longboat with the hated stamped paper, set it alight and then torched two houses.[96] According to JPP, in St Kitts the rich supported and encouraged the actions of 'the poorer sort', and he recorded that 'the next day our little community followed their steps; at the bonfire they gave three hurras crying out "Liberty and no Stamps"'. But this civil disobedience was only directed at the Stamp Act and not at colonial rule in general. In Nevis people were still happy to celebrate the King's Birthday with an 'elegant ball',[97] and while they approved of the protests in principle, the Council was keen to be seen to condemn the revolt. In due course a Committee prepared 'an Address to His Majesty respecting our Disapprobation and Abhorrence of the Riots Committed in this Island on Account of the Stamp Act' and the Legislature began to bring in a Bill to make the burning of cane and buildings, as well as the administering of poison, an offence.[98] It is likely that, while the white rioters were busy with their protests, enslaved people had seized the opportunity to stage their own. Administering poison and burning cane are usually seen as enslaved people's favoured weapons of resistance and, as the Legislature tended to be reactive rather than proactive, the timing of the debate suggests that this was a response to recent events. The British Parliament repealed the Stamp Act in February 1766.[99]

In February 1766 JPP thought that the crop promised to be 'pretty good', which meant that he could begin to settle his debts with the London merchants Coleman & Lucas.[100] He set about improving the plantation infrastructure but as yet did not have enough skilled workers. He had to hire people from other owners: from Mrs Alvarez a carpenter, Sam, and another man, Codando, and Mr Brook's negro mason to do some walling on the Gingerland estate.[101] William Brook had also been charged with training one young man from Mountravers, Bettiscombe, as a mason[102] and, concerned about the high cost of hiring people and wanting to be self-sufficient in tradesmen, JPP began to get others instructed in various crafts. For young men like Bettiscombe this meant they 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.

---

[96] O'Shaughnessy, Andrew J 'The Stamp Act Crisis in the British Caribbean' in William and Mary Quarterly 3rd Series Vol 51 No 2 pp208-10 and William Law Mathison *British Slavery and its Abolition* p133 fn3, citing Macerson *Annals* iii p422; also Sir Alan Burns *History of the British West Indies* pp516-17, citing *The Annual Register* 1765 p56.

It is significant that the rioters chose to burn the stamp paper along with a navy longboat because in the 1760s seamen were also engaged in fighting against impressment by the British Navy. Sailors in Newport, Rhode Island, had been joined by black people and it is likely that, when in 1765 their dispute spread from North America to Nevis, the island's black and coloured population supported them (David Cordingly *Heroines & Harlots* p38 and Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker *The Many-Headed Hydra* p219).

[97] PP, LB 3: JPP to Revd Hinton, 30 May 1766

[98] The Council appointed James Tobin junior, John Dasent, Robert Pemberton, Archibald Thompson and John Vanderpool and charged them with preparing the address to the British Government (UKNA, CO 186/6: 8 February 1766).

[99] Hibbert, Christopher *George III, a Personal History* p123 and p124

[100] PP, LB 3: JPP to Coleman & Lucas, 18 February 1766

[101] PP, AB 18 Plantation a/c and AB 17: 17 April 1765

[102] PP, AB 18 Wm Coker's a/c

JPP supplied his people with material for clothing that he had ordered from Dorchester. It proved to be 'too thin' and, not wanting 'to be deprived of their old clothing', they complained. He accepted their grievance and, while ordering more material for clothing and blanketing, he passed on their complaint. He also reminded the manufacturer that the profits of plantation slavery extended to those who supplied the colonies:

> Tho' they are our slaves yet we most certainly ought to make their lives as comfortable to them as possible; that they may be enabled to undergo the yoke of bondage with some ease and satisfaction to themselves. Do not they by their labour support us? As that is the case gratitude obliges us in return to take care of them.[103]

JPP understood that the tentacles of plantation slavery reached well beyond the West Indies and implicated those who thought themselves immune from responsibility, but his appeal to the businessman's conscience also sounded as if he was setting his own mind at rest – as long as he treated his people well, his conscience was clear. That appears to have been his core belief and the principle that guided his actions.

In order to improve productivity, animals were also needed and, at a cost of between £15 and £18 per animal, JPP placed 15 mules on Gingerland.[104] He replenished the stock on Mountravers as well but, just like people, mules needed seasoning, and JPP was convinced that **'**they will be much better for remaining twelve months in the island before they are worked.'[105] In 1767 he bought his first two camels.[106] It is very likely that these were shipped by Captain Beach because another planter, then resident in England, Thomas Mills, had advised President John Richardson Herbert that a consignment of camels was on its way to Nevis. Mills had wanted one of the animals, a female, 'to carry canes, water, and to bring plantation necessary's (sic) from town'. He thought with their greater carrying capacity they would 'answer the end of three mules'.[107] Mills under-estimated the animals: pack camels can carry as much as 1,600 pounds (727 kg), about eight to ten times more,[108] yet they cost only about double as much as a mule. In addition, the camels may have appealed to JPP because they produced more dung - he was always on the lookout to improve the quality of the soil. Certainly, by purchasing the camels JPP demonstrated that he was willing to invest in new agricultural methods.

At the end of May 1767 JPP left Nevis for a short visit to England, taking with him his young English servant, Tom Peaden. Various business and private affairs awaited him and he travelled to Blandford, Woodcutts, Dorchester, Bristol, and London. Coker had returned from his trip to England and, in JPP's absence, was managing Mountravers. While JPP was away, one of the camels died and he asked Coker to pass on instructions to Thomas Arthurton. JPP wanted the remaining camel to be kept under cover so that it was not exposed to the weather. As to the mules, JPP gave very specific orders, perhaps passing on the latest insights into animal husbandry. Arthurton was to ensure that the pens were well littered and in wet weather the mules were to be kept under the shade in the upper pen. The animals were to be fed grass at night (people had to pick this in addition to whatever fieldwork they were doing), and JPP asked that Arthurton should sprinkle 'antimony and aloes' on their oats. Some of the mules had died earlier from 'bats and worms' and he lamented his bad luck with stock, particularly the mules.[109] Anxious not to lose

---

[103] PP, LB 3: JPP to William Channing, Dorchester, 15 April 1766
[104] PP, AB 15: 11 January 1765 and LB 3: JPP to Coleman & Lucas, London, 25 July 1766
[105] PP, LB 3: JPP to Edward Jessup, Writtle Park, 10 January 1765
[106] PP, AB 16 Estates in Nevis a/c
[107] Thoms, DW *West India Merchants and Planters* Letter 440 Thomas Mills senior to JR Herbert, 14 August 1766
[108] Watts, David *Patterns of Development* p198
[109] PP, LB 3: JPP to William Coker, 24 September 1767

any more, he asked John Hay Richens, who was managing the Gingerland estate, to take good care of his animals. In the same breath he mentioned his people: 'Pray let there be great attention paid to my sick negroes and proper things given to them and also to my horses and mules, for you know I have been very unfortunate in the latter.'[110] This was not the only time JPP referred to his people and his livestock as if he thought of them as one.

When he returned from Europe in January 1768, JPP was confronted by a major setback. Richens had failed to get the work on Gingerland completed. Although in receipt of an advance of nearly N£100, the mason William Brooks had not completed building the mill; 'he was villain enough to leave the work unfinished'. Had a friend not lent his sugar works, the canes would have perished. But the crop was short.[111] JPP had an offer to rent out the Gingerland estate[112] and it was time to give up on that property and concentrate his activities on Mountravers. At the end of August 1768 Richens quit JPP's employment, and 61 people,[113] together with the remaining ten mules,[114] returned to Mountravers. Five mules appear to have died, representing a third of those placed on Gingerland.[115] They had succumbed to disease and relentless demand.

For the people who had worked on the Gingerland estate it had been a testing time. They had to toil harder than those left on Mountravers. This was borne out in the higher number of deaths during the period between 1 May 1767 and 10 July 1768: out of 65 people on Gingerland, three are known to have died (the equivalent of 46 in a thousand); out of a total of 119 on Mountravers, only two (17 in a thousand). The people who died on Gingerland during this period were all young Africans. Over a longer term the group that had worked on the Gingerland estate, however, fared no worse than those who had remained on Mountravers. About half in each group survived until the plantation was sold and the longest surviving African turned out to be a woman who had served on the Gingerland estate, Silvia.[116]

Having put the Gingerland estate in order, JPP found tenants. Dr Benton leased the lower estate for S£150 a year, which included the hire of one man, Pappaw, and for S£200 James Chapman rented the upper part.[117] The Mountain Estate, Governor's, in the parish of St John Figtree was from August 1768

---

[110] PP, LB 3: JPP to John Richens, 24 September 1767
[111] PP, LB 3: JPP, Nevis, to John Hayne, 12 April 1768
[112] PP, LB 3: JPP to George Warry, 12 May 1768
[113] On 8 April 1768 JPP had accounted for tax on 68 people on Gingerland (PP, AB 18 John Morton Church Warden Gingerland a/c). It is likely that he had briefly borrowed additional people from Mountravers in order to advance the work at Gingerland more speedily.
[114] PP, AB 16 Gingerland Plantation a/c
[115] In 1766 JPP bought 18 mules; six from Edward Jessup and 12 from Captain Thomas Smith. He placed 15 on Gingerland (PP, LB 3: JPP to Coleman and Lucas, 25 July 1766).
[116] As there is no slave list from just before and after people were moved to Gingerland, these figures do not take into account other deaths (twelve in total) that occurred in the periods between 1 May 1766 and 30 April 1767, and from 10 July to 31 August 1768. The following people could have died on either plantation: Long Tom and Dinney between January 1765 and May 1767, London between October 1765 and May 1767, the girl Tuttabaw in December 1766, and Chester in March 1767. Nancy Maillard's son John, recently bought, died on Mountravers after 10 July 1768 and before 1 January 1769, and two Congaw boys died before they could be placed on Gingerland. In addition, five people died before 1 January 1769 after being manumitted in October 1765 (Old Hannah, Old Robin, Old Mary, Little Jemmy, and Bess).
[117] PP, AB 16 Gingerland Plantation a/c
Dr Benton appears to have owned a plantation already. In the hurricane of August 1772 he lost his dwelling house, boiling house, still house, and every building in his yard' (*An Account of the Late Dreadful Hurricane*) and in May 1774 his estate was put up for public auction at the suit of Messrs Mills and Swanston. To this London merchants house he owed S£1,600 plus interest. A small, 49-acre property in St George's Gingerland, Dr Benton's estate was bought by John Latoysonore Scarborough for N£2,000 (ECSCRN, CR 1773-1775 f362). Benton was in arrears with JPP as well and he either died or was evicted from Lower Gingerland (R Pares *A West India Fortune* p82).

The other renter, James Chapman, also had an estate which was hit by the hurricane. He lost two boiling houses and six people. Chapman may have worked the land with the thirty slaves he assigned to his daughter Elizabeth Dasent Chapman in 1776: Sabella, Mary Windward, Susannah, Judy, Constant, Priam, Myrtle, Charles, Stephen, John, David, Mulatto Jemmy, Nanny, Molly-Conkey,

rented out to James Brodbelt. JPP could now focus on Mountravers. His first task was to set the buildings in order. He engaged the carpenter John Cornelius to alter the old house and to build a wooden 'lofted house',[118] and the mason William Brooks was soon busy with walling in the cattle shade,[119] laying Bristol stones, building steps in the yard and erecting a wall around the yard.[120] Cornelius had men from the plantation working with him - Codando, Range, Glasgow and Sam – and so did Brooks, and anyone who was reasonably fit would have been made to carry the building materials from the town or the harbour up to the plantation: red cedar posts, shingles and boards, bricks and building lime, folding sash doors and sash windows, complete with spare glass and springs and screws.[121] Some of the plantation people received money for their work: Tom Jones for cutting stones and several workers for erecting walls on the estate.[122] While the building works were an added burden for some, for others they presented an opportunity to earn extra money and learn and apply new skills.

Quickly JPP began to be active in island life, and he became part of the Nevis establishment. He accepted public posts that gave him political power and influence: he was made Justice of the Peace,[123] replaced the deceased Walter Nisbet on the Council[124] and became a member of the 'Standing Committee Inspecting Forts and Fortifications, also the Alarm Guns'.[125]

JPP had considered the possibility of his step-brother coming out to Nevis[126] but Samuel Haynes did not take up the offer. Instead, JPP's cousin Joseph Gill arrived and for a while filled the post of overseer. In June 1768 Coker left Nevis again and during his absence JPP took over his affairs.

The year 1769 was a grim one. It was marked by much illness in the winter, followed by severe draught and a terribly bad crop.[127] The dismal situation was reflected in the island when, following a year of no executions, two men were put to death and one was sought for murdering another. For almost a century, slaveholders had been compensated with the appraised value (originally with a flat rate of 3,500 pounds of sugar) if their people were executed for 'felony or robbery', but this time the Legislature rejected the owners' requests for compensation on the grounds that it had been decided not to accept any more demands against the public purse. The island's finances were in a poor state and to raise funds it was

---

Sam, Angelick, Abba, Nancy, Fanny, Marie, Sharlo, Jane, Rittah, Tom, Mimbah, Pompey, Grace, Polly, Bessy Bell, Corie, Peter, Mulatto Fanny and Mulatto Betty (CR 1776-1777 f93).

Chapman was also in debt to both Mills & Swanston and to JPP, and he, too, probably also got evicted from Gingerland (LB 4: JPP to Mills & Swanston, 26 March 1776). JPP offered N£25,000 for Chapman's unnamed plantation and slaves (CR 1777-1778: Indenture 17 June 1777). In 1782 Chapman mortgaged nine slaves to JPP to the value of N£360: Johnny, Sangore, Susanna, Quaw, Monsieur, Ben, Jemmy, Silvia, Molly (CR 1778-1783 f669). The money was repaid; none of these people came into JPP's possession.

The Upper Gingerland estate was later leased to Magnus Moreton and John Richardson Herbert. The rent was due in London - an example of money being directly exported from the West Indies to benefit absentee proprietors (AB 20 Magnus Moreton & JR Herbert's a/c).

[118] PP, AB 21 and AB 20 John Cornelius a/c
[119] PP, AB 20 William Brooks's a/c
[120] PP AB 20 William Brooks's a/c
[121] PP, AB 21 Nevis Currency a/c and Sterling Expense a/c
[122] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c
[123] UKNA, CO 186/7: 27 October 1768; also PP, AB 16
[124] PP, Dom Box S4, and UKNA, PC 1/59/6/2 Representation of Board of Trade for appointing John Dasent and John Pinney to the Council, 26 May 1769 but see also LB 3: JPP to Thomas Lucas, 25 March 1769
JPP got his appointment through lobbying. He thanked Lucas for applying to General Woodley on his behalf but JPP had also applied to Woodley in person while the Leeward Islands Governor visited Nevis (PP, LB 3: JPP to Thomas Lucas, 12 May 1768).
[125] UKNA, CO 186/6: 6 December 1768
[126] PP, LB 3: JPP to John Hayne, 30 May 1768
[127] PP, LB 3: JPP to Wm Coker, 24 July 1769, JPP to Wm Coker, c. August 1769, and JPP to John Hayne, 7 June 1769

necessary to increase the poll tax slaveholders paid on their people.[128] The Legislature did, however, allow a reward of N£33 for the capture of the murder suspect [129] and also addressed the wider issue of abscondees. Members sought to introduce an Act aimed at those 'harbouring entertaining or concealing' not only 'Negroes and other slaves' but also white runaways - 'sailors and servants'. [130] Their concern shows that the oppressed and exploited of all colours had common cause and that the Legislature was determined to stamp out dissent.

Nevis was in a poor state. Planters found themselves 'in a most distressed situation'[131] and JPP prophesied that another bad crop would totally ruin many of them.[132] Those, who could, packed up and left. They headed for the new islands which Britain had acquired following the end of the Seven Years War. Land was cheap there and many made a fresh start, and by 1770 Nevis was suffering from depopulation to such an extent that the Legislature petitioned His Majesty's Government for troops to be stationed in the island. To replace those who had left, new men had already been appointed to serve in the island's militia[133] but enslaved people outnumbered the white inhabitants almost eight to one,[134] and, as history had shown, during pressured times unrest was not far away. The Legislature wanted not only a permanent presence of soldiers but also more white men and followed up its request for manpower by putting forward yet another motion intended to encourage the importation of white servants.[135] Governor Sir Ralph Payne, a planter himself, cited 'the decay of trade' as 'the chief and only cause' for the emigration. He was also concerned about 'the low rate of births' among enslaved people. The high cost of acquiring new ones added to the planters' financial pressures.[136]

In 1769 Mountravers suffered a poor harvest. JPP was disappointed by the 'badness of our crop'.[137] Island-grown staples also became in short supply and to make himself less dependent on having to buy fresh food from his people and so that they had more food for themselves, JPP asked his step-father to send him another supply of seeds from England: 'cabbage, carrot, lettice (sic) of different sorts, radish, turnip, parsley, french beans, sellery (sic) & marrowfat pease'.[138] In due course his household appears to have become self-sufficient and he did not buy any more produce from his people.

During 1769 a record number of individuals died on Mountravers, eleven in total. Some of their deaths may have been linked to poor nutrition although they seemingly lost their lives from a variety of causes: a woman died in childbed, another from fever, a little boy from worms, two young people died from 'eating dirt', and there was a murder, a suicide and an accident in which one man drowned.[139] No children were born on Mountravers in 1769[140] and in the following year only one new-born child survived. In fact the smallpox may have spread to the plantation already; on Mountravers the first of three deaths from this disease occurred in February 1770.

---

[128] UKNA, CO 186/6: 4 June 1766 and 16 February 1769
[129] John Dasent (on behalf of Ralph Payne) and John Lytton Coram petitioned for the value of two men, Tom and Cuffee Iles, who had been executed (UKNA, CO 186/6: 9 January 1769). The man accused of having killed one of Sir Gillis Payne's enslaved people was George, the property of Michael Williams's heirs (CO 186/6: 23 August 1769).
[130] UKNA, CO 186/6: 7 July 1769
[131] PP, LB 3: JPP, Nevis, to Messrs William Reeve, Son & Hill, 26 July 1769
[132] PP, LB 3: JPP, Nevis, to John Hayne, 7 June 1769
[133] UKNA, CO 186/7: 27 October 1768 and 15 November 1768
[134] UKNA, CO 186/7: 18 June 1770
[135] UKNA, CO 186/6: May 1772
[136] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 70 pp275-77
[137] PP, LB 3: JPP to Thomas Lucas, 7 June 1769
[138] PP, LB 3: JPP, Nevis, to John Hayne, 25 July 1769
[139] The twelve people who died in 1769 were Peggy, Dorchester, Agree, Mingo, Frederick, Cordelia, Scipio's Leah, Cudjoe, Gloster, Arabella and a manumitted man, Minah Jemmy.
[140] The list of 1 January 1769 was updated in late 1770 and no births were recorded. People bought that year and sold in the following were entered.

The smallpox outbreak also brought to a head a quarrel between JPP and Dr Jesse Foot. It had started in the previous autumn but the final falling-out came when Foot, who then was the doctor on Mountravers, wanted to borrow JPP's boiling house for his own people. They had just been inoculated and were about to become sick, having reached that phase of the inoculation process where they developed a fever. Apparently JPP had promised Foot that he could use his boiling house to temporarily accommodate his feverish people but, in the end, JPP reneged on his promise. Their quarrel led JPP to accuse the doctor of 'unbounded prejudice and rancour'. Foot challenged him to a duel which JPP refused: 'I am determined never to accept a challenge from the man who has declared to my face "that he wondered how he had prevailed on himself not to murder me."' JPP was determined to defend himself against an assassination attempt and armed himself with pistols.[141] He had begun spending time at Fort Charles and, to everyone's relief, in June 1770 Dr John Boddie replaced Dr Foot as the doctor charged with attending to the 'matrosses employed in Forts and Fortifications'.[142] JPP followed suit and also fired Foot from the plantation and re-engaged Dr Boddie, the doctor he had previously employed to look after the people on Mountravers. Amid scandal involving a woman, Foot left the island soon after.[143]

JPP and Dr Foot had played backgammon together, and JPP found other amusements: he visited the tavern,[144] went to horse races and played billiards with his friends. He duly accounted for these expenses; for instance he spent N£1 on 'wine etc. a days playing at billiards, etc'.[145] He gambled with Alexander Henderson, John Richardson Herbert and Dr Boddie to whom he once lost a bet 'concerning Williamson's sailing'. This was typical of the time; wagers were placed on just about everything, even whether a certain person was going to get married within a specific time span.[146] Gambling was endemic in the eighteenth century, with some punters losing hundreds of pounds in one evening. It was part of the social scene in Britain and in the West Indies – and not just among the white people. John Baker, the Solicitor General of the Leeward Islands, surprised some black folk who were gaming in his kitchen and he himself repeatedly won – or lost - money at cards and cock-fights. His winnings could be as high as thirty or forty Guineas.[147] In JPP's case, his prudence showed in the size of his bets. The stakes were small (his wager with Dr Boddie was worth N8s3d, equal to the price of a turkey), and it was rare for him to lose as much as N£3:12:0 – the cost of two dozen ducks.[148]

JPP also enjoyed other distractions, such as dinners, balls and dances.[149] Although singularly business-minded, he was not a bore and evidently very fond of female company. Before he came to Nevis he was associated with various women: a Miss Mary White Moore of Dorchester (their relationship broke down on account of JPP's untimely and indiscreet inquiries as to her fortune),[150] a women to whom he sent gifts of

[141] PP, Dom Box S4 Loose bundle
[142] UKNA, CO 186/7: 14 June 1770
[143] Rather cryptically JPP wrote that 'Jesse Foot has parted with his wife to Mr Jno Ward, for the consideration of £1100 stlg and he is immediately going to embark for England, where I am informed he intends to provide himself with another' (PP, LB 3: JPP to William Coker, 29 September 1770).
[144] PP, AB 20 Edward Laurence's a/c and AB 18 William Kitt's a/c
[145] PP, AB 18 John Richardson Herbert's a/c
[146] Murray, Venetia *High Society* p158
[147] Yorke, Philip Chesney (ed) *The Diary of John Baker* p87 and e.g. pp80-1, p99 and p103
[148] PP, AB 18 Dr John Boddie's a/c
[149] PP, LB 3: JPP to Harry Pouncy, 3 April 1766, and AB 17: 14 November 1771
[150] JPP's side of the story is told in a 'Narrative of the Affair between Mary White Moore and John Pinney' (PP, Cat 4 Misc Vols 5). Soon after John Frederick Pinney's death JPP had written to her, stating that he needed to make money first, get settled before he could get married and in passing had said that he could not afford to marry a woman without a fortune. She was stung by this and replied that she was surprised to find his chief motive for writing was to enquire about her fortune. She could not expect anything from Mrs White [probably her aunt] and was not aware that he could not marry without a fortune. She suspected it was a pretence for breaking off. Later in the year she took out a writ against him. Their tussle appears to have been a very public one and the subject of much gossip in Dorchester. William Channing, the cloth manufacturer from whom JPP ordered material for his slaves, knew about the affair and relayed the news to JPP that the situation of his 'old flame' remained 'in status quo' (WI Cat 3 Index III.ii Domestic: Wm Channing to JPP, August 1765). JPP's uncle Simon Pretor, at the same time, told JPP that Miss Moore 'which you

sweetmeats - until she got married and her clergyman husband politely requested not to send any more (apparently on marrying the lady immediately lost her taste for sweetmeats),[151] and a woman in London, whom John Hay Richens referred to as '(your Lady) Miss Spencer'. John Hay Richens and a mutual friend of theirs had found that 'her attachment' to the absent young gentleman had been so great that, according to Richens, they 'could not be indulged in what they solicited for' - which rather suggests that she was a prostitute or a mistress of some sort, and Richens's idea that JPP ought to make this woman a 'little settlement of £2 or £300 a year' underpins this.[152] Equally suggestive is a letter from a Mrs H Williams, who told him that his 'nymphs' were 'as happy as the Dorsetshire heroes' could make them,[153] and then there was a visit to Bettiscombe which ended with JPP leaving earlier than intended because his mentor suspected his young charge of having made love to the middle-aged housekeeper.[154] On a more innocently romantic note, there was Harry Pouncy's sister with whom he had left a handkerchief. Such a present could be interpreted as a token of love, and the handkerchief had become an object of gossip but, very discreetly, Miss Pouncy had declared that she did not know who had given it to her.[155]

All these associations suggest that JPP was a healthy young man of his time, and in all likelihood, he quickly set himself up with one or more enslaved mistresses. This would not have been unusual; a contemporary of his claimed that 'All the white men; planters as well as merchants have connection with their female negros'.[156] But for JPP life as a free-roaming bachelor could not continue indefinitely; he needed to produce an heir to whom he could pass the plantation, and in November 1769 he jauntily announced that 'in short, if nothing happens between the cup & the lip, I intend shortly to take to my side a female companion vizt. a wife.' JPP had begun to spend time at Fort Charles, courting the daughter of the Captain Gunner, William Burt Weekes. He described Jane Weekes to his friend and lawyer George Warry: 'The Lady is about 19, of a good family, but her fortune not large, she has (independent of her father) in land & negroes upwards of £3000.'[157] Warry must have wondered what had made his friend change his mind so completely; earlier JPP had declared that he was going to return to England 'but not with a West India wife for I entertain too great an opinion of my own country ladies to give the preference to Creoles, for they are in general a sett of indolent people.'[158] But British women were in short supply in Nevis. He had met the first young English lady - 'just arrived from Bridgwater in Somerset' - a full three months after he initially set foot in the island.[159]

With a failed business behind him, William Coker had returned to live in England. Before Mrs Coker also left Nevis, JPP assisted her with settling her affairs in the island. She was going to become his aunt-by-marriage and, to sustain her and her two sons on their journey, JPP made Mrs Coker a present of a fine pig, which he had bought – ironically - from Black Polly, the mother of William Coker's mulatto daughter Fanny.[160]

As was customary, JPP had planned to accompany Mrs Coker aboard ship but abandoned the idea when he received a note, challenging him to a duel. This incident shows just how close men were to being shot

---

was once so fond of … is certainly of a gay and extravagant turn which would probably have made you uneasy if not unhappy' (WI Box D: Simon Pretor, Sherborne, to JPP, Nevis, 21 August 1765). The 'gay and extravagant' Miss Moore went on to marry a clergyman (LB 3: JPP, Nevis, to John Hayne, 7 June 1769).

[151] PP, WI Cat 3 Index III.ii Domestic: Revd John Hinton, Chawton, to JPP, 17 December 1765
[152] PP, Cat 3 Dom Box 1763-1793: JH Richens, London, to JPP, 28 April 1764
[153] PP, WI Cat 3 Index III.ii Domestic: Mrs H Williams to JPP, 20 October 1764
[154] Pares, R *A West India Fortune* p63
[155] PP, Cat II.1755- Dom III.ii – Summary: H Pouncy, Dorchester, to JPP, 5 August 1765
[156] *Aaron Thomas's Journal* p27
[157] PP, LB 3: JPP to George Warry, 4 November 1769
[158] PP, LB 3: JPP to George Warry, 13 January 1766
[159] PP, LB 3: JPP to Harry Pouncy, 3 April 1766
[160] PP, AB 17: 11 May 1771

for what today would be seen as minor points of honour. The previous day JPP had called Thomas Wall of St Kitts 'a rascal and a liar',[161] and for this 'gross insult' 'little Wall' had demanded satisfaction. Wall made the arrangements:

> Sir if you lodge at Dr Edwardes's tonight, I will lodge at Mr Casey's tonight and will meet you (if agreeable) properly provided upon the bay between Irish Town and Bluff Point Fort between five and six at farthest tomorrow morning with my boy only… An answer if you please.[162]

The 'boy' Wall referred to almost certainly was one of his trusted enslaved people. In another duel which had taken place in St Kitts between John Barbot and Mathew Mills, Mr Barbot's 'boy' Pope had been involved in the preparations for the duel and had been present when Barbot shot Mills. Barbot was subsequently tried for murder but Pope's evidence could not be admitted because he was an enslaved person. Duels took place in the presence of witnesses, the seconds, and were governed by strict rules and etiquettes, and by using enslaved men as their seconds the duellists had put themselves beyond the reach of the law. In Barbot's case, however, other people attested to his guilt and he was executed for the murder of Mathew Mills.[163] As far as JPP went, he was going to accept Mr Wall's challenge but 'the furious little man thought it prudent to decline' meeting him and, instead, 'went and complained to a judge in Nevis'.[164]

◄► ▼◄►

The smallpox outbreak in 1770 caused a delay in bringing in the crop,[165] and the following year very dry weather cut the crop by half. However, despite these poor results, by April 1771 JPP had settled his debts sufficiently to consider returning to England soon.[166] The future Mrs P already held some sway over him; where he was going to live depended on his fiancée's wishes.

During his courtship JPP was an attentive and active suitor. Having made considerable alterations and improvements to the house he smartened himself up with new clothes[167] and entertained guests. He laid on music for them; on one occasion he hired two violinists and a tambourine player.[168] JPP's granddaughter, Anna Maria Pinney, wrote of her grandfather that 'he soon married … [Coker's] interesting niece, a tall island ['elegant' crossed out] beauty who elegantly was mounted on a white poney (sic)'.[169] JPP and Jane Weekes were married in the church at St John Figtree on Sunday, 14 June 1772.[170]

JPP's betrothal occasioned another slave list being compiled. It consisted of the people who were included in his marriage settlement. These were the people he had inherited and their off-spring,

---

[161] PP, Dom Box S2-6
[162] PP, Dom Box S4 Loose bundle: Thomas Wall, St Kitts, to JPP, 28 April 1771
[163] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 6 pp34-8; see also correspondence in MLD, Mills Papers, 2006.178/7, Letterbooks 1752-1771: Thomas Mills to Robert Pemberton, JR Herbert and James Brodbelt, 25 June 1761
[164] PP, LB 3: JPP to William Coker, 12 June 1771
[165] PP, LB 3: JPP to Coleman & Lucas, 27 March 1770
[166] PP, LB 3: JPP to Thomas Lucas, 20 April 1771
[167] PP, AB 21 Sterling Invoice a/c
[168] 'Negro musicians' could earn significant sums for playing at parties. The two violinists and the tambourine player received N£1:13:0, and on two other occasions musicians got N£1:4:9 (PP, AB 17: 17 August 1769, 29 May 1770 and 1 March 1783).
[169] PP, Misc Vols 48 Misc Notes
[170] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 2 p324

altogether 45 men, 42 women, 5 boys and 11 girls.[171] In addition to these 103 there were then at least another 73 people on Mountravers; he paid tax on 176.

In his various slave inventories JPP generally did not identify the plantation's domestic staff and their roles, but with a new wife he would have increased the number of household servants. He also acquired two young children, Ben Weekes and Mulatto Polly. They appear to have been a wedding presents to his wife. But more staff was needed, not only to serve Mrs P but also the children she bore in due course. Suitable girls and women had to be chosen to train as ladies' maids and as nursemaids. Generally, the larger the household, the more specialised the staff's responsibilities became, but in the Pinney household their duties would have overlapped. To serve his family, JPP would not have wasted any more plantation workers than was necessary. One writer has estimated that a West Indian household might have employed a staff of between twenty to forty: at least one butler, two footmen or waiting men, a coachman, a postillion, a helper, a cook, an assistant cook, a key or storekeeper, a waiting maid, three house cleaners, three washerwomen and four seamstresses. This retinue would have been similar to those found in wealthy establishments in Britain where large numbers of servants signified prosperity and status.[172] But the ostentatious display of wealth was not JPP's style. He almost certainly had fewer than twenty servants on Mountravers - more likely ten to fifteen - with some of the older and infirm field workers assisting at times of particular need, or with particular tasks.[173] Some types of servants simply were not needed. The family, for instance, did not require a coachman or a postillion. Roads in Nevis were bad and distances generally short. JPP got around on horseback and Mrs P may well have continued riding but may also have been carried in a litter.

When the new mistress arrived on Mountravers, people had to get used to a new line of accountability. If that was blurred, problems could arise. But as everyone knew, this confusion could also be used to good effect. Enslaved people had opportunities to resist their bondage in many different and often quite small ways, and pretending not to know to whom they were answerable was one weapon at their disposal. How this worked in practice is illustrated by an incident recounted by an enslaved woman called Harriett Knight. She lived on Zetlands plantation and had gone to Charlestown without asking for permission and, when challenged about this, had replied that 'she did not know whose leave she had to ask'.[174] However, having grown up with slave-servants Mrs P would have been wise to some of the tactics.

Towards the end of July 1772 the Pinneys left for their honeymoon. They travelled with two black youngsters, their servants.[175] They were gone for a month when a terribly destructive hurricane hit Nevis and the neighbouring islands. It had begun with a gale. For some days before, the weather seemed to portend something disastrous; the clouds were flying low and rapidly, frequently changing their course. On the 27th, in the evening, a great sea swell began and continued increasing all that night; and on the 28th it was dreadful. The wind blew so strong from the westward that it prevented the vessels in the road from putting to sea, 'by which means several were drove on shore, and stranded … It is impossible that a

---

[171] PP, Red Box 'Transcripts': Marriage Settlement with Jane Weekes, based on ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 f691

[172] Thompson, Vincent Bakpetu *The making of the African Diaspora* p158 fn72; also EK Brathwaite *The Development of Creole Society* p302, citing Long *History* Vol 2 p281
Research by Leonard Schwarz has shown that among the English aristocrats there existed a sliding scale of the number of menservants they employed: the 'average duke' employed 26, an earl 16, and an ordinary baron 15. However, 60 per cent of the population in England and Wales employed only one, 19 per cent employed two and 21 per cent more than two menservants. These figures have been extracted from the records for the manservant tax which became payable after 1777; the exact number of female servants is more difficult to determine (Leonard Schwarz 'English Servants and their Employers during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries' in *The Economic History Review* New Series Vol 52 No 2 (May 1999) p240).

[173] The domestics possibly were Nelly, Patty, Sabella, Harriott, Black Polly, Mulatto Polly, Sheba Jones, Nancy Jones, Great Fanny, Ritta, Leah Weekes, Philley, Nanny Nolan, Pompey, Cubbena, Pero Jones, Sam, and Mulatto Peter.

[174] NHCS, RG 12.10 Indictment of Manager on Stapleton p321; ET Wolfe's evidence

[175] PP, AB 17 Memo

more dreadfully glorious scene could have presented itself than was seen that evening on the bay. The clouds, which were of varying colours, seemed warring with each other; the sea dashing, with furious explosions, on the shore; the wrecks of vessels aloft, in view: in short, nothing could convey a more exalted idea of Divine Majesty than this tremendous scene.'

That day eight vessels went ashore at St Kitts.[176] One of them, the *Pearle*, was blown from near Sandy Point all the way over to Nevis. She carried sugar and some of her cargo got washed overboard. To assist in shifting the cargo, Captain Kennedy hired eight enslaved people in Nevis. That day no lives were lost and on Saturday, when the weather turned 'moderate', everyone relaxed. It seemed to be all over. 'But, alas! The measure of our woes was not yet full.' Instead, 'dreadful events, were reserved for Monday the 31st, a day appointed by the Almighty as a day of bitterness and sorrow, which can never be forgotten.'

The day began 'with little flying gust of wind and rain, which continued till about nine o'clock, when the flood-gates of Heavens seemed to have burst open.' The force of the storm ripped off the roof of the church at St Thomas Lowland which was carried away in its entirety, and on some estates the gale blew away the round houses of animal mills and broke the tail trees of windmills. Rain drenched everything. When it got into the molasses cisterns, the molasses turned to mush. The ghuts became torrents. The hurricane flattened, blew away or destroyed houses and animal pens, horse stables, rabbit hutches, pigeon lofts, and it unroofed turtle crawls. It tore down stone walls, hurled around 'trees of vast circumference', picked up rocks and stones and flung these down at a distance. People feared for their lives. In St Kitts, a desperate clergyman crawled into an oven just big enough for one man, leaving his companion in the house to face the fury unprotected. But there were acts of heroism, too. In the town of Old Road in St Kitts a black person rescued Mrs Mary Crooke's granddaughter. The child, together with her father and grandmother, had been blown out of a window of Mrs Crooke's 'elegant lofty brick building' and would have been carried away by the flood had the man not saved her.

All the vessels in the road were torn from anchor and driven southward. Blown out to sea, some afterwards limped back into port; their masts broken or lost altogether. In the hurricane the *Pearle* (the vessel for which Captain Kennedy had hired men to shift her cargo of sugar) was driven away from Nevis. The eight hired hands were still aboard. The *Pearle* lost her masts but managed to reach the island of St Thomas. The men were returned to Nevis. They had been lucky. Other lucky survivors were Captain Marnan's negro boy from the brig *Tyron* and two of William Neale's ten sailor negroes. Their vessel, the *Experiment*, had struck the rocks at Saba and the two men had clung on until they were rescued from the wreck. The rest of the crews of both vessels had drowned. During the hurricane an uncountable number of white seamen and sailor negroes were injured or drowned, and in the islands of St Kitts and Nevis many inhabitants were hurt and died.[177] The loss of life was 'most dreadful'.[178]

On Mountravers all the houses in the slave village were destroyed. The works had suffered, too: a large new boiling house was 'thrown down', the roof of the still house got ripped off and carried away and other buildings, such as the cart sheds, were injured. The canes were damaged but luckily the only lives lost on Mountravers were two animals: 'a poor mule and a blind steer which died of the cramp'.[179] In Charlestown

[176] The ships went ashore in Basseterre, Frigate Bay, Sandy Point and at the Salt Ponds. The only Nevis-owned vessel, Laurence & Reap's sloop *Fanny*, could be repaired but the others were wrecked. Luckily, except for one ship that had come from London carrying horses, they all were in ballast, so no goods were lost, and the London crew managed to land at least some horses.
[177] *An Account of the Late Dreadful Hurricane*
[178] PP, LB 3: JPP to Alex Johnstone & Son, 31 March 1773
[179] PP, LB 3: JPP, Philadelphia, to Thomas Lucas, 2 November 1772

several of JPP's houses were also demolished. According to his estimate, his losses, 'at the most moderate calculation', came to S£3,000.[180] Elsewhere in the island, over forty boiling houses lay either damaged or totally destroyed. Of course not only plantations were affected but also taverns, shops and warehouses, and it was said that in Nevis scarcely a building was left standing. The damage in St Kitts appears to have been worse and other islands had suffered terrible losses, too: Antigua, Montserrat, St Eustatia, Saba, and St Croix.

Just after the hurricane a vessel arrived at Nevis from Virginia. The brig *Douglas* was laden with corn and provisions,[181] but there was not enough food to go round, and the island was threatened by famine. Black and white inhabitants alike had become homeless and many plantations had 'not provisions on it for one weeks' subsistence'.[182] Some estates had no food at all and they were 'obliged to let the negroes work for themselves to get food.' As soon as JPP heard of the hurricane, he prepared to break off his honeymoon in Philadelphia and return home. Very sensibly he cancelled an order from England for claret, a saddle and furniture and, instead, ordered beans and oats, and tools and equipment: nails, window hinges, strong iron locks, lathing hammers, hatchets, and carpenters' planes. He bought lumber to take with him,[183] organised a shipment of provisions for Nevis and sailed home. Knowing that there would be a shortage of just about everything, the Council in Philadelphia called on the 'merchants and traders to give immediate assistance to the inflicted inhabitants … by dispatching vessels with provisions, and such other necessaries, as they may be supposed to be most in want of.' Through this international call for action famine was averted in Nevis.[184]

Unsurprisingly, the year following the hurricane the crops were short again.[185] In addition to the suffering bad weather everybody had been too busy rebuilding the island and its infrastructure. And then another outbreak of the smallpox affected many people. A public 'pest house' was in place already; a few years earlier Dr James Smith had asked for one to be erected 'at the usual place'. Dr Smith wanted it to be 24 by 16 feet in size, boarded and shingled, and presumably it got built according to his specifications. Dr Smith, who then also tended to the Mountravers people, was authorised to remove to the pest house any individuals not already confined,[186] and Dr George Dalgleish repeated the call for all 'infected negroes and other slaves' within Charlestown to be isolated in the pest house. As was usual during smallpox outbreaks, a doctor and nurses were engaged at public expense. New precautions were put into place. In an effort to prevent the disease from spreading, negroes, 'renters and managers', were forbidden to stay near any highway or go near any negro houses, and inoculations of any 'white person, Mulattoes or Negroes' were prohibited within a half mile radius of Charlestown.[187] As if to cheer up a few of his people, JPP gave them N£1:19:0 'at Christmas'.[188]

Although he denied paternity, undoubtedly JPP had fathered a child a few weeks before he got married, and in January 1773 Black Polly, the first African woman JPP had bought, gave birth to a mulatto son, Billey Jones. Mrs P was then five months pregnant with her first child, and just a few weeks later 'incautious bathing' threw her into premature labour so that on 1 March she gave birth to a 'seven months

[180] PP, LB 3: JPP to Simon Pretor, 29 March 1773
[181] http://www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/sections/hp/colonial/newspapers/Subjects/Shipwrecks.htm and Anon *An Account of the Late Dreadful Hurricane*
[182] UKNA, CO 186/6: 5 September 1772
[183] PP, LB 3: JPP to Thomas Lucas, 14 October 1772
[184] Anon *An Account of the Late Dreadful Hurricane*
[185] PP, LB 3: JPP to Wm Coker, 31 July 1773
[186] UKNA, CO 186/4: 22 October 1767
[187] UKNA, CO 186/7: 24 August 1773 and 19 October 1773
[188] PP, AB 17: 28 December 1773

child'.[189] Named after JPP's benefactor, John Frederick was 'exceeding small & weak' but the boy soon gathered strength.[190] JPP had been 'apprehensive' that Mrs P had started 'breeding' so rapidly after they got married and, almost as soon as John Frederick was born, his wife was pregnant again. In January 1774 she gave birth to their second child, their daughter Elizabeth, and in January 1775 to their third, Azariah. JPP was then on a business trip abroad which delayed the conception of their next child; Alicia Pretor was born in December 1776. The Pinneys now had four children under the age of five years but Mrs P was in the privileged position to call on a number of servants to assist with the chores. Except for John Frederick's white nurse, Ann Ward, they were, in effect, hired from the plantation, and JPP recorded the expense of hiring them in the accounts which he set up for each of the children. In John Frederick's, for instance, he recorded N£6, the cost of a negro to attend to the boy, and S£10 in Alicia's, the cost of one year's hire of a wet-nurse.[191] By setting up individual accounts for his children JPP took his penchant for book-keeping to a new level but it was his way of ensuring that they all had an equal share of income and expenditure.

The American War of Independence

Ever since the British government had introduced the ill-fated Stamp Act, American colonists had protested against a series of taxes imposed by the government in London. They resented being forced to pay taxes without having a say as to how the money was spent. In addition, other grievances had surfaced and they had begun a campaign against colonial rule. Relations between Britain and its North American colonies became brittle and there was talk of a trade embargo. However, on his return from England in February 1775 JPP was 'very glad to find great plenty of American provisions etc'.[192] Vessels arriving from Virginia, Maryland, Maine, North Carolina, and New York were more numerous than those from Britain. They brought shingles and staves, and oxen and horses and dry goods.[193] In April JPP still prophesised that North America would continue to supply Nevis – despite its resolution not to export to British colonies - [194] but his optimism quickly turned to uncertainty and in June he confided to William Coker: 'The gloomy prospect of affairs in America does not a little alarm me – I am determined to plant provisions if I make no sugar.'[195] From Philadelphia he ordered a final consignment of food stuffs, to be sent 'just before the non-exportation agreement takes place'. He asked for Indian corn, meal, flour, white bread, tongues with roots, best beef and 'Burlington pork'. This order was similar to others he had placed with his supplier in Philadelphia ever since his visit there. [196] Some of the foodstuffs were intended for his family's use but JPP stocked up on reserves to give out to his plantation people in lean times. Although the sugar crop was short [197] and he complained about the loss of profit, on Mountravers he set aside more land for producing food. Fruits like bananas and plantains were probably already growing in the ghuts and around the 'slabs'.[198]

JPP still endeavoured to discharge all his debts as quickly as he could. In addition, he wanted to raise sufficient funds for his future support so that he would not be solely dependent on remittances from the

[189] John Frederick Pinney was christened on 14 June 1773 by Revd John Clerkson, the rector of St Paul's (Family Bible in the Georgian House).
[190] PP, LB 3: JPP to John Hayne, 3 March 1773
[191] PP, AB 21 John Frederick's a/c and Alicia Pretor's a/c
[192] PP, LB 3: JPP to Mills & Swanston, 18 February 1775
[193] UKNA, T 1/512/232 and T 1/512/240
[194] PP, LB 3: JPP to John Hayne, 10 April 1775
[195] PP, LB 3: JPP to William Coker, 1 June 1775
[196] PP, LB 3: JPP to Joshua Fisher, Philadelphia, 31 July 1775; 2 July 1774; 22 December 1774; also 6 January 1773
[197] PP, LB 3: JPP to John Hayne, 10 April 1775
[198] Slabs (also slabs) were indentations in the ground used for storing water. One planter advised his attorney to plant bananas and plantains in the ghuts and around the slabs (MLD, Mills Papers, 2006.178/7, Letterbooks 1752-1771: Thomas Mills to Robert Pemberton and JR Herbert, 13 April 1762, and 9 December 1762)

West Indies. He was planning to remain in Nevis until he had managed to gather such a surplus.[199] At that point in time he was optimistic: 'The weather is very seasonable and the appearance for next crop pretty good.'[200] A visitor to the Leeward Islands, Lady Schaw, had also noticed the favourable situation in Antigua: 'This has been a remarkable fine season and every body is in fine spirits with the prospect of the crop of sugar.' [201]

But things soon changed. In 1776, just after the Pinneys' youngest daughter was born, the island experienced another smallpox outbreak [202] and, with the North American supply route now closed, food was ever harder to come by. The inhabitants were left 'greatly distressed for the want of their usual supplies of provisions and lumber'. The island's dependence on imports was more evident than ever before: 'God only knows what will become of us? We must either starve or be ruined. If we turn our cane land to provision it will ruin us ... and if we neglect it horrid famine may ensure.'[203] On some plantation where the people had not had allowances for several weeks, 'it was difficult to get them to work.'[204] With the weather being too dry to plant provisions,[205] too little food was being grown. The situation grew worse when in September 1776 a gale was followed by more dry weather and a short crop.[206] Records kept by a manager on Mills's estate show that enslaved people reacted angrily. Cane breaking became more frequent (perpetrators were locked into the stocks), as well as thieving. They stole sheep, corn, sugar and flour.[207] The food shortage pushed up the prices for food and other imports[208] so that by late 1777 the situation was 'truly deplorable' - 'if it had not been for a lucky importation of 400 tierce of rice, there would have been a famine.' In the island, 'greatly distressed by the want of provisions', many enslaved people had perished already, and JPP feared the decrease would be 'considerably greater than ever was known.'[209] Added to everyone's woes was a sugar harvest so meagre that JPP believed 'The times and our miserable crop will reduce many a poor family to beggary.'[210] Planters were 'overwhelmed with debt'.[211] 'Of all the distressful years, I never saw one equal to this.'[212]

And then the war moved closer. American privateers operated in the area. They took a shipload of mules intended for St Kitts,[213] and soon enemy ships were seen off Nevis: 'Our seas swarm with privateers …' Off Morton's Bay they brazenly seized a brig, 'in the face of the sun and a ship of war lying in Basseterre Road'. [214] Excitedly JPP relayed the incident: 'Enemies all around us! While at breakfast, a few weeks ago, I saw a brig taken, bound to St Christopher, near my own landing.' The war had moved very close indeed. JPP feared that the islanders did not have the resources to defend themselves: 'After the sailing of our last fleet, we shall be unhappily situated - subject to be pilfered and robed (sic) by pirates in the night, who may with ease, carry off our slaves, to the utter ruin of the planter.' [215] It was the ruin of the planter that JPP had in mind rather than the forced separation the stolen people had to endure. Stealing

---

[199] PP, LB 3: JPP to John Hayne, 10 April 1775
[200] PP, LB 4: JPP to Mills & Swanston, 9 December 1775
[201] Andrews, Evangeline Walker and Charles McLeon Andrews (eds) *Journal of a Lady of Quality* p84
[202] UKNA, CO 186/7: 15 July 1776
[203] PP, LB 4 and also WI Box D: JPP, Nevis, to Simon Pretor, 12 February 1776
[204] PP, LB 4: JPP to Mills & Swanston, 6 June 1776
[205] PP, LB 4: JPP to Mills & Swanston, 6 June 1776
[206] PP, LB 4: JPP to Peter Eaton, 18 April 1777
[207] MLD, Mills Papers, Vol 4 2006.178/10 (5, 10, 11, and 12 September 1776, 23 October 1776, 3 and 17 November 1776, 15 December 1776, 11 and 28 January 1777)
[208] PP, LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to Simon Pretor, 12 June 1777
[209] PP, LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to Mills & Swanston, 3 November 1777
[210] PP, LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to Wm Reeve, 3 May 1777
[211] PP, LB 4: JPP to Nathaniel Martin, 14 June 1777
[212] PP, LB 4: JPP to William Coker, 14 June 1777
[213] Handlist of The Stapleton-Cotton Manuscripts, Box 2/22 iii John Bryan, St Kitts, 19 February 1777
[214] PP, LB 4: JPP to William Coker, 14 June 1777
[215] PP, LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to Simon Pretor, 12 June 1777

enslaved people was not unusual. Years earlier the French had taken another man from Nevis, Billy Cook, from Sir William Stapleton's estate but he came back on his own accord,[216] and not long ago two young men from Mountravers had been stolen off the island. One, Michael, was taken and did not return; the other, Little Essex, was eventually located and safely brought back to Nevis. When the privateers left Morton's Bay and made off with their loot, everyone on Mountravers would have watched, relieved that this time they had not been targeted.

In order to shore up the defences for Mountravers, JPP personally obtained permission from Governor William Mathew Burt 'to raise a battery of three guns at the foot' of the estate. [217] Burt, who had approached JPP about staying on Mountravers, was a relative, a cousin of Mrs P's father and a Godfather to one of the Weekes children. This family connection had clearly proven useful for JPP, but also for Governor Burt. During his visit to Nevis, Burt admired JPP's camels and he asked his kinsman to purchase some for him.[218] JPP had replenished his stock of camels and two of the animals then worked on Mountravers; his third had been killed just before Christmas the previous year. Two drunk soldiers had 'willfully and maliciously shot' that camel in Fort Charles.[219]

By the spring of 1778 about 3,000 enslaved people in the Leeward Islands had died from hunger. Writing from St Kitts, Governor Burt stated that Antigua had lost '"above a thousand negroes, Montserrat near 1200 and some whites, Nevis 3 or 400 and this island as many."'[220] For Nevis, this represented, roughly, three to four per cent of the total slave population.[221]

It is not known whether anyone on Mountravers starved to death. At least the plantation did not have to rely entirely on imports any more. According to Richard Pares, the year 1775 was the turning point in JPP's approach to providing for his people. Pares admitted that JPP may have been 'somewhat underfeeding his negroes before 1775, and making them rely too much on their own provision-grounds and their spare time', but he argued that after 1775 JPP could not be criticised for this.[222] JPP later claimed that during the most difficult times the people on Mountravers were sustained to a large extent by food grown on the plantation: 'The provisions I planted in the American War, chiefly potatoes, fed my people nearly six months in the year. To vary their food, I gave every third allowance out of the store.' [223] In the years 1776, 1777 and 1778, for periods of between 18 and 24 weeks, he dealt out potatoes, including a few yams, and different kinds of dried foods. Although he recorded the total weights of plantation-grown and other produce that he distributed, it is difficult to work out each person's exact ration. Not only were adults and children given different quantities but in one year, for instance, JPP recorded that almost half the corn was fed to the horses, and in another year the beans were so bad, 'after being a short while in the country, they spoil'.[224] This would have reduced the rations. At another time he lent a hogshead of beans to a planter friend who, instead of returning a hogshead of beans, returned a tierce of rice to the same value.[225]

---

[216] Ryland Stapleton MSS 6.3: A list of Negroes belonging to the Estate of Sir William Stapleton in Nevis taken 14th September 1733
[217] UKNA, CO 153/23: Wm Mathew Burt, St Kitts, to Secretary of State, 30 July 1777 and PP, LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to Simon Pretor, 12 June 1777
[218] PP, Dom Box S4: Governor Wm Mathew Burt to JPP, 6 May 1777
[219] PP, AB 26 Isaac Davis and Charles Gossett's a/c
[220] Goveia, EV *Slave Society* p6, quoting CO 152/57 Burt in a private dispatch 17 March 1778; also found in UKNA, CO 153/23: Gov Burt to Nevis Assembly/Council, 17 March 1778
[221] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 70 pp275-77
[222] Pares, R *A West India Fortune* p127
According to Richard Pares, after 1776, when provisions became ever harder to come by, JPP 'considered the cultivation of ground provisions for the negroes' use more important than planting marginal cane land' (R Pares *A West India Fortune* p106).
[223] PP, LB 19: JPP to Henry Williams, 25 October 1804
[224] PP, LB 4: JPP to Messrs Mill's & Swanston, 10 February 1776
[225] PP, AB 20 Estate Joseph Williams a/c

Establishing the size of the rations is also made more difficult because weights and measures were not always standardised. The uncertainty over their conversion is evident from a note written years later by one of JPP's managers: '53 puncheons of flour and corn meal at least equal to 18 bushels corn – when Mr Pinney was in Nevis a puncheon of flour was considered equal, by some persons, to 20 bushels corn at 18 bushels per puncheon …'[226]

From JPP's own records it appears that in total, in 1776 he gave out 89 ½ bushels of peas and corn, in 1777 99 bushels of corn, beans, barley and oats and in 1778 33 bushels of corn and beans, as well as a tierce of rice. In the last two years he also included some yams. The dried foods were given out for 12, 15 and 16 weeks, but together with the store allowances, which were given every third week, he supplied people with food for a total of 18, 22 and 24 weeks. [227] Not knowing exactly how many adults and how many children there were then on Mountravers (children under a certain age – probably aged about eight or nine years – were given half rations), it is difficult to arrive at exact rations but, assuming that there were 170 adults (including manumitted individuals) and 20 children under the age of eight years, in 1776 the children would have been given one and a quarter pint of dried food per week for 12 weeks and adults two and a half pints (1.2 litres). In 1777 for children this would have dropped to just over a pint per week for 15 weeks and for adults to almost two and a quarter pints (1 litre), and in 1778 to about a third of a pint per week for 16 weeks and for adults to about two thirds of a pint (0.3 litres). In addition, in 1778 some rice was added to the dried food, and each year at Christmas extra rations of beef were doled out. Altogether this amounted to very little food. But it must be remembered that in their gardens and allotments people also grew their own produce, raised their own small animals, and they could harvest from the mountain, the ponds and the sea. In 1774 JPP had bought a canoe for one of the men, which, no doubt, was intended to supplement everyone's diet with freshly-caught, rather than salted, fish. From these different sources people had sufficient sustenance to pull through the worst periods of food shortages.

Plantation people did, however, appear to have suffered from malnourishment: eight individuals were known to have been treated for sores and four for worms. This information has only come to light because JPP was in the process of initiating a new health care regime. He began employing a man called John Springett to treat people for venereal disease, worms and sores. Whereas doctors, who then worked for a flat rate, would not itemise the number of patients they saw during the year, nor their treatment, Springett's patients were recorded individually by name. Although the number of people he treated for sores and worms may not have been unusually high, it is noticeable that Springett did not treat anyone for sores again until 1782 – a year which also saw marked food shortages in the island. It is, therefore, likely that the existence of worms and sores points towards malnutrition during these difficult years. Certainly elsewhere worm mortality among enslaved children has been described as 'potent evidence of serious malnutrition'.[228] In healthy people sores from injuries or insect bites would have healed of their own accord but may have taken longer to mend when the diet was wanting.

[226] PP, AB 54 Plantation a/c
[227] PP, AB 20 Expense a/c 1776 and 1777 and AB 21 Plantation a/c
[228] Kiple, Kenneth F and Virginia Himmelsteib King *Another Dimension* p114

The final addition to Mountravers: Woodland

In the autumn of 1778 JPP took possession of a neighbouring 120-acre estate. It bordered Mountravers to the east, up the mountain, and was originally known as Cole's and then as Woodland. It had belonged to John Williams Sanders and his wife Elizabeth[229] who had been mortgaged it to, among others, Sanders's brother-in-law, Roger Pemberton.[230] JPP had lent money to Pemberton [231] and Pemberton, in the meantime, had sold the equitable right to redeem this mortgage to Samuel Woodley, and it was this entitlement to sell the estate that JPP encouraged his cousin Joseph Gill to purchase before another planter could get hold of it. The 'equity of redemption' had come up for sale because Woodley had owed JPP £357 (the London merchants Mills & Swanston had refused Woodley's bill for that amount) but even at risk of losing his plantation, Woodley had been pig-headed about not paying up until compelled to do so by law.[232] At least that was JPP's version; a more likely scenario was that Woodley, deeply in debt, was unable to pay up and was forced to offer for sale his last line of defence against foreclosure – his 'equity of redemption'. In consequence of Woodley's refusal – or, alternatively, his inability – to repay the outstanding money, JPP started a law suit, and on 18 August 1778 Woodley's right to redeem the mortgage was put up for auction. John Henry Clarke, the Deputy Provost Marshall, presided over the sale in Charlestown and, according to JPP, he allowed Joseph Gill to bid up to the amount that Woodley owed JPP. All the while JPP was hoping (or so he claimed) that 'someone would bid above him' but no one did. It was Gill's for S£423/N£720.[233] Joseph Gill then offered the equity of redemption back to Woodley so that he could regain possession, but Woodley was determined to leave the estate and obstinately refused the offer. That was the end of Samuel Woodley's involvement with Woodland and the beginning of JPP's.

Woodley had in the previous year unsuccessfully experimented with growing cotton and, as yet, there was no sugar cane that Gill could harvest. JPP calculated that it would cost Gill a lot to 'feed the negroes and keep up the estate' and therefore 'thought it advisable to take possession of the estate as mortgagee to prevent any claim being set up against Mr Gill for the growing interest…'[234] In truth, it is more likely that Joseph Gill had no intention of running the estate on his own account but that JPP had planned to take it over all along - despite his protestations to their uncle that, for his part, he did 'not wish to add any acre' to his estates. JPP had claimed that only securing a bad debt would induce him to do so; he was trying to contract his concerns in the West Indies and blamed 'some unlucky circumstance other' that always intervened and conspired to keep him in the West Indies. But this was only half the story. One has to remember that several years earlier, when trying to raise money in London to lend on Woodland, JPP had advertised the estate as 'so advantageously situated' that he could work it 'at half the expense' and expect to produce annually an additional 40 or 50 hogsheads of not just sugar but, as Woodland was a mountain estate, 'the best sugar'.[235] Indeed, he had told his London backers: 'If that estate comes into my possession it will make mine the compleatest and (I think) best single estate in Nevis.' [236]

JPP set about improving the sugar works at Woodland. He called in William Bennet Frost to make two new fire holes, take down arches and build a new wall, lay iron gratings and hang coppers. Frost also built a pier and an 18-foot-high chimney,[237] and in these projects, no doubt, were assisted by men from

---

[229] ECSCRN, CR 1769-1771 ff373-85
[230] PP, DM 792/2-6 Bonds and Mortgages
[231] PP, Misc Vols 7 1783-1794 Notebook
[232] PP, LB 4: JPP to Simon Pretor, 19 August 1778
[233] Also from PP, LB 41 unnumbered page, copy of document: 11 June 1779 John Henry Clarke to Joseph Gill Bill of Sale of a Sugar Plantation in the Parish of St Thomas in the Island of Nevis called Woodland Plantation - Proved the 8th recorded 23 May 1783, and 2 January 1783 Indenture Joseph Gill and JPP
[234] PP, LB 4: JPP to Simon Pretor, 19 August 1778
[235] PP, LB 3: JPP, Princeton, to Thomas Lucas, 17 October 1772
[236] PP, LB 3: JPP, Philadelphia, to Thomas Lucas, London, 23 October 1772
[237] PP, AB 26 William Bennet Frost's a/c

Mountravers and Woodland. JPP insured the people on Woodland for £2,000,[238] bought supplies, and engaged doctors Archbald and Williamson to provide general medical care.[239] Four individuals on Woodland suffered from yaws and for them JPP chose to call in an enslaved man competent in treating this illness.[240]

JPP thought the Woodland people were 'bad inclined',[241] and his fears were confirmed when within a few months of the auction one man, Charles, absented himself. A reward was paid out for his capture,[242] but subsequently he may have managed to abscond for good. Three years later Charles certainly was not on the plantation any more.

Soon after the auction Joseph Gill left for an extended visit to England. JPP's bonded servant Tom Peaden, meanwhile, had become old enough to work as an 'underoverseer' while JPP's friend John Hay Richens had set himself up with a plantation of his own. Some years earlier, when JPP had returned from his second business trip to England, he had found Richens 'very disagreeably situated'.[243] His estate was not doing well and JPP had to bail him out with a loan. Richens gave some of his enslaved people as security, and some of these later came into JPP's possession and they ended up living on Mountravers.

JPP also acquired people from his wife's grandmother and from his father-in-law. In 1777 William Burt Weekes had wedded his third wife and JPP supported the couple by lending them money – again, taking people as security. When the mortgages fell due and Mr and Mrs Weekes were unable to pay, these people became JPP's property but, rather than add them to the plantation, he sold most of them. The Weekes people seem altogether more strong-willed and, to JPP, ill disciplined, and it is likely that JPP did not approve of their character. He also sold two Mountravers children to Thomas Arthurton, their father. Arthurton finally left Mountravers in 1777,[244] and two years later JPP's white servant from England, Tom Peaden, died after an accident. He had been with JPP for many years, and JPP appears to have been fond of him.

'Times of public danger'

In September 1778 news reached Nevis that the French fleet was active in the Caribbean and had captured Dominica.[245] Originally France had secretly supported the United States with money and weapons but had then openly joined the war as an American ally. Fearing that the homeward-bound sugar ships might be captured by enemy vessels, JPP had already taken the precaution of not transporting all his sugars to England but had sold part of his crop in Nevis.[246] Afraid that they, too, might fall into the hands of the enemy, he also freed two young girls, Fanny Coker and Kate Coker. The threat moved ever closer when one day in September three French ships were sighted off Nevis. Panic broke out. Amid fears of another invasion and remembering the widespread plundering of 1706, white people hastily entrusted 'their clothes and valuable effects to the negroes indiscriminately' while 'a great many slaves' made their own preparations. They

[238] PP, LB 4: Memo to Gill 24 August 1778
[239] PP, AB 26 Archbald & Williamson's a/c and Woodland a/c
[240] PP, AB 26 Woodland a/c
[241] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to Simon Pretor, 21 November 1778
[242] PP, AB 17: 19 November 1778
[243] PP, LB 4: JPP to Richard Richens, Knowle near Ramsbury, 3 November 1777
[244] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c
[245] PP, LB 4: JPP to Mills & Swanston, 10 September 1778
[246] PP, LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to Mill's & Swanston, 31 July 1778

> killed their hogs, sheep etc and brought them to market on Sunday the day of the alarm, in hope of getting a little cash and to prevent their falling into the hands of the French, upon hearing the alarm they threw away their meal and destroyed other provisions - broke all the earthen-ware at market and in the streets and committed many outrages, in short, it was a true picture of misery and confusion.

The invasion did not happen and JPP warned that these inhabitants' 'imprudent conduct' would lead to starvation.[247] He thought their only hope lay in the first fleet of the season arriving earlier than usual.[248] Meanwhile, the people charged with safeguarding the white residents' possessions refused to return them and kept 'the greatest part' of the items.[249]

In these 'times of public danger' preparations for the defence of the island became more urgent. The Captain Gunner, William Burt Weekes, compiled an inventory of his arsenal and found that the forts did not even have enough handspikes to work the guns. He was instructed to get four dozen immediately.[250] The Legislature ordered the repair of the round paths, breastworks and other fortifications and the building of new fortifications. To carry out the work, one per cent of all enslaved people in the island were drafted.[251] In St Kitts, similar preparations led planters to complain that these took too many labourers off the land. Still, people generally considered it preferable to 'submit to some inconvenience than be subjected to a French Government.'[252]

The danger was real. One Tuesday morning French ships were seen 'lurking around Nevis, to the windward of our forts.'[253] On Mountravers, Fort Pinney was ready and watches remained on guard every night. They were paid N£5 a month each. One of the men employed was the boiling house watch John Pearce, and presumably JPP also pulled in some of his other workers. Weak though the defences were, they protected the neighbouring estate as well, and so JPP shared the expenses with Oliver's plantation.[254] Some men were armed. JPP had equipped his servant Tom Peaden with 'a light soldier's firelock with a bayonett, of about thirty shillings value', [255] and he had bought another 'two firelocks, 3 ½ foot barrels with bayonets and iron ramrods'. [256] For himself JPP had ordered from his tailor in England a fancy uniform befitting his status as Colonel of the Regiment of Foot,[257] but by the time he got to wear it in

---

[247] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to Simon Pretor, 28 September 1778
[248] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to Mills's & Swanston, 28 September 1778
[249] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to Simon Pretor, 28 September 1778
[250] UKNA, CO 186/7: 14 April 1779
[251] UKNA, CO 186/7: 13 April 1779
[252] Stapleton Cotton MSS 23: Robert Thomson, St Kitts, to Catherine Stapleton, 27 July 1780
[253] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to George Warry, 10 June 1779
[254] PP, AB 26 Plantation a/c
An investigation in the year 2000 by a team of archaeologists from Southampton University, as part of the Nevis Heritage Project, has confirmed that this fort was built in 1777 and found that it was erected on top of an earlier building, the Mathew's Fort, dating from 1705. In 2006 remains of Pinney's Battery could still be seen on Pinney's Beach below the Golden Rock Pavilion.
[255] PP, LB 4: JPP to Nathaniel Martin, 30 July 1775
[256] PP, LB 4: JPP to Nathaniel Martin, 14 June 1777
[257] UKNA, CO 186/8: 30 May 1775
Soon after he became a member of the Nevis militia, JPP ordered a 'regimental frock' for himself. His order was precise and shows his penchant for dressing well. The uniform was 'to be made of superfine scarlet cloth, dark blue lapels 2 inches wide, a blue close round cuff 2 ½ inches wide, with a narrow fall down blue collar, to be tacked down to the edge of the coat with a button on it – yellow plain double gilt buttons – a gold epaulet on the right shoulder – no buttons on the sleeves or pockets – to be made as light as possible and where lining is absolutely necessary to be of scarlet silk – and I will beg you will get for me a proper officer's sash' (PP, LB 4: JPP to William Green, 30 July 1775).

On leaving Nevis he probably left the coat behind. In England it was useless and if he returned to Nevis during a time of war, he could slip into a ready-made uniform. He would have hidden the coat so that no one could not steal it, and it is, therefore, quite possible that this is the same red coat which Julia Huggins mentioned as having fallen out of the ceiling under one of the windows in the hall (PP, DM 1822/14: Julia Huggins, Mountravers, to JS Udal, 7 May 1907).

earnest, the coat hung too loose. During the famine years even he had lost weight so that the latest coats sent from England were 'too large over the breast, and rather so over the belly'.[258]

In late 1779 many children in the island were 'attacked with a fever and an epidemical sore throat'. The fever 'raged with great violence', and a few days before Christmas the Pinney children, too, succumbed to it and suffered from sore throats. The youngest, Alicia Pretor, did not survive. On 11 January 1780 the family buried the little girl in a white coffin. She was four years old. Her burial in the church in St John Figtree followed that of a two-year-old girl the day before,[259] and JPP estimated that 'nearly one third of the white children in the island' had fallen victim to what appears to have been an outbreak of diphtheria. He believed that 'scarce a family escaped without feeling the fatal effects of it',[260] but it is not known to what extent black children, and particularly those on Mountravers, were affected by this. There is no indication that any doctor attended to either the plantation people, or to Alicia, during this outbreak.

Except for a regrettable interlude with Dr Foot, JPP had always employed Dr John Boddie to tend to the plantation people. Dr Boddie was at first in partnership with Dr Smith and then with Dr Dalgleish, but after a jealous husband killed Dr Dalgleish in the autumn of 1776,[261] JPP reverted to the system whereby, instead of retaining doctors on an annual sum, he paid them for each visit and for each treatment. At the same time JPP changed physicians and from then on engaged the young doctors Sholto Archbald and John Williamson. No doubt this was intended to cut costs, and by 1779 JPP had lowered his previous annual medical bill of N£40 by about half.[262] In the autumn of 1780 he then decided to take on most of the doctoring himself, and he put in his first order for a supply of medicines from England.[263] Dr Boddie had died shortly before,[264] and somehow his death appears to have been linked with the change in health provisions. It is possible that Dr Boddie had advised against JPP, an untrained man, taking charge of treating patients with what young progressive doctors would have regarded as unscientific and old-fashioned methods. JPP had always extolled the virtues of natural remedies. He was keen on thistle seed and, even more so, on castor oil. When his people had 'a severe purging', he gave them a large thimbleful of pulverised thistle seed at night 'for a puke' which he followed up the next morning with 'a table spoonfull of castor oil'. JPP claimed that this often cured the complaint.[265] Almost certainly he also sent his people to bathe in the hot springs at Bath River; it would have been a cheap therapy used for a variety of diseases. Both black and white people used the Bath springs and in the Caribbean they were so popular and well-known that a 'negro boy' with leprosy was even sent there from Barbados.[266] One of the plantations in Nevis was even prepared to pay the rent on a room so that their people could stay in Charlestown 'when using the warm bath'.[267] The water of the Bath Spring, if bottled, kept well at sea,[268] and may well have been an early export article.

---

[258] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to Wm Green, 12 June 1779
[259] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 3; also NHCS, St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825 f31
[260] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to Simon Pretor, 25 February 1780
[261] Dr Dalgleish's death appears to have been the cause of some gossip in Nevis. Apparently a Mr Higgins had found the doctor 'in an inner chamber' and had 'shot him in the breast, of which wound he died without a groan'. Mr Higgins was tried and acquitted by a Jury but then challenged to a duel by a friend of Dalgleish's. The duel between Mr Reid and Mr Higgins took place at the church at St Thomas Lowland. Their first two shots missed but Higgins shot Reid 'in the belly' and Reid died the next day (PP, LB 4: JPP to Mills & Swanston, 31 October 1776).
[262] PP, AB 26 Plantation a/c
[263] PP, LB 5: JPP to Wm Manning, 29 September 1780, and 10 June 1782
[264] Dr Boddie died on 8 July 1780 (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 3 (Cayon Diary))
[265] PP, LB 3: JPP to John Hawkeens, 28/9? July 1766
[266] Smith, Revd William *A Natural History of Nevis* p55
[267] Placy, who used the warm baths in Charlestown, was from Morning Star/Pembroke, a plantation mortgaged to JPP. The room hire accounted for on 30 September 1788 amounted to N16s6d (PP, WI Box O-1). From Mills's estate in St John Figtree comes further evidence that the baths were used by enslaved people (MLD, Mills Papers, 2006.178/10, Vol 4 (18 October 1776).
[268] Grainger, James *The Sugar Cane – a Poem* p15

JPP also put to use his people's medical skills. For instance Wiltshire, the driver, knew which roots to collect and Patty, the nurse, was experienced in preparing them. Even when he had employed a white doctor, JPP had always paid enslaved people for curing specific illnesses, such as yaws and sores, and when he doctored the people himself, he continued this tradition. He also continued to use John Springett to treat people for worms, sores and venereal disease, whilst still calling in doctors Archbald and Williamson if and when they were needed. The doctors also inoculated the Pinney children against smallpox,[269] but not the plantation people. This task, presumably, had been allocated to one of the nurses.

JPP later claimed that after he began taking care of his people deaths declined by about a third.[270] Unfortunately his claim cannot be proven because no slave lists exist for the period in question. It is noticeable, however, that in 1780, when JPP doctored people himself, seven children were born on Mountravers – until then the highest on record for any year – followed by six the following year, and that almost all survived to adulthood. Part of this success can perhaps be attributed to Patty replacing Agnes Adams as the plantation midwife but a crucial factor would have been that the famine years had passed. People began to resume normal lives. After two relatively sterile years, 1778 and 1779, women had recovered their health sufficiently to reproduce.

The number of children born during the 1770s who survived until at least July 1783, and the number of deliveries for which the midwife received payment

Year	**1770**	**1771**	**1772**	**1773**	**1774**	**1775**	**1776**	**1777**	**1778**	**1779**
Number of births	1	3	3	5	2	5	3	6	2	1
Number of midwife-assisted deliveries	2	4	3	4	3	6	4	2	2	0

[271]

The Pinneys also reproduced again, and in May 1781 their fifth child was born, Pretor. Mother and son were 'in perfect health'.[272] The little boy grew up without his siblings. The Pinneys' oldest child, John Frederick, was already at school in England, and the two younger ones were on their way there. Betsey and Azariah had been educated by a Mrs Sarah Murray who was then quartered at the Mountain house but shortly after Alicia's death she had declined schooling them any longer[273] and, as they were old enough, the time had come for them to be educated in England. For Mrs P as well as for JPP the separation must have been hard to bear. JPP, who had lost his 'tender and affectionate father' when he

[269] PP, AB 34 and AB 30 Archbald & Williamson's a/c
[270] Pares, R *A West India Fortune* p129, quoting JPP's 1794 Standing Instructions
[271] PP, AB 17 Cash a/c: 13 September 1776 and 4 December 1776; AB 21 Plantation a/c; R Pares *A West India Fortune* p124
[272] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to Simon Pretor, 10 May 1781
[273] According to Pares, only the girls were schooled by Mrs Murray (*A West India Fortune* p79) but in 1779 JPP accounted for eight months boarding and schooling for Azariah and Betsey at N£40 a year 'per agreement'. On 19 January 1780, just after Alicia's death, JPP paid the balance of N£7:12:8, 'she having declined keeping school' (and PP, AB 26 Sarah Murray's a/c).

was not yet four years old,[274] was a loving, indulgent father and deeply committed to his children. John Frederick was the first to leave. JPP had originally intended to accompany his son to England 'in order to fix him at a proper school',[275] but the political situation was too precarious for him to leave Nevis and the boy had to sail in the care of gentlemen passengers.[276] News that the vessel on which he was to travel had been firing its guns would have added to John Frederick's excitement about the journey but heightened his parents' fears: a day before she had arrived in Nevis, the *London Merchant* had parted from the convoy and 'had an engagement for several hours … with a American ship of 26 guns and a brig of 16 guns. …it was a miracle she escaped …' [277]

Britain was also at war with the Dutch, and just a few months before Betsey and Azariah Pinney were due to depart for their schooling in England, Dutch St Eustatius had surrendered to the British fleet. Lying to the north of St Kitts, St Eustatius was a strategically placed, commercially important trading port with an excellent, well-fortified harbour. For the British the taking of St Eustatius represented a major victory but it meant that the war had moved ever closer. The fighting touched everyone, and the Pinneys must have been most anxious about sending their offspring across the Atlantic in such dangerous times. For the long and hazardous sea voyage they entrusted their children into the care of a freed woman, Kate Coker. The Pinneys not only had faith in Kate Coker's ability to safely deliver Betsey and Azariah to England but JPP also trusted her with large sums of cash. He allowed her to draw money for their maintenance in £50 lots.[278]

When the children left Nevis, they were, in effect, spearheading the family's settlement in England, and JPP told his uncle that 'Nothing but death or a capture of the island, will detain us longer than the sailing of the first fleet next year. I am very anxious to set down with my family in my native country.'[279]

JPP put the finishing touches to Fort Pinney, bought a flag[280] and declared, rather dramatically: 'If this island should be captured, and therefore become a french subject, I shall endeavour to bear my misfortune with true Christian resignation.'[281] His spirit was to be tested sooner than he thought. In November a small French force under the command of the Marquis de Bouillé landed unnoticed at St Eustatius, attacked suddenly and re-took the island. A few days later another French contingent seized the Dutch half of St Martin from the British,[282] and on 9 January 1782 the French fleet appeared off Nevis.

Hurriedly, on the following day members of the Council met at Fort Charles. From there they could see at least twenty sail of the line and several small craft. James Tobin believed that it was absolutely impossible to offer any successful resistance - partly because of the fort's situation but mostly because Nevis's defence rested in the hands of fewer than three hundred militia men, 'indifferently armed and trained' and tired out from long watches. The Council met again, and on 12 January, after hearing that in St Kitts the main town had surrendered, James Tobin proposed that Nevis did likewise. JPP seconded the motion. Members agreed, the motion was carried, and Tobin and JPP were deputed to go to St Kitts

---

[274] PP, PP, LB 2: JPP to John Frederick Pinney, 9 September 1762
[275] PP, LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to Wm Reeve, 3 May 1777
[276] PP, AB 17
John Frederick Pinney travelled to England on the *London Merchant,* which was captained by William Davis. John Frederick would have been aware of the dangers of crossing the Atlantic; a previous master of this vessel, John Hutchins, had gone on to serve on another ship and was killed in a naval action in the Caribbean (PP, LB 5: JPP to Simon Pretor, 28 July 1779).
[277] PP, LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to Nathaniel Martin, 18 June 1778
[278] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to Grace Patterson, Great Ormond Street 26 April 1781. On her return journey, Simon Pretor entrusted Kate Coker with £300 in cash (WI Box E (loose item): Simon Pretor, Sherborne to JPP, Nevis, 23 September 1781).
[279] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to Simon Pretor, 25 July 1781
[280] PP, AB 27: 14 July 1781
[281] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to Simon Pretor, 17 November 1781
[282] Goslinga, Cornelius Ch *A Short History of the Netherland Antilles and Surinam* p85

to negotiate the details of Nevis's capitulation.[283] That same evening a French frigate picked up the delegation from Nevis to meet with the Commander of the French naval forces, Le Comte de Grasse, aboard his ship.[284] A boy, who that day was born on Mountravers, was named after the 60-year-old Frenchman, as were other children on other plantations.

On behalf of the President of Nevis, on 14 January 1782 JPP and Tobin signed Nevis's Articles of Capitulation. Present on board the *Ville de Paris* were Le Comte de Grasse and the Governor General of the French Windward Islands in America, Le Marquis de Bouillé. The *Ville de Paris* was lying in the Road off St Kitts, and, typically, JPP halved the cash paid to the French sailor who had rowed them to the *Ville de Paris* and shared the expenses with Tobin. [285]

On the evening of Friday, 18 January, de Grasse's flagship, the *Glorieux*, anchored off Nevis, and on Saturday its commander, Viscount d'Escars, formally took possession of the island. On Sunday all the inhabitants had to hand their firearms to French marines. It was only a symbolic act; the weapons were returned immediately. The islanders had convinced the French that they needed the firearms to protect themselves 'and to keep the slaves in proper subjection.' Having surrendered to the enemy without, the white inhabitants still feared the enemy within: their enslaved people. Planters would have sought to guard against individual action by their own people rather than a large-scale, island-wide uprising because the arms actually amounted to no more than two per plantation. These would not have afforded much defence, nor would a handful of French marines, and when D'Escars announced his plan to leave a very small detachment at Fort Charles, he was easily persuaded that such a modest force would be useless against 'any insolence of the negroes'. Having dismantled or destroyed all of the island's batteries and taken the ammunition, on 24 January d'Escars and all his marines sailed off to join the French fleet at St Kitts.[286] Compared to the awful destruction the French had left behind in 1706, Nevis had got off relatively lightly – the enemy had behaved gallantly.

Basseterre had, indeed, surrendered but not the island's main fortification, Brimstone Hill. There seven hundred British regular and five hundred colonial militia men were under siege, but they were holding out. Enslaved people worked side by side with British sailors, maintaining the weaponry and the defences. They were also hunting down the enemy and took several prisoners - among them a French officer whom they 'inhumanely' put to death. It was noted that they were 'so alert … that a servant of the Marquis de Bouillé was actually taken prisoner and the Marquis himself narrowly escaped.'[287] Assisted by enslaved people on St Kitts, for a month the British stood firm, until 12 February 1782. De Grasse accepted their surrender, and Governor Thomas Shirley signed the Articles of Capitulation of St Kitts and Nevis. It

---

[283] Watts, Arthur P *Nevis and St Christopher's 1782-1784 Unpublished Documents*, citing Minutes of the Nevis Council in Original MSS, Bancroft Library, University of California p32. According to Watts, the minutes for the Council of St Kitts had been cut out to suppress them and that there were similar gaps in the Nevis minutes.
[284] Watts, Arthur P *Nevis and St Christopher's 1782-1784 Unpublished Documents* pp58-62, citing a written statement from Pinney and Tobin dated 19 February 1782
[285] UKNA, CO 152/62 Journal of the Siege of Brimstone Hill 1782
The date of the surrender seems to vary but according to JPP, he and James Tobin 'entered into a capitulation' on 14 January (PP, LB 5: JPP to William Manning, 1 March 1782, and JPP to Simon Pretor, 1 March 1782).

The very detailed document detailing Nevis's surrender had the hand of JPP all over it; its 25 clauses were largely concerned with property and the continuing right to hold property. The second treaty signed after the surrender of Brimstone Hill consisted of 17 articles and contained more details about general civil and military matters. The Articles of Nevis's capitulation are in Arthur P Watts *Nevis and St Christopher's 1782-1784 Unpublished Documents* pp35-40 and those of St Kitts and Nevis are in Sir Alan Burns *History of the British West Indies* p782 Appendix J.
[286] Watts, Arthur P *Nevis and St Christopher's 1782-1784 Unpublished Documents* p109, p56
[287] UKNA, CO 152/62 Journal of the Siege of Brimstone Hill 1782

appears that during the siege enslaved people had been sequestered,[288] and one of the clauses in the capitulation agreement stipulated that they could be reclaimed in any of the French Windward or Leeward Islands and these people were to be 'religiously restored' to their owners.[289]

Since the outbreak of war, prices for provisions had doubled,[290] and following the surrender to the French Nevis was low on foodstuffs. Shortly after the capitulation, President Herbert had sent various animals to de Grasse - JPP had contributed nine sheep, a cow and a turkey -[291] with an appeal to the victor to treat the island leniently. The enslaved people were already near starvation and as a short-term measure, so that they could at least get some nourishment from the molasses, the sugarcane was being harvested early, before it was fully ripe.[292] De Grasse accepted the animals as a token of the inhabitants' gratitude but at the same time politely refused any more such gifts. He did acknowledge that the people were suffering, and, moved by their plight, in the coming months allowed English supply ships to reach Nevis without seizing them as prizes.[293] Once again the planters' reliance on imported provisions was causing a famine. The Council blamed their dependence on two factors: the 'uncertainty' of the weather and the exhausted soil. Growing foodstuffs in Nevis was difficult and expensive [294] and planters were not willing to give up precious cane land but on Mountravers JPP showed that it was possible to sustain a sizeable plantation population for at least part of the year with home-grown produce.

Almost three months to the day after de Grasse had accepted Nevis's surrender, his fleet lost a decisive battle against the British. Over four hundred of the crew of the *Ville de Paris* were killed and seven hundred wounded. In all over six thousand men lost their lives in the Battle of the Saintes. Viscount

---

[288] Watts, Arthur P *Nevis and S Christopher's 1782-1784 Unpublished Documents* p47 President of the Council Anthony Johnson 20 January 1782

[289] Burns, Sir Alan *History of the British West Indies* p783 Appendix J Articles of Capitulation, Article 9
The surrender of Nevis caused confusion and resulted in political fallout that continued for well over two years. Indeed, some might say that exactly the same debate continues until today: to what extent is Nevis independent of its neighbour? At the time the Council of Nevis argued that, because Nevis raised its own taxes, passed its own laws and engaged its own agent in Britain, it was sufficiently independent of St Kitts to sign its own surrender and rejected the claim that its surrender was only temporary and dependent on the outcome of the siege of Brimstone Hill. St Kitts argued that Nevis should contribute to pay for the penalties imposed by the second surrender after the fall of Brimstone Hill. This second surrender, the final treaty, was signed by de Grasse, de Bouillé, Thomas Shirley (as Major General of HM Army and Governor of St Kitts and Nevis) and the Brigadier General Commanding the Troops, Thomas Fraser.

According to a statement by Tobin to the Nevis Council on 6 January 1784, Pinney and Tobin first heard that Nevis had been included in the surrender of St Kitts on 15 February when they were in St Kitts. They then went to see Governor Shirley who told them he had not known at the time that Nevis had made an earlier agreement and that Nevis could choose which one to honour (Arthur P Watts *Nevis and St Christopher's 1782-1784* pp130-33). However, it is clear the Council of Nevis was not satisfied with Shirley's conduct. An acrimonious correspondence ensued, which revealed Shirley's real feelings about Nevis's lack of patriotism. This carried on well into 1784 and included a proposal by Shirley to suspend the Nevis Council. By this time Pinney had left the island. To counter Shirley, on 6 May 1784 Tobin put a motion, which was seconded by John Browne (EV Goveia *Slave Society* p69 gives 17 April 1784 as the date), for the Council to publish in the local press their minutes relating to this dispute. Finally Shirley and the Secretary of State, Sydney, had had enough. On 30 June 1784 Sydney gave Shirley permission to remove 'two or three of the most obnoxious members' from the Council (EV Goveia, quoting CO 152/63) and again on 9 April 1785 gave permission 'to remove such of the Members…as have been most active in the affair' (CO 152/64). In a footnote Goveia noted that 'the names of Councillors Taylor and Tobin were struck off the journals of the Council' (EV Goveia *Slave Society* p69).

An attendance record for the Council shows that Pinney and Tobin attended all the meetings of the Council (consisting of eight members) between 9 January and 17 September 1782, although Tobin missed a second meeting on 9 January, in contrast to most of the other members except the President. Worryingly the record shows that Pinney attended three meetings in April and May 1784 when he was in fact in England (Arthur P Watts *Nevis and St Christopher's 1782-1784 Unpublished Documents* p159).

[290] Watts, Arthur P *Nevis and St Christopher's 1782-1784 Unpublished Documents* p41

[291] PP, AB 26 Plantation a/c; also DM 1773 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778

[292] Watts, Arthur P *Nevis and St Christopher's 1782-1784 Unpublished Documents* p45: John Richardson Herbert to Comte de Grasse 20 January 1782

[293] Hubbard, Vincent K 'Slave Resistance in Nevis' Part II in *NHCS Newsletter* No 40 (February 1996) p9

[294] Watts, Arthur P *Nevis and St Christopher's 1782-1784 Unpublished Documents* p36 and p41

d'Escars, too, was killed and De Grasse taken prisoner and shipped off to England.[295] France was in retreat. Britain had regained control.

Now that the French had lost their pre-eminence, it was safe to travel once more and, in the autumn of 1782, JPP's father-in-law left for England. On board ship was also Jenolas, an enslaved man who belonged to a Mrs Smitten. He had left her and was sailing to England 'without her consent'.[296] While Jenolas made good his escape from Nevis, several people absented themselves from Mountravers, Scandal and others stole goods from a free French fisherman, and in St Kitts, a man whom JPP had sold, Nevis Dick, was sought for his part in a robbery on a store. These may just have been isolated incidents but it appears that the war, the arrival of the French in the island and the constant food shortages had unsettled people and caused additional pressures. The Governor of St Kitts and Nevis was sufficiently alarmed to issue a proclamation that was also read at Nevis. Except for 'gentlemen's watches and hunters' who had tickets from their owners or managers, all freedpeople and all enslaved people were forbidden to carry any weapons of any kind. Anyone caught with guns, pistols, swords, or cutlasses faced imprisonment and a whipping in the market place.[297] It was the white people's fear of armed insurrection that had prompted the Governor's decree, but there is no evidence that such an uprising was planned in Nevis.

Peace negotiations between Britain and America were taking place and although they dragged on until the beginning of September 1783, the war had finished. The North American colonies had won their independence. Nevis, as well as St Kitts, Montserrat, Dominica, St Vincent and Grenada,[298] were restored to Britain while the Dutch regained control of St Eustatia, the Dutch half of St Martin and Saba. [299] JPP could finally pack up and leave for England. The war, as well as the births of his children Alicia and Pretor had detained his departure, but now he could take his family to his 'native land'.

JPP could look back on his time in Nevis with some satisfaction. He had taken an active part in the island's political life, had made decisions, had left his mark. He had enlarged Mountravers, cleared the estate of debts, and, in addition, amassed sufficient money to buy a house in England. He had got married and raised a family. He came to Nevis as John Pretor and he was leaving the island as John Pretor Pinney, having legally taken on the name Pinney. As a symbol of his new status he had even ordered a 'long set of table china' with the Pinney arms and had used his family contacts to procure the tableware directly from the East Indies.[300]

On 1 March 1783 the Pinneys celebrated the baptism of their son Pretor.[301] It was a joyous event to which they invited guests and 'a negro musician'.[302] This celebration may also have been a leaving party because the Pinneys were getting ready to sail to England. They were taking two people from

---

[295] In England De Grasse was treated like a gentleman, rather than a prisoner of war. In France he fared less well. After his return there he was court-martialled but exonerated. He died in France, 'pilloried ... for losing the Battle of the Saintes'. The *Ville de Paris,* having been severely damaged in the battle when Admiral Samuel Hood's forces pounded her for nine hours, was taken to Canada for repairs. She sank off the coast of Newfoundland with all 800 men on board (Arthur P Watts *Nevis and St Christopher's 1782-1784 Unpublished Documents* p56 and p157 and Vincent K Hubbard *Swords, Ships & Sugar* p113).
[296] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to WB Weekes, 25 November 1782
[297] Watts, Arthur P *Nevis and St Christopher's 1782-1784 Unpublished Documents* p112
[298] Deerr, Noel *The History of Sugar* Vol 1 p152
[299] Goslinga, Cornelius Ch *A Short History of the Netherland Antilles and Surinam* p85
[300] PP, LB 3: JPP to Harry Pouncy, 30 May 1768, and LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to John Hayne, 14 June 1777. See also LB 3: JPP to George Warry, 12 April 1775, about making an application to Parliament for an Act to authorise the use of the name of Pinney and bearing the family's arms.
[301] Family Bible in the Georgian House Museum, Bristol
[302] PP, AB 17: 1 March 1783

Mountravers as their servants, Pero and Fanny Coker. In England the West India contacts had already spread the news that 'Mr Pinney is expected home'.[303]

◄► ▼◄►

Before he left, JPP had taken stock of everything he possessed in Nevis. Except for Pero who was to go to England and two children due to be sold to their father, he valued every person on the estate and divided them into categories: those people he had inherited, those he had acquired, those who were born to either group, those who were allowed to work for themselves and those whom he set free from labour.

Two decades earlier, on 23 July 1763, Coker had counted 141 people (46 men, 37 women, 29 boys and 29 girls),[304] and JPP must have registered with some satisfaction that in exactly two decades the numbers had increased by half to 210.

- Of the 141 people JPP had inherited, fewer than half (63) still lived on the plantation.
- Of these 63 people, 47 were still working: 23 men and 24 women plus another woman, Rose's Jenny, who was not employed in plantation work but also not manumitted.
- Another 15 people had been manumitted and still lived on the estate. They represented just over ten per cent of the 141 people JPP had inherited.
- Two people had been sold.
- Counting everyone who was alive in 1783 (including the woman who did not work anymore, and another woman who was given away),[305] of the entailed people almost half (just over 46 per cent) had survived the twenty-year period since 1763.

- In total there had been 75 males on the plantation in 1763, and just under a third (23) of these were still working twenty years on, while another six had been freed from work. This means that close to 39 per cent of all the males had survived from 1763 to July 1783.
- Of the 66 females, a higher proportion (24) was still working and a higher proportion, nine women, lived long enough to be freed from work. Including Rose's Jenny, this meant that, in all, 53 per cent of the females had survived from 1763 to 1783.

The people JPP had acquired either through direct purchase or through mortgages falling due, by 1783 outnumbered the entailed people on Mountravers.

173 people could be identified whom, since inheriting the plantation, JPP had bought, or acquired through mortgages fallen due. Of these, 61 were newly arrived Africans and at least another six who were known to have been African-born. 31 people can be definitely identified as Creoles and among the remaining 75 there would have been a high proportion of island-born people. JPP later stated that he preferred buying Creoles from what he called 'good families'.

---

[303] Stapleton Cotton MSS 9: Richard Neave, London, to Catherine Stapleton, 8 July 1783

[304] Although on 1 July 1783 there were a total of 210 people on Mountravers, on 6 June 1783 tax had been paid on only 180 (PP, AB 26 Plantation a/c). The difference was due to a number of people working out and being responsible for paying their own taxes, and a number of people being assessed as 'non-dutyable'. However, on 5 July 1783 the number of slaves on whom the plantation paid tax went up to 183, with 12 people paying their own taxes. It appears that three people (one woman and her children?) had returned to Mountravers after working out.

[305] Bander Legged Moll was living with her new mistress and she was listed but not valued. JPP wanted to retain an interest in her.

His buying preferences are also evident from the gender mix. He stuck to his mentor's formula of buying four females to every six males: of the 173 people he acquired through purchased or mortgages, 73 were women and girls and 93 men and boys. Of another seven the gender is not known.

But JPP did not keep all the people he acquired. He sold about a third of them – mostly people known to have come to him through mortgages falling due. Four of the individuals mortgaged by William Burt Weekes were allowed to buy their freedom - Lubbo, Catherine, Harry London and Tom Walker - but Catherine and Harry London died before they became free. Among those JPP sold were four of the new Africans he had bought: The Ebboes Judy, Scrub and Daniel, a 'refuse slave', and Prince, a young man from the Gold Coast. JPP may have sold Scrub and Prince because he found them difficult to manage. Certainly for that reason he banished three individuals from the island: Grace, Pembroke and William. Several people JPP gave to women without money changing hands: the entailed women Dung Belly Fibba and Bander Leged Moll went to Mrs Coker and Mrs Thraske, while the mortgaged woman Ann JPP gave to Ann Sprowles, and Jenny Whitehall and her children Dick and Pussey to Betsey Weekes - one of Mrs P's unmarried aunts who lived in Charlestown.

Of those people JPP had acquired, 86 people were alive in 1783 (including Pero who was 'to go to England'): 51 men and boys and 35 women and girls.[306] Two more men were listed but not valued. They were absent, never to return: Michael had been stolen and Polydore had successfully freed himself.

Altogether, 63 children, who had been born since JPP had inherited Mountravers, had survived until July 1783: the entailed women had produced 43 children in 20 years; the purchased women had produced 20 in 16 years.

Of these 63 children, one had been freed (Fanny Coker), one sold with her mother (Molly) to her father,[307] and two more children (Betsey and James Arthurton) were sold to their father. Later JPP took one girl to England and one young man freed himself while 17 died before the plantation was sold in 1807. The rest of the plantation-born children, 39, were sold with the plantation. Of these, a third (13) survived until slavery was abolished.

In terms of discipline, JPP could look back on a relatively stable time. Three people he had punished by exiling them abroad, and no doubt he had rid himself of other difficult people by selling them in Nevis. For maintaining day-to-day discipline he had used brutal restraints, neck locks, and whips; their purchases were recorded matter-of-factly among other plantation expenses: '13 March 1766 sage 1s6d … whip 1s6d … bread 9d ... '[308] Some of the whips he bought (close to two dozen in total) would have been for handling livestock.

JPP recorded two sums that he paid out for searches and a number of cash rewards for catching abscondees: 16 payments for apprehending named individuals and at least another five payments for catching unnamed individuals. The named runners were seven men and three women: Charge, Scipio,

---

[306] In this count of 51 purchased males the boy Tom Fisher is included although JPP listed him erroneously among the children born on Mountravers to purchased women. He was, in fact, born on Woodland.
[307] JPP listed only 42 children as born to the entailed women. He left off one of the twins, Sue, who re-appeared later.

Fanny Coker, who was manumitted, was the first child born to a purchased woman but because she was freed, in JPP's list her brother, Billey Jones, who was born after her, was the listed as the first child born. Molly, Judy's daughter, does not appear as she was sold. Tommy Fisher, who had been born on Woodland, was in 1783 listed as a child born to a purchased woman although he had been purchased in his own right.
[308] PP, AB 17 Cash a/c

Polydore, Hannibal, Quaw, Pembroke and Natt, and Morote, Betty and Permolia. Being caught did not deter people. One man was known to have been returned three times (Quaw), four men twice (Pembroke, Charge, Hannibal, Polydore) and two men once (Scipio and Natt). The women were caught and returned once each.

Taking the payments of 21 cash rewards and the two searches alone would suggest that there were a total of only 23 instances of people leaving Mountravers without permission (these figures do not include the Gingerland estate or Woodland, or rewards paid during JPP's absences in England). This is misleading. Evidence from a later document, the plantation journal, suggest that many more people absented themselves and returned on their own accord without a reward having been paid for their capture. The then manager recorded 25 instances of people going off yet at the same time he paid out only three cash rewards for catching runners. This was an inefficient manager and under him presumably more people would have taken the liberty to disappear for a while than would have dared to do so while JPP was in charge. If under a slack manager eight times more people absented themselves than rewards were being paid, it seems plausible that under JPP's watchful eyes fewer people absconded although, like other planters, he certainly would have tolerated a degree of absenteeism. It would seem reasonable to estimate that perhaps four times as many people absented themselves and returned voluntarily as cash rewards were being paid. On average, this would have represented one person absenting themselves every 74 days, with and without JPP paying money for their capture. In addition, anyone who returned people may have been given some rum or other kinds of presents or been granted additional privileges.

◄► ▼◄►

After JPP had been in Nevis for three weeks, on Friday 11 January he set out to increase his workforce.

He went to St Kitts and bought his first Africans, nine in all. In 1762 William Coker had bought ten individuals and since their quality was encouraging - only Bridport had died by the time JPP arrived - he was willing to purchase more people from Wharton & Douglas, the company that had sold them.

According to the records, the nine Africans JPP bought were children and 'Ebbos', or Igbos, from the Nigerian hinterland of the Calabar coast. It has been estimated that between 1750 and 1807 about 750,000 Igbo people have been forcibly shipped to the Americas - [309] among them these nine children. However, it is also possible that they were not Igbos. They may have come from a much wider region because slavers sometimes picked up small numbers of captives along the African coast. Equally, from the point of capture to the final sale to the plantation, traders sold people several times over and the mixing of people may well have occurred along the way to the coast.

Most likely, the people JPP bought had been transported on the *Juba.* This ship had arrived at St Kitts on 20 December, just a couple of days before JPP landed in Nevis, and he would have seen the vessel lying in Basseterre Road.

The *Juba* had been fitted out in Bristol, where at the end of May a crew of 31 had entered into her service under Captain William Penhale.[310] He was an experienced slaving captain. Just before Christmas the

[309] Chambers, Douglas B '"My own nation": Igbo Exiles in the Diaspora' in David Eltis and D Richardson (eds) *Routes to Slavery* p73
[310] SMV, 'Accounts – Relief of Seamen and those Disabled in the Merchant Service'

previous year he had returned on the same vessel from a one-year voyage to Nigeria and the Carolinas and, after a break of five months, this was Captain Penhale's third trip. On the *Juba's* previous voyage Thomas Deane, a Bristol merchant, banker and alderman, had shared the risks and the profits with two other men[311] but this venture Deane financed on his own. He was a prolific trader in African captives; between 1747 and 1795 he part-owned 45 slaving voyages and between 1747 and 1764 managed another 40.[312] Deane lived a stone's throw away from the Bristol docks, at 35 Prince's Street, close to where JPP later had his warehouse.[313]

Number of ships and their tonnage that sailed from three English ports, 1764-1767

Year	Bristol		London		Liverpool	
	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons
1764	38	3445	-	-	77	8108
1765	25	2425	30	4080	82	9762
1766	24	2507	45	6020	65	6690
1767	23	2498	37	4916	83	8255

[314]

The *Juba,* a 100-ton vessel fitted out with four guns, was one of 38 ships that in 1764 sailed from Bristol bound for Africa.[315] She probably lay off the Nigerian coast between August and the beginning of November. During that time four of her crew were paid off: on 28 August Robert Fannings and James Lacy, on 6 October Will Evans, and a month later, James Phillips. The *Juba* left Africa with between two to three hundred captives.[316] When she landed at St Kitts, a further eleven of her crew were paid off: John Cleland, James Lewis, Robert Lewis, Stephen Lewis, William Pattoe, John Even or Evan, John Hunt, George Escot, Miles Chaplan, Hugh Roberts and John Robert, and five days later two more, William Hooper and Archibald McMullin. After JPP bought the Africans, another sailor, Will Whitehead, left the *Juba's* service. As was customary for crew on Bristol ships, the men would have had an advance before leaving the home port and, once the captives were sold, they would get their wages for half the time that

[311] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 17592
[312] Anon *Historical Research Report, Predecessor Institutions* p18 Appendix 5
[313] *Sketchley's Bristol Directory 1775*
Thomas Deane had also shared ownership of another slaver, the *Emilia,* which left Bristol in 1786. It was jointly owned by him, George and Henry Bush, William Elton, and James and Evan Baillie – the uncle and father of JPP's future son-in-law. Captained by James Fraser, the ship sailed to Bonny, Grenada and Tortola (David Eltis *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 17967). Deane had also financed Captain Penhale's first trip on the *Africa* (Voyage No 17474).
[314] UKNA, BT 6/3 f150-95
[315] UKNA, BT 6/3 f150-95: Note from Edward Hanley, Custom House, London, 9 April 1777 for the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations at their request transmitting 'An Account of the Tonnage of ships from Great Britain to Africa January 1 1757 – January 1 1777 with names and what part of African Coast where possible'.
[316] There are no exact details as to how many people were shipped on the *Juba*; the imputed number of slaves taken on board was 293 while 239 disembarked (David Eltis *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 17592).

Before the introduction of regulations in 1788 that restricted the numbers that could be carried, it was usual for vessels to carry at least 'two slaves for each ton of the ship's displacement'. This meant that a vessel of 50 tons would carry over 100 slaves, and one of 100 tons around 250 slaves (Hugh Thomas *The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* p337).

had elapsed since leaving Bristol.[317] With money in their pockets the sailors hung around the harbour, waiting to find work on another vessel.

The *Juba* remained at St Kitts until at least 3 March (when Thomas Bullison was discharged), and then set sail. She had left nearly two thirds of the original crew either in Africa or St Kitts. Captain Penhale and his remaining twelve sailors arrived back in Bristol on, or just before, 23 June 1765. On board were John Morgan, William Tyler, William Browne, John Davis, Caleb Huling, Richard Jome or Jane, Daniel Bass, James Clift, Joseph Browne, John Hughes, Charles Caesar and John Penhale – no doubt, a relative of the captain.[318] Charles Caesar may well have been a black sailor; in the 1760s, for instance, Dover, almost certainly a black man, and 'Sam a negro' were among the crew of a Bristol slaver, the *Sally*.[319]

The *Juba's* captain, William Penhale, carried out four more slaving voyages for Bristol owners.[320] During the period 1760 to 1770/1 he transported in total around 1,800 enslaved people to various destinations: Maryland, South Carolina, St Kitts, Antigua and Barbados. It is likely that he died on his last sailing with the *Virgin Queen*. [321]

Once the *Juba* had returned to Bristol, she remained in harbour for fifteen months before setting off on her next voyage to Africa. Captain Joseph White was the master and James Laroche, one of Bristol's leading slave traders, financed this venture. The 'ship and outfit' cost just over £2,000 and the cargo £3,000, which was, according to those who were involved, 'all pretty near our expectation'.[322] On a roundtrip lasting more than two years the *Juba* transported African captives from Angola to Virginia but the next voyage under Captain White was the *Juba's* last. It appears she was wrecked.[323]

◄► ▼◄►

The only firm evidence of enslaved people having been branded on Mountravers concerns an African man from another group that JPP bought later and, although plantation-born children evidently were not routinely branded, JPP may have marked the Africans he purchased. Gold irons were preferred as they made 'a sharper, more distinctive scar',[324] but on Mountravers silver 'negro marks' of different sizes were kept. These were versatile tools because the inscription could be changed. Apart from the two ciphers 'IP' (i.e. 'JP') there were 17 silver numbers to choose from: three of number 1 and two each of numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 but none of number 9 because, as was noted, the 6 'also answers for 9'. The figures were

[317] HoCPP 1790 Vol xxix 'Minutes of the Evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Commons, being a select Committee, appointed on the 29th day of January 1790' p39
[318] SMV, Muster Rolls 1762-1768
William Pattoe may have lived in Bristol in 1775; a William Patty was recorded as living at 6 Lamb Street. In 1775 John Penhale lived at 15 Trenchard Lane (*Sketchley's Bristol Directory 1775*).
[319] SMV, Ships' Muster Rolls 1759-1762 and BRO, 39654 (2): 1768
[320] The owners were Henry Bright, John Anderson and Thomas Jones, an 'African merchant'. The alderman and merchant Bright lived at number 28 and Anderson at number 9 Queen Square, Thomas Jones at 18 St James Barton (*Sketchley's Bristol Directory 1775).* A partner and director in the Bristol bank Harfords & Co, Henry Bright was part-owner in 18 slaving voyages from 1755 to 1766 and managed another 21 from 1749 to 1766 (Anon *Historical Research Report, Predecessor Institutions* p18 Appendix 5).
[321] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 17769
The *Virgin Queen* left Bristol on 16 August 1770 for Calabar and Barbados. A second captain, Alexander Forsyth, was also on the voyage and possibly took over after Penhale's death. William Penhale did no more voyages after that.
[322] BULSC, DM 1061: David Duncombe to Captain Joseph White, July 1767
[323] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyages Number 17650 and 17732
[324] Palmer, Colin *Human Cargoes* p69 fn28, quoting British Museum, 25575 p15

fastened in a silver frame with the aid of silver pins.[325] While the iron was being heated over burning rum or spirit of wine, the spot of skin where the iron was to be placed was prepared. It was rubbed with a little oil.[326] The red-hot iron was then applied, briefly, and the wound rubbed with more oil.[327] As one planter put it: 'The application is instantaneous and the pain momentary. Nevertheless it may be easily supposed that the apparatus must have a frightful appearance to a child.'[328] The one person whom JPP was known to have branded was marked on both his left and his right chest but others marked their human possessions on a shoulder,[329] an arm,[330] or even a thigh.[331]

Having applied their physical mark of ownership onto new arrivals, planters applied their psychological mark of ownership. They gave people new names. JPP, too, re-named everyone in the group. Casting back to his London days, he remembered John Warrington, the partner in John and Thomas Mills's company,[332] but mostly he had his family in mind. Pillmarsh was the West Country farm he had inherited, Bettiscombe his benefactor's place of residence and Bridport had been John Frederick Pinney's Parliamentary constituency. He paid homage to his father, Michael, and, perhaps somewhat guiltily, to his dead brother, Azariah. Had this boy not succumbed to the smallpox at a very young age, Azariah, as the older boy, would have been John Frederick Pinney's chosen heir.

JPP called the only girl in the group Black Polly. Polly was a pet form of Mary but the name also existed in its own right, immortalised, for instance, in *Polly,* the sequel to the *Beggar's Opera* (1729). When its stage production was forbidden by the Lord Chamberlain, it had gained underground status and notoriety. A woman called Polly also appeared in the erotic *Memoirs of Fanny Hill* (1749). Considering how 'shocked' (and titillated) he was at seeing naked flesh for sale and the events in Black Polly's later life, JPP may have thought of the fictional character's 'two ripe enchanting breasts, finely plump'd out in flesh, but withal so round, so firm, that they sustain'd themselves in scorn of any stay'.[333]

In calling one of the boys Romeo JPP followed a literary theme, which he continued with Juliet; she was the first girl born on the plantation after his arrival. The 20-year-old Friday may have been another literary character: Casting himself as the male lead in *Robinson Crusoe,* Daniel Defoe's dramatic ship-wreck/ survival story, JPP may have seen this young man as his very own protégé and earmarked him as his man servant. Defoe's Friday was exotic but in a way that appealed to Europeans: Friday had skin that 'was not quite black, but very tawny', 'his hair was long and black, not curl'd like wool', his nose was

---

[325] The three number 1 marks may suggest that the branding iron was old and had been in use since at least 1711. There was no branding iron in a detailed inventory of 1697 but Azariah Pinney may, possibly, have started using an iron after his son, John, had married Mary Helme in 1708.

JPP bought several branding marks but some of these could have been for marking barrels. One of these was a 'large strong branding mark' that cost only N14s whereas a 'silver negro mark and figures' that he sold to a man called Thomas Finlay cost N£7:7:0 (PP, AB 18 Captain Beach's a/c; AB 21 Plantation a/c 1769, Plantation a/c 1772 and Plantation a/c 1775; also LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to Peter Eaton, 18 June 1778, and LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to William Manning, 31 July 1780).

In 1783 JPP left at Mountravers several negro branding irons (Misc Vols 7 1783-1794 List of Deeds and Papers at Nevis p29) but a very detailed inventory made seven years later, which listed every bag of nails and every spare lock and key, did not contain any - only one branding iron in the boiling house for marking hogsheads (PP, AB 43: Inventory at the back).

[326] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 73 p165 and Sir Alan Burns *History of the British West Indies* p766, quoting Bryan Edwards *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* 4th ed 1807 Vol 2 pp83-4

[327] Palmer, Colin, *Human Cargoes* p69, quoting in fn28: British Museum (BM), 25565, pp65-73

[328] Burns, Sir Alan *History of the British West Indies* p766, quoting *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* 4th ed 1807 Vol 2 pp83-4

[329] Palmer, Colin *Human Cargoes* p69 fn28, quoting British Museum (BM), 25565, pp65-73

[330] Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p45

[331] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 73 p165 James Morley's evidence

[332] Thoms, DW *West India Merchants and Planters* p7

[333] Harvey AD *Sex in Georgian England* p13, quoting John Cleland *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, first published 1749, suppressed by authorities in 1750 – *Memoirs of Fanny Hill*, Mayflower paperback ed p41

'small, not flat like the negroes' and he had 'a very good mouth, thin lips'. Besides, he 'made all the signs of subjection, servitude, and submission imaginable' - [334] just the sort of attributes a slaveholder would have wished for. Published in 1719, JPP may well have read Defoe's novel but, given that he bought these children on a Friday, an alternative interpretation may be that he was borrowing from the Akan custom of naming children after the weekday they were born. One slaveholder who ran out of ideas named several newcomers Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday.[335]

Most people JPP bought that day in January 1765 ended up with skilled jobs that involved variety and responsibility but this was sheer coincidence; they were purchased when particular labour requirements existed. Had they arrived a year later, most of them would have ended up as field hands.

Four years on, in January 1769, eight of the children were alive; eighteen years on, in July 1783, five were still living, although a sixth, Michael, who had been stolen off the island, may have survived elsewhere. Of the men, Warrington, the sugar boiler, lived the longest and Black Polly survived them all.

JPP paid a total of S£232/N£406:0:0[336] - an average of just over S£25/N£45 per person. John Barker, the Solicitor General of the Leeward Islands, would have considered this a reasonable deal; in the early 1750s he thought it was 'madness' to pay S£32 for an Ebbo.[337] Although JPP lost people, for him the group represented a good investment. By 1783 the five survivors alone were worth a total of N£600, an average of N£120 per person. If two of Black Polly's children born by then were included in the calculation – not counting her daughter Fanny Coker who was freed – in eighteen years the purchase price had risen in value by nearly sixty per cent. However, this does not take into account what they had produced by way of profits, nor, on the other hand, the expense of their upkeep: housing, food, clothing and healthcare. In the 1780s it cost, on average, about N£15 a year to maintain an adult (including molasses allowances, etc), and a child between N£7:10:0 and N£10.[338] At these rates, the total maintenance costs for the survivors (from the point of purchase until July 1783) would have been in the region of N£1,300, and if the cost was calculated for all nine who were purchased, this would have added up to about N£1,700.[339]

◄► ▼◄►

[334] Defoe, Daniel *Robinson Crusoe* pp238-39
[335] Yorke, Philip Chesney (ed) *The Diary of John Baker* p86
[336] PP, AB 22 Gingerland Plantation a/c; also AB 18 f18 Wharton & Douglas a/c
[337] Merrill, Gordon Clark *The Historical Geography of St Kitts and Nevis* p72, citing John Baker's Diary p74
[338] Goveia, EV *Slave Society* p142, quoting House of Commons Accounts and Papers Vol 26 (1789) Reply of the Nevis Legislature
[339] The calculations were based on all children costing N£10 a year to maintain until they reached the age of 16 and N£15 a year after that. Friday had died within 27 months of arriving on Mountravers; he was estimated to have lived for two years, costing £10 a year. Romeo and Azariah both died some time between 1769 and 1783 and their costs were calculated until the half-way mark, 1776, and for Michael, who was stolen, until he left Mountravers in December 1774. Black Polly's children were not included in the calculation.

BIOGRAPHIES

253 Friday (dob 1744/5) was almost certainly earmarked as a domestic, or for one of the skilled jobs: a boiler, a mason or a cooper. He was bought at an estimated age of 20 years but died before 1 May 1767. Friday was then, at the most, 22 years old and had lived on the plantation for no more than 27 months.

254 Warrington, later Old Warrington (dob 1746/7). A few months after he arrived on Mountravers, JPP gave Warrington N3s 4 ½d. It is not known what this money was for but this sum was enough for him to acquire some poultry. He could buy two chickens, or a cockerel, or four ducks.[340]

During 1766 to 1768 Warrington worked on the Gingerland estate.

By 1783 he had become one of three sugar boilers. His value of N£150 was N£20 higher than that of the other boilers, Paul (No 62) and London (No 215), and he probably led the team. Much responsibility rested on the boilers, the 'prime of slaves'.[341] Their task was to produce good sugar of the right colour and consistency. But as soon as JPP left Nevis, he started to complain about the very brown sugar Gill had sent: 'The negroes I am afraid do not skim clean.'[342] While John Frederick Pinney had proposed calling in an experienced man from neighbouring Jessup's, JPP suggested swapping one of his boilers with one from either Hendrickson's or George Webbe's estate [Stoney Hill] over in Gingerland, or from nearby Tower Hill which belonged to his attorney, John Taylor.[343] This plan was probably never put into action and when Coker replaced Gill, JPP straightaway expressed his hopes that the quality of sugar was going to improve.[344] Coker had previous experience, and in due course all sugars were 'superior to those shipt (sic) to me in Gill's time'.[345] When Warrington served under the next manager, Thomas Pym Weekes, they fetched even better prices than James Tobin's[346] – Tobin had previously been the yardstick for all things good and of quality – but a year later there was, again, room for improvement and JPP set a new benchmark: 'My own sugars were better than usual (for which give the boilers some encouragement) but not equal to Parris's'.[347] The sort of encouragement he had in mind may have been the check material which was 'to be distributed in shirts amongst the head boilers, distillers and tradesmen'.[348] These presents, however, did not achieve their desired results; under James Williams the sugars turned from 'very brown and indifferent' to 'bad and burnt' and 'wretched'.[349]

In the 1790s Warrington worked in the field and in the boiling house.[350] When James Williams was manager, Warrington absented himself from the plantation at least twice, for very short periods. After he went away the first time, from 9 to 10 November 1799, he was recorded as sick the following week – perhaps the two incidents were linked. The second time he was absent for three days, from 10 to 12 May 1800.[351]

---

[340] PP, AB 17 Cash a/c
[341] Grainger, James *The Sugar Cane* p105
[342] PP, LB 6: JPP to Joseph Gill, Nevis, 30 October 1784
[343] PP, LB 6: JPP to Joseph Gill, Nevis, 1 October 1784
[344] PP, LB 6: JPP to William Coker, Nevis, 16 December 1785
[345] PP, LB 6: JPP to Wm Coker, Nevis, 10 October 1787
[346] PP, LB 38: T & P to TP Weekes, Nevis, 4 July 1792
[347] PP, LB 11: JPP to TP Weekes, Nevis, 12 September 1793
[348] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, 15 November 1796
[349] PP, Dom Box S4-2: Aza Pinney to JPP, 2 August 1799
[350] PP, Misc Vols 12 Leeward Islands Calendar 1793, and DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[351] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary

In December 1787 Warrington had a growth removed from his face, an operation, which, no doubt, was painful and left him disfigured for the rest of his life. 'Extirpating a large encysted tumour' and surgery cost N£6:12:0.[352] After the operation he had to rest, and JPP paid a further N16s6d for one month's 'house room whilst under the Doctors care'. Doctors Archbald and Williamson lodged him at Diana Foot's house;[353] she probably ran a kind of convalescence home in Charlestown. Just recently Hector had stayed with her for six weeks, while recovering from gunshot wounds, and she may have been the same woman who in the 1760s had treated Congo Sarah and Princess for their 'fallen wombs'.

The operation was successful and Warrington lived for at least another two decades. Aged from about 60 to 70, he died between August 1807 and December 1816.

255 Bettiscombe (dob 1751/2). Soon after he arrived on Mountravers, he began his apprenticeship as a mason. At an estimated age of thirteen years he was young but not unusually so; on Sam Laurence's estate, for instance, a boy called Bristol already worked as a fully-fledged mason by the time he was about Bettiscombe's age.[354]

JPP apprenticed Bettiscombe to William Brooks,[355] a white man who over many years had done various jobs on Mountravers and on the Gingerland estate. Brooks would have brought along his own gang. He owned people; in 1755 he and a Mrs Vaughan had paid tax on twelve[356] and JPP had just hired Brook's 'negro mason' to do some walling.[357] But JPP and Brookes fell out with each other. JPP complained about him not finishing the job at Gingerland,[358] and Brooks complained about being underpaid for what he had achieved - 'I cannot afford to work for nothing' – and noted the amount of stone he (more likely his team) had cut there. Having worked for the Pinneys for twenty-four years,[359] this was the last job he did on Mountravers. William Brooks died in late 1769/early 1770.[360]

After he had completed his apprenticeship Bettiscombe was hired out. In 1772 and also the following year he worked for the masons Charles and Nathaniel Clifton. He worked with an older Creole mason from Mountravers, Tom Jones (No 347). Among the jobs they did was to hang a set of coppers, repair a chimney and make good masonry at the lower works,[361] which was damaged in the hurricane of August 1772.

In 1776 Bettiscombe and Tom Jones worked for just over a month on JPP's Mountain Estate in St John Figtree. This was the old Governor's residence, which had fallen into disrepair and they underpinned the house and made steps. In the 1720s the house had been let to governors Hart and Pitt and more recently to Revd John Bowen [362] but James Brodbelt, who had rented the 40-acre plantation for the last seven years,[363] probably did not live there; he already owned several other estates. Brodbelt had agreed to buy

[352] PP, AB 35 and AB 36 Archbald & Williamson's a/c
[353] PP, AB 30 f122 Plantation a/c and Cash a/c
[354] UKNA, T 71/364
[355] PP, AB 18 Wm Coker's a/c
[356] PP, Dom Box P: General's Tax Notebook 1755
[357] PP, AB 17: 17 April 1765
[358] PP, LB 3: JPP, Nevis, to John Hayne, 12 April 1768
[359] PP, Cat 4 MSS in Red Boxes, Oddments Box, file 3: William Brooks, mason, to JPP, 19 April 1767
[360] ECSCRN, CR 1777-1778 f133
[361] PP, AB 20 Nathaniel Clifton's a/c; also AB 20 Plantation a/c and AB 21 Plantation a/c
[362] PP, AB 18 Revd John Bowen's a/c
[363] PP, Misc Vols 6 List of Deeds and Papers 1783

Mountain but died before he could complete the purchase,[364] and, most likely, the work Bettiscombe and Tom Jones did was in preparation for its sale and the building supplies which JPP ordered from Bristol were for their use: lime, nails, masons' hammers, hinges, and six strong bolts for fastening boiling house doors into stone.[365] JPP must have felt that Brodbelt had not kept the estate in good order because he charged the masons' labour cost of N£18 to the 'Estate of James Brodbelt' - [366] despite his widow Amelia proclaiming her absolute poverty. Brodbelt, a member of the Assembly for St Paul's parish,[367] had left his widow £400 a year,[368] but the estates were debt-laden and she had no money: 'I have not a joe in the world and I am obliged to sell my poultry to support my family till things are settled.' The land was to be stumped and holed and would not produce any sugar until the following year.[369]

Bettiscombe was next employed for four months from November 1782. He worked with Tom Jones and another young Creole, Caesar Scoles (No 367), for the mason Richard Lynch. They were probably occupied with the works at Sharloe's. The work was varied, as can be seen from Lynch's invoice:

95 perch of wall including arch @ N5s	N£23:8:0
hanging 3 coppers to one fire complete @ N£6	N£18
ditto a clarifier to separate fire	N£7
building a stone chimney for coppers	N£10
ditto.....ditto ..... for clarifier	N£6
turning a small arch over the clarifier	N£1:13:0
making a small window over 3 coppers	N£1
turning an arch over the front door	
with rabbetting stones to let in the door	N£3
pinning and curbing a tach	N£1:13:0 [370]

Bettiscombe was not hired out again until 1786 when he briefly worked for the planter Walter Nisbet. He was hired with Tom Jones and an African mason, Oroonoko, who had replaced Caesar Scoles. In the autumn of 1785 Caesar Scoles had had medical treatment and may have been too ill to work or he had already died by then.[371]

In 1789 and 1790, Tom Jones, Oronooko and Bettiscombe were again employed together. This time they worked on the boiling house at Woodland. They built walls and a chimney, turned arches, hang coppers and made an ash pit.[372] The three men's labour rates corresponded to their values: Bettiscombe and Oroonoko were hired out at N£4pm, Tom Jones at a third more, N£6pm;[373] Bettiscombe and Oroonoko were appraised at N£130 and Tom Jones at a third more, N£200. This ratio did not always apply. When Walter Nisbet had rented them, Bettiscombe's daily rate was N3s4d, Oroonoko's half that at only N1s8d and Tom Jones's one and a half times Bettiscombe's, N5s.[374]

---

[364] Pers. comm., Brian Littlewood, September 2003, quoting VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 4 p19 (Book of Wills p381); PP, LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to Mills & Swanston, 9 December 1775; NHCS, St John Figtree Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825
[365] PP, LB 4: JPP to Peter Eaton, 14 June 1777
[366] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c; also DM 1773 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f21 Estate of James Brodbelt a/c
[367] UKNA, CO 186/6
[368] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 4 p19, quoting Book of Wills f381
[369] BULSC, WI Cat 1 DM 41/104/20
James Brodbelt's widow Amelia died in 1802 at the age of 72 (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 3 (Cayon Diary)). The widowed Mrs Broadbelt last lived in St Kitts (BULSC, DM 41/104/5).
[370] PP, AB 26 Richard Lynch & Co a/c
[371] PP, AB 30 Negro Hire a/c
[372] PP, AB 43 f27
[373] 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
[374] PP, AB 35 Walter Nisbet's a/c and AB 30 Negro Hire a/c

When he was only in his early forties, in July 1794 Bettiscombe was manumitted. His retirement would have been relatively comfortable. Masons were among the elite, able to earn extra money by hiring themselves out on Sundays, their free day, and he may well have acquired some wealth – by 1781 he already had been able to spare a pig which he had sold to JPP.[375] His state of health, no doubt, was the reason for him being freed from work but he was still expected to make himself useful around the estate. He was charged, for instance, with making sure that several manumitted women did not pilfer anything. JPP asked his manager: 'Make Bettiscombe watch when he is able.'[376]

A boy called Little Bettiscombe who was born in 1781 may have been his son. This boy died at the age of 16 of a fractured skull. But by then Bettiscombe may have been dead already; he died some time between August 1794 and the end of 1801. At the most he was 50 years old.

256 Bridport (dob 1752/3). When he arrived on Mountravers there were no specialist transport workers on the plantation – except for Little Essex who worked 'with the mules' - but by the time he was about thirty, Bridport had become one of two carters. He also worked in the field and occasionally minded the cart cattle,[377] a job usually done by the stock keepers.

Both carters, Bridport and Pompey (No 180), were appraised at a relatively high N£130. This was the same value as that of one of the drivers, a couple of the sugar boilers and some of the tradesmen. This high appraisal reflected not only the responsibility attached to the job – working with valuable animals and completing work on time - but also the men's status. Barry Higman noted that 'Even the carter, who like the driver carried a whip, had a certain authority within the slave hierarchy.'[378] It was a much sought-after job; it offered some variety and freedom of movement and was, according to Michael Craton, generally reserved for Creoles.[379] A carter led or drove mules, horses or cart cattle, but on Mountravers there were also camels and, as an African, Bridport may have been assigned this job because he had, or was thought to have, an aptitude for working with these animals. At different times there were between one and four camels on the estate, and stock keepers like Portsmouth and Billy would have broken them in and cared for the m. When JPP came to Nevis in 1790 (during that visit Bridport sold him some vegetables) ,[380] two of the camels were still alive, Tom Jones and Jack, but the last, Jack, died between 1794 and 1796. From then on carters had to work solely with cattle, horses and mules.

Carters handled their animals with great skill, something visitors to the West Indies noticed. One admired the 'very active handsome mules… six or eight in a team' and the 'adroitness with which the negros (sic) drove them' and another watched how several large, two-wheeled carts, drawn by teams of four bullocks each, carried sugar cane to the mill.[381] Carters made light work of huge loads but if the land was too steep for vehicles, people had to carry the cane – stick by stick, bundle by bundle.

The carters' duties were varied. They worked around Mountravers but also drove into town. In a typical year, their tasks included the following:

---

[375] PP, AB 17 Cash a/c
[376] PP, LB 11: JPP, off Tortola, to James Williams, Nevis, 31 July 1794
[377] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[378] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p175
[379] Craton, M *Sinews of Empire* p121
[380] PP, AB 33: 2 July 1790 N1s6d
[381] Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p198 and p113

January: one with small cart and two with large cart, carrying canes to mill
February: small gang carting woura from Burnt Ground
March: two with the cart bringing scum and sugar from Woodleys [Woodland]
April: two with a cart bringing 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.

During the 1790s Bridport was still employed as a carter but he also worked in the field.

In his late forties, Bridport died on 10 February 1800.[382]

257 Michael (dob 1751/2). Between 1766 and 1768 he worked on the Gingerland estate.

On 6 December 1774, while JPP was on a business trip in England, Michael was 'Stolen off the island'. He was then aged about 22 or 23, a bit older than Little Essex (No 214) when he was abducted. At that age young males were at their prime: they had survived childhood and teenage years, were able to sustain the work of an adult but were not yet worn out.

Little Essex returned in 1775 but Michael did not come back to Nevis.

258 Romeo (dob 1753/4). Between 1766 and 1768 he worked on the Gingerland estates, with Warrington, Michael and Pillmarsh.

He died between January 1769 and July 1783. He was at least about 15, at the most 30 years old.

259 Pillmarsh (dob 1752/3), a field hand, was on the Gingerland estate between 1766 and 1768. Aged about 30, at N£80 his value was the lowest in this group. Although there is no record of any medical attention, this probably reflected the fact that he was not well.

Pillmarsh died between January 1791 and July 1794. He was around 40 years old.

260 Azariah (1752/3) died between January 1769 and July 1783. He was least about 16 years old, at the most in his early thirties.

[382] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary

261 Black Polly, also Polly and Polly Pinney (dob 1752/3). As the first girl JPP bought, she was earmarked 'for a sympstress and house negroe' but there is no record of JPP paying for Black Polly's training. She was either apprenticed to another woman on the plantation, or she was already proficient in sewing and mending.

Two and half years after she arrived on Mountravers, Black Polly had her first child, a daughter called Frances (Fanny) Coker. The girl was a mulatto. She was the first child born to any of the women JPP had purchased since his arrival. Black Polly was then about fourteen years old but, given that the age of consent was twelve for girls and fourteen for boys, having a child at her age was not as shocking or unacceptable then as it is in Western societies today. A midwife attended the birth and judging by the cost - about one and a half times the usual rate - [383] it was a difficult confinement. Fanny may have been born slightly prematurely. William Coker, undoubtedly the father of Black Polly's child, paid for the delivery. JPP's former manager was then about forty years old and had returned from a lengthy visit to England in December the previous year. With her daughter born at the end of August, Black Polly must have conceived immediately after he set foot in the island.

The evidence suggests that she would not have consented to a sexual relationship with him: Coker had left Nevis only five months after she first arrived on Mountravers and it is very unlikely that in such a short time a genuine bond could have developed between them - particularly as she would have been bewildered and disoriented during her first few months in Nevis. Although Black Polly was enterprising in later life, it is doubtful whether, as a young girl, she would have realised, or would have wanted to realise, the potential advantages which a relationship with a white man could bring. It is also doubtful whether Black Polly would have chosen to compete with other women who were already well settled and established on the plantation, thereby possibly isolating herself from them. There were also more eligible, unmarried, younger white men whom she could have favoured. It is more plausible that Coker, fresh from his trip to England and with his wife occupied with their baby son, raped Black Polly. To what extent JPP colluded in this is open to question. Enslaved women were at the mercy of their owners, some of whom, following a 'primitive law of hospitality', offered them to guests for sexual services.[384] The moral climate was such that one white man could boast to another that there were three 'good things' he enjoyed before breakfast: 'a good stool, a good f—k with a black girl, and a good washing in a bath afterwards.' The man who said this was John Brown, the President of Nevis - a married man and a father.[385]

Later on there is evidence to suggest that JPP may have disapproved of his white workers' casual encounters with his females, but by then his objections had less to do with moral constraints and more with the economic and political fall-out that mixed-heritage children engendered: mulattoes or mestees usually did not labour in the field but worked in skilled occupations and, once a plantation had its full complement of domestics, seamstresses and craftsmen, these children became a burden. If freed, they were liable to ferment discontent as they served as constant reminders to the enslaved people of their own enslaved status. In fact later, towards the end of the century, JPP pressed his manager, who sought to free his mulatto children, to take into account the effect of adding to the mixed-heritage population in

---

[383] PP, AB 20 Wm Coker's a/c; also AB 18 Wm Coker's a/c
Fanny Coker was only once on the' list of Negroes born since 1762' where her date of birth was given as 23 June 1767 but the entry in Coker's account is more likely as the list was not updated until July 1768. She was neither listed on Mountravers nor the Gingerland plantations, nor was she on the 1769 list.
[384] Thompson, Vincent Bakpetu *The making of the African Diaspora in the Americas* p179 fn107
According to the evidence given by Captain Charles Hamden Williams just prior to the abolition of slavery, it was customary in the West Indies for 'English gentleman visitors' to an estate to be offered 'black girls' (HoCPP 1831-1832 Vol xx 'Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Slavery' p297 and pp304-07 Chadwyck-Healey mf. 35.167).
[385] *Aaron Thomas's Journal* p43

the island.[386] By then two major events had taken place: the bloody revolution in Haiti, in which mulattoes played such a crucial role, and the Haiti-inspired uprising in Grenada in which free mulattoes joined enslaved people.[387] However, despite the stance he later adopted towards mixed-heritage children, Black Polly's next child, too, was a mulatto and although JPP denied paternity, he almost certainly was the boy's father. Billey Jones was born in January 1773, and while the date of conception - two months before JPP's wedding - may have been entirely coincidental, his subsequent treatment of Black Polly and, perhaps more so, his relationship with Billey Jones, lends credence to the notion that he fathered her second child. Again, the question is: did Black Polly consent? After all, he was the master whose authority could and - as it turned out - did provide opportunities denied to other enslaved women. Despite the seemingly obvious power relations the arena in which sexual politics were played out was, however, more complex: enslaved women also freely offered themselves to white men – and not just to those from whom they could gain advantages.[388]

In May 1766 JPP had started paying Black Polly several sums of money, mostly for unspecified 'sundries'. The payments ceased in May 1772, just before his wedding.[389] Again, as he occasionally made gifts of small sums to other people, these may have been innocent presents to a member of his domestic staff, which stopped when his wife took control of household expenses, but a lingering doubt remains as to why Black Polly received more money, more often than others.

Black Polly appears to have put the cash to good use. She may have invested it in rum. In 1768 she bought her first consignments from the plantation, about 115 gallons (523 litres) at around N£14. Presumably she sold this in small quantities at a profit on the plantation, or in town, although to trade there, she required her master's permission in the form of a ticket. She had competition. For instance, Old Harry and Tom Peaden were also buying rum from the plantation, but for some months between October 1768 and June 1769 she did not purchase any. It is possible that she was pregnant then. If she was, the child did not survive. Then she bought about two hundred gallons and another hundred [390] until, pregnant with Billey Jones, she stopped buying rum altogether. Again, she may well have invested the profits because after September 1770 she switched to purchasing fabrics, such as linen, 'blue copper plate', check and holland.[391] From the profits of selling rum and clothing she may have bought small livestock. Black Polly owned pigs, goats and chickens, and certainly within five years of arriving on the plantation she was able to sell off some of her animals. One of these, a pig, was a present JPP bought for Mrs Coker to sustain her during her voyage back to England.[392] (Mrs Coker, in turn, sold two small hogs to Thomas Arthurton who was also travelling to England.) In the 1770s Black Polly sold JPP two kids (for N16s6d each),[393] and later over thirty pounds of pork, and a chick.[394] Usually fully-grown chickens cost N1s6d and the price he paid for her young chick, N2s, seems inflated.

Black Polly's daughter Fanny Coker was baptised in June 1770 and freed in September 1778. Fanny Coker's manumission was proper and legal and must have delighted Black Polly, but it may well have

---

[386] PP, LB 15: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 16 July 1799
[387] Rosalyn Terborg-Penn in Gary Y Okihio (ed) *In Resistance* p196
[388] *Aaron Thomas's Journal* p27
[389] PP, AB 17: 10 May 1766, 31 May 1766, 18 May 1768, 26 December 1771, May 1772
One particular entry ('21 September 1771 By Tom Tross paid him by Polly N8s3d') relates to Black Polly's role as a seamstress; Tom Tross was a tailor by trade. The payments totalled N£3:12:9.
[390] Between August 1769 and January 1770 Polly bought 53 jugs of rum. The price of a jug (c N9s9d) suggests that a jug contained about four gallons. Between August and September 1770 she bought another 25 jugs (AB 17 Cash a/c)
[391] PP, AB 21 Expense a/c and AB 17 Cash a/c
[392] PP, AB 17: 11 May 1771
[393] PP, AB 17: 1 January 1774 and 18 October 1776
[394] PP, AB 17: 30 June 1781 and AB 33: 20 May 1790

been the cause of envy for others. The girl was the first person JPP freed and she would remain the only one for over a decade.[395] It is likely that Fanny Coker was working already, possibly even living, in the house with the Pinneys; she certainly was the only mixed-heritage person for whom the Pinneys bought mourning clothes. These were for the funeral of their four-year-old daughter Alicia who died in January 1780.

In January 1781 Black Polly gave birth again, this time to a black girl, **Hetty**. The child may have been named after the African woman Harriott, a fellow domestic. Having had two mulatto and then a black child, Black Polly, and later her daughter Hetty, followed a pattern of sexual relations similar to that of Sarah Fisher who first had children with a white man and then a mulatto man. In Sarah Fisher's case, the father of her children had died, but generally they were women who, as they grew older, were cast aside by the white men and then had to find new mates from further down the social scale. However, another explanation may be that, once they became economically secure, they were then able to choose their partners. Black Polly was still only in her late twenties.

The monetary worth JPP attached to Black Polly and her son suggests that he regarded these two as special: in 1783 he appraised Black Polly at N£110 and Billey Jones at N£75. Of the women, only Ritta Maillard was valued the same as Black Polly, and only one woman, the Pinney children's nurse Mulatto Polly, was valued more (N£120). As to Billey's appraisal, at the age of ten and a half years his rate was about the same as that of an average-valued woman on the plantation. Another mulatto boy, the son of JPP's white servant, James Peaden, was only ten months younger than Billey but at N£60 worth a fifth less. Billey Jones clearly was over-priced. The value of Black Polly's daughter Hetty, on the other hand, was standard for a black girl her age.

Shortly after JPP had appraised everybody, he and his family set off for England. They took with them Pero Jones and Black Polly's daughter Fanny Coker, then fifteen years old. Around the time when they were leaving the island, Black Polly conceived her third child; Little Cubbenna was born at the end of March 1784. In May 1787 – twenty years after she had her first child – she gave birth to her last child, Little Molly. She was black, like Hetty and Little Cubbenna, and it is very likely that the watchman Cubbena (No 221) was the father of at least Little Cubbenna, if not also of the two girls. A plantation-born man a few years her junior, Cubbena suffered from consumption and died in August 1787 or in March 1788. It may be significant that Black Polly had no more children after he died, or, at any rate, no more surviving children. The gap between the second and the third birth, eight years, suggests that she may, possibly, have had abortions or miscarriages, or that her children died in infancy.[396] If Cubbena was not the father of any of her children and if she chose their names, Black Polly, who was said to have been an 'Ebbo' and therefore from Nigeria, opted for a name with Akan, or Ghanaian, origin. Among the Twi and the Fanti, boys born on a Tuesday are called Kwabena, or Kobina.[397] The manager may well have muddled the dates; Little Cubbenna's recorded birth date, 29 March 1784, was a Monday.[398]

---

[395] The next manumissions took place in the early 1780s when JPP allowed a number of slaves mortgaged by William Burt Weekes to buy themselves.
[396] Between October 1768 and June 1769 Black Polly did not buy any rum, possibly because she was pregnant. However, if she did have a child then, it did not survive. Also, if she had a child after Billey Jones was born, this, too, did not survive.
[397] Muñoz, Sharon R *The Afro-American Griot Speaks* and pers. comm., Agyenim Boateng, Tafo, 25 May 1999
[398] It appears that generally JPP and his managers noted down the children's births on the day they were born. Out of 260 births which were recorded between 29 January 1764 and 25 September 1833, 38 (14.6 per cent) fell on a Monday; 36 (13.8 per cent) on a Tuesday; 39 (15 per cent) on a Wednesday; 42 (16.2 per cent) on a Thursday; 32 (12.3 per cent) on a Friday; 38 (14.6 per cent) on a Saturday and 35 (13.5 per cent) on a Sunday.

Soon after her daughter Fanny had settled in England, Black Polly received a parcel from her. What it contained is not known – presents perhaps, or some goods for trading. The package was included in the puncheon JPP sent to Nancy Weekes,[399] one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees. They were Mrs P's three unmarried aunts who lived at the southern end of Charlestown, near Stoney Grove estate, on the way to Fort Charles. Black Polly would have had to go there to collect her package. Later Fanny sent her some money, and more parcels and a box,[400] but apart from these recorded transfers, both Black Polly and her daughter had many opportunities to pass on messages and items through people who were travelling to and from England: Kate Coker, who accompanied Mrs and Sally Jones to England, Mr and Mrs Arthurton, Nanny Weekes and Mulatto Polly who sailed across the Atlantic several times. In 1790 Fanny also came to Nevis, and in 1794 Pero.

In 1790, when Fanny accompanied Mrs Pinney on a visit to Nevis, Black Polly had the first and, as far as is known, only opportunity to see her daughter again. Fanny stayed for exactly seven months. During this visit, Black Polly gave JPP some money to change for her in England, and in due course she received six dollars from him.[401]

Black Polly was sufficiently well off to improve her living conditions. She built a boarded and shingled house. Her daughter may have motivated her to do so because not long after Fanny had left the island, Black Polly acquired the materials from the plantation. Fanny may also contributed to, or financed, the venture. Black Polly spent over N£3 on five hundred feet of board and also bought cypress shingles.[402] Although it probably was of standard dimensions and construction, building her new house gave her an opportunity to exercise some control over its design. Black Polly was one of three people who are known to have upgraded their houses but she was the only woman to do so, and having a boarded and shingled house would have set her apart from others who occupied thatched dwellings. Her new abode would have been a very visible sign of her elevated status within the plantation population.

During JPP's second visit – this time he came without his wife and without Fanny - Black Polly started buying flour by the barrel. The first barrel cost over N£4 whereas one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees had hers at a much-reduced price of N£3, but once JPP was off the island and the new manager, James Williams, was in charge, the price dropped to less than N£4. In all, between July and the end of September 1794, she purchased six barrels of flour from the plantation.[403] Black Polly was selling the flour along with other goods JPP sent her from England 'per agreement': half barrels each of pork and beef, 'dipt' candles and a box of Irish soap, but the firkin of butter she received was short by about a third – one of the crew on board the *Nevis* had helped himself to some of it along the way.[404] In his ledger, JPP set up an account for her and headed it 'Black Polly a Negro Woman belonging to JPP at Nevis'. He recorded each item sent and each payment made. This was business now, and he was treating her like a businesswoman. When sending the pork and the beef, he suggested that Black Polly 'may have them cheaper than she can buy them at the store in town' but the manager was to 'Charge her 150 per cent

[399] PP, LB 5: JPP, London, to Joseph Gill, 30 October 1783
[400] PP, LB 9: JPP to Ann Weekes, 30 October 1791, LB 16: JPP to James Williams, 11 February 1801, and LB 17: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 6 March 1802
[401] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, 9 November 1790
Black Polly and Bridget had given JPP 'cut money', banknotes that were literally cut in half. Transported separately, they were intended to deter thieves.
[402] PP, AB 43 1790-1791 Cash a/c
[403] PP, AB 50 Plantation a/c
[404] PP, AB 50 1794 Plantation a/c and Pinney's a/c; also AB 39 Black Polly a Negro woman's a/c

which will about cover all expenses'.[405] JPP was not going to lose out on the deal. Even so, Black Polly paid almost a pound less for a half barrel of pork than Mulatto Polly.[406]

In 1794 her account was balanced but, despite making payments of more than N£16, in 1795 she fell behind.[407] By the end of 1796 JPP was getting anxious about her sluggish payments, and when he dispatched two boxes each of soap and candles with an invoice for over S£14, he wanted his manager to collect the money once she had sold the first box. James Williams was to 'deliver her only one box of each at a time'. The way he put it: 'the other two boxes will be much safer in the store than her house.'[408] The manager did not do as he was told (persuaded, perhaps, by Black Polly?) and handed over all the goods at once, without her having paid for the first batch. By the end of the following year he charged the full amount to the plantation account as he saw 'no likelihood of its being paid – The amount of sope and candles remains to her debit in Sterling ledger £14:5:6.'[409] Despite the manager's prediction, in September 1798 Black Polly paid off almost all the money owed, and he recorded her payments in the cash account.[410] She then asked JPP, through her daughter, to ship another two boxes of candles. Had she made her request through Williams, he could have told JPP about Black Polly's payment and that her account was just short of a few pounds but, as Williams had not yet sent him the up-to-date accounts, JPP was unaware that she had in fact re-imbursed him almost in full. As soon as he had dispatched the candles on board the *Nevis,* he 'was induced (this moment) to turn to her account.' To his 'great surprise' he found that she still owed him for goods sent to her previously. JPP felt used by her yet his response was more weary than angry. He asked Williams to

> Tell her that I am not a little displeased with her conduct and am astonished at her assurance in applying to her daughter to prevail upon me to send her a fresh supply; without paying anything towards her former one, if she does not pay you the cost of the sope & candles before the end of July, she must expect to lose the privilege she now possesses: for I will not suffer myself to be so egregiously imposed upon.[411]

Perhaps not a little displeased herself at this mix-up, in March the following year Black Polly paid the final N£3:6:0 for 'sope and candles sent for her 1796'[412] but, again, news of this payment did not reach Bristol until much later: when JPP forwarded some of Mrs P's presents for the house people, half a yard of white cotton for wrappers, Black Polly was to receive hers only 'if she has made you any payment, if not give it to some other and insist upon her paying you eight bits per week until her debt is paid off.'[413] JPP had been quite patient with Black Polly; this request for payment came a year after noticing that some money was still outstanding.

Her debt was paid off but after this she requested no further goods from JPP. She may have dealt with her daughter directly, who, in 1801 and 1802, sent her a box and a parcel. Equally, requests to Black Polly from Bristol for cashew nuts and pumpkins, which had begun after JPP's second visit to Nevis, ceased in the late 1790s. After he returned to Bristol, he had 'desired' that Black Polly should collect as a

---

[405] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, 5 December 1794
[406] PP, AB 50 Pinney's a/c
[407] For instance, Black Polly made payments on 6 July 1795 of N£13:4:0 (PP, AB 52 f1 Cash a/c) and on 9 May 1797 of N£3:6:0 (AB 47 f113 Cash a/c). In 1795 she also paid N£8:0:5 to John Frederick Pinney (AB 47 John Frederick Pinney's a/c). See also AB 50 Black Polly a Negro Woman belonging to JPP at Nevis a/c; AB 52 f16 and AB 47 Black Polly Negro Woman belonging to JPP a/c
[408] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 24 November 1796
[409] PP, AB 54 Black Polly a Negro woman belonging to JPP a/c
[410] PP, AB 47 Cash a/c
[411] PP, LB 14: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 12 November 1798
[412] PP, AB 47 f114 Cash a/c
[413] PP, LB 15: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, 29 October 1799

good quantity cashew nuts from his trees and elsewhere, roast them, take off their outer skins and ship them to England. He had given precise packaging instructions.[414] But another woman, Old Madam, who then also sent a batch, 'forgot to take off the skin of the cashewnutts' and JPP asked Williams to remind Old Madam and Black Polly 'to always to do it and send as many as you can.' He also wanted him to pass on to Black Polly that 'a few pumkins (sic) by each ship will be acceptable to her Mistress'[415] but three years on he had to jog her memory: 'Tell Black Polly that her Mistress expects some pumpkins by each ship and give the like hint to Mulatto Polly.'[416] As far as is known, Black Polly did not send any more cashew nuts or pumpkins nor did JPP request any more from her. In his last thank you letter JPP noted that 'very few of the nutts were overroasted',[417] and it appears that by sending substandard produce and by 'forgetting' to send any at all she had fought her own little battle with the Pinneys. Resistance by enslaved people could take many forms, and it is easy to imagine how, when roasting the nuts, she gave them just a little more heat than was necessary and 'forgot' to peel them and that she sent them on their way across the Atlantic roughly packed. All these acts and omissions could empower her and allow her to assert an element of control. After all, she did not get paid for preparing and sending these goods to her mistress in England.

If Black Polly fought a long-distance battle with the Pinneys it was one that she lost because JPP vetoed her appeal for her youngest daughter to leave fieldwork and to become a seamstress. Little Molly was worth more to him as a field slave.[418] Black Polly must have been greatly distressed by this news. Had Molly been mixed-heritage, her wish would almost certainly have been granted; another domestic's mulatto daughter became a house servant, her mestize daughter a seamstress while her black son and daughter laboured in the fields - as did Black Polly's other black children, Cubbenna and Hetty. Their colour condemned them to a life of hard agricultural labour. Black Polly's mulatto son Billey Jones, meanwhile, had been trained as a cooper.

Black Polly was different to many of the plantation workers. She had managed to build a house, she had the privilege of trading goods sent by JPP, and she and Mulatto Polly were the only women responsible for paying their own taxes.[419] Mulatto Polly and her children had been freed recently, and Black Polly would already have known that JPP was reserving people for himself and that he had not passed her and her family on to his son when he made over the entailed plantation and its workers. Along with about twenty other people, this put her in a special category. How special she was she may, however, not have known. As early as 1789, in a long memo to himself, JPP had laid out plans for when his eldest son came of age; he was going to hand over Mountravers 'and the slaves and stock purchased by me and worked thereupon except Black Polly and her children and other slaves not considered by me as field slaves.'[420] When her daughter Hetty gave birth to her first child, the boy was added to the list of reserved people – those whom JPP retained for his own use even after the plantation was sold. The same applied to Black Polly's other grandchildren who were born subsequently.

Billey Jones had his first child with Patty Fisher in January 1801, and it is likely that it was the birth of his son that prompted Black Polly's son to reflect on his own lineage. According to Billey Jones, JPP was his father. Word spread around the plantation. The manager, James Williams, who himself had three mulatto

[414] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 5 December 1794
[415] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 16 October 1795
[416] PP, LB 14: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 8 March 1798
[417] PP, LB 14: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 12 November 1798
[418] PP, LB 14: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 12 November 1798
[419] Black Polly and Mulatto Polly were responsible for paying their own taxes but they did not pay them directly to the Treasury (PP, AB 52 Plantation a/c).
[420] PP, AB 42 ff1-2

children he was trying to buy, reported Billey Jones's claim back to Bristol, and JPP reacted in a measured tone and advised him to treat Black Polly's son gently but firmly: 'In respect to Billey Jones it is notoriously known that Robert Jones is his father, but notwithstanding you will treat him with kindness in his situation as he was one of the playfellows of my sons but you must not suffer him to act with impropriety ...'[421] But neither Billey Jones nor Black Polly nor James Williams let it rest there. Black Polly supported her son in his claim and, judging by JPP's response, she certainly had had a sexual relationship with her master and possibly with Robert Jones as well, but until then she had never let it be known that her son was JPP's. This time his response was rather more defensive:

> I am very sorry to find that Black Polly upholds her son Billy in the idea of what you say respecting of me; when she knows the whole idea is untrue - she never once hinted it whilst I was in the West Indies, but on the contrary applied to Rob.t Jones for assistance. I desire you will do all in your power to suppress such an infamous falsehood.[422]

It is interesting to note that he found it necessary to refute the allegation once again and to reply in such detail. After all, his wife, being a Creole, was accustomed to the fact that many planters, perhaps even her own father and brother, had children with enslaved mistresses. Of course JPP was under no obligation to support Billey financially but his motive for denying paternity may have had more to do with wanting to lead his white workforce by example. As to Williams's motive in reporting plantation gossip back to Bristol, he may have calculated that he could induce a little guilt in JPP by reminding his employer that he, too, had a mulatto child and so support Williams's efforts to purchase his own children. For JPP, in turn, it was relatively easy to put the blame on Robert Jones: there was no one in Nevis who could be offended by this suggestion, or who could defend Jones. The man was probably still in London, as was his errant brother, Coleman Jones, while his other brother, the Revd William Jones, had died the year before and Revd Jones's widow was then living in Bristol.[423] Robert Jones had been a fellow passenger on the Pinneys' honeymoon voyage to Philadelphia,[424] and it is easy to imagine that on their journey north the two men had discussed the subject of woman, and Black Polly in particular.

When Mountravers was sold, Black Polly, her children and grandchildren were among 23 people JPP retained for himself. Two of her grandsons, Hetty's boys, went to live with their white father, the other two, Hetty's sons John and Edward Fisher, were hired out to Clarke's Estate with Hetty, Cubbenna and Little Molly. While these three children of hers worked as field hands, Black Polly lived in Charlestown, with Billey Jones and his wife, Patty Fisher.[425] Black Polly was then the only 'Negroe allowed to work for herself' and was 'to pay her taxes if any charged'. JPP hoped none were due, 'as I have considered her exempt from all labor on my account ever since I left the island in 1783.' Again, this confirms that she had

---

[421] PP, LB 16: JPP to James Williams, 26 August 1801
[422] PP, LB 17: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 6 March 1802
[423] Pares appeared to back up JPP's defence. He wrote 'If this does not read like a wholly convincing disclaimer, it is fair to add that Pinney always treated Robert Jones as Billy's father, and from other things he wrote, much earlier and in a quite different context, about that highly irreverent candidate for Holy Orders, there is no difficulty in believing the charge [Pares presumably referred to Robert Jones's over-long stay at Woodcutts]. Unless we are to treat every evidence of special favour shown to any of his mulatto slaves as an underhand acknowledgement of paternity – which would be very unreasonable – we may suppose that John Pinney himself, both before marriage and after, was an exception to the general libertinism. So, no doubt, were some others of the sober married planters; the half-caste population sprang, for the most part, from other loins.'' Elsewhere Pares expanded on this and wrote that 'only a minority of half-castes were descended from the great planters', and that 'most, if not all, mulattoes and quadroons on JPP's plantation' were the children of managers, overseers, and other white employees. Indeed, 'Almost every man who ever served there left behind him one or two mulattoes who went by his name' (R Pares *A West India Fortune* p77 and p76). In this Pares echoed James Tobin's line that mostly men from the lower orders were responsible for fathering the coloured children (F̧larin Shyllon *James Ramsay The Unknown Abolitionist* p68).
[424] PP, AB 17: Memo July 1772
[425] Billey Jones was in 1806 listed as 'a Cooper in town'.

a very special status and JPP endorsed this by adding, in a 'PS': 'In future you had better leave Black Polly's name out of the lists.'[426] As far as he was concerned, she was 'considered for many years free' 'and was so before [he] left the West Indies.'[427] He informed his attorney Samuel Laurence accordingly.

In 1809 Billey Jones and his family moved to the Cedar Trees where he was to build a house for himself and for Black Polly, but JPP also enlisted the help of his former overseer, Thomas Arthurton, to find a plot of land for her nearby:

> I understand there is a piece of land belonging to me or the estate of Mr Weekes, where the Jews Synagogue was formerly; you will therefore be so good as to have it marked out, and permit Billey Jones for his mother Black Polly himself and family to build a house there - and if you should hear of any piece of poor land to be sold above the Town Brookes or near it, I wish you would obtain for me the refusal and let me know the price as I want it for Black Polly and you will very much oblige me.[428]

Thomas Arthurton presumably came up with another property and she then moved out. Black Polly obviously lived independently and was earning a living but still did not have that piece of paper which confirmed that she was, indeed, free. She approached the planter John Colhoun Mills. He was just then renting JPP's reserved group – including Black Polly's children and grandchildren. JPP's story changed; he no longer merely 'considered' her free but claimed that she had actually been freed. He replied to Mills, again as an afterthought in a 'PS', that 'Black Polly was manumitted in the year 1794 when I was last in Nevis and I believe her freedom was left with Mr James Williams, if not with my papers that were on the estate. I must have brought it away with my papers by mistake when I have leisure I will search for it.'[429] JPP's memory as to where the document was left is uncharacteristically fuzzy and his response uncharacteristically garbled. In fact, Black Polly had not been manumitted:[430] in the first slave registration in 1817 she was listed as 'the lawful property of John Pinney Esq of the City of Bristol' by JPP's attorney, Samuel Laurence. Although he considered her to be 'free', she had never been freed in a legal sense.[431]

Registered with Black Polly were her son Billey Jones, his wife Patty Fisher and their four remaining children who were born when the family already lived in Charlestown: Charles, Frederick, Betsey and Mary. Their two eldest children, William and Fanny Jones, had in the meantime also been hired to the plantation where the rest of the reserved group now worked, Clarke's Estate in St Thomas Lowland. Billey Jones had tried to buy his children but was in arrears with the Pinney firm in Bristol and JPP did not lend his consent, nor, after his death, his son Charles. Billey Jones's children, therefore, remained enslaved.

In 1814 a new law was introduced in Nevis. It was intended to stop absentees from divesting themselves of people past useful labour: anyone resident in Nevis for less than two years could not legally manumit without prior consent of the Legislature.[432] Three magistrates would then examine the person and issue a certificate accordingly. The law was designed so that freed people would not become a burden to the

---

[426] PP, LB 22: JPP to JW Stanley, 15 August 1807
[427] PP, LB 45: JPP to Sam Laurence, Nevis, 7 February 1810
[428] PP, LB 23: JPP to Thomas Arthurton, 28 August 1809
[429] PP, LB 24: JPP to JC Mills, 17 August 1814
[430] Black Polly's manumission cannot be confirmed by the documents, either: while Mulatto Polly's was registered in the Common Records deposited in the Nevis Court House, Black Polly's, apparently, was not. Although CR 1792-1794 is too fragile to handle, the next book, CR 1794-1797, which contains Mulatto Polly's and that of some of the mortgaged slaves, does not bear out JPP's claim.
[431] Pares wrote that Black Polly was the 'only slave of Pinney's who was ever manumitted for any other cause', (referring to slaves being manumitted when they became old or unproductive), but he confused Mulatto Polly with Black Polly (*A West India Fortune* p132).
[432] Huggins, HC (ed) *Laws of Nevis 1680-1773* p511

public, and anyone intending to manumit had to guarantee that the person was not 'incapacitated either by age or bodily infirmity from earning or getting a competent maintenance'. If owners were freeing someone unable to work, they had to secure their livelihood and it seems that this clause prompted Charles Pinney not to manumit Black Polly. She may have been in frail health, needing support. In 1817 she was judged to have been seventy years old, about eight years more than her actual age.

Within a space of a few months she lost both her eldest children. First Billey Jones died in Nevis and then Fanny Coker in England. Following the hurricane of 1819, Billey Jones had applied for rate relief, suggesting he had fallen on hard times, but Fanny Coker left her mother a legacy of S£30, and for her sisters some money and other items.[433] The cash Black Polly received actually came from the sale of Black Polly's daughter-in-law and four of Black Polly's grandchildren. JPP had died at the beginning of 1818 and his son Charles had inherited his reserved group, and while Charles was staying in Nevis, he arranged to sell Patty Fisher and four of her children. They were bought by the free mixed-heritage women Hester and Christiana Smith.[434] It was decided that, instead of the Smith sisters paying the purchase price to the House, they were to pay 'certain sums' to Black Polly and her family.[435] But the Misses Smith were slow in handing over the money and it took more than two years to settle the legacy issue.[436] This probably was not wilful; certainly one of the sisters, Hester Smith, was owed money and had to recover it through the court.[437]

During his visit to Nevis Charles Pinney made 'Black Polly comfortable'. Mrs P approved, and she dispatched three trunks with Fanny's clothes to Nevis.[438] From Mrs P's correspondence with Charles we learn, for the first time, that JPP had also left Black Polly a legacy of £30 a year. This bequest was not itemised in his will but probably was among the informal arrangements he had made. However, not only had the family failed to pay the money to Black Polly ever since JPP had died two years earlier, but Mrs P also suggested to Charles that he gave her 'only half the sum' if he thought that what Fanny had bequeathed her mother was sufficient to cover Black Polly's needs 'this year'.[439] Whether old animosity or perhaps jealousy prompted Mrs P into this uncharitable act, such penny-pinching casts a very deep shadow over Mrs P's humanity. An alternative interpretation, however, may be that the other half was meant to be handed over the following year, thereby re-enforcing the dependent nature of Black Polly relationship with Mrs P.

Not long after she had lost her two oldest children, Black Polly and another woman were said to have caused the death of a baby girl who was still-born. Black Polly and Mrs Maynard were present when Mrs Anne Mills was delivered of a 'most astonishing [?fine] babe'. Her husband was John Colhoun Mills, to whom Black Polly had earlier turned for help when she had tried to confirm her manumission. Mr Mills laid the loss of his daughter's life 'to the account of Mrs Maynard and Polly Pinney'.[440] The fact that she appears to have assisted at the birth opens up the possibility that Black Polly was or became a midwife.

[433] PP, 1818 Account Book: 22 October 1820
[434] PP, LB 57: PA & Co to Mills & Galpine, 4 June 1822
[435] PP, LB 57: PA & Co to Mills & Galpine, 27 April 1822
[436] PP, LB 57: PA & Co to Mills & Galpine, May 1823
[437] ECSCRN, King's Bench and Common Pleas Minutes 1827-1836 f89 and f92
[438] PP, Dom Box C1-7: Mrs Jane Pinney, Bath, to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 21 February 1821
[439] PP, Dom Box C1-6: Jane Pinney, Swanage, to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 25 October 1820
[440] PP, Dom Box C1-7: JC Mills to Charles Pinney, 31 October 1821

When the incident with Mrs Mills's baby took place, Black Polly had 14 grandchildren.[441] More were born during the 1820s when her family was divided between Clarke's and Scarborough's estates. Both Hetty and Little Molly survived until slavery was abolished but Black Polly's only remaining son, Cubenna, died in 1828.

There is no independent account of Black Polly's death but she may well have been buried as Polly Finney (sic), on 26 December 1846. She had been in hospital before she died. This woman's age was estimated at 70 years when she was buried;[442] Black Polly would actually have been about 95 years old.

Another Mary Pinney was buried on 18 May 1873 in St Thomas Lowland. A resident of Cotton Ground, she was said to have been 105 years old.[443] Black Polly would have been about 15 years older. There certainly were some other people who lived surprisingly long - in 1845 a 115-year-old man was buried and four years later one aged 103[444] – but, given that as a 62-year-old Black Polly had appeared older than she was, it is not very likely that she would have reached such an unusually advanced age.

One thing is certain, however: of the group of nine Ebboes JPP bought in January 1765, the woman he called Black Polly had survived the longest.

◄► ▼◄►

262 **Juliet** was born on Tuesday, 29 January 1765, and the first child born after JPP came to Nevis. The daughter of an entailed woman, she was named after one of Shakespeare's heroines. JPP had just bought an 11-year-old boy whom he had called Romeo.

Aged 18 and worth only N£60, Juliet already suffered from poor health and three years later was among five people 'the French doctor' cured 'of the crabobas'.[445] This was the only time this doctor was called in and nothing is known about him.

In the 1790s Juliet was unable to work owing to asthma.[446] On 21 January 1796 she underwent an operation, possibly intended to relieve the symptoms. Doctors Archbald and Williamson charged N£2:13:0 'for introducing in seaton [incision?] in the neck for Juliet' and for a 'box of alternative pills'.[447]

By December 1801 she suffered another physical ailment; she had 'one leg contracted'. Aged 36, she was past work and had become 'useless'. She remained living on the estate.

Almost 37, or 38 years old, Juliet died between 1 January 1802 and May 1803.

---

[441] Hetty's six children Billy and Siah, John (b 1806), Edward (b 1807/8), Sally (b 1812-4) and Joseph Fisher (b 1818/9); Billy's seven children with Patty Fisher: William (b 1801), Fanny (b 1803), Charles (b 1806), Frederick (b 1808/9), Betsey (b 1811/2), Mary (b 1814/5) and Jeanett (b 1817/8); Molly's one child Mickey, or Michael (b 1818/9).
[442] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 505
[443] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 1142
[444] John Wells or Wills from Charlestown was buried on 23 September 1845, aged 115 (his age appears estimated) and William Davis from Figtree was buried on 4 September 1849, aged 103 years (NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 402 and Unnumbered).
[445] PP, AB 30 Plantation a/c
[446] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[447] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c

263 Tallihoe was born on Tuesday, 12 February 1765. It is likely that his mother was the field labourer Tusey (No 203).

While his value in 1783 of N£85 was that of a healthy young man, two years later he had two teeth extracted,[448] and on 11 February 1787 received eight pectoral powders and also 'sec. boluses'. This treatment came to a total of N£2:4:4.[449] He may have suffered from consumption[450] and, at the most, lived for another ten months.

Tallihoe died before December 1787. He was 22 years old.

◄► ▼◄►

Six months after he had bought his first complement of new workers, on Thursday, 4 July 1765, JPP purchased four people, 'three Creole, one seasoned'. The seasoned person was an African woman in her twenties, Harriott, and the three Creoles were a boy and his two sisters: Pero alias Pero Jones or William Jones (aged 12), Nancy Jones (aged eight) and Sheba Jones (aged six). All four cost S£115/N£195, [451] or nearly N£49 each on average, which was just over eight per cent more than the average price for the Ebboes JPP had bought earlier in the year. Seasoned Africans and also Creoles were more expensive because planters were not exposed to the 'hazard of losing any in the breaking in' and benefited from their immediate service.[452]

This group's previous owner was a widow, Joanna Jones. A couple of years earlier she had bought Wiltshire, a man, from JPP's future father-in-law, William Burt Weekes,[453] and later raised a loan from JPP against three women, Molly, Nancy and Bass [454] – people whom Harriott and the children would have known.

She had recently been widowed and Joanna Jones may have had to sell Harriott and the children to make ends meet. Her husband, the merchant Mathias Jones, had been a tenant of John Frederick Pinney's[455] and had also owned property in Bristol Street in Charlestown.[456] Having lived in Nevis since at least the 1740s,[457] her husband had held the posts of Deputy Provost Marshal [458] and Naval Officer[459] and had served as a member of the Assembly.[460] His first wife had died; Joanna was his second. The daughter of the long-serving Revd Robert Robertson (the author of the well-known publication *A Detection of the State and Situation of the Present Sugar Planters of Barbados and the Leeward Islands*), Sarah had been left by her father two women, Melinda and Maria Congo. In his will Revd Robertson had

[448] PP, AB 31 Archbald & Williamson's a/c
[449] PP, AB 36 Archbald & Williamson's a/c
[450] Pectoral powders were for chest complaints. Quasheba was given pectoral powders and died shortly afterwards. Sarah also had consumption; she had fever-reducing pills and also died soon after.
[451] ECSCRN, CR 1764-1769 f255; PP, AB 15 Gingerland Plantation a/c; AB 18 Joanna Jones' a/c; AB 17 Nevis Cash a/c
[452] Stapleton Cotton MSS 20: Ellis Younge, Acton, to Alexander Douglas, St Kitts, 29 July 1766
[453] ECSCRN, CR 1763-1764 f109
[454] PP, Misc Vols 7 1783-1794 List of Deeds and Papers at Nevis f20 and f225
[455] PP, WI Box D: Accounts referring to the Estate of JF Pinney '1762'
[456] ECSCRN, CR 1771-1773 f302
[457] ECSCRN, CR 1741-1749 f64
[458] UKNA, CO 155/8: 8 March 1750
[459] Stapleton Cotton MSS 13 (iii): Nevis 1747 Accounts
[460] UKNA, CO 186/2: c 1753

also provided financially for the couple's infant son, William (later Revd William Jones).[461] The Joneses had at least another two sons, Robert and Coleman.

In 1745 Mathias Jones had in his possession six people;[462] in 1755 eleven and had registered another five for his children.[463] Among these 16 individuals owned by the Jones family almost certainly were the parents of the children Pero, Nancy and Sheba. A sister, Eve, may have been born later. She was alive in 1798, as was their father, but nothing is known about their mother - except that it was not Harriott.

The fate of two of Mathias Jones's enslaved people is known. Tom Jones was later bought by JPP from William Jones, and the woman Frankey was bought by Robert Thomson, the brother of one of Mathias Jones's executors. Thomson then freed her.[464] The death of a slaveholder could trigger the break-up of long-established household units and of families - as in the case of Pero, Nancy and Sheba - but it could also lead to freedom.

JPP's purchase of Harriott and the children was officially recorded. The wording in the Bill of Sale is typical for those documents:

> 'This Indenture made the fourth day of July in the fifth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George III by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King defender of the Faith and so forth and in the year of our Lord Christ one thousand seven hundred and sixty five between Joanna Jones of the Island aforesaid widow late the wife of Mathias Jones Esq deceased on the one Part and John Pinney of the said Island Esq of the other part witnesseth that the said Joanna Jones widow for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred and fifteen Pounds lawful money of Great Britain to her the said Joanna Jones in hand paid at and before the ensealing and delivery of these presents by the said John Pinney the receipt whereof she doth hereby acknowledge and thereof and every part thereof do acquit exonerate and clearly discharge the said John Pinney his Executors and Administrators forever by these presents hath given granted bargaind sold aleind (sic) and released and confirmed and by these presents doth fully clearly and absolutely give grant bargain sell alain release and confirm unto the said John Pinney his heirs and assigns one Negro woman named Harriott one Negro boy named Pero and two girls named Nancey and Sheba which said Negro boy and girls are brother and sisters to have and to hold the said Negro woman Harriott, said boy Pero and the said girls Nancey and Sheba.
> Witnesses Nicholas Stanley and James Huggins, signed Joanna Jones.
> Received 4 July 1765 the within consideration money of one hundred and fifteen Pounds Stirling.[465]

One of the witnesses, James Huggins, later rented JPP's Gingerland plantation, with Edward Huggins,[466] but nothing is known about the other man, Nicholas Stanley.

---

[461] PP, WI 'Damaged or Fragile' Box
From Revd Robert Robertson's estate Mathias Jones had also acquired the child Sam whom Harriott, Pero, Nancy and Sheba would have known (ECSCRN, CR 1757-1762 f66).
[462] ECSCRN, CR 1741-1749 f123
[463] PP, Dom Box P: General's Tax Notebook 1755
[464] ECSCRN, CR 1763-1764 f405
[465] ECSCRN, CR 1764-1769 f255
[466] PP, AB 30 J & E Huggins' a/c

During 1766 to 1768, when others were moved to the Gingerland property, Harriott and the children remained on Mountravers. By 1783 the value of the three females had risen to N£250 but Pero was not appraised. He was 'to go to England'.

264 Harriott (dob 1739/40) was, no doubt, intended as a domestic. She may have been a nurse for the Pinneys' son John Frederick. When they were born JPP opened an account for each of his children, and in John Frederick's he entered that he 'gave Harriott for him N5s' and also accounted for the hire of 'a Negro', at N£6 a year. [467]

Harriott owned animals and sold several to JPP: two turkeys, a pig for John Frederick's passage to England [468]and two chickens during his visit in 1790.[469] Only the pig was sold for less than another woman's - Mulatto Polly's - but her poultry always cost more. Her animals may have been bigger and better, or she drove a harder bargain, but JPP may have just favoured her with extra money: her turkeys cost N9s (Soone's N8s3d), her chickens N2s (Princess's and Sarah's were N1s6d) and when he re-imbursed her for a 'fowl stolen by Foe', he gave her N6s.[470] This was double the amount he paid Dorinda for a fowl.

In 1794, long after the Pinneys had left the island, Harriott was briefly employed elsewhere and made several cash payments into the hire account. [471]

By the end of the eighteenth-century food items were not only preserved by curing, salting and drying but a basic form of bottling had also become a common practice[472] and perishable produce could be sent across the Atlantic. Harriott was one of the women the Pinneys chose as their supplier of marmalade and other indulgences. JPP wrote to his manager that 'Mrs P desires you to give Harriott some of my best muscavado sugar to make a good deal of guava mamulet (sic) to be boiled rather high',[473] and a month later he asked for treats his children wanted: '... please order Harriott to preserve a keg, or very large pot, of green sweetmeats.'[474] Harriott either was not well practised at this or her products did not measure up to expectations because later Mulatto Polly and other women took over supplying the Pinneys with marmalade and sweetmeats. However, Harriott was among the ten women, with Nancy and Sheba Jones, who in 1799 received from Mrs P the gift of half a yard of cotton for wrappers. [475]

Despite her status as a domestic, her value in 1783 was only N£60, N£20 below the average for any of the females. Perhaps it was her age - she was then about 43 years old – or she was in frail health. However, the only recorded medical attention she received was a doctor's visit on 4 January 1797.[476]

Harriott 'died suddenly' on 9 July 1800. She was aged around 60.[477]

---

[467] PP, AB 21 John Frederick's a/c
[468] PP, AB 17: 30 March 1768 and 30 June 1778
[469] PP, AB 27
[470] PP, AB 17: 31 August 1779
[471] PP, AB 50 Negro Hire a/c
[472] Murray, Venetia *High Society* p196
[473] PP, LB 6: JPP to William Coker, Nevis, 16 December 1785
[474] PP, LB 6: JPP to Wm Coker, Nevis, 23 January 1786
[475] PP, LB 15: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, 29 October 1799
[476] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[477] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary

265 Pero Jones alias William Jones (dob 1752/3).[478] Soon after buying him, JPP decided to make Pero his personal servant and, at the age of about 14, the boy was boarded out to train as a barber. His teacher was Daniel Martin, variously described as a 'peruke maker', 'hair dresser' and 'barber'.[479] He probably was a white Creole in his late twenties. Over a period of 16 months he taught 'Pero to shave and dress hair'. This was a relatively long induction; the abolitionist and freed man Olaudah Equiano also learnt the barber's trade but his training only lasted for six months. Daniel Martin's fees amounted to over N£20[480] but with JPP having to pay N7s6d for just one haircut,[481] in the long run Pero's training would prove a good investment.

Servants in the West Indies were said to have been dressed quite casually, often going about barefoot, and there is no evidence that Pero wore either shoes or a servant's livery. It is likely, though, that the 'negro hat' JPP bought in October 1768 was intended for Pero. It cost N3s.[482]

Much was expected of a good servant. Pero's duties would have involved shaving his master, cutting his hair and looking after his wigs: storing, arranging and powdering them with the 'perfumed hairpowder' that JPP ordered from England.[483] Wigs were less grand than they had been a century earlier and were beginning to go out of fashion but JPP still wore one – probably only on special occasions. Pero's other duties would have included laying out JPP's clothes in the mornings and assisting him with dressing and getting him ready for the day. He would have accompanied JPP almost everywhere, carrying his luggage, taking care of his horse and generally making sure his master had all he needed. He would have helped him take off his boots when he came in from the field but not cleaned them – that would have been another boy's job. And although a woman would have washed most of JPP's clothes, Pero would have tended to his outer garments. Coats, for instance, required meticulous treatment and were the domain of the valet, or personal servant. They were beaten with a cane to remove the dust, and great care needed to be taken as this wore out the material and the buttons. Once spots of dirt had been rubbed out, the cloth was brushed in a particular way, lightly and quickly. During the day Pero would have been called upon to perform many little tasks, such as fetching items his master had mislaid, or fanning him, or when there were guests, the other gentlemen.[484] If guests left late, or JPP was out late, Pero would have had to stay up to help him undress but the next morning he had to rise before his master to lay out the clothes for the day. He was with JPP at all times and as a personal servant Pero got to know his master's most secret habits (which gave him some power) but he was also exposed to his whims and, no doubt, at times to his bad temper. Living with his employer in such close proximity, Pero was required to have the

---

[478] The origin of Pero's name may lie in Africa. Among the Yoruba in Nigeria Pere (peh-reh) means 'made to open wide', among the Bambara in the Upper Niger Valley it means 'a noise; to cry loud' (Muñoz, Sharon *The Afro-American Griot Speaks*). But there are also Portuguese, Spanish, French, or Croat names, some with alternative spelling, such as Pirro and Perreau. They stem from the Greek Pierro, 'with flaming hair'. However, there may have been other meanings: the character in the popular Commedia dell'Arte originally known as Pedrolino in the second half of the seventeenth century developed into Pierrot (http://shane-arts.com/Commedia-Pedrolino.htm, citing John Rudlin *Commedia dell'Arte, an Actor's Handbook* Routledge 1994) Alternatively, JPP had a book called 'Perrault's Architecture', and a Charles Perrault (1628-1703) published fairy-tales under his son's name, Pierre: *Histoires et contes du temps passé* (1697). These were translated into English in 1729 and became very popular (Oxford Concise Companion to English Literature). In Nevis Pero was a fairly common first name for male slaves but 'Perreau', on at least one occasion, was used as a family name: Elizabeth Perreau was buried in 1743 in St George Parish, St Kitts (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 1 p355). The name may also have been borrowed from Sir Pero Negro who is said to have conquered Holy Island in 1530.

[479] ECSCRN, CR 1777-1778 f215, f 216 and Book of Wills 1763-1787 ff352-54

[480] PP, AB 18 Daniel Martin's a/c; AB 20 and AB 21 Plantation a/c

[481] PP, AB 17: 14 June 1766
One of the duties of a barber was to shave the dead but it is not known whether Pero was called to perform this task. In 1762 a barber was paid £1:10:4 'for shaving Mr Watkins when dead' (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 5 p78).

[482] PP, AB 18 Hunter & Ross a/c

[483] PP, LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to Peter Eaton, Bristol, 3 June 1776

[484] Equiano, Olaudah *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings* p63 and p103

qualities gentlemen valued in their valets: 'polite manners, modest demeanour, and a respectful reserve … good sense, good temper, some self-denial, and consideration for the feelings of others'.[485]

Nancy, Pero's sister, also received training but in St Kitts. Her schooling probably included domestic duties, and she may have been intended as a maid for JPP's wife, because it was Pero and Nancy whom JPP and Mrs P took on their honeymoon to Philadelphia. For this special occasion they got new clothes – JPP spent N£3 on 'stuff for servants gowns' –[486] and on 27 July 1772 they all were ready to set off.

It was getting dark when the crew of the schooner *Gull* hauled the anchor. After an overnight journey they arrived at St Eustatius and went ashore. The Pinneys accepted an invitation to dine with several gentlemen, and for Pero and Nancy this would have been an occasion to catch up with the servants' gossip in the island. The ship set sail again that evening, at about 8 o'clock, and headed straight for North America. Captained by James Ross and in the company of a ship's pilot who guided their passage for two days, the *Gull* arrived in Philadelphia on Friday evening, 14 August 1772. The travellers took lodgings at Mrs Graydon's.[487]

The daughter of a German trader and a Scotswoman, Barbados-born Mrs Graydon was one of the fashionable 'Belles and Dames of Philadelphia'. She ran a superior establishment in a 'large and elegant' building; her guests included British officers and gentry.[488] Living in Mrs Graydon's boarding house in the busy centre of town would have been a new experience for Pero and Nancy. Black people made up a large proportion of the population and some would have worked in the guest house. Contact with Mrs Graydon's staff gave the visitors from Nevis a first-hand opportunity to find out about life in a big North American city.

Pero and Nancy arrived in Philadelphia when its black population was carried along on 'a wave of hope and discontent' and, no doubt, these two were amazed and excited by the new environment. The city was one of the centres of debate about the abolition of slavery in North America and the travellers would have been exposed to many arguments, discussions and new ideas. Quakers who had founded the city could express their views freely whereas in the West Indies they suffered persecution for refusing to bear arms and for trying to convert enslaved people to Christianity. Olaudah Equiano valued the 'worthy Quakers' for

---

[485] Beeton, Isabella *The Book of Household Management* p977

[486] PP, AB 21 Expense a/c

[487] PP, AB 17 Memo July 1772

Mrs Graydon appears to have run a boarding house from 1765 onwards. First she leased a building called the Slate Roof House. It had great historical significance, having been William Penn's residence from 1700 to 1701, the birthplace of his son, John, and the seat of the Pennsylvania government from 1701 to 1704. The building was demolished in 1869 (http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/bah/dam/mg/mg343.htm).

Although JPP wrote that Mrs Graydon's establishment was in Walnut Street, her next property may have been 'Drinker's big house, up Front Street near to Race Street'. She moved there in 1766. The widow Graydon's 'new place (Drinker's house)' was mentioned in a nineteenth century publication by John Fanning Watson. Matt Ainslie wrote that Watson seemed to have been 'fairly specific about where this new boardinghouse was - at the corner of Front and Drinker's Alley, not on Walnut Street - but Watson was not always correct. If she was indeed at Drinker's house, there was also a famous Drinker house, built 1751, demolished in the 1950s… at the north-eastern corner of 2nd and Walnut Streets. It's a possibility, especially since that intersection lies half a block south of where the Slate Roof House stood.' (Pers. comm., Matt Ainslie, Philadelphia, Sept/October 2002, quoting John Fanning Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia* Philadelphia, 1830 p154 and p403)

According to Watson, Mrs Graydon ran her boarding house until 1779. Some details of her life are known through the memoirs of her son, Alexander Graydon (Steven C Bullock *The Revolutionary Transformation of American Freemasonry* p364 fn35, quoting *Memoirs of His Own Time: With Reminiscences of the Men and Events of the Revolution* ed John Stockton Littill, Philadelphia 1846, first published 1811). One particular episode - that of Mrs Graydon travelling to New York to petition for the release of her son, who had been taken prisoner – is recounted in Elizabeth F Ellet's *The Women of the American Revolution* Baker and Scribner, New York 1848, which is available online through google books.

[488] 'Watson's Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania' Vol 1 Chapter 26A

'freeing and easing the burden of many of [his] oppressed African brethren',[489] and, living up to their Quaker credentials, only eight years after Pero's and Nancy's stay in Philadelphia the state of Pennsylvania introduced a limited form of abolition.

Pero and Nancy may have shared Equiano's view of Philadelphia - it was his 'favourite old town' – and they may well have looked forward to spending the winter at Mrs Graydon's. Perhaps they expected to travel more; JPP had already taken the opportunity to attend to some business in the neighbouring state of New Jersey [490] and his new wife and their servants, no doubt, had accompanied him. JPP intended to enjoy a long honeymoon and remain abroad for several months [491] but then news reached him that a terrible hurricane had hit Nevis. It had caused much damage. Pinney cut short the holiday, shipped off food and other necessities for his family on the *Betsey* (he thoughtfully included 20 yards of silk for one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees), organised a load of provisions for sale in Nevis, and on 8 November they all left Philadelphia.

The Pinneys and their servants travelled to Chester, southwest of the city, where they boarded Captain Charles Jenkins's brig. On their journey to North America a man from Nevis had sailed with them - Revd William Jones's brother Robert - and the return journey they spent in the company of another acquaintance from Nevis: the planter John William Sanders. He had gone to America to buy a farm and start a new life but was returning to Nevis to attend to business. Sanders was short of cash; JPP lent him N£12. After a journey lasting 23 days they reached Nevis[492] and JPP closed the honeymoon episode by accounting for nearly N£220 for his 'family expenses'. Servants were considered 'family' which meant that his account included Pero's and Nancy's requirements.[493]

In August 1776 Pero learnt a new skill, how to 'draw teeth' - a service often performed by barbers. Their methods were crude and so were their tools. Later the medically-trained Dr Weekes was to order from England 'an instrument for extracting teeth which moves with a spring without the trouble of unscrewing' and 'an instrument for extracting the front teeth'[494] but Pero's equipment would have been more basic. His teacher was Mial,[495] who probably belonged to Miss Mary Browne (in the following year she married JPP's father-in-law), and until he became proficient, Pero may have practiced on the teeth of dead animals.[496] He acquired a very useful skill and his expertise would have secured him an additional income. He may also have earned money from passing on his skills to others.

Pero would have derived further income from JPP's guests. It was customary for visitors to private houses to give money to the hosts' servants for additional service or extra effort, and these tips, called vails, could amount to substantial sums. JPP, for instance, dished out N9s to Mr Maynard's servants and another N9s to Mrs Cottle's and N8s8d to Mr Stanley's,[497] and even if the money was shared among several people, a penny or two was always a welcome gift. It was claimed, however, that many servants pressurised their masters' guests into paying, and if they did not pay up, or if the tip was considered too mean, visitors could expect reprisals - their horses might be injured, for instance, or when they called at the house, each time they would be told that the master and mistress were unavailable. In Britain, these

[489] Equiano, Olaudah *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings* p224
[490] PP, LB 3: JPP, Princeton, to Thomas Lucas, 17 October 1772
[491] PP, LB 3: JPP to John Hayne, 22 January 1772
[492] PP, AB 17: Memo July 1772
[493] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c; also AB 17 and AB 20 Expense a/c
[494] PP, LB 37: P & T to Mr ?Cansbery, Surgeon's Instrument Maker, 38 Great Windmill Street, London, 28 January 1789
[495] PP, AB 17: 3 August 1776
[496] Sheridan, RB *Doctors and Slaves* p90
[497] PP, AB 17: 11 November 1765, 14 and 15 June 1766

tips constituted an important part of servants' pay but they were unpopular with guests. An attempt to abolish vails in 1764 resulted in disturbances in London: servants broke lamps and smashed windows and people were injured.

Pero had opportunities for making money and he was an enterprising young man. He kept livestock, and in 1777, during a period of food shortages, he had sufficient surplus to sell a sheep to JPP. It fetched a good price, N£2:5:0.[498] Pero was the only person who sold a fully grown sheep - a few of the other elite people sold lambs - but generally people on Mountravers appear to have kept goats. Pero also sold JPP a goat,[499] as well as items which he may have manufactured himself: a barrow and three dozen dung baskets. For the barrow he was paid N12s and for the dung baskets N3d per basket – the going rate.[500] To assist in his enterprises, Pero briefly hired from the plantation an old woman called Soone.[501] This was with JPP's permission and approval. Pero also did some unspecified work ('a service') for one of Mrs P's aunt, Ann Weekes.[502]

As a domestic servant Pero enjoyed his master's confidence. On one occasion he and two other servants accompanied JPP and Mrs P to St Kitts but he returned a day later on his own.[503] Indeed, he was sent on other errands to St Kitts.[504] He could travel independently and was trusted with delivering large amounts of money - N£28 in cash on one occasion. These deliveries took him to different parts of the island,[505] widening his field of activity, giving him opportunities to get to know people who, one day, might want their hair cut, or their teeth pulled. Pero himself needed to undergo this treatment and doctors Archbald & Williamson were called in to carry out the procedure.[506] This is the only known record of any medical attention he received and provides the only pointer as to his appearance: he may, possibly, have had a visible gap between his teeth.

JPP's stay in the West Indies was meant to have been a temporary one but his business concerns, the political situation, and then his wife's pregnancies kept him in Nevis. The final delay was caused by the French. In January 1782 French ships appeared off Nevis, led by Compte de Grasse, and, intimidated by the enemy's show of strength, the island quickly capitulated. JPP and James Tobin led the negotiations with de Grasse and signed Nevis's articles of surrender aboard the French flagship, the *Ville de Paris*. It is quite probable that Pero was present on that occasion. He certainly accompanied JPP's father-in-law, William Burt Weekes, on a visit to the *Ville de Paris* soon after the surrender. Weekes was Treasurer and Captain Gunner of the Nevis forts and in that capacity would have negotiated the handover of the island's forts.[507] This time Nevis got off lightly, and eventually JPP could plan to leave the island.

---

[498] PP, AB 17: 7 March 1777
[499] PP, AB 17 Cash a/c
[500] PP, AB 17 Cash a/c
Pero was paid the current value of a dung basket, as revealed by an inventory with valuations of Edward Jesup's estate. Dated 9 July 1767, it stated that at Jesup's upper works were 30 dung baskets valued at N3d each (SCRO, Moberley and Wharton Collection, D/MW 35/18).

These dung baskets were used to haul manure from the pens to the fields. Coker in the early 1760s had wanted dung carts, and dung carts were also employed on John Richardson Herbert's estate (BULSC, DM 1061: Abstract of Goods for JR Herbert, Nevis, 29 July 1777). At Old Montpelier in Jamaica men and women are known to have used wooden dung trays in the 1820s (BW Higman *Montpelier* p212).
[501] PP, AB 17: 30 June 1777
[502] PP, AB 26 Ann Weekes' a/c
[503] PP, AB 20 Peter Smitten's a/c
[504] PP, AB 17 Nevis a/c
[505] PP, AB 17: 2 November 1775; also AB 26 John Taylor's a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790
[506] PP, AB 30 Archbald & Williamson's a/c
[507] PP, DM 1773 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 Expense a/c

It is not known at what stage Pero would have learnt that JPP intended to take him to wherever the family was going to settle. JPP had considered emigrating to Pennsylvania – its proximity enabled a Caribbean plantation proprietor to remain in 'constant communication' -[508] but he chose to return to the West Country. Mrs P had vetoed Bettiscombe,[509] 'the seat of his 'late worthy kinsman', and while instructing his lawyer friend George Warry to sell the lease for Bettiscombe, he thought about buying 'a genteel modern built house with a small estate' near Taunton. A member of the Mills family had lately lived there.[510] JPP then considered the Exeter area, or Dorchester, 'or any other pleasant and convenient situation in the West',[511] but declined William Coker's 'kind offer' of his house at Stricklands near Blandford Forum.[512] George Warry died in late 1782,[513] and JPP then asked his uncle Simon Pretor to find him a house. He had decided on Bristol: 'Next year I hope you will be able to purchase or rent for me a house in one of the squares at Bristol, to enter at Michaelmas next.' JPP did not want one 'too large',[514] and it was to be 'at a reasonable price'.[515] JPP had one ambition which he confessed to his uncle: 'My greatest pride is to be considered a private country gentleman.' He wanted to belong to old rural stock and not be tainted with having made his money on the backs of enslaved people – '[I] shall avoid even the name of a West Indian' - [516] yet he took to England with him the most visible signs of his business, Pero and Fanny Coker, as well as a Creole wife.

In Britain household staff from across the Atlantic had a poor reputation, and taking domestic servants from the West Indies was very much against the advice of a Nevis planter who thought they made 'but useless servants in England.'[517] They were said to be 'so troublesome and dangerous to the families who brought them over as to get themselves discharged.' And, having achieved their discharge, they then corrupted the minds of every servant freshly landed from the West Indies; they got them christened or married, it was claimed, so that their new status 'led them to demand wages for their services.'[518] This refusal to accept their enslaved status was also addressed in an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine.* In this the writer complained that black people arrived in England with lofty ideas: they 'cease to consider themselves as slaves in this free country, nor will they put up with an inequality in treatment.' [519] Pero would have been aware of his status in England; he would have known that some years earlier Judge Mansfield had ruled that enslaved people living in Britain could not be compelled to return to the West Indies. But he would also have been aware that it was a very limited freedom because he could still be bought and sold in England and, if he absconded, hunted down as a runaway.

It is not known how Pero felt about leaving Nevis. Aged about thirty, he may have been excited about the prospect of a new life in a country about which he had heard much, but he left behind his father, his sisters and a nephew, as well as friends and possibly even a wife and children.

---

[508] PP, LB 3: JPP, Frenton, to Thomas Lucas, 5 October 1772
[509] PP, LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to Simon Pretor, 12 June 1777
[510] PP, LB 3: JPP to George Warry, (no day) c July 1773
[511] PP, LB 4: JPP to George Warry, 13 June 1778
[512] PP, LB 4: JPP to William Coker, (no day) June 1778
[513] The sizeable memorial inscription in St Mary's Parish Church in Chard praised George Warry as a man 'of unusual eminence'. An attorney-at-law for over forty years, he was a man of 'unshaken integrity' and 'inspired universal respect'. George Warry died on 16 November 1782 in the 64th year of his age: 'The Friend of Virtue, of Freedom, of Mankind'.
[514] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to Simon Pretor, 26 November 1782
[515] PP, LB 5: JPP to Simon Pretor, 17 December 1781
[516] PP, LB 4: JPP to William Coker, (no day) June 1778
[517] Thoms, DW *West India Merchants and Planters* Letter 446 Thomas Mills senior to Wm Mills, 20 February 1767
[518] Midgley, Clare *Women Against Slavery* p12, quoting Sir John Fielding *Extracts from Such of the Penal Laws, as Particularly Relate to the Peace and Good Order of This Metropolis,* H Woodfall & W Straham, London 1768 p144
[519] Fryer, Peter *Staying Power The History of Black People in Britain* p204, quoting *Gentleman's Magazine* 1764

Pero and Frances Coker left Nevis on 5 July 1783 on the *Jonge Vrow Charlotte*. On board were the Pinneys and their young son Pretor, and three boys the family had in their care: Dr Bates Williams Peterson's son Jack and the planter James Tobin's sons Charles and Joe.[520] For 41 days they all enjoyed an 'excellent passage',[521] but Captain Chivers's plan to land on the south coast was scuppered by contrary winds and they ended up in Dover.

They travelled to London where they took lodgings. At night a party from the West Country surprised the weary travellers. Mrs Josiah Nisbet and Mrs P's father had brought along four boys: the Pinneys' sons John Frederick and Azariah, their cousin Tommy, and William Coker's son Billey. In the excitement of the unexpected reunion Mrs P moved too close to a candle and set her nightcap ablaze.

Over the coming days, to amuse the boys, JPP took them all sightseeing, 'to see the wax works, Hugh's exhibition of horsemanship, fireworks etc. with which they were highly delighted.' The Pinneys also received more visitors: a St Kitts planter, Mr Parson, and young George Tobin.[522]

Mrs Pinney was not yet ready to travel [523] and remained in London with Pero and Frances Coker while JPP went on to Woodcutts - the Coker family home in Dorset. JPP was glad to leave London. The city made him physically sick:

> ... the heavy atmosphere that hangs over the city, causes so great a pressure on my brain, as to give me the most horrid head-aches, accompanied with a dejection of spirits better conceived than described: the weight is so great at times as to occasion sickness in my stomach which is generally succeeded by a puking that relieves me.[524]

While JPP was gone, Pero and Fanny Coker had to look after Mrs P's affairs, particularly because young Pretor was 'extremely ill'.[525] Unfamiliar with London and unskilled in the English ways, it would have been difficult for them, but they may well have had the support of other servants. Planters from Nevis lived in London – Judith Butler Dunbar was within walking distance, as were the Nisbets. They had brought at least one woman servant with them from Nevis. London had a sizeable black population, many of whom were household servants. Others worked as sailors and tradesmen, and also as prostitutes, musicians, and actors.[526] One famous black man of the day was the slave-born manservant Ignatius Sancho whose letters had been published not long before Pero arrived in London. A friend of the great actor David Garrick, Sancho had his portrait painted by the fashionable Thomas Gainsborough and was associated with the writer Samuel Johnson. Another famous servant was Johnson's man from Jamaica, Francis Barber. Although Pero and Fanny Coker may not have met these particular individuals, in the company of other servants from the West Indies they would not have felt alone in London, and when they told people that they came from Nevis many would have heard of the island.[527]

---

[520] PP, AB 30 Captain Thomas Courtin Chivers' a/c; also LB 5: JPP to Simon Pretor, 13 August 1783, and JPP to George Webbe, 13 August 1783
[521] PP, LB 5: JPP to Thomas Arthurton, 2 September 1783
[522] PP, LB 5: JPP, Woodcotts (sic), to James Tobin, 31 August 1783
[523] PP, LB 5: JPP to Thomas Arthurton, 2 September 1783
[524] PP, LB 5: JPP to John Patterson, 30 October 1783
[525] PP, LB 5: JPP, London, to Simon Pretor, Sherbourne, 10 September 1783
[526] The number of black people who lived in eighteenth-century Britain are estimated to have been from about 10,000 to 20,000. Out of a total population of 6.5 million, this represented only about 0.2 to 0.3 per cent. They were mostly concentrated in Bristol, Liverpool and London (Philip D Morgan 'The Black Experience' in PJ Marshall (ed) *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Eighteenth Century* p468 Table 21.1 Black Population of the British Empire and p471; Equiano, Olaudah *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings* p283 fn465).
[527] Members of the medical profession would have been familiar with Nevis from a book that was published in 1775 by the surgeon Dr James Rymer. He had stayed in the island for five months and came to prominence with his '*Description of the Island of Nevis,*

JPP returned from the West Country, bought Pero a new pair of boots, paid off the washer woman and the landlord,[528] and then, on 6 November, the Pinneys and their two servants left the metropolis for rural Dorset. Fanny Coker's trunk followed later.[529] They travelled to Woodcutts and there celebrated their first English Christmas with the Cokers. JPP gave Pero a present of ten shillings which was the same as Frederick's and Azariah's but double what he gave Fanny.[530] She got less, presumably because she was paid a wage.

After spending some time in Salisbury and Bath, in the spring of 1784 the Pinneys moved to Bristol and rented accommodation at number 5 Park Street.[531] In an 'exceeding good neighbourhood, and an airy situation',[532] the house was within sight of the Cathedral and conveniently situated; both the harbour and the church of St Augustine the Less being less than a minute's walk away. The Pinneys' neighbours were respectable people. At numbers 2 and 4 lived two medical men, William Moncrieffe and John Ford; at number 9 Richard Farr, a member of the Bristol Corporation, and at number 10 was Mary Moore's boarding school. The Pinneys appear to have rented the whole of number 5, although some years earlier three people had shared the house: a customs official, a doctor and a Mr Hobhouse, who was almost certainly a member of the well-known Bristol shipping/merchant family.[533]

In England the Pinneys' household would have been run on much more formal lines than Pero had been used to in the West Indies. He would have worn shoes and stockings and a powdered wig,[534] and JPP ordered him a livery [535] but in any colour other than blue. That colour was considered down-market because London shopkeepers and artisans dressed their servants in blue outfits and the colour had become associated with 'tradesmen's liveries'.[536]

Pero was still enslaved and, unlike Fanny Coker, he was not entitled to a salary. JPP paid him several sums at irregular intervals, for instance £1:1:0 in September 1783 and in October another £1:1:0 'in part of wages'.[537] While he had no regular income, he also would not have had regular time off. Some servants had proper arrangements, such as a free afternoon once or twice a week, while others had to negotiate their leisure hours from week to week. The Pinneys would have considered Pero's time their own, and he would have had to ask permission whenever he wanted to take leave. He would not have been allowed visitors, either. Employers discouraged their servants from socialising in their homes. They feared they would spread gossip, pinch the family's food, spend their time idly chatting, doing nothing. Employers controlled all spheres of servants' lives.

---

with an Account of its Principal Diseases' (Fçlarin Shyllon *James Ramsay The Unknown Abolitionist* p46). In 1775 Janet Schaw, a 'Scottish Lady of Quality', had also visited Antigua and St Kitts. She subsequently published her much-quoted journal.

[528] PP, AB 17 Expense a/c

[529] PP, AB 17: 10 November 1783

[530] PP, AB 17: 25 December 1783

[531] PP, LB 5: JPP, Bristol, to James Tobin, 21 February 1784

[532] PP, LB 5: JPP, Bristol, to John Hayne, Fordington, 13 March 1784

[533] *Sketchley's Bristol Directory 1775*

[534] If hair powder was not available, starch or flour was applied but a tax on starch in 1787 had curbed the use of that particular ingredient. The French Revolution made powdered wigs unfashionable and when a series of poor harvests pushed up the price of flour, powdering hair with a foodstuff was seen as the absurd practise that it was. A tax on hair powder in 1795 further curbed the custom (John Latimer *The Annals of Bristol* Vol 2 p515). However, as late as 1812, 46,000 people still paid powder tax although the majority of the hair powder would have been for use by servants in livery. In grand households it was customary for male servants, such as footmen and coachmen, to powder their hair, or to wear powdered wigs (Venetia Murray *High Society* p256).

[535] PP, LB 5: JPP to Pinney, Blackdown near Crewkerne, 12 April 1784
John Baker's black servant Jack Beef was also measured for a livery soon after arriving in England from the West Indies - suggesting he had previously not worn one - and he sported a 'wigg' (Philip Chesney Yorke (ed) *The Diary of John Baker* p101 and p155).

[536] Rule, John *Albion's People* p86, quoting Daniel Defoe *The Complete English Tradesman* 1726, reprinted by Alan Sutton 1987 p85

[537] PP, AB 33: 7 September 1783 and 16 October 1783

More was now expected of Pero. He was a valet and a footman rolled into one and at times, when he was the only male servant in the house, he would also have had to perform the duties of a butler. He had to be very organised and punctual.[538] He would have risen before his master to get the dirty work out of the way first and be ready to assist him getting dressed. Apart from tending to JPP, Pero's duties would have included waiting upon the family during their meals, receiving visitors, cleaning and locking up the silverware, overseeing that fires were burning well and ensuring they were safe at night and, last thing, securing all doors and windows. A butler also had duties in the wine-cellar: advising his master on the price and quality of the wine to be laid in, caring for it during its storage, collecting the appropriate bottles for the family's meals and entering them in the cellar-book. Wine merchants competed for custom and Pero may have acquired a new source of income: 'commissions' from shopkeepers keen to secure the Pinneys' business.[539]

In Bristol Pero met up with Joseph Gill, JPP's cousin. He had returned to England after failing to hold down the job of manager at Mountravers. When Gill called at the house in Park Street, JPP was not at home and, as was his duty, Pero received the visitor. It was also his duty to relay any messages to his master on his return. In Pero's report to JPP his voice can be heard; he was observant and clearly disapproved of Gill's scruffy appearance. JPP thought Pero's description of the encounter worth passing on to his uncle Simon Pretor:

> As my servant Pero was standing by the door, he walked up and enquired for me, who told him I was out, gone to the exchange, but his Mistress was upstairs, he desired him to walk into the parlour which he declined, leaving his compliments for Mrs P- and saying if he should not see me there, he would call in the afternoon: Since which I have not heard from him but yesterday, by accident, I heard that he lodged at the Whitehart Inn in broad (sic) Street and intended London in a few days. Pero observed that he was dressed shabbily, in an old flaped hat, and a coat with a hole in its back, his face appeared much swelled.[540]

Pero had noticed the changes in Gill since he had last seen him and that he had become an alcoholic.

Pero delivered messages and letters and was useful in many small ways - for instance, once, during JPP's absence, when one of the Pinney daughters had hired a coachman, he made sure that the man was paid off.[541] Accompanying JPP, but also riding about on his own, he got to travel all over the West Country and beyond. His first trip was in August 1784, when he accompanied JPP to Sherborne. Having set off early, at five o'clock in the morning, they reached Chard at night and stopped off at the 'London-inn'. JPP knew the proprietor; the inn was run by a former servant of the late George Warry, JPP's lawyer friend. Once in Sherborne, they found that Simon Pretor had gone to Wincanton and JPP dispatched Pero with a letter to his uncle. Pero brought back the reply the following day,[542] having completed a roundtrip of about 16 miles (25 kilometres).

It is very likely that Pero also accompanied JPP abroad. In the autumn of 1789 JPP went on a three-week-trip to Germany, to Offenbach near Frankfurt, to place his son Azariah under the care of a

---

[538] Beeton, Isabella *The Book of Household Management* p964
[539] Marshall, D 'The Domestic Servants of the Eighteenth Century' p28
The house the Pinneys moved to in 1790 had a cellar in which wine as well coals were stored. The cellar had direct access to Great George Street so that goods could be transported easily and out of sight of the home owners.
[540] PP, LB 7: JPP to Simon Pretor, 17 July 1786
[541] PP, AB 41 1789 Cash a/c; also AB 34 f52
[542] PP, Misc Vols 8 Diary of JPP: 17, 25 and 26 August 1784

gentleman.[543] He also travelled to Paris. Just a couple of months earlier the Bastille had been stormed, triggering unrest all over France, and with the country still being unstable, the journey would have been difficult and hazardous.

When JPP returned to Bristol, Mrs P was ill and soon she and Fanny Coker, who by then had become her lady's maid, sailed to Nevis on a recuperative journey. JPP had long planned to visit Nevis, and he and Pero followed the two women. They set off from the anchorage at King Road on 6 March but contrary winds forced the *Nevis* to return.[544] Two days later they were off the island of Lundy, the point at which the Bristol Channel joins the Atlantic Ocean.[545] After a journey that lasted six weeks, Pero saw his family and friends again. [546]

While in Nevis Pero took the opportunity to buy 'sundry articles' and sold goods worth over £11 to Dr Thomas Pym Weekes,[547] who was, during this visit, installed as the new manager. After three months the Pinneys and their servants returned and took with them Mulatto Polly's daughter Christianna Jacques. They arrived on the *Nevis* back in Bristol in September 1790.[548] Interestingly, after the trip to Nevis JPP used Pero's aliases of 'William Jones' and 'Pero Jones' more frequently - it was as if Pero had become a whole person, a man with a family who deserved to be known by a family name.

Before he had travelled to Nevis, Pero had already sent some goods ('a few articles') to one of Mrs P's aunts, Ann Weekes, to sell in the island,[549] and soon after returning to Bristol, he dispatched several parcels, via JPP and Dr Thomas Pym Weekes: one for his father, one for a sister, one for his nephew, William Fisher, and another one for a woman on Mountravers, Bridget. She had been Tom Peaden's partner or mistress. Pero also sent two parcels to someone called Fanny but it is not clear who she was.[550]

After returning from Nevis, JPP had planned to move into a new house that had been built in a side street just up the road from their rented accommodation in Park Street. However, the house was not ready and they were obliged to spend a few weeks with the Tobins and then to take lodgings at the Hotwells, in Albermarle Row.[551] Although their situation was inconvenient,[552] they remained in these rented quarters until Lady Day, 25 March 1791 – the day they all moved to 7 Great George Street. But the house number and street did not matter much then. Although Bristol's inhabitants numbered over 35,000,[553] letters to JPP could be addressed to him directly 'without mentioning the street'.[554] He had already become one of the city's prominent residents. Pero would have been aware that he worked for a leading family. This may have given him pride, as well as a superior status within the community of servants in Bristol.

The new home overlooked the cathedral and, more importantly for JPP, the harbour. He could watch the ships' movements and reach the quay within minutes. An office was set up for him so that he could run his business from home. The house had innovative features, such as underfloor heating and speaking

---

[543] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to Wm Coker, Nevis, 1 September 1789
[544] PP, AB 40
[545] PP, LB 8: JPP, off Lundy, to James Tobin, St James Square, Bristol, 8 March 1790
[546] In one account JPP wrote that they set off from King Road on 15 March but the other sources appear more reliable (PP, AB 34 f31 Nevis a/c).
[547] PP, LB 38: P & T to Dr Weekes, Nevis, 1 November 1790
[548] PP, AB 34 f1 Memo and AB 41 Cash a/c Memo
[549] PP, LB 9: JPP to Ann Weekes, 17 October 1788
[550] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to Thomas Pym Weekes, Nevis, 31 October 1790
[551] PP, LB 9: JPP to John Taylor, Nevis, 28 November 1790
[552] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to Revd Wm Jones, 28 November 1790
[553] *Sketchley's Bristol Directory 1775*
[554] PP, LB 10: JPP to Azariah Pinney, Frankfurt, Germany, 23 December 1790

tubes to summon the servants. It was modern and comfortable but by no means ostentatious.[555] Like other domestic properties of the period, the building was designed with live-in servants in mind but their physical space was separate from that of the family. Apart from a cold plunge bath on the lower ground floor that was used by the family (and possibly doubled up as a turtle crawl), the bottom and the top of this six-storey dwelling were the servants' domains. The basement and the cellar housed their working spaces - the kitchen, the scullery, larders, a furnace and an area for storing wine and coal - while the whole attic was given over to their bedrooms - one for the men and one for the women. Sharing dormitory-style rooms off a central corridor, they enjoyed little privacy, and their comings and goings might have been overlooked by a senior servant who had a windowless room at the end of the corridor. The servants' lack of privacy was in contrast to the privacy that Georgian families sought from their staff. This was evident even from the outside of the house - the servants' living quarters were screened from view with a parapet – while inside the house a separate, narrow internal staircase kept servants out of sight and a small lift enabled the quick, discrete transfer of food from the kitchen to the ground-level dining room. With the physical separation came a greater social separation between the employers and their staff.

Just before the Pinneys had left for Nevis, they had dismissed all their servants, except for Pero and Fanny Coker,[556] and now they had to employ new staff. They took on Mary Chaplin, a cook from Tiverton in Devon, and David Williams, a coachman, who, judging by his name, may have been a Welshman. Over the years Pero and Fanny Coker would have worked with many different servants, always forming new relationships as people came and went: Sarah Marks, an 'upper servant'; George Guppy, a stable boy from Somerset; George Lamb, who probably was a footman/coachman; Ann Roberts, a housemaid, as well as Mary Williams, a cleaner. The Pinneys also employed a gardener and a woman who came in to do the washing. For poor British servants the rewards for servitude were room and board of better quality than their own homes, a regular wage and, on special occasions, cash gifts from their employers, as well as tips from guests. In addition many received benefits in kind, such as cast-off clothes which, as Amanda Vickery stated, may have been 'offered in a spirit of gracious patronage, not in recognition of the legitimacy of a customary perquisite'.[557] Second-hand clothes were valuable and could be re-fashioned or sold, but often male servants kept and wore them and, while looking like their masters, 'it was not difficult for them to assume a style of dress above their station.'[558] Commentators at the time often ridiculed servants' social pretensions and criticised their uppitiness.

Today the most well-known guests at Great George Street were William and Dorothy Wordsworth. They stayed at the house in 1795. Most likely Pero would also have met the poets Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey and others in that circle. They were young radicals, anti-slavery and pro-equality, and Pero would have had many of his own views confirmed. He may even have been present when, on Tuesday, 16 June 1795, Coleridge spoke in the Bristol Assembly Room coffee house, delivering a lecture on the evils of the trade in Africans. He advocated abstaining from sugar and rum as a means of demolishing 'the whole of the trade',[559] and one wonders whether these products were served up when not long afterwards William Wordsworth visited Great George Street. Wordsworth was on his way to

[555] The Pinneys' house was built on six floors although only three are visible. It has a cellar where coal and wine were kept, above that the basement contained the cold-water plunge bath, the kitchen and other rooms associated with housekeeping. On the first floor, where the front door is located, used to be the powder room, JPP's study, the breakfast parlour and a dining room, while – away from the smell and the noise of the street - a large and a small drawing room were situated on the first floor, as well as a bedroom. Above that were the family's five bed and dressing rooms, while servants inhabited the rooms on the top floor.
[556] PP, LB 10: JPP to Azariah c/o Bethmann at Frankfurt, 13 June 1791
[557] Vickery, Amanda *The Gentleman's Daughter* p184
[558] Marshall, D 'The Domestic Servants of the Eighteenth Century' in *Economica* No 25 (April 1929) p30 and p22
[559] May, Tim 'Coleridge's Slave Trade Lecture: Southey's Contribution and the Debt to Thomas Cooper' in *Notes and Queries* December 2008 p425 on http://nq.oxfordjournals.org

Racedown and was joined by his sister Dorothy, who had travelled to Bristol from Halifax.[560] The 19-year-old Betsey Pinney was very impressed by their female visitor: 'Miss Wordsworth arrived last night but I have not heard when they intend to leave us – I suppose in a few days. I like her manner and appearance extremely, she is very animated and unaffected.'[561] The Wordsworths set off for Racedown where Joseph Gill was expecting them. JPP employed him in a caretaking role and to run the attached brick-making business.

Pero also stayed at Racedown. One time when Betsey Pinney was there, he took with him all the things she had requested from Bristol: a petticoat, her half-moon gold earrings and a 'single worked muslin handkerchief' and two coloured gowns.[562] She was planning a trip to Crewkerne with the prospect of attending a ball afterwards, and it is easy to imagine how she would have bustled about, getting ready for her outing, with Joseph Gill and Pero watching from the side-lines. During that visit to Racedown Pero scalded his leg, was confined to bed for some days and, while Mrs P and her father 'went away in a Bridport chaise', he was forced to stay behind with Gill. His leg improved but still unable to walk he ended up having to borrow Betsey's horse to get to the nearest coach stop. Pero's painful accident then also inconvenienced the gardener who had to return the horse.[563]

This happened shortly before JPP, his son John Frederick and Pero set off for another visit to Nevis. Pero was the only servant; he waited on both JPP and on John Frederick.[564] On board ship were also James Williams and John Smith, the new manager and overseer for Mountravers. On the morning of 23 December 1793 they all departed from Bristol for Ireland. With the country at war, these were dangerous times in which to travel; some months earlier the *Mercury*, on her way from Bristol to Nevis, had been captured,[565] and the *Ranger*, sailing from Barbados, had fallen into French hands. Her passengers, including President Herbert's mulatto mistress, Maria Herbert, had ended up in a prison in Brittany.[566] Although the *Nevis* had been licensed to carry arms,[567] these would have been ineffectual against a French attack and so they all had to wait for a convoy to assemble to safeguard passage across the Atlantic. As each day passed, Pero would have grown ever more frustrated. The delay shortened their stay in Nevis. In all, they spent three months lying in Cork Cove.

Finally, on 22 March, Captain Charles Maies cast off. The *Nevis* reached Carlisle Bay in Barbados on 3 May, Port Royal in Martinique two days later, then touched at St Pierres in Martinique the following day and reached Nevis on the 8th.[568] John Frederick had just come of age and this was primarily a business trip, to hand over and inspect the entailed plantation, and to install a new manager. For Pero this was an opportunity to see friends and family again and, no doubt, he would have brought presents, from himself and from Fanny Coker. He would also have done some buying and selling of goods. In return, one woman gave him a 'small keg of sugar and a small bundle' to forward to a woman at Woodcutts.[569] Again, this was only a short visit, and judging by what JPP later wrote about him, Pero left the West Indies with a heavy heart.

---

[560] PP, Dom Box S3-4: JPP to John Frederick Pinney, 15 August 1795
[561] PP, Dom Box S3-4: Elizabeth Pinney to JPP, 23 September 1795
[562] PP, Dom Box S4-5: Elizabeth Pinney, Racedown, to JPP, 16 September 1793
[563] PP, AB 2: Joseph Gill's account of Racedown Lodge. Gill to Pinney? Date cut off from page
[564] PP, AB 41
[565] PP, LB 39: P & T to Wm Colhoun MP, Wretham nr Thetford, Norfolk, 25 July 1793
[566] PP, LB 12: JPP to John Herbert, 28 May 1795
[567] PP, AB 40 Owners of the Ship *Nevis* a/c
[568] PP, AB 41 p7 Memo
[569] PP, Dom Box S1: WB Weekes, Bristol, to Wm Coker, (no day) November 1794

The three men departed on 30 July. Their fellow passengers on board the *Nevis* were James Tobin's son James Webbe Tobin (who later became well known for his radical, abolitionist views) and, on his way to school in England, the young Joseph Griffin Brazier, the son of the millwright Edward Brazier.[570] JPP also brought with him an account book that Walter Nisbet wanted him to take to England for forwarding,[571] and no doubt he carried presents for his wife and children. He had with him a turtle, and it was Pero's task to look after the animal and to keep it alive.

Their voyage home was difficult. They had 'a very tempestuous passage' and on 25 August were separated from the convoy and 'remained without a single sail in company' for the rest of the passage. On 19 September 1794[572] at three o'clock in the afternoon JPP and his party reached King Road 'in a perfect storm'. They came ashore at the Hung Road moorings at Pill near the mouth of the river Avon. There members of the crew climbed into the masts to attach ropes and tie them to the rocks to stop the outgoing tide from turning the ship on its side. The passengers were ferried across the river in one of the small Pill boats. Two inns, the *George* and the *Lamplighters Hall*, provided overnight accommodation but JPP chose to press on home. This was just as well because Mrs P, meanwhile, was in 'high hesteric fits'. She had learnt that many ships from their convoy had arrived back but not the *Nevis*.[573] From *Lamplighters Hall* the travellers set off by coach to Bristol [574] and arrived home at seven o'clock in the evening.[575] JPP gratefully acknowledged their arrival: 'thank God' they 'not only escaped the dangers of the sea but also of the enemy.' One of the vessels in their convoy '(an armed ship of 18 guns) fell in with a French privateer of 20 guns - who attacked her three days successively but she constantly beat her off and arrived safe in Kingroad with one man wounded.'[576]

The following day Mrs P gave Pero S5s5d – a welcoming home present perhaps, but more likely a reimbursement for something he had bought for her in the West Indies,[577] or perhaps it was a reward for keeping the turtle alive in such trying circumstances. Pero had cared well for the animal and a month after their return it was dispatched to Wales, 'properly placed in a basket made for the purpose.'[578] It was a present for a Member of Parliament. Turtles were valued items, so much so that the Royal Society allowed its members to pay their membership fees with turtles, as well as game and other luxury foods. Even if purchased directly from a ship, turtles were expensive. When the daily wage of a labourer, a

---

[570] PP, AB 34 f46
[571] Aberystwyth Bodrhyddan MSS 2: Walter Nisbet, Nevis, to The Dean of St Asaph, Llanark Park, 5 August 1794
[572] PP, AB 41 and LB 11: JPP, Bristol, to John Taylor, Nevis, 30 September 1794
[573] PP, Dom Box S1: WB Weekes, Bristol, to Wm Coker, 24 ?September 1794
[574] The Lamplighters Hall (also called Lamplighters Hotel) replaced the former Old Passage House and was built about 1760 by an oil-seller of Small Street in Bristol called Mr Sweetman, out of his profits as a contractor for lighting several Bristol parishes by means of oil lamps.

A stage coach service had started only some years earlier, in 1782. It connected the 'Bush' inn at Corn Street in the centre of Bristol with Lamplighters Hall and ran three days a week. It left Bristol at eight o'clock in the morning, ran out to Westbury, Henbury, Kingsweston and Shirehampton and returned at midday. The coach was pulled by four horses. The carriage had four windows, a top covered with black leather and a basket at the rear for luggage.

Lamplighters Hall was run for a while by Ann Chadwell and later by a Mr Langbridge. He was a Freemason and on at least one occasion, in June 1794, his Lodge used Lamplighters Hall as a meeting place: 'a brotherly dinner and good wine kept the Brethren till late…' (Arthur Cecil Powell and Joseph Littleton *A History of Freemasonry in Bristol* p504 and Ralph Hack 'The History of the George Inn' in *Shire* (December 1999 and February 2000). Today the 'The Lamp Lighters' still exists as a public house.
[575] PP, Dom Box S1: WB Weekes, Bristol, to Wm Coker, 24 ?September 1794
[576] The ship that had so bravely withstood French attacks ended up wrecked in the harbour in Bristol. JPP recounted how 'After all this, she unfortunately overset at the Quay, just before she reached her birth, being too late on the tide - and am sorry to add she will be a total loss and must be broke up where she now lies. It is a melancholy sight to see the people at work taking the remains of her sugar out of a hole in her side - the quantity saved will be trifling as she fills every tide, and of course very little sugar left in her casks.' (PP, LB 12: JPP to Dr Richard Valpy, 30 September 1794).
[577] PP, AB 49
[578] PP, LB 12: JPP to Thomas Wyndham MP, Dunravon Castle, Glamorganshire, 27 September 1794

seamstress, or an upholsterer stood at two shillings a day,[579] one pound of turtle meat could cost as much as S3s6d. At one popular venue in London, the *King's Head Tavern*, turtles were stored in the courtyard in large water tanks, or laid upside down on the stone floor; at another tavern 400 guests ate 2,500 pounds of turtle at one dinner - six pounds per head.[580] Although consumed in large quantities, it was a food for special occasions, and when Azariah Pinney became Sheriff, a turtle was killed for the big Corporation dinner.[581] But not everyone knew how to prepare the meat. To one bewildered recipient of a fine turtle JPP was willing to lend his cook, but because the cook was an invalid 'incapable of undertaking the journey' he sent a recipe instead.[582] In London the black manservant who worked for the former Solicitor General of the Leeward Islands was much in demand for preparing turtles but there is no evidence that Pero was ever called upon to do anyone's catering.[583]

After returning from Nevis Pero's demeanour changed and he went into a decline. There is no explanation as to what caused this. One can only speculate. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Pero might have fathered one, or possibly two, daughters during his last trip to Nevis, and the separation from them, and from his family, may explain his depression. Perhaps the conditions in Nevis had shocked him, or he may have been deeply disappointed that JPP did not free him - whatever the cause, Pero took to drink. Around that time JPP complained that 'a number of idle people, who frequent the stable yards in this city', had influenced his boy servant, George Guppy,[584] and it is likely that Pero, too, consorted with these characters. Pero, however, did not lose his enterprising spirit and, following JPP's example, took to lending out money at interest. This activity belonged to his private life; the Pinneys were not aware of it.

In the summer of 1796 Pero and Fanny Coker accompanied Mrs P, her daughter Elizabeth and her son John Frederick on a trip to Yorkshire. Pero was charged with some of the travel arrangements. He rode on ahead while the others followed in the curricle but at their first stop he arrived rather late – a sign, perhaps, that he had become unreliable. Betsey wrote to her father:

> We arrived at Gloucester on Wednesday at three o'clock – Pero came to the inn only a few minutes before us – we therefore could not send him to Cheltenham for an hour or two, on account of the horse – he sat off at 5 o'clock and our coachman brought the horses to us at nine o'clock that night we therefore thought it the wisest plan to remain at Gloucester that night and proceed to Cheltenham the next morning.[585]

At Gloucester Mrs P and her children were 'much pleased with the Cathedral' and at Cheltenham, a spa town made fashionable by King George III, they enjoyed a play one night and a ball the next. They dined at the residence of George Taylor (the brother of the Nevis planter John Taylor),[586] who may well have

---

[579] PP, AB 46 William and Sarah Hicks' a/c; also AB 42 Azariah Pinney's a/c

[580] It was said that turtles brought to England remained in excellent condition for three months, provided they were kept in the same water throughout, as 'changing the water reduces the weight and dilutes the flavour' (Murray, Venetia *High Society* p167 and p172). According to JPP, in the West Indies a turtle 'will ferment the day after it is dressed', but, never wanting to waste anything, he claimed that by putting it over a fire it could be 'as good as ever' (PP, LB 7: JPP, Bristol, to Simon Pretor, 9 September 1786). During his second visit to Nevis he bought a turtle weighing 84 pounds, at N1s6d a pound (AB 50 Mary Pinney alias Mulatto Polly's a/c; also AB 39 Mul Polly a mulatto woman's a/c). At an exchange rate of 175 per cent (in 1796, AB 47) this would have worked out at N£6:6:0, or S£3:12:0 (worth about £440 in 2016).

[581] PP, LB 12: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 5 November 1796

[582] PP, LB 12: JPP, Bristol, to Mrs Nisbet, Mount-pleasant, Nevis, 24 November 1796

[583] Yorke, Philip Chesney (ed) *The Diary of John Baker* p15

[584] Although George Guppy had been 'frequently absent and [was] not to be found when wanted', JPP was understanding of his shortcomings and wrote him an encouraging reference. He thought that if Guppy did not work in Bristol but elsewhere, away from temptation, he would probably improve and therefore should be given a try (PP, LB 12: JPP to Proctor Thomas, Wellington, 12 October 1797).

[585] PP, Dom Box S3-3: Elizabeth Pinney, Cheltenham, to JPP, 8 July 1796

[586] PP, Dom Box S3-3: Elizabeth Pinney, Cheltenham, to JPP, 8 July 1796

had a black servant,[587] and they then moved north. They travelled to Lichfield, to Buxton and swiftly on to Matlock. At night Pero and the coachman would have slept in the kitchens of the inns, or with the horses in the stables. Mrs P was glad that for 'the men servants we pay nothing', particularly as in Buxton she found the accommodation so very expensive: seven shillings each for her bed and those of her children, and three for Fanny's.[588]

Mrs P's father died not long after they returned from this vacation and, once again Pero, Fanny Coker and the other servants were included in the family affairs. They all attended William Burt Weekes's funeral. Together they travelled to Wraxall near Bristol and the 'hearse, a chariott and four-two coaches ... with [JPP's] carriage and servants made up the procession.' [589]

Pero, by then an alcoholic, became 'almost useless'. According to JPP, this was 'caused by drunkenness and dissipation'. By May 1798 Pero was very ill. To recover his health, the Pinneys sent him to Ashton near Bristol.[590]

While Pero was at Ashton, Mrs P and the youngest children spent time in Cheltenham, then went to the seaside and to Bath. The older son, Azariah, was touring the North with a friend but various members of the family came to visit Pero 'three or four times a week'. On 23 May JPP wrote to an old friend from Nevis, Mrs Judith Butler Dunbar, that he much doubted Pero's recovery. JPP spoke of what connected him and his servant: 'He has waited on my person upward of thirty-two years, and I cannot help feeling much for him, notwithstanding he has not lately conducted himself as well as I could have wished.'[591] As JPP had predicted, Pero Jones did not recover. He died, aged about 45. Bearing in mind his alias of William Jones, it is likely that he was buried in the graveyard of St Augustine the Less. The burial register notes the burial of a William Jones on 19 June.[592]

Mrs P arranged for his possessions to be sent to his family, and JPP informed his manager in Nevis:

> I am very sorry to inform you of the death of Pero, though it was a great relief to himself and us: for he became so great a lover of liquor and connected with such abandoned characters, that we could not depend upon him a moment - his dissipation, at last, brought him to the grave. His mistress has sent out his box of cloaths (sic) to be divided between his father & nephew William Fisher, she has sold his watch and purchased a pair of gold earrings for each of his sisters, Nancy, Eve and Sheba. He had by him ten Guinneas which you will receive with the earrings, in the tin case, tied up in different parcels with the names of the family written on each; to whom it is to be given. From the servants I learn that he has frequently mentioned of his having lent some money at interest, but to whom they know not, as the name of the person he kept a secret; and

---

[587] George Taylor lived at Carshalton Park. His staff included 'a native of St Kitts', the butler Samuel Mudian. Aged 71, Mudian died in 1841and was buried in the Carlshalton churchyard (Arthur ?Percival 'Parish Records and other sources' *BASA Newsletter* No 46 (November 2006) pp15-6, quoting George Brightling *History of Carshalton* 1882 p99).
[588] PP, Dom Box S3-3: Mrs P, Buxton, to JPP, 17 August 1796
[589] PP, LB 12: JPP to Samuel Whitty, Sherborne, 2 December 1796, and LB 12: JPP to Ann Weekes, Nevis, 16 January 1797
[590] Previous research had placed Pero at Ashton Lodge (now Battlefields House) in the parish of Cold Ashton in Gloucestershire. Overlooking the upland edge of the Cotswolds, it was set in a small park and in an excellent situation for a recuperative 'change of air'. The house belonged to the Bristol merchant Robert Bush with whom the Pinneys and the Tobins had strong connections. However, new research has established that it was more likely to have been Ashton near Bristol - now either Long Ashton or Bower Ashton in the parish of Long Ashton. These could be reached by ferry across the river Avon. Alternatively it could have been what is now known as Ashton Gate.
[591] PN224, quoting Letterbook 14 Pinney (November 1797-February 1799) p74: Pinney, Bristol, to JB Dunbar, 23 May 1798
[592] BRO, P/StAug/R/2(a) Burial Register 1798 St Augustine The Less

> as there is not the smalest (sic) memo of it amongst his papers, in all probability the money will be lost to the family.[593]

The abandoned characters may have been the 'idle people' who had led George Guppy astray but they could also have been abolitionists and others who objected to slavery and the slave trade.

JPP mentioned Pero once more in a letter to Mrs P's aunt, Ann Weekes, one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees:

> Pero, I am sorry to inform you, died a few months ago, after being almost useless, caused by drunkenness and dissipation - Almost ever since we left Nevis in 1794 his conduct has been very reprehensible - insomuch, that his mistress and every branch of my family have urged me to discharge him and to send him back to Nevis with an annual allowance; provided his behaviour there should have deserved it.

JPP appears to have said that Pero's behaviour did not warrant retiring him to Nevis but he may also have vetoed his servant's return to the West Indies because he believed that very quickly Pero would have drunk himself to death. Equally, he may have feared his destabilising influence on the enslaved population. Pero was literate and well-travelled, had acquired some wealth and had benefited from a degree of autonomy that was denied plantation people. His presence might have caused discontent.

Pero was replaced by a man called Charles Thomas. In requesting a reference from this man's former employer, JPP asked whether he would be 'equal to the place of a footman in a large family'.[594] Charles Thomas remained with JPP for about five years. JPP 'found him honest and sober, always at home', but he sacked him: 'I must say his memory [was] very defective, if that had not been the case I should have kept him.'[595] At about the same time as Charles Thomas left, farmer Sansom's son joined the staff at Great George Street and probably became JPP's personal servant. In later years JPP certainly had a butler called John Sansom.[596]

Alcoholism among servants was not unusual. Footmen, in particular, were derided as lawless, for spending their time in taverns, indulging in drinking and gambling.[597] JPP later employed another alcoholic, William Couch. He said about him that 'he understood his business and was an honest man, but addicted to liquor.' After Couch left, JPP wrote in his reference that if Couch could 'get the better of that propensity he would be a valuable servant' – again displaying a certain level of tolerance towards someone addicted to alcohol.[598] This acceptance may have been borne out of the recognition that his plantation provided the very substance that turned some people dependant on alcoholic.

---

[593] PP, LB 14: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 12 November 1798
[594] PP, LB 14: JPP to Simon Waite, Groundwell House near Highchurch, 23 July 1798
Charles Thomas's former employer Simon Wayte was a surgeon whose house, Groundwell, was much bigger and rather grander than JPP's property in Great George Street. Wayte's marriage settlement can be found in the Wiltshire and Swindon History Center Ref 967/31.
[595] PP, LB 18: JPP to Dr Curries, Upper Church Street, Bath, 20 April 1804
[596] In his will, JPP mentioned having lent £30 to James Samson of the parish of Marshwood in Dorset (which is not far from Bettiscombe). Having taken as security Samson's house and land, he bequeathed the money to his 'good friend John Samson' (PP, WI Box G: Probate of JPP's will).
[597] Marshall, D 'The Domestic Servants of the Eighteenth Century' pp18-9
[598] PP, LB 23: JPP to Revd Dr Pakington Tonkyns, 1 Crescent, Bath, 21 January 1811

266 Nancy Jones (dob 1756/7). Aged about 13, Nancy began her training. She may have been a seamstress but her schooling probably also included other domestic duties. Dressed in a new yellow petticoat that JPP had bought from Betsey Weekes, one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees,[599] in July 1770 Nancy set off from Mountravers. She had with her N24s9d that JPP had given her to go 'learning to darn at St Kitts'. On the same day he also gave her brother Pero N£1:6:6 – perhaps he was to travel with her to the neighbouring island.[600]

Somehow The Ladies at the Cedar Trees were involved in Nancy's schooling. Miss Janet Weekes was paid two sums for 'Nancy Jones' schooling at St Kitts',[601] and Betsey Weekes also received money 'for her trouble in teaching Nancy Jones to work and mending a few table cloths'. After about 16 months Nancy's training appears to have been completed. In total, it had cost N£8:15:5.[602]

Aged 18, Nancy had a son, William Fisher. Described as a mulatto, his father almost certainly was John Fisher, the manager on the adjoining estate, Woodland. Most likely, he also was the father of Sarah Fisher's children Tom, Frank, Patty and John Fisher – William's half-siblings.

In 1778 Nancy received extensive treatment for her eye, costing N£3:6:0.[603] Maybe the close needlework had damaged her sight. She may have worked as a seamstress, or as Mrs P's maid. She certainly was a domestic servant because at night she was in the house, or had access to it. This led to JPP accusing her of stealing N£4:2:6 - a considerable amount of money. When he entered this sum in his 'Profit and Loss' account, he seemed uncertain how the cash had actually disappeared; whether it was 'Lost or stole out of my pocket say stole by Nancy Jones out of my pocket in the night - discovered March the 8th.' There is no record of the punishment she received, only that she repaid some of the money on the day it was found missing. On 8 March JPP received N8s3d from 'Nancy Jones part of the money she stole from me on the 28th Ult.'[604] This represented only a fraction of what she was supposed to have taken and connected with this may have been another payment. JPP entered in the accounts N15s as paid to another domestic, 'To Bridget on Nancy Jones' account'.[605] The exact circumstances of this incident remain uncertain.

Nancy Jones had access to the Great House but she also had land where she kept small domestic animals. The earliest record of her selling produce to JPP is from 1783 when she sold him pork worth N£2:7:0. That year she also sold meat and fowls worth N£2:3:1 ½ to Jane Weekes.[606] It is possible that, following the alleged theft, she had been demoted. This might also explain why the Pinneys did not take her to England, despite Nancy having been Mrs P's servant on the couple's honeymoon in Philadelphia. Their trust in her might have been broken. Another explanation is that she had a small child and neither did the Pinneys want to take the boy nor separate Nancy from him. Later Nancy was among those women to whom Mrs P sent presents of half a yard of white cotton, to be made into head wraps,[607] which suggests that she had not fallen out of favour and was still thought of as someone deserving the family's support.

---

[599] PP, AB 17: 31 January 1770
[600] PP, AB 17 Nevis a/c
[601] PP, AB 17: 26 July 1770 and 7 Sep 1770
[602] PP, AB 20 Elizabeth Weekes' a/c
[603] PP, AB 26 John Springett's a/c
[604] PP, AB 17: 28 February 1779
[605] PP, AB 17: 10 May 1779
[606] PP, AB 17: 31 March 1783; AB 26 Expense a/c; also Jane Weekes's a/c
[607] PP, LB 15: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, 29 October 1799

In 1794 Nancy Jones hired herself out and made various cash payments. The manager, Thomas Pym Weekes, however, did not enter all of the money in the accounts and was later charged with having omitted to credit Nancy's hire income and that of Bridget, Sally Peaden, and Harriott.[608] After JPP's visit to Nevis and with a new manager in charge, from 1 August 1794 onwards Nancy Jones was hired to Mulatto Polly (No 378). She worked for her until December 1795 but missed some days, presumably through illness. Nancy's hire income went into JPP's personal rather than the plantation account and, approving of the arrangement, he would have set the weekly rate of N5s.[609] Nancy may have been hired to look after and Mulatto Polly's baby Peggy, who was born in July 1794, or to assist Mulatto Polly with her trading operations. Perhaps Mulatto Polly's next child, Nancy Stewart, was named after Nancy?

In 1798, after Pero died in England, Nancy and her sisters received a pair of gold earrings and a share of their brother's money but the cash he had lent to others was lost to them. The Pinneys did not make up for the shortfall.[610]

In 1799 Nancy hired herself out again. According to the accounts, occasionally she paid odd sums but between 1800 and 1803 only N12s went into JPP's hire account. [611] It turned out that 'for upwards of two years' James Williams failed to account for her hire income and that of her sister Sheba,[612] but JPP figured this out only after Williams had died. By late 1805 Nancy Jones did 'a little work at times' which suggests she was either quite ill, or was hired out occasionally and was not otherwise expected to work regularly.[613]

Originally Nancy Jones and her son had been among the people JPP kept separate but they, too, were given up for sale to the Hugginses. They had been placed on the upper estate, Woodland, with eight others in the same position [614] and they probably remained living on Woodland until Peter Thomas Huggins rented them out to his father. It is likely they were then moved elsewhere.

When she was about 67 years old, Nancy Jones was sold. Her new mistress was Maria Huggins, a woman in her early thirties. She was the wife of Frederick Huggins, a blacksmith and merchant.[615] Frederick Huggins and his brother John jointly owned a plantation in the parish of St John Figtree that they had bought two years earlier.[616] In addition to the hundred or so plantation people that were on their Cane Garden and Williams' estate, Frederick Huggins owned a considerable number of personal slaves. He had a seat in the Assembly, representing St Paul's parish,[617] the parish in which he lived with his wife and their seven children. Nancy may well have been employed to look after the youngest, Grace.

Nancy Jones had been sold on 1 December 1824, and a month later she buried her son, William Fisher. He was 49 years old. Losing her son must have been a terrible loss for her and the harder to bear as she had been recently transplanted and was no longer surrounded by her friends.

---

[608] PP, AB 50: Negro Hire a/c; also AB 39
[609] PP, AB 50: 1794 Negro Hire a/c; AB 47: Mary Pinney a free Mulatto in the Island of Nevis a/c; AB 52 Mary Pinney alias Mulatto Polly's a/c and Negro Hire a/c
[610] PP, LB 14: : JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 12 November 1798
[611] PP, AB 47: Negro Hire a/c and Cash a/c; AB 57: Negro Hire a/c and Pinney's a/c
[612] PP, LB 18: JPP to Henry Williams, 20 April 1804
[613] PP, Dom Box P: JW Stanley to John Frederick Pinney, 27 December 1805
[614] PP, LB 47: JPP to James Tobin, Nevis, 5 February 1807, and LB 22: JPP to James Tobin, Nevis, 7 September 1807
[615] PP, AB 47 Frederick Huggins Blacksmith & Merchant a/c
[616] PP, LB 56: F&J Huggins, Nevis, to PA & Co, 8 June 1822
[617] UKNA, CO 186/12: 26 February 1821

Several other people died around the same time, and one of them was John Huggins, Nancy Jones's new mistresses' brother-in-law. He died early in December,[618] leaving his share in Cane Garden to his brother. Frederick Huggins, meanwhile, was preparing to go to America. He departed early the following January.[619] In the same month, four days before William Fisher's funeral, Mrs Maria Huggins buried her infant daughter, Grace, [620] and then, within two or three months of his arrival in America, her husband Frederick died. His plantation and his people went to his widow and their remaining children.[621] Cane Garden, like most other estates in Nevis, suffered heavy losses. The number of people who died outweighed the number of children who were born: during 1828 to 1831 twelve people died and only five children were born. 99 individuals had lived at Cane Garden in 1817, by 1831 there were ten fewer. When she registered her people in 1831 Maria Huggins also declared that four of her 35 personal slaves had died. Among them was Nancy Jones.[622]

Nancy Jones was buried on 5 July 1829 in St Paul's churchyard, where her son had been laid to rest just four years earlier. In the 1817 slave register her age had been overestimated by ten years but the parish clerk recorded her exact age, 73 years.[623]

Her last mistress, the widowed Maria Huggins, was due just over S£1,663 from the slave compensation fund [624] but some of it may have gone to Peter Thomas Huggins. She had borrowed money from him and given the expected pay out as security.[625] Maria Huggins died at the age of 54 years in May 1845.[626] She left six children: Frederick, John, Fanny, Sarah Ann (by then married to Alfred Jones), William, and Ann Ludlow Huggins.[627]

267 Sheba, Sheeba, and Sheaba Jones (b 1758/9). At the age of six, Sheba was the youngest Creole girl JPP bought without a parent.[628]

When she was about 24 years old, JPP valued her at N£100, which was £10 higher than her sister Nancy, a trained seamstress. There is no record of her having received any particular training but most of her life Sheba probably worked as a domestic servant.

From 12 July 1783 onwards she was hired to JPP's friend, John Hay Richens, with another woman, Bess Powell. Sheba Jones was responsible for paying her own taxes. Having failed as a planter, Richens was getting poorer and more dissolute, and having him as their master cannot have been easy. However, some time after William Coker became manager he must have requested Sheba's transfer to the field – perhaps this was after Richens died in 1787 - because JPP gave Coker permission if he thought it 'proper to put her into the field'.[629] Sheba Jones may then have worked as a field hand but when Coker was sacked from his job, she and another man, Jack Steward, were hired to him. At first Coker did not have to

[618] Rigsarkivet Kopenhagen, Vestindische Regnskaber, St Croix Overformyndeiregnsskaber 1825-1827 #78.6 Schedule B (courtesy of George Tyson)
[619] PP, LB 58: JC Mills, Nevis, to PA & Co, 8 January 1825
[620] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 60
[621] Rigsarkivet Kopenhagen, Vestindische Regnskaber, St Croix Overformyndeiregnsskaber 1825-1827 #78.6 Schedule A (courtesy of George Tyson)
[622] UKNA, T 71/368
[623] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-37 No 229
[624] HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 pp107-08 Claims Numbers 291, 299 and 300
[625] ECSCRN, CR 1831-1835 No folio number
[626] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 411
[627] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1837-1864 f243
[628] Violet, aged one and a half years, may have been bought with her mother
[629] PP, Misc Vols 7 1783-1794 List of Deeds and Papers at Nevis f75

pay for their hire[630] but from mid-January 1791 onwards he paid the agreed rate of N£20 a year. During that period of seven months Sheba was absent for nine days and, as was usual, an amount was therefore deducted from the hire charge.[631]

Sheba and Jack were not the only people employed by William Coker and his wife; several others had been lent by Mrs Coker's sisters, The Ladies at the Cedar Trees. For all of them, being with the Cokers would have been an intensely unhappy experience. Having lost his job, William Coker and his wife had to leave Mountravers and were staying in a furnished house in Charlestown. Mr Coker was not well and their younger son, John Frederick, died soon after returning from England. They had little money, little hope and much anger, and it is quite possible that some of their anger was taken out on the people who worked for them.

After the Cokers left for England, Sheba probably was among the new manager's domestic staff. She may have worked as a washerwoman. She then hired herself out. Her hire income, and that of several others, went to the plantation account. In one year, 1797, Sheba earned the most of all of them, close to N£10. However, this was topped by the people whose hire charges were credited to JPP's account (among them her sister Nancy's): Prince, Tom McGill and John Wilks brought in N£27 and N£17 each that year – evidence that JPP had held on to those people most capable of commanding the highest hire rates. [632]

During his visit to Nevis in 1790 JPP bought four eggs from Sheba Jones, worth N6d,[633] and she was among the women to whom Mrs P later sent presents of half a yard of white cotton for a head wrap.[634]

In 1798, the year her brother Pero died in Bristol, over a period of several months Sheba received medical treatment:

28 April 1798 A visit for Sheba and other Negroes	N£1
2 May 6 nervous boluses, a visit	N££2:10:0
24 August a large box of laxative pills, a visit	N£2:10:0
8 December a visit	N£1
12 December a phial nerv. lax. mixture	N12s.[635]

This is the only medical treatment she was known to have received. She recovered and in 1805 Sheba was employed to do the laundry for the family of the new manager, Joseph Webbe Stanley. She was said to 'behave very well'. [636]

When the Stanleys arrived on Mountravers, they had a son and at least one daughter, but soon Mrs Stanley gave birth to more children, and with each new baby Sheba's workload would have increased. If, after giving birth, Mrs Stanley had the services of a monthly nurse, this woman would have swilled out the baby's dirty napkins but it would have fallen to Sheba to launder them properly.[637] Sheba had help from a pregnant woman, Hetty, and both women would have been busy in the many processes involved in

[630] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, Nevis, 27 September 1790
[631] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f85 Negro Hire a/c; also AB 39
[632] PP, AB 50 Negro Hire a/c; also AB 39, AB 52 Negro Hire a/c and AB 47 Negro Hire a/c and AB 39 Cash a/c
[633] PP, AB 27
[634] PP, LB 15: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, 29 October 1799
[635] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[636] PP, Dom Box P: JW Stanley to John Frederick Pinney, 27 December 1805
[637] Beeton, Isabella *The Book of Household Management* p1021 and *The Georgian House* National Trust for Scotland p41

completing the family's laundry: sorting, mending, steeping, washing, rinsing, bleaching, blueing, starching, squaring, ironing and folding. They worked with concoctions that would have left their hands permanently chapped and raw. Homemade coconut oil may have soothed their damaged skin.

Her work brought her into contact with the family's soiled clothes and linen from which she could read the most intimate details. Although as a washer woman she was near the bottom rung of the female domestics' hierarchy, this information may have given her some power or status within the community.

Sheba's sister Nancy and her nephew William Fisher were among the people originally reserved by JPP but were later given up for sale to Huggins. He never reserved Sheba for himself.

In 1824 Sheba's nephew died and her sister Nancy was sold. She went live in Charlestown and died in 1829. Sheba survived her sister but not for long. Sheba Jones died between 1 January 1831 and 31 December 1833. She was between 72 and 75 years old.

Of the four people JPP had bought in 1765, she had lived the longest.

◄► ▼◄►

On Saturday, 2 November 1765, another shipload of enslaved Africans landed at St Kitts. They arrived on the *Hungerford* from Bonny, in present-day Nigeria. When they had sent off from there, the *Hungerford* would have taken well over 300 people on board. They had first sailed to Barbados, then to St Kitts. Described as 'Ebboes' rather than just as 'negroes', it is very likely that the three females JPP bought that day – the woman Ritta and the girls Violet and Monimia – had arrived on this very ship.[638]

The *Hungerford*, a 120-ton vessel, had left Bristol on 28 April 1765. Fitted out with six guns, she was bound for Africa.[639] She was commanded by Captain Walter Robe and owned by John Powell & Co.[640] Known as a 'Guinea merchant', John Powell had financed a previous venture of this vessel with two other Bristol gentlemen, but from then on, except for one voyage, Powell's company bore the risks and reaped the profits. Powell had always employed Captain Robe, and this was Walter Robe's third sailing on the *Hungerford.* He undertook nine voyages in total, all on the same slaver, mostly to New Calabar and from there mainly to Dominica. His voyages had remarkably quick turn-arounds: when one roundtrip could take eighteen months, or perhaps even two years, he did eight trips in nine years. Perhaps this haste led to the *Hungerford* being wrecked on Robe's eighth voyage. Luckily this was before captives could be taken on board at Bonny. A year later a new, or repaired, vessel of the same name went into service, again under his command. This expedition to St Kitts was Walter Robe's last,[641] and it is likely that he died some time soon after.[642] Of the crewmen who had sailed on the *Hungerford* two are known to have

[638] PP, AB 18: 2 November 1765; AB 15 Gingerland Plantation a/c; also AB 16 Smith & Baillies' a/c
[639] UKNA, BT 6/3 f91-98 and f164: Note from Edward Hanley, Custom House, London, 9 April 1777, for the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations at their request transmitting 'An Account of the Tonnage of ships from Great Britain to Africa January 1 1757 – January 1 1777 with names and what part of African Coast where possible'.
[640] John Powell lived at 31 College Green, just round the corner from where Pinney later came to live in Bristol (*Sketchley's Directory 1775*).
[641] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 17621 and others
[642] By 1775 William Brown had become Captain of the *Hungerford* (*Sketchley's Directory 1775*).

suffered ill health and drawn pensions in later life; John Fielding had a bad leg and James Radwill had become blind.[643]

While the *Hungerford* was lying off Basseterre, 26 of her crew of 39 were discharged and another seven enlisted,[644] and six weeks later, on 7 December, the ship left for Dominica. She was back in Bristol at the beginning of February 1766.

JPP bought three individuals at a total cost of S£50/N£87:10:0: Ritta, a twenty-year-old woman; Violet, aged one and half years; and the eleven-year-old Monimia.[645] The company of Smith & Baillies handled the sale at St Kitts. Partners in the firm were James Smith of Nevis, his son-in-law Alexander Baillie and two of Alexander's brothers, Evan and James Baillie. It is likely that the partnership was established in 1762, when James Smith's daughter had married Alexander Baillie,[646] the eldest of the sons of Hugh and Emilia Baillie of Dochfour near Inverness in Scotland. The other partner, James Smith, a Nevis planter, had property near 'Pall Mall commonly called the pasture' (now Independence Square) in Basseterre. Some of this land he later sold with stores upon it to another Baillie brother, Duncan,[647] who was also trading in St Kitts with Alexander Fraser, a fellow Scotsman. Fraser was related by marriage to one of Hugh Baillie's daughters. The tie-up between James Smith and the Baillies and also the Frasers is a good example of how family relationships underpinned many West India businesses and how interconnected they were.

Smith & Baillies traded extensively with the South Carolina merchant Henry Laurens. Sometimes they supplemented miscellaneous goods with a few people they were unable to sell in St Kitts; sometimes they dispatched large consignments. The previous year the company had sent Laurens fifty new people, who 'came in all alive but extremely meagre and thin'. Smith & Baillies' handling of their cargo was flawed to the point of negligence, and although Laurens believed St Kitts 'to be the best island in the West Indies to purchase negroes at', [648] he repeatedly had to remind the firm to transport their shipments more carefully. He wanted 'healthy new negroes to be pretty well cloathed and have a blanket each' and the company was to send them 'under a humane Master who will promise to take care of them.' Other captains looked after their cargo better and their superior individuals yielded £4 or £5 Sterling per head more than those sent by Smith & Baillies.[649] The fact that Laurens pressed the point suggests that Smith & Baillies tended to engage harsh captains and make stingy preparations before sending people on their voyage north. It is very likely that those who had arrived on the *Hungerford* and who had not been sold in St Kitts would have ended up in the Carolinas.

While the first group of Africans clearly had new names given by JPP, Ritta's may have been her own, stemming from the Hausa female name Rita, meaning 'engagement ring, betrothal',[650] whereas Monimiah's almost certainly had its origin in the name Munimiya. Among the Vai people in Sierra Leone it

---

[643] 'Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council appointed for the Consideration of all Matters relating to Trade in Foreign Plantations …' 1789 Part II Disabled Seamen: 1767 and 1776
[644] Richardson, David *Bristol, Africa and the eighteenth century Slave Trade to America* Vol 3 p191 Voyage 1765/14
[645] PP, AB 18: 2 November 1765; AB 15 Gingerland Plantation a/c; also AB 16 Smith & Baillies' a/c
[646] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 1 pp376-78; also NHCS, St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825. See also David Alston *Slaves and Highlanders: Silenced of Scotland and the Caribbean*
[647] Duncan Baillie and Alexander Fraser bought from James Smith one acre and 13 perches of land and stores in Basseterre. 444' bordered land of James Baker coppersmith lately property of James Smith; 111' bordered Mornes Estate of Stephen Payne Gallway Esq; 403' bordered land of James Smith; 111' bordered Pall Mall Square commonly called the pasture (SCNA, St Christopher Register B1//40 f14)
[648] Donnan, E *Documents* Vol
[649] Donnan, E *Documents* Vol 4 p389 Henry Laurens to Smith and Baillies, 30 April 1764; p417 to James Penman and William Makdougall, 21 November 1767; p409 to Smith & Baillies, 18 December 1764; p421 15 January 1768
[650] Julia Stewart *1001 African Names* p118

translates as 'where to turn?'[651] These two names may provide pointers as to where in Africa the women may have come from: one possibly from northern Nigeria, the other possibly from over 1,250 miles (2,000 km) away. On its way to Nigeria Captain Robe's ship may well have stopped off along the coast to pick up small numbers of captives in various locations, including Sierra Leone.

268 Ritta, later Great Ritta and Old Ebbo Ritta (dob 1744/5). She was bought with Violet who, described as 'her female child in arms', appears to have been her daughter. However, as women adopted children whose parents had died on the voyage, it is also possible that Ritta was caring for such an orphaned child.

Ritta may well have had other children who, at the sale, had been separated from her. In his recollections a Danish planter, Reimert Haagensen, described how this happened in St Croix during the 1740s and 1750s:

> All the slaves are sold, one after another, beginning first with the males, then the women, followed by the boys, and finally the girl children. As far as infants are concerned, they are sold along with their mother and go with her. Each mother carries her child in her arms; sometimes two, three or four children are sold along with the mother when they are quite small and not over three to four years old, but that has to be at the urgings of a mother's tears.[652]

One witness in his evidence to the Slave Trade Enquiry went further and stated that parents were routinely divided from their children, except mothers and suckling children (their remaining together appears to have been a rule), while another witness revealed that 'not the least notice' was taken of families and relatives wanting to stay together.[653]

After their long journey Ritta, Violet and Monimia probably were in poor shape. The day they arrived on Mountravers they were fed extra rations of fish.

A week later JPP gave Ritta nine shillings which would have been enough to purchase her first animals, such as a lamb, or a pig. JPP paid the same amount to Black Polly.[654]

Eighteen years after she was bought, Ritta's value at N£75 amounted to almost the same as the whole group had cost. She worked in the field and may still have done so in her mid-fifties but she was, by then, in the second gang of weaker individuals.[655]

Sold to Huggins and then known as Old Ebbo Ritta, she died, in her sixties, between August 1807 and December 1816.

269 Violet (dob c May 1764). Aged only one and a half years, Violet was the youngest African child JPP bought. She was purchased with Ritta, who probably was her mother.

---

[651] Muñoz, Sharon *The Afro-American Griot Speaks*
[652] Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p44
[653] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 82 p127 and p24; Mr Parker's and Mr Towne's evidence
[654] PP, AB 17: 2 and 9 November 1765
[655] Listed in 1793, Ritta was not on the main 1798 list but her name may have been in the hole in the paper

Aged about 19, Violet was as a field worker and worth N£70.

She was a strong woman with an independent spirit, and when she was in her mid-twenties there is evidence of her being punished severely. At some stage she must have been shackled to blocks of wood called clogs, because on 11 February 1789 the blacksmith Joseph Powell removed one of these clogs from her.[656] She was not the only one person punished in this way but the only woman. Around the same time three men - Hannibal, Nero and Mulatto Charles - were also fettered to these incumbrancers, and in January the blacksmith had taken off '4 clogs from 3 Negroes'. On 15 April he removed another four from three people.[657] This was when William Coker managed the plantation, and most likely Coker constrained her because she had attempted to escape. There are no records of any rewards being paid for her capture but Coker may have doled out rum instead of cash to anyone who had returned her.[658] The next manager, Thomas Pym Weeks, twice paid out money for 'catching Violet': N2s 1 1/2d on 31 July 1791 and on N16s6d on 6 October 1793.[659] The second time she was probably gone for longer as her return warranted a higher payment. The incident occurred while the overseer, James Williams, was in England, and Violet may have used his absence to absent herself.

Violet was ill from the summer of 1795 and over the next two years the doctors visited her several times. They prescribed various medications: on 11 June a 'box of alternative pills', [660] a month later 'powder', on 18 and 23 October an 'anodyne and purge', and towards the end of November more powders.[661] The following November she had two 'specific boluses' [662] and on 17 July 1797 six 'alternative boluses'.[663]

Soon after this treatment finished, she continued to go her own ways again. James Williams was then managing the plantation, and on 17 September 1797 and on 7 November 1798 he paid out rewards of N4s6d and N9s 'for catching Violet'. [664] On Sunday, 8 September 1799, she was listed as a 'runaway' but returned, of her own accord, five weeks later. Then, on Saturday, 30 November 1799, Violet and Little Omah absented themselves but a few days later, on Friday, 6 December 1799, 'Violet came home'. Within weeks she was off once more. She left on Tuesday, 28 January 1800, and for three days between 13 and 18 February Glasgow was sent out to find her. Finally, exactly a month later, 'Ben caught Violet in the negro houses'.[665] She probably had not hidden herself in the slave village for the whole month; this would have required the acquiescence of all the inhabitants - including the drivers' and the watchmen's. It is more likely that she tried to steal from the houses, having moved around locally, and that Ben Weekes had surprised her. He had suffered from ill health for a number of years and may have remained in the village while the others were at work.

The following year, in February Violet escaped again and this time stayed out much longer. On 8 June 1801 two hunters earned N£1:7:0 'for catching Violet who has been away for four months'. One last record of her rebellious spirit was a cash reward of N9s which was paid on 10 November 1801.[666]

---

[656] PP, AB 35 f22 Joseph Powell's (Blacksmith in Charlestown) a/c
[657] PP, AB 30 f115 Joseph Powell's a/c and AB 35 Joseph Powell's (Blacksmith in Charlestown) a/c
[658] Ward, JR *British West Indian Slavery* p27
[659] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f91 and f135; also AB 39 Cash a/c
[660] PP, AB 52 Archbald & Williamson's a/c; also AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[661] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[662] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[663] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[664] PP, AB 47 Cash a/c and Plantation a/c
[665] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[666] PP, AB 59 Plantation a/c 1798; also AB 47

It is likely that between May 1803 and December 1806 – after James Williams had died and when his brother Henry was in charge - Violet finally succeeded in running away. She was aged around 40.

270 Monimia (dob 1753/4).

After she had lived on Mountravers for ten years, Monimia gave birth to a child. Assisted by the midwife Agnes Adams, she was delivered on 23 March 1775.[667] However, it appears that this child died young, certainly before it was eight years old. Monimia's next child was born in September 1777.[668] Her daughter was called Patty and, given that there was a woman of that name on the plantation already, it may, possibly, suggest that Monimia had chosen the name. She may have called her Patty after the midwife who had taken over as plantation midwife some time in the 1770s. Patty may have assisted her birth.

By 1783, when Monimia was appraised at N£80, she, her daughter Patty and her two shipmates - Ritta and Violet - were then worth a total of N£260. This represented a three-fold increase from the original purchase price and, as far as JPP was concerned, a good investment.

In her forties, Monimia worked in the first and in the second gang. Her daughter was also a field hand. Patty was pregnant when she was 15 years old but either miscarried or the baby died soon after birth.[669] In the early 1800s her daughter suffered from yaws. Monimia only had medical attention once, in her early thirties, when she had a tooth extracted. [670]

In 1817 Monimia's age was over-estimated by about six or seven years. She was listed as a Creole,[671] suggesting that she had good language skills and that she had adjusted to life in Nevis more than some of the other young Africans JPP had bought in the 1760s.

Monimia died between 1817 and 1822. She probably was in her mid to late sixties.

◄► ▼◄►

On Monday, 23 December 1765, JPP purchased three Creoles from John Rayes: a 40-year-old woman called Dorinda, and two children, Little Primus and Ducks Leah. Once again, Creoles cost more than Africans: at S£102:17:2/N£180, they were twice as expensive as a 20-year-old African woman and two girls JPP had bought six weeks earlier.[672] All three Creoles were intended to work on the Gingerland estate.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, there were three men called John Rayes in Nevis (and later also a man commonly called Jack Ray), but Dorinda's previous owner almost certainly was a white man who lived in Charlestown. [673] In the 1750s he was one of four constables.[674] Dorinda may have been

[667] PP, AB 20 f175 Plantation a/c
[668] Patty was once listed in the plantation diary as Monimia's Patty (PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary)
[669] On the July 1794 list there were no likely children; they were either born to entailed women, or their mothers could be identified.
[670] PP, AB 31 Archbald & Williamson's a/c 1785
[671] In 1817 Monimia was said to have been aged 'about 70'
[672] PP, AB 15 Gingerland Plantation a/c; also AB 18 John Rayes' a/c
[673] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f312
[674] UKNA, CO 186/3: 24 April 1753

among the three people on whom John Rayes had paid tax ten years earlier,[675] and she, Little Primus and Ducks Leah would have known his negro woman Bess [676] and his mulatto children William and Henrietta. He had freed them. [677] John Rayes may have been a fisherman; among his possessions were 'two old canoes and one old sein' worth N£16. His people were his most valuable assets. By the time John Rayes died, he had eleven, although one of them, Sabreah, 'an old woman & crazy', was worth only N£1. Among Rayes's eleven people were several with very unusual names: Cyne Key, Triphonics, Guidus, Cyrus, Couly and Agles.[678]

When he made his will in 1772, John Rayes chose as witnesses Joseph Webbe Stanley, who later managed Mountravers, and the carpenter Benjamin Lees.[679]

271 Dorinda (dob c 1724/5) may have been the mother of Ducks Leah and Little Primus, and it is possible that there was a family connection between Dorinda and several people on Mountravers: the distiller Ducks Jemmy, Ducks Jenny and possibly also Primus. Ducks Jenny died in the early 1760s, while between 1766 and 1768 the others also worked on the Gingerland estate. Not long after returning from there to Mountravers, Ducks Leah died.

To set up Dorinda, JPP appears to have purchased from Old Harry some domestic animals;[680] by the late 1770s she certainly owned a considerable number of pigs and in a two-year- period sold several to JPP, as well as a kid and a fowl:

11 March 1777	Two pigs	N16s6d
26 May 1777	Two pigs	N10s6d
	A kid	N16s6d
1 July 1778	A hog	N£4:7:0
1 July 1778	Three pigs	N£1:7:0
30 September 1778	A pig	N10s6d
22 February 1779	A fowl	N3s [681]

Three of Dorinda's roasting pigs JPP passed on to Ann Weekes, one of his wife's aunts, at less than the purchase price.[682] There were severe food shortages then, and in Nevis 300 to 400 enslaved inhabitants had already starved to death.[683] Given the famine situation in the island, it is not only surprising that Dorinda had as many animals as she died, but also that she could afford to sell them.

From the mid-1770s onwards Dorinda regularly procured rum from JPP but the first purchase suggests an attempt at deceit. JPP noted on 23 February 1775: 'To Dorinda received of her in part of 6 jugs rum that

---

[675] PP, Dom Box P: General's Tax Notebook 1755
[676] ECSCRN, CR 1771-1773 Index
Bess was manumitted and in his will John Rayes provided for her; he left her five pistols. Another 25 pistols and half of his china were to go to his 'beloved friend Martha Mitchell'; his mulatto son William Rayes was to get the remainder of his estate when he reached 21. If William died, his friend John Latoysonere Scarborough's daughters Judith and Elizabeth were to inherit. In case they all died, everything was intended to go to Martha Mitchell's son William Weekes.
[677] ECSCRN, CR 1763-1764 f42: 8 July 1761
[678] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f414
[679] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f312
[680] PP, AB 17: 21 September 1766
[681] PP, AB 17: 11 March 1777; 26 May 1777; 1 July 1778; 30 September 1778 and 22 February 1779
[682] PP, AB 20 f221 Expense a/c; also DM 1773 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f23 Ann Weekes's a/c and f47 Expense a/c
[683] Goveia, EV *Slave Society* p6, quoting CO 152/57 Burt in a private dispatch 17 March 1778

she omitted to account for with Mrs Pinney N£1:13:4 ½.' The quantities of rum she bought over the next five years suggest that she was dealing in rum.[684]

Being an expensive Creole, perhaps having a child that was trained as a carpenter and possible family connections with well-established Mountravers people – all this may indicate that she was among the favoured people. It is therefore likely that she tried to buy her freedom by selling her animals and by dealing in rum – just as Kate Coker was doing around this time. However, Dorinda did not manage to buy her freedom. She died after she purchased the last batch of rum in January 1780 and some time before July 1783. She was in her mid to late fifties.

272 Ducks Leah (dob 1756/7). Bought as an eight-year-old, she died between 10 July 1768 and 1 January 1769. She was no more than twelve years old.

273 Little Primus, also Primus, was said to have been ten years old (dob 1754/5) when he was bought.

In 1770 he and Jack were about to be apprenticed to the carpenter John Cornelius but the man died [685] and the carpenter and millwright Job Powell instructed Primus instead. The training cost N£16 [686] - a good investment because in 1783 Primus was one of four men appraised at N£165. Only Ducks Jemmy and Tom Jones were worth more. However, as far as JPP's assets went, Primus's high value still fell short of the total purchase price of N£180 and did not make up for the loss of Dorinda and Duck's Leah.

Primus appears to have been healthy; his only recorded treatment was when John Springett 'curing Primus of a sore leg'.[687] At the same time several other people were also treated for the same complaint.

The first time Primus was employed off the plantation was on 5 April 1783 when JPP hired Little Primus and several other men from Mountravers to the Snow *Gustav Adolph.* Over a period of five months Primus and the others worked on the same ship, and all were hired at N3s each per day.[688] Except for one man, they were all coopers and carpenters. They worked alongside Frank, one of Miss Jenny Weekes's men, who probably had a trade, too: several years later Jenny Weekes, one of Mrs Pinney's aunts, sold him for the relatively large sum of N£130 to Frederick & John Huggins.[689]

From the beginning of May 1784 to mid-January 1786 Primus was hired to the carpenter and cabinetmaker [690] John Handcock for a total of N£60,[691] then, after a five-year-break, with the African man Harlescombe to John Latoysonere Scarborough, for just over a month. He finished at the beginning of

---

[684] Dorinda bought rum in 1775, and it seems that she did not buy any more for two years, until, in 1777, she bought several batches totalling almost 60 gallons. In 1778 she only bought rum between August and December, more than seven jugs and over thirty gallons. The September 1778 the price for a gallon of rum was N4s; in December that year, when she purchased a batch of 12 gallons, the price had dropped to N3s per gallon. During 1779 she bought rum in February, March, and April, then again from September until December - in total around 30 gallons. In January 1780 JPP accounted for Dorinda's last eight gallons of rum (PP, AB 17).
[685] PP, AB 20
[686] PP, AB 20 and AB 21 Plantation a/c
[687] PP, AB 26: 31 July 1782 and AB 17: 31 June 1782 N3s6d
[688] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f111
[689] ECSCRN, CR 1790-1792 f563
[690] PP, AB 50 and AB 39
[691] PP, AB 30; also AB 35

April 1791 while Harlescombe stayed on for another week.[692] Neighbour Scarborough had to pay N£5 a month to hire him while subsequent employers paid only N£4 a month. When Primus next worked away from the plantation, in 1795, his and Harlescombe's hire was charged per day; their daily rate was N2s6d each. They worked for Revd William Jones; Primus for 49 and a half, Harlescombe for 48 days.[693] Their hire income of N£12:5:9 went to the plantation rather than to JPP. A couple of months later Primus and Jack, a Creole of about his age, started work with the man to whom Primus had been apprenticed, Job Powell. They were hired until 4 July 1796, and during the eight months and eight days they worked for Powell, each man lost 15 days through sickness or other absences.[694] They did, however, also work on one Sunday for which they were paid N4s 1 1/2d each.[695] It is most likely that they repaired the mill at Woodland and the windmill on Mountravers.

On his next assignment to John Taylor, from the end of December 1796 until mid-February 1797, Primus may well have also worked on the windmill on Taylor's Tower Hill estate.[696] This had been destroyed a few months earlier in a terrible accident. One afternoon in May, during a heavy rain shower which was accompanied by thunder and lightning, a number of people had taken shelter in the building: plantation workers, Mr and Mrs Taylor and John Brownell, the Wesleyan Methodist missionary. A large ball of fire had struck the windmill. Two enslaved people were killed instantly and another thirty 'burnt, scorched, or wounded'. Flames penetrated into the dungeon where a small cask of gunpowder was kept but it did not catch fire. One woman was so severely burnt that she died afterwards but luckily all the other injured people survived.[697]

In 1798 Primus was hired out briefly with other unnamed carpenters to William Colhoun's estate.[698] On Saturday, 7 April, the manager James Williams noted in the plantation diary that the 'carpenters returned from Colhouns the day before. This the day given them.' Although the Leeward Islands Melioration Act, which was just passing through the legislative stages, only entitled enslaved people to one free day a week, Sundays, Williams started to give people the odd Saturday off as well. In Primus's case he may have regretted such largesse; in the following year John Hill, who later briefly became overseer, accused Primus of stealing his ham. Hill fumed that '… the Negroes is Dam Boyes.'

Primus's last known assignment was in 1802 when he, with Jack and Frank Sanders, was hired to John Handcock. He knew the man well; he had previously worked for him for over a year and a half. This time the men were only employed for four months, at N£4 per month.[699] They worked on some of the houses in Charlestown which JPP owned - one of which was rented by John Handcock.

When they were not working away, the carpenters did a variety of jobs around the plantation. Over a six months period, in April one was employed making a couch, in May he cut yokes for cattle, in June several

[692] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f85 Negro Hire a/c
[693] PP, AB 52 Revd Wm Jones' a/c
[694] PP, AB 47 Job Powell's a/c
[695] PP, AB 47 f27 Cash a/c
[696] PP, AB 47 John Taylor's a/c
[697] Coke, Thomas Dr *A History of the West Indies* p18; Thomas Jackson 'Biography - Memoir of the late John Brownell' in *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* Vol 2 Third Series Vol XLVL from the Commencement, J Kershaw, London (January 1823), and PP, LB 11: JPP to John Taylor, 7 September 1796
[698] PP, AB 47 Wm Colhoun's a/c and Negro Hire a/c
[699] PP, AB 57 f37 Negro Hire a/c

built a cart, in July three carpenters renewed the roof of the boiling house at Sharloes, and in August four made a drag.[700] In September they went to work in town at Mr Cresse's. [701]

Primus died between August 1807 and December 1816. He was in his early fifties to early sixties.

◄► ▼◄►

274 and 275 Omah (also Omar) and Sue (later Old Sue). They were black and born on Wednesday, 25 December 1765. The field labourer Lucy (No 123), an entailed woman, was their mother. The twins had an elder and a younger sister, Cuba (b 1763) and Little Bridget (b 1778), who both were 'yellow cast'. They were all field workers.

For some reason, and very untypically, Omah and Sue were not always recorded in the documents: Omah was not on the 1769 slave list, nor in the marriage settlement of 1772, while Sue was and then disappeared until being hired to Clarke's in 1808. Was one twin supernumerary and therefore not enslaved from birth?

While her sister Cuba was valued at N£100, Omah was valued at only N£70. In 1793, when she was in her late twenties, she worked in the third gang – probably because she was pregnant then - but later in the decade she was in the great gang. Other than having a tooth extracted when she was 20 years old, she had no other recorded medical treatment.[702]

Ten years after her mother's last child was born, Omah is known to have had a child herself. Her son Goliah was born in July 1788. Later she became an aunt to Cuba's children: Peggy (who died very young), Felix (b 1801) and Lucy (b 1806). Omah, her sisters Cuba and Little Bridget and the rest of their families were sold to Huggins and remained on Mountravers while her twin sister Sue was rented to Clarke's Estate. It is completely unclear what happened to her between 1772 and 1808 but Sue suddenly turned up among the people JPP reserved for himself. Then in her early forties, she was a field worker and appraised at only £10. Of the people hired out, she was the only person whose value did not increase after the slave trade was abolished.

Between September 1813 and June 1814 she and the other reserved people worked on Mr Mills' estate and then went back to Clarke's. When registered there in 1817, her age was over-estimated by 23 years. Old Sue, together with Frank Saunders and William Jones, were added at the end with a note: 'These three slaves admitted by an order from his Honour the President bearing date the 12th day of February 1818 and filed with the original return.'

Both twins died between 1817 and 1822: Old Sue on Clarke's Estate and Omah on Mountravers. They were in their mid-fifties.

◄► ▼◄►

[700] The drag is a box, open at the top and bottom, which is the lower part of a mould used in sand casting for foundry work. The fact that four men worked on it suggests they were making a large mould for a blacksmith in town or on another plantation, possibly Scarborough's. There was no foundry on Mountravers.
[701] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[702] PP, AB 31 1785 Archbald & Williamson's a/c

If any of the women gave birth in 1766, the midwife assisted none of them, and none of the children survived until the following year. They may have died from illnesses brought to the plantation by the large influx of Africans who came to Mountravers in 1766. They may have been carriers of disease. Sometimes infectious individuals were knowingly sold to unsuspecting buyers,[703] and from Worthy Park in Jamaica comes evidence that, after large numbers of Africans arrived on the estate in 1793 and in 1830, for two or three years afterwards existing and new people alike died in greater numbers than usual.[704]

The newly-arrived Africans who came to Mountravers in 1766 were 18 Ebboes and 20 from the Gold Coast. JPP also bought two 'Congaw boys' from a woman in Nevis.

One group of eight Ebboes arrived at Mountravers on 23 January 1766. They - like Ritta, Violet and Monimia - were bought in St Kitts from the company of Smith & Baillies. The group cost S£157/N£266:18:0.[705] They had probably arrived on either the romantically named *Nightingale*, or on the self-important *Dobb.*

The *Nightingale* had left Bristol under Captain Joseph Carter on 18 June 1765. Bound for Africa, she was fitted out by Thomas Sims & Co and, at 100 tons, was a relatively small vessel. She carried two guns and on the outward journey was crewed by 27 men, all said to have come from Bristol.[706] Captain Carter was an experienced master who, on his first voyage to Africa in the 1750s, had been confronted by pirates. He had to hand over to them some of the African captives aboard his ship.[707]

It is likely that during October and November the *Nightingale* was lying off the coast of Africa: One member of the crew died on 18 October, another two on 8 November. The men were exposed to a range of diseases: yellow fever, sleeping sickness, Guinea worms, bilharzia, yaws, dysentery and, the biggest killer of all, malaria. For good reason the West African coast was known as 'The White Man's Grave'; it has been estimated that in the later eighteenth century between three to seven out of ten Europeans died during their first year of living on the African coast. The seamen's stay was only temporary and, as their vessels lay off-shore, this would have afforded them some protection but the longer they remained at anchor, the greater the risk.[708] Contemporary correspondence shows that the seafarers were only too aware of the constant danger to their lives so that the ever-present threat of death made its way into their language. One captain prefaced his instructions with the words 'If you should be living ...'[709]

The *Nightingale* first sailed to Antigua. There 320 Africans were unloaded. The vessel then went on to St Kitts, arriving around 20 January. At St Kitts 15 of her crew were paid off - most of them on 6 February - and after discharging the rest of her cargo of captives, the vessel left St Kitts around mid-March. After a

---

[703] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 82 p38
[704] Craton, M *Searching for the Invisible Man* p21 and p389, Appendix A
[705] PP, AB 15 Gingerland Plantation a/c; also AB 18 f6 Smith & Baillies' a/c; also AB 21 Plantation a/c
[706] Richardson, David *Bristol, Africa and the eighteenth century Slave Trade to America* Vol 3 p193 Voyage 1765/20; UKNA, BT 6/3 f164: Note from Edward Hanley, Custom House, London, 9 April 1777, for the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations at their request transmitting 'An Account of the Tonnage of ships from Great Britain to Africa January 1 1757 – January 1 1777 with names and what part of African Coast where possible'. Also BT 6/3 f91-98, and David Eltis *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 17627. The CD-ROM states that a crew of 30 left Bristol and that 24 arrived at the first port of disembarkation.
[707] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 90649
[708] Curtin, PD '"The White Man's Grave": Image and Reality, 1780-1850' in *The Journal of British Studies* Vol 1 No 1 (November 1961) p95
Analysing the mortality of 4,080 sailors who served on 112 Liverpool and Bristol slavers, the abolitionist Thomas Clarkson established that on Liverpool ships a fifth of the men died or were lost at sea, while on Bristol vessels a quarter of the crew perished. However, this would have included deaths on the whole of the voyage, and not just while the vessels were lying off the coast of Africa (PD Curtin *The Atlantic Slave Trade: a Census* p284).
[709] BULSC, DM 1061: David Duncombe to Captain Chilcot, March 1767, and to Captain Joseph White, March 1767

voyage of nearly eleven months, the *Nightingale* returned with the remaining crew of nine and was back in Bristol on 8 May 1766.[710] Joseph Carter did three more slaving voyages on this vessel. The last was in 1768/9 when he sailed to New Calabar, Barbados and Nevis.[711]

The other ship the eight Ebboes may have arrived on was the *Dobb.* At 150 tons,[712] she was bigger than the *Nightingale*, had six instead of two guns and a crew of 40 instead of 27. Built in 1763 and registered the following year in Liverpool, the *Dobb* was a new ship. Seven owners had split the cost for this voyage: George Hutton, William Dobb, Thomas Foxcroft, Felix Doran, John White, Robert Clay and Nehemiah Holland. It is likely that the last man had himself been the master of a Liverpool slaver. In the 1740s and 1750s a captain called Nehemiah Holland had made several voyages and on one had successfully fought off French privateers who had attacked his vessel, the *Ann Galley*. [713] The master of the *Dobb,* Captain Hoggan*,* had been less successful: a vessel under his command had been captured by the French. [714]

The *Dobb* had left Liverpool on 13 April 1765, bound for Old Calabar.[715] Captain Hoggan was familiar with this port, having sailed there regularly since the late 1750s. He had intended to take on board 450 Africans but left the Bight of Biafra with about seventy fewer. Before the vessel reached St Kitts some time in January, almost one in five, 73 people, had died.[716]

After leaving St Kitts, the *Dobb* did not return to Liverpool but went to Bristol, where she arrived almost exactly a year after she had left England. This fifth probably was Captain's Hoggan's last voyage, and also the ship's last.[717]

◄► ▼◄►

The eight people JPP bought on 23 January left St Kitts in a sloop hired especially for the purpose.[718] They were all intended to work on the Gingerland estate but only Judy, Cuffee and Little Peter were sent there; George, Nomore and Hannah remained on Mountravers.

In terms of human lives wasted, this group suffered the most appalling losses. By January 1769, only three of the eight were still alive. In terms of value for money, despite the many deaths, overall this group was still holding up: JPP sold one of the girls for N£100 and the two other survivors on the plantation were in 1783 appraised at N£126. The value of these three survivors, therefore, represented about four fifth of the purchase price.

By 1795 the last of the members in this group had also died but the granddaughter of the woman who was sold can be traced until she died in the 1860s.

---

[710] SMV, Ships' Muster Rolls 1762-1768
[711] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyages Numbers 17655, 17680, and 17707
[712] UKNA, BT 6/3 f165: Note from Edward Hanley, Custom House, London, 9 April 1777 for the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations at their request transmitting 'An Account of the Tonnage of ships from Great Britain to Africa January 1 1757 – January 1 1777 with names and what part of African Coast where possible'.
[713] http://members.ispwest.com/ronsmith/liverpool/ships_a.htm
The information could not be verified from Nehemia Holland's voyages listed on *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* (Voyages Numbers 90064, 90065, 90066, 90067, and 90068).
[714] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 91128
[715] UKNA, BT 6/3 f100-130
[716] 73 people died, representing a loss of 19.06 per cent (David Eltis *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM*, quoting LST, 1744-1786 and LR 1764).
[717] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage Numbers 91127 and 91128
[718] PP, AB 18 Kitt and Laurence a/c

276 George (dob 1754/5). When valued in his late twenties at N£66, he already suffered from ill health. In 1788 he was 'attended and cured in lues' by Dr Thomas Pym Weekes. This cost a considerable sum, N£9:18:0,[719] but Dr Weekes's treatment for venereal disease came too late. George died between January 1789 and December 1790. He was in his mid-thirties.

277 and 278 Judy's age may have been slightly over-estimated (like Black Polly's); she was said to have been twelve years old (dob 1753/4). Perhaps she was already earmarked as a mistress for John Hay Richens, JPP's friend from London. A man with an adventurous spirit and a risk-taker, he was about fourteen years older than Judy. He had arrived in Nevis a few months before JPP bought Judy and may have thought that it was time to set himself up with a mistress.

Richens managed the Gingerland estates, where Judy worked between 1766 and 1768, and after returning to Mountravers, she gave birth to his child, **Molly**.[720] Richens then agreed to buy Judy and the baby for N£100. The sale was completed in April 1770.[721]

Richens left JPP's employment and began renting a plantation. Judy and her daughter moved in with him and became part of a much smaller unit. She would have known from her Mountravers days several people Richens was buying from JPP, among them Will and Sally alias Violet Wells. But Richens failed in his new venture and fell on hard times, and in 1775 he was forced to raise a loan from JPP. He secured this with twenty people - including Judy and her child. His fortunes did not improve and five years later he returned to work on Woodland. He then hired some people from Mountravers: Miah and Sheba Jones, and, for three years until 1786, Othello and Bess Powell. In the last year he also hired Peggy Richens. It is likely that Judy, who was then in her early thirties, had died in the meantime; almost certainly by the time Richens manumitted their daughter, Judy was dead. Molly was manumitted when she was 16 or 17 years old.[722]

'That poor fellow' Richens had taken to drink and was in bad shape. In 1785 he had transferred to JPP three individuals, probably his remaining three, and had spent the last few months of his life up at Woodland, with Hector minding his stock until Richens wounded the young man with a gunshot. Richens died before the end of 1787. Hector recovered from his injury.

William Coker, the manager, was Richens's executor and rather sluggish in winding up his estate. He charged the cost of restoring Hector's health to the dead man's account, rather than to the plantation expenses as JPP had instructed him (JPP knew that Richens could not afford to pay for Hector's treatment), and when JPP came to Nevis two years later, he sorted this out. Coker was to give Richens's daughter Molly Richens the balance of her father's possessions, N£6:17:3.[723] She also appears to have been left a small legacy of N£11:8:0 [724] which JPP thought should be paid in the form of rum rather than cash. He may have decided this because ready money was, as always, in short supply in the island, but it is more likely that she could increase the value of the bequest by selling the rum at a profit. This would have been a gesture characteristic of JPP: if she was industrious and exerted herself, she could boost her funds while - at the same time - the plantation benefited from the sale of rum to her. However, Molly found

[719] PP, AB 35 TP Weekes' a/c; also AB 30 TP Weekes' a/c
[720] Molly was not listed on 1 January 1769
[721] PP, AB 20 f40 John Hay Richen's a/c
[722] ECSCRN, CR 1785-1787 f181
[723] PP, AB 30 Plantation a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f66 and AB 39 f3 Archbald & Williamson's a/c
[724] PP, AB 39 Molly Richens's a/c and JPP's a/c

Coker was not only slow in paying but she also did not get all the money owed to her. Coker had been sacked during JPP's visit and JPP had installed his brother-in-law instead. By then Coker was barely on speaking terms, both with his former employer and with his successor, and possibly Molly was caught in the crossfire between the three quarrelling men. In addition, in the 1760s JPP had given her father the job of managing the Gingerland estate while Coker was on a visit to England. Then recently married, Coker may have hoped for long-term employment himself, and possibly ever since those early days there had been bad blood between the two men.

Not having received all the money from Coker, Molly Richens approached the new manager, Dr Weekes, and also wrote a letter to JPP. He responded by writing to Weekes, expressing his regret at Coker's treatment and, again rather typically, on the one hand JPP compensated her generously for Coker's mistakes, on the other hand he expected her to work to make up the shortfall in money. He wanted Weekes to 'tell her I am sorry to hear Mr Coker has given her so much cause to complaint but if she is industrious and careful she may soon make up her loss.' For 'the injury she has received' from Coker Molly Richens was to be given a 'beer barrel or two of rum'. It is ironic that her father had died from the too 'free use of rum', and that she was to profit from the selling of rum.

In the same letter Molly Richens had also asked JPP for a loan to build her house,[725] and still flushed with the excitement of moving into his new abode at Great George Street, he may have felt well-disposed to oblige the daughter of an old friend in her pursuit of her own home. It appears that he liked Molly; earlier he had asked Richens in a 'PS' to a letter to 'Tell Molly how d'ye',[726] and a transaction accounted for in the following year probably was in response to her request: N£17:13:6 ½ was 'for a gift to her'. He paid the money to John Huggins, probably a carpenter.[727] The amount she got from JPP certainly was sufficient to build a reasonably-sized wooden, shingled house.

Molly's home-making plans may have been hastened by the birth of her children. In the mid-1780s she probably had a son called David Levy[728] and in 1792/3 a daughter, Judith Levy. Judith's father was Daniel Levy, a mariner.[729]

Just before or around the time Molly's daughter was born, a shopkeeper/merchant called Daniel Levy married a widow, Judith DoPorto. It is possible that this was the same man who, by the late 1790s, had become a mariner but it is more likely that there were two men of that name. Daniel Levy, the shopkeeper, lived at the south end of Charlestown[730] and also traded with Moses Levy, who briefly worked as assistant overseer on Mountravers. In his 'Daniel & Moses Levy, Jews at Nevis account' JPP

---

[725] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, Nevis, 24 October 1791
[726] PP, LB 6: JPP to John Hay Richens, Nevis, 3 February 1786
[727] PP, AB 39 John Huggins's a/c
There were then several men of that name in Nevis but he probably was the John Huggins junior whose belongings in 1813 included carpenter tools: William Huggins and John Huggins applied for John Huggins junior's executorship. Effects totalling N£677:16:0 were appraised on 15 April 1813 by Joseph Jones, Edward Huggins jr and John Brooks, among them carpenter tools and a spy glass (N£3:12:0) and the slaves: Jim Coram (N£250), Orville (N£180), and Friendship (N£20) (ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1805-1818 f246).
[728] Molly was freed without a child (but may have been pregnant); by 1790 JPP referred to 'them'.
[729] Daniel Levy, the mariner, had a son, John D Levy, who in his autobiography mentioned having three siblings: William, Fanny and Judith - all called Levy. John's father already was a mariner when John was born in 1797. John's mother was Hannah Levy who moved to St Thomas from Nevis. Apparently John did not distinguish between full and half siblings; Judith, who went to America, certainly was the same free coloured, unmarried woman to whom Mary Richens left her slaves (Rachel Frances Levy (ed) *The Life and Adventures of John Levy* p5, p8, p53. I am grateful to Martha Mayo, Retired Director, Center for Lowell History, University of Massachusetts Lowell, for bringing this publication to my attention).
[730] Terrell, Michelle M *The Jewish Community of Early Colonial Nevis* p134
In her thesis which pre-dated the book, Terrell quoted CR 1801-1803 f326; Nevis Wills 1787-1805 ff126-27; CR 1790-1792 f698; CR 1792-1794 f1.

entered corn and fine flour and subscriptions to dinner for himself, and a subscription to a ball for his son.[731] The company also hired out horses.[732]

Molly Richens prospered. At some stage she acquired enslaved people of her own and by 1814 was able to pass on several to her daughter. This transfer was recorded. Their formal names were used when the 'free and unmarried woman of colour' Mary Richens assigned nine people in trust to Daniel Levy. He paid her N5s for the transaction but it was their daughter Judith Levy, 'spinster and free woman of colour' who was to benefit from the enslaved people's rental income. Transferring people in trust to a third party was not unusual but the transfer stood out because it was conditional and confirmed legally that her daughter had 'covenanted promised and agreed to maintain and support' Mary Richens 'in a proper and suitable manner' until she died. Several clauses stipulated what was to happen if her daughter married and had children. Judith Levy signed the document and Mary Richens made her mark by way of a signature but before the witness Charles Reap added his name, the document was 'first faithfully read over' to both women. Again, this was an unusual detail and may suggest that mother and daughter were suspicious that someone could have been altered the content.[733]

Daniel Levy was a mariner. Since at least 1810 he had been the master of the sloop *Perseverance* (in that capacity he carried various documents from Governor Elliot on Antigua to Nevis) [734] and was still a mariner in 1817. He, too, owned several people and after selling five - a black woman and her four boys - he still retained another four.[735]

The shopkeeper Daniel Levy, most likely, had died in the meantime, and his widow had fallen on hard times. Mrs Judith Levy applied to the Legislature for poor relief. On 16 November 1814 she was granted an allowance of N25s per week out of the public purse due to her 'extreme distress and poverty'.[736] A few years later, following the 'ravages made by the late gale' (the hurricane of 1819), Mary Richens, too, was in a 'state of lowest pauperism' and the Legislature approved rate relief for her, for Daniel Levy and for 25 other families and individuals.[737] The man who had witnessed the transfer of her people to her daughter soon found himself in a worse predicament. A merchant in the early 1800s,[738] in August 1820 Charles Reap was in prison and suffering from 'bodily infirmaties' and 'frequent attacks'. He was in debt to the tune of nearly £3,000. Again, the 'dreadful hurricane' was the main cause of his wretched finances, and the Legislature allowed him and his sister a weekly sum.[739]

Mary Richens, the daughter of a Mountravers slave, died some time between February 1820 and 1825. She was in her early to mid-fifties.

Mary Richens may also have had a daughter called Frances Levy. She was a free person, and David Levy (who probably was Mary Richens's son) was the witness when Frances manumitted one of her two

---

[731] PP, AB 39 Daniel & Moses Levy, Jews at Nevis a/c
[732] PP, AB 48 Estate of John Stanley
[733] ECSCRN, CR 1814-1817 ff7-10, and UKNA, T 71/366
In the slave register, the transaction was dated 30 April 1813 and one of the slaves assigned to Daniel Levy.
[734] UKNA, CO 186/9: 30 November 1810
[735] On 2 July 1816 Daniel Levy sold Jenny and John, Charles, Thomas and Charloe for N£370. His witness was John Frederick Bertrand. Daniel Levy signed the document (ECSCRN, CR 1814-1817 ff596-98). His remaining people were three black women - Maria (aged 80), Monimia (aged 75), Fanny (aged 40) – and a 25-year-old Sambo, Moses. They were alive in 1822 (UKNA, T 71/364 and T 71/365).
[736] UKNA, CO 186/10: 16 November 1814
[737] UKNA, CO 186/12: 27 February 1820
[738] PP, AB 57 Charles Reap, Merchant a/c (Sometimes 'Reap' was also spelt 'Reape')
[739] UKNA, CO 186/12: 21 August 1820

people.[740] David, like Daniel Levy, was a seafarer; he was master of the schooner *Martha Eliza*.[741] David Levy lived in St Thomas Lowland and died in December 1831, aged 47.[742] The mariner Daniel Levy, the man who was the father of Mary Richens's daughter Judith and perhaps also of her son David Levy, had died earlier, in the early 1820s.[743] Daniel Levy certainly also had a son called John D Levy with another woman, Hannah Levy. She had moved from Nevis to the island of St Thomas where she died in April 1840.[744] John D Levy, Judith's (half)-brother, had by then worked aboard ships, travelled to Europe and settled in North America. A carpenter by trade, he became a barber, had his own shop and was also an energetic anti-slavery campaigner.[745]

The free woman Frances Levy in July 1829 married William Bryan Archbald, the overseer on Stoney Grove,[746] and then moved to that plantation.[747] The Levy women were active members of their community. In 1833 Frances witnessed the marriage of a Mountravers slave, James Parris, to Sarah Levy[748] who had earlier buried her ten-moths-old son Daniel.[749] Judith Levy also witnessed a marriage - that of one of the people who belonged to Frances Archbald's husband - [750] and she was called upon to give evidence in a Court case.[751] Both Judith and Frances were literate, as were two of Mary Richens's people, George and Susanna. It probably was the women who did the teaching. After all, the 'Misses Levi' demonstrated their commitment to education and religious instruction by assisting the catechist, Mr Scott, in running the Sunday School in Charlestown. This served the communities of St Paul's and St Thomas Lowland and was in 1827 attended by 119 enslaved children. Another 27 received instruction weekday mornings. The emphasis was on religious education. Children left the school 'having been taught to read fluently in the Testament, and having received considerable Catechetical instruction.' For her work Judith Levi (sic) received a salary of N£6:5:0 per quarterly but Frances was not on the pay roll.[752] Judith Levy's (half)-brother John D Levy claimed that his parents – Daniel and Hannah Levy – did not disbar their people 'from knowledge; they always gave opportunity of acquiring an education – as was the custom on plantations in the West Indies, at that time.'[753]

Judith Levy owned eleven people in 1825. Nine of them had been transferred by her mother although one, Delia, was registered as not given to Judith but to her father Daniel Levy. That woman, Delia, was now 'virtually free by virtue of a deed of Trust from Mary Richens to Daniel Levy since dec'd'. One other person, Richard, 'has been absent at St Thomas on leave since 10 August 1823 and continues'.[754] Delia

---

[740] ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 vol 2 f82
Frances Levy manumitted Celia in 1823. In 1817 Frances Levy had registered her, then a 24-year-old Creole, and George, a seven-year-old Mulatto (UKNA, T 71/364). These were gifts from her aunt Mary Watters of Tortola, who on 14 July 1817 had given Celia and her son George to Frances Levy by deed of gift. The witness was the mariner Thomas Arthurton (CR 1817-1819Vol 2 f14).
[741] The *Martha Eliza* belonged to George Abbott, the Naval Officer and Surveyor of Tonnage and Admeasurer of Shipping (UKNA, BT 107/484; also CO 187/3 Nevis Blue Book 1821).
[742] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 and RHO MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b)
[743] In 1822 Daniel Levy's death was noted as that of 'Daniel Lew' (RHO, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b)).
[744] Hannah Levy's death on 10 April 1840 was noted in the Boston abolitionist newspaper 'The Liberator' (Pers. comm., Martha Mayo, 12 November 2019). John D Levy, an agent for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in the 1830s and 1840s was an active organiser of anti-slavery events in Lowell and throughout Massachusetts (https://libguides.uml.edu/c.php?g=520711).
[745] For the adventurous life John D Levy had led, see Rachel Frances Levy (ed) *The Life and Adventures of John Levy*
[746] NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842: 29 July 1829
[747] PP, Dom Box C3-16: Revd HJ Leacock, Nevis, to Charles Pinney, 12 July 1832
[748] NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842
[749] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 69
[750] On 18 March 1831 Sarah Archbald married John Wilkinson, a woman who belonged to Elizabeth Ferrier (NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842).
[751] ECSCRN, King's/Queen's Bench and Common Pleas 1831-1844
[752] Anon *Report of the Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negroe Slaves…* Appendix No V
[753] Levy, Rachel Frances (ed) *The Life and Adventures of John Levy* p5
[754] UKNA, T 71/366

lived in Charlestown but died, aged 41, and was buried on 21 August 1831 as Delia Ritchings.[755] (The surname was variously spelt Richings and Richins.) Over the next few years Judith Levy manumitted three more of her mother's people - John, [756] Thomas [757] and George - [758] but held on to five: Joseph, Susanna, Frances, Richard and Dominga. In August 1834, both George (by then free) and Joseph (still Judith Levy's apprentice labourer), married apprentices from Ward's estate and witnessed each other's weddings: Joseph married Diana Hinds and George married Sarah Ward. In both cases the second witness was Susanna Richins.[759] When George got married, he already had a daughter, Delia, with Miss Joan Arthurton's woman Susanna Arthurton[760] and then had a daughter with his wife: Mary was baptised on 6 November 1836. He had a good job; he was a ships carpenter.[761] Joseph later witnessed another wedding of a former Ward's apprentice, Mary Anne More, to Charles Pinney from Mountravers.[762] John, Thomas and Dominga disappeared from the scene but Frances may have been freed: the free woman Frances Levy from Charlestown had an illegitimate daughter, Margaret Anne, who was baptised on 1 August 1836.[763]

In March 1835, Frances Levy, who had married the overseer William B Archbald on Stoney Grove, lost her husband.[764] For her husband's three individuals Frances Archbald received compensation of S£42 - [765] no doubt crucial income for the young widow. Judith Levy was also due to be paid compensation for her people, and on 21 September 1835 she appointed an attorney to deal with her claim. He was Thomas Slater,[766] the Secretary and Clerk to the Council.[767] A man of some standing - he was, or a little later became, Colonial Secretary - [768] Slater also acted as attorney for one of his friends, Revd Hamble James Leacock, the rector of St Paul's. Slater was to handle Revd Leacock's claim for slave compensation, and the clergyman may have arranged for Slater to also act on Judith's behalf. On the same day they both appointed him as their attorney, and both sailed to America.[769]

---

[755] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837
[756] UKNA, T 71/367
[757] ECSCRN, CR 1831-1835 ff113-14
[758] ECSCRN, CR 1831-1835 Index
[759] NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842
[760] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 448
[761] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1835-1873 No 37
[762] NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842
[763] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1835-1873 No 25
In 1817 Mary Richens registered Frances who was then two years old (UKNA, T71/364).
[764] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 626
[765] HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 pp107-08
[766] ECSCRN, CR 1835-1838 f50
[767] 'Negro Apprenticeships, with Minutes and Evidence' Vol 3
[768] When Thomas and Francis Maria Slater's son Thomas Francis was baptised on 21 December 1837, the couple lived in Charlestown and he was Colonial Secretary. They had at least one more child: on 18 September 1840 their son Edward Cottle was baptised, at the age of two months and 18 days (NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1835-1873).
[769] ECSCRN, CR 1835-1838 f48
Hamble James Leacock received S£306 slave compensation for his seventeen people (HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 pp107-08).

Included were probably the three Barbados-born mulattoes Revd Leacock and his sister had brought as domestics from Barbados. In 1828 they were registered as Harry (aged 49 years), George (aged 17) and Betsey Mary (aged 18) (UKNA, T 71/367). Leacock, the second son of John Wrong Leacock of Barbados, married the widow Mrs Mary A Beard in June 1830. Thomas Slater, who later became his attorney, witnessed the event (NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842). His wife died and he remarried. His second wife died of cholera in August 1854 in Bridgetown, Barbados (VL Oliver *Monumental Inscriptions* p82).

After her death, Revd Leacock and a colleague, S H [or John] Duport, went to Sierra Leone as missionaries of the West Indian Church. Duport, a man 'of African extraction', had been trained at Codrington College and subsequently at Battersea Training College in London. Having briefly stayed in England, in November 1855 the two men landed at Freetown. During their short stay in Freetown Revd Leacock had an incredible encounter with the post-mistress. She greeted him 'with expressions of great delight', and it turned out that 'she had lived in the house of some friends of his in the West Indies, many years before, and that, as a child, she had frequently seen him there'. Revd Leacock and John Duport, his catechist, left Freetown in December 1855, sailed up the river Rio Pongo and began their work. Soon after his arrival Revd Leacock began suffering from fever (AH Barrow *Fifty Years in Western*

Judith Levy accompanied the clergyman to his new home in Lexington, Kentucky, and so missed the first visit to Nevis in 1836 of her (half)-brother John D Levy. Once he had returned to his home in Lowell, Massachusetts, John made enquiries with the 'Episcolian bishop as to the whereabouts of a Rev Mr Leacock' and managed to locate him. He wrote to Revd Leacock and in his autobiography recounted how Judith fainted when she heard that her brother John, whom she had presumed dead, was alive after all. Instead of returning to Nevis, as planned, in the spring of 1837 she went to Lowell. In September that year she left with her brother by steam boat, and from Bangor they sailed in 22 days on the schooner *Girard* to Nevis. Following the destructive hurricane and fire in Charlestown, John had embarked on a speculative venture, exporting timber, nails and other goods to Nevis but, unable to shift his wares, he sought to sell them in St Thomas. This enterprise bankrupted him and it was Judith who, through Revd Leacock, rescued his situation with a bank draft for 240 dollars.[770] Some of this money may have come from the slave compensation she had received.

For her eight people Judith Levy was awarded S£132.[771] This was about S£25 less than the group of eight Ebboes, to which her grandmother Judy had belonged, had cost exactly seventy years earlier.

After returning from her sojourn to America she went to live in St Thomas Lowland. Judith Levy died at the age of 72 and was buried on 1 February 1865.[772]

Revd Leacock and his people, and presumably also Judith, had first travelled to New York and from there had gone to Philadelphia and Lexington, Kentucky. Revd Leacock left Kentucky, moved to New Jersey to take up farming and some time in 1841 returned briefly to the West Indies. He then sailed to West Africa where he lived out his life as a missionary.[773]

279 Nomoore, Nomore, also No-Moore (dob 1752/3).

When she was valued at only N£60 in 1783, she may have been ill already. In December 1789 Thomas Pym Weekes performed surgery on her toe.[774]

In the early 1790s she did not work in the field but when JPP visited Nevis in 1794, he did not consider her state of health sufficiently poor to manumit her. Nomore died from King's Evil on 23 April 1795. She was in her early forties.[775]

Her name may have been a pun on Miss Moore, the woman from Dorchester with whom JPP fell out bitterly.

◄► ▼◄►

Africa). He died, aged 61, on 20 August 1856. He became known as the 'Martyr of the Pongas' (VL Oliver *Monumental Inscriptions* p82). In his will he left to his daughter Mary Elizabeth Leacock a property called Chicketts in St Lucy parish, Barbados (ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1837-1864).

[770] Levy, Rachel Frances (ed) *The Life and Adventures of John Levy* p56, p62, pp64-70

[771] HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 pp107-08
Judith Levy's eight slaves probably were Richard, Joseph, Frances and Dominga plus Daniel Levy's four.

[772] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 1359

[773] Caswell, Henry *The Martyr of the Pongas: Being a Memoir of the Revd Hamble James Leacock* p27

[774] PP, AB 30 TP Weekes a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f34 TP Weekes Doctor of Physic in Charlestown a/c

[775] Nomore was, however, listed in one mortgage document dated 31 October 1795 (PP, Dom Box K1).

The following five children probably belonged to the group of eight Ebboes, or (except for Daniel) to the group of nine, JPP bought in February 1767. It is possible that Little Peter actually was the twentieth Gold Coast slave.

280 Daniel was probably born between about 1750 and 1757. Within a few months of arriving on Mountravers, he was sold as a 'refuse boy'. He changed hands on 11 October 1766.

'Refuse slaves' were those Africans who arrived in the Caribbean too sickly to fetch a good price.[776] Some were so weak that they could not be brought ashore,[777] 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 journey across the Atlantic, there was no one to look after them[778] and presumably most just perished. Other 'refuse slaves' were mixed in with healthy ones and sold in lots by ticket, or at auction, 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.'[779] 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'.[780] Another source put their recovery rate at one in three,[781] and when some years later a couple of women invested around N£50 in four 'refuse negroes', JPP expected them to save not more than one.[782] In Daniel's case he must have considered the boy's condition and decided to put him up for sale. He sold him to the carpenter and millwright Benjamin Lees for a paltry N£3:6:0.[783] This represented about an eighth of the average purchase price of this group and only N6s less than Benjamin Lees paid to hire Range for a month. Range, a carpenter, was working with Lees when he bought Daniel.

Daniel's new owner had had three people in the 1750s and when he bought Daniel, he also owned three: Billy, Sally and Polly. He mortgaged them (but not Daniel), left Nevis and by the mid-1770s lived in the island of St Vincent. Benjamin Lees owned some land in Nevis in the St Paul's parish; he had been granted it by William Woodley, the Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Leeward Island - presumably as a reward. Measuring 190 by 140 feet, it was just a small patch of land,[784] and in pursuit of a more profitable future Lees followed the call of other people from Nevis who had migrated to St Vincent. In 1763 the Treaty of Paris had concluded the Seven Years War and had brought several islands under British control, among them St Vincent. Many settlers from St Kitts and Nevis were trying to make their fortunes in the newly acquired islands. They would have been mostly experienced planters, bringing with them enslaved people and skills, but for anyone in Britain who considered setting themselves up with properties in these Ceded Islands, the *Gentleman's Magazine* featured a timely article, 'A History of the Sugar Cane'. It included a detailed description of the sugar-making process and how to maintain

[776] The numbers of refuse slaves on any one voyage varied according to the conditions on the Middle Passage but Dr Thomas Cochrane estimated in 1789 that refuse slaves could make up seven to eight per cent in any cargo (Thomas Cochrane MD 'Answers to the Fifth Table of Queries').
[777] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century* Vol 69 pp141-42
[778] Thomas, Hugh *The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440-1870* p437, quoting Reports and Papers, British Parliamentary Series, 1790 Vol 72 p160
[779] Collins, Dr *'A Professional Planter'* pp44-52; also BULSC, DM 1061: Captain David Duncombe, Bristol, to Captain Joseph White, March 1767
[780] Cochrane, Thomas MD 'Answers to the Fifth Table of Queries'
[781] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century* Vol 69 pp141-42
[782] PP, LB 3: JPP to Wm Coker, 31 August 1771
[783] PP, AB 18 Benjamin Lees' a/c
[784] The Council noted on 30 December 1768 that Benjamin Lees was granted a piece of land in St Paul's. It bordered to the South: Ralph Payne, to the North: the heirs of Benjamin Coker dec'd, to the East: the Breastwork Path, to the West: the Sea (UKNA, CO 186/4).

plantation people. Moving to the new territories was a seductive proposition for many; an acre of land could be bought for as little as £15 to £45,[785] and by that measure Daniel was worth about 8,700 square feet (800 square metres) of land. The acquisition of the new territories, however, had meant that there was an increase in demand for workers which, in turn, increased the prices for enslaved workers.

Lees may, possibly, have taken Daniel to St Vincent but unless he cared for him well, it is likely that this 'refuse boy' did not live long after he was sold.

Billy, Sally and Polly, the three people Benjamin Lees had mortgaged, were transferred to the Nevis merchant Daniel Ross [786] (who also had estates in St Vincent), and when Ross died in 1785, they were among his 41 people: Billy was worth N£66 and Sarah N£100. The other woman, Polly, in the meantime had given birth to a son, John, and she and the child were 'subject to a deed of gift for the life of a free negro woman'.[787] Once again, people who had lived and worked together for many years were torn apart.

281 **Hannah** (probably born between 1746 and 1756) remained on Mountravers and died before 15 July 1768. She was 'replaced' by another girl called Hannah.

282 **Little Peter** was put to work on the Gingerland estate. No more than about ten years old, he died there between 1 May 1767 and 10 July 1768.

Peter was a recent import and had the same name as two men already living on Mountravers. This raises questions as to why he, too, was called Peter and how he acquired this name. Perhaps some people who seasoned or adopted him may have named him to honour either Peter (No 50) or Congo Peter (No 186). However, it is also possible that he may have been given the name while awaiting shipment in Africa, working in some capacity in or around the forts, and that the 'Little' was added on the plantation to distinguish him from the others of that name.

283 **Omar,** a girl, was probably born about 1758/9. She was about eight years old [788] when she died. She was only once on a list of people purchased before 1 May 1767.

284 **Cuffee** (born perhaps between 1750 and 1758) was placed on the Gingerland estate. He was the first person recorded as having committed suicide. He hanged himself some time between 1 May 1767 and 10 July 1768.

There is no record of what brought about this act, the first of two recorded suicides.

Cuffee's death may have fitted a pattern which contemporary observers usually associated with newly arrived Africans. On the Stapleton plantation, where two men had gone 'into the woods on a Sunday and hanged themselves', the manager reported this incident to his employer and specifically stated that they

[785] Watts, David *The West Indies* p294
[786] The three people had been mortgaged by Benjamin Lees for N£150, and the transfer was documented on 15 February 1775. Joseph Powell witnessed this transaction (ECSCRN, CR 1773-1775 f244).
[787] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f650
[788] Omar was listed after Scipios (15) and Ducks Leah (8), and before Nancy (8) and Sheba Jones (6).

had been purchased recently.[789] A German missionary who visited St Croix found that 'generally speaking', suicide was committed by 'newly arrived Bussals',[790] while Monk Lewis went one step further and stated that 'this was never known to take place except among fresh negroes'. According to him, they 'generally believe that there is a life beyond the present, and that they shall enjoy it by returning to their own country; and this idea used frequently to induce them, soon after their landing in the colonies, to commit suicide.'[791] The abolitionist Wilberforce, too, stated that enslaved people took their own lives because they anticipated 'that they will, upon death removing them from that country, be restored to their native land, and enjoy their friend's society in a future state.' [792] Another abolitionist tempered this by stating that not all but only 'some nations' held the belief 'of revisiting their country after death'.[793]

Historians have subsequently repeated these statements and have interpreted enslaved people taking their own lives as a 'positive means of attaining freedom according to West African religious-mystical belief.'[794] Surely, suicide can be seen as the ultimate act of resistance and having the power to kill oneself would have been an important aspect of an enslaved person's life, but there were probably other, more practical explanations. Having undergone the Middle Passage, being unused to the plantation regime, hating their new environment and not accepting their state of enslavement and the dishonour associated with it - for some suicide may have been solely a means to an end, the only way to stop their suffering. They may have taken their lives for the same reasons whites took theirs: physical or mental illness, inconsolable grief, utter exhaustion, broken spirits, broken relationships. The enslaved man who from jealousy murdered his wife, tried to kill others, set fire to the plantation and then hanged himself from a tree - [795] surely by his final act he did not attempt to return to his African homeland. He finished his life to escape heartache, loneliness, and punishment.

According to Christian belief, taking one's life is sinful, and those who had done so were denied Christian burials. In most West African ethno-linguistic groups similar prohibitions existed and the bodies of suicides were disposed without ceremonies and cast in the bush. If one compares the Christian and the West African approaches, they were more similar than people at the time would have wanted to accept.[796] To stress the other-ness of enslaved Africans, their exotic beliefs and their strange ideas was a way whites could distance themselves from their humanity and from the fundamental concerns common to all humankind. To claim that it was mostly newly arrived Africans meant, in effect, that they had not yet been exposed to the 'civilising effect' of white, Christian folk. At the same time it was a way whites could abdicate responsibility for enslaving people and for keeping them enslaved. It was easier to interpret the Africans' suicides as one of 'those things' these foreign people did. An indication of this is the manner in which Oldendorp, a German missionary who visited St Croix, ridiculed the 'sweet fantasy' of being 'reincarnated in the body of a newborn child' and that Africans expected to 'return in their own bodies once again to their fatherland as free men and in far better circumstances.' He claimed that those who had lived in the West Indies for a while had given up 'those absurd ideas' and partly credited the deterrent that was employed in St Croix: the heads and hands of those who had died by their own efforts were put

---

[789] Ryland Stapleton MSS 4.5: Joseph Herbert, Nevis, to Sir William Stapleton, 21 July 1731
[790] Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p87
[791] Lewis, Matthew Gregory *Journal of a Residence Among the Negroes in the West Indies* p51
Rev William Smith, one-time rector of St John Figtree, similarly claimed that Africans hanged themselves to return to their native country (Smith, Revd William *A Natural History of Nevis* pp228-29).
[792] Wilberforce, William *An Appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity* Part II p7, quoting Dr Williamson's Medical and Miscellaneous Observations relative to the West India Islands
[793] Cochrane, Thomas MD 'Answers to the Fifth Table of Queries'
[794] Bush, Barbara *Slave Women in Caribbean Society* p55
[795] Cochrane, Thomas MD 'Answers to the Fifth Table of Queries'
[796] Please see Appendix 3 'Examples of some African burial practices' for more details

on public display in a cage– 'a measure not without effective results.'[797] A French missionary claimed to have known a planter who was said to have come up with his own solution. He found a unique – and, so it was said, successful - ploy to foil his people from committing suicide *en masse*. Apparently they tended to go off in groups into the forests and hang themselves, and one day, loaded with hoes and bills, he followed one such group, threatened to hang himself as well and follow them to Guinea where he would work them even harder. While this made an amusing story for boorish planters – one can imagine them, glass of punch in hand, chuckling over this tale at an after-dinner gathering - it probably was apocryphal.[798] It fitted the notion of enslaved people as misguided, somewhat childish and gullible, while portraying the planter as smart and in control – and as having the last laugh.

It is difficult to assess exactly how significant suicide was as a cause of death among enslaved populations. Gregory Lewis claimed that since the abolition of the slave trade no more suicides had occurred,[799] but this is not borne out by records analysed by the historian Barry Higman. He found that suicides did appear in the records although, overall, not in significant numbers. His analysis is based on the causes of death as stated in the islands' post-Atlantic-slave trade registrations. And, of course, herein lies the main problem: that of records which are available for analysis. In their official slave lists, not many islands noted the cause of death – Nevis, for instance, did not - and owners and their managers would have wanted to under-record any incidents. Planters would have lost the confidence of their financial backers and managers the confidence of their employers. In addition, a general lack of interest could have been an additional reason for under-recording. But a statement by the ameliorationist and abolitionist Dr Thomas Cochrane backs Higman's observation that suicide played no major role in slave societies. Dr Cochrane stated that in the West Indies no more people took their own lives than in England.[800] His evidence is anecdotal; he spoke from having lived in the West Indies for 14 years and from having run the town hospital in St Kitts, but if Dr Cochrane's observations were correct, then they are further evidence of enslaved people's incredible resilience.

In all slave populations which have been analysed, suicide was most common in people over 20 years of age. Barry Higman found that in Berbice, during the period 1819 to 1822, suicide occurred most frequently among adult Creole male field workers, and that generally people of colour, domestics and the skilled were less prone to end their own lives.[801] These groups tended to have less physically demanding jobs, more variety in their work, more opportunity to earn money and to expand their horizons.

There were gender differences as well. In Tobago almost double the number of males took their own lives, while in Berbice suicide was confined almost entirely to males. [802] For women who had children it was harder to give up on life and leave the children unprotected but even mothers killed themselves. A visiting missionary related the sorry tale of two women recently brought from Guinea to St Croix. One was pregnant, the other had two children. Both hanged themselves. The mother had been separated from her children and taken to another part of the island.[803]

---

[797] Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p87
[798] Cochrane, Thomas MD 'Answers to the Fifth Table of Queries'
[799] Lewis, Matthew Gregory *Journal of a Residence* p51
[800] Cochrane, Thomas MD 'Answers to the Fifth Table of Queries'
[801] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* pp343-44 and p346
[802] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p343
According to evidence from eighteenth century Virginia, there also more enslaved men than women took their lives. During the period 1727 to 1776, at least 31 men and 6 women were known to have committed suicide (Terri L Snyder 'Stories of Suicide in Eighteenth-Century Virginia: Masters, Slaves, and Print Culture During the Imperial Crisis', presented to the Ohio Seminar in Early American History and Culture, 14 October 2005).
[803] Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p87

On Mountravers the only known suicides were those of two men, Cuffee and Mingo. Both men hanged themselves, and this is the method mentioned most frequently in the plantation literature. When a 22-year-old man, Pompey, cut his throat on Stoney Grove, this stands out as unusual, and has only come to light because he did not succeed and a doctor was called in to treat him.[804] Other methods, such as poisoning, may have gone undetected, and the role suicide played among enslaved people on Mountravers will remain obscure, along with many other details of their lives and deaths.

◄► ▼◄►

Having just bought eight Ebboes, a week later JPP purchased another ten. These he bought at St Kitts from a partner in the firm of Smith and Baillies, James Smith of Nevis, who acted on the company's behalf. On 29 January 1766 JPP accounted for a payment of S£230.[805]

Again, he named the new people. Frank had been in use as a female name before and except for a man called Charly (Charles), who had lived on the plantation previously, their names were new. It may be no coincidence that Charlotte and Caroline were the wife and the sister of King George III. Cordelia and Diana, on the other hand, may have been named after fictional characters - one of King Lear's daughters in William Shakespeare's play of the same name was called Cordelia, and Diana appeared in Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well.* Diana was also the Roman goddess of the moon and of the hunt. With Harlescombe JPP remembered one of his farms in Devon, with Dorchester the town with which he and his family had close connections. York was another place name he used but he may have referred to the Mayor, the Duke or the Archbishop of York - all three were characters in Shakespeare's plays about the kings Richard and Henry. Myrtilla's name, on the other hand, is close to 'Mirila', which is Bambara and translates as 'serious; one who reflects'. [806] Bambara is spoken in today's Senegal, Mali, northern Guinea, northern Côte d'Ivoire and also in parts of Nigeria.

This group, too, was intended for the Gingerland estates, but only three individuals were sent to work there: Charly, Myrtilla and Cordelia.

It is noticeable that the ten people in this second group were altogether fitter and healthier than the eight in the previous group: by 1769 they were all alive (five out of the eight others had died), by 1783 half were alive (fewer than half in the other group), and while in this group two people lived into the early 1820s, in the other, the last of the eight had already been dead for thirty years.

In 1783, the five survivors in this group were worth N£495, the three in the other group less than half that amount. But this group cost more: S£23 per head compared to nearly S£20. Almost certainly this group was in better condition to start off with. The most likely explanation for one group surviving better than the other was that they had been transported in different ships: one in Captain Carter's *Nightingale*, the other in Captain Hoggan's *Dobb*. An accident of timing at the point of their sale prior to embarkation in Africa may have determined their different experiences during the Middle Passage and their future lives in the West Indies.

[804] PP, WI Box 1823-1825: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate 1824 J Webbe Daniell's a/c
[805] PP, AB 15 Gingerland Plantation a/c
[806] Muñoz, Sharon R *The Afro-American Griot Speaks*

285 Charly (dob 1753/4) died between January 1769 and July 1783. He was aged between 15 and 30 years.

286 Harlescombe (dob 1752/3). By 1783, when he was valued at N£130, he had become a carpenter, and it is likely that Range (No 165) taught him the trade. Harlescombe may have put his skills to use as early as February 1774; JPP then paid him N3s for 'sundry work'.[807]

At the beginning of 1776 Harlescombe was working on JPP's Mountain Estate in the parish of St John Figtree. He and the Creole carpenter Glasgow Wells erected a stable.[808] The masons Tom Jones and Bettiscombe were also employed there. They underpinned the house and made steps.

Over the coming years Harlescombe was hired out several times, usually for relatively short spells. His first assignment was in 1783 when he worked on the snow *Gustaf Adolph*, with several other men, over a period of five months.[809] Except for one, they were all coopers and carpenters, and on board ship these men would have caulked seams and replaced any woodwork that had got broken during the voyage and for its return journey made the vessel 'ship shape and Bristol fashion'. In the days when slaving ships arrived from Africa and their below-decks had to be re-arranged to accommodate not human cargo but plantation produce, enslaved carpenters would have assisted the ships carpenters in their work while scores of men would have scrubbed the woodwork with vinegar to rid the vessel of the smell of blood and excrement. Others would have repaired sails and cordage that had got damaged. Of the vessels that went back and forth between Britain and the West Indies, some, but not all, carried their own carpenters: David Jones, for instance, worked on the *Nevis Planter* [810] and Abel Grade on the *Nevis.*[811] But the *King David*, another Pinney ship, did not have its own carpenter so that the captain had to hire local labour for urgent repairs. One time the masts and gallants had been split when lightning struck.[812]

Harlescombe's work was varied. In the following year he was on hire for three days to the St Kitts merchant Samuel Lynch,[813] two years later he briefly did some jobs for Abraham Alvarez[814] and in September 1787 for the carpenter William Arnott, first with Glasgow Wells, and then, in 1789, on his own.[815] William Arnott, who owed JPP over N£20, later skipped the island and for a while remained one of the 'doubtful debts'.[816]

Harlescombe was in March and April 1791 hired to the neighbouring planter John Latoysonere Scarborough, for four and a half weeks, with Primus, at N£5 per month, and then in April on his own for another week. Mulatto Polly and her children were then living with Scarborough. By 1795, when he was working for Revd William Jones for a period of 48 days, Harlescombe's daily rate had gone up from N2s1d per day to N2s6d.[817] He did not have to go far to work; Revd Jones, the clergyman for the parishes

[807] PP, AB 17: 24 February 1774
[808] PP, AB 20 f175 Plantation a/c
[809] PP, AB 26 Captain Johan Trangberg and the Owners of the on the snow Gustaf Adolph, Sterling a/c; also f208 Negro Hire a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f111, f117 and f151
[810] BRO, 39654 (2)
[811] PP, AB 40 f204
[812] PP, LB 56: Captain William Scarth, Nevis, to PA & Co, 5 July 1823
[813] PP, AB 31 Samuel Lynch's a/c
[814] PP, AB 31 Abraham Alvarez' a/c
[815] PP, AB 39
[816] PP, AB 57 1802/3
[817] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f85 Negro Hire a/c; also AB 39: 2 to 9 April 1791; AB 52 Revd William Jones' a/c and AB 47 f83

of St Thomas Lowland and St John Figtree,[818] was at that time 'in occupation or possession' of Edward Parris's land (formerly Wansey's), which lay just up the mountain to the east of Mountravers.[819]

By the late 1790s Harlescombe had become a watchman. His job was to guard the 'Copperhole piece'.[820] He had sustained an eye injury or suffered from an illness that put an end to his work as carpenter. On 5 February 1798 he was given four 'alternative boluses' and a fortnight later another three and also 'material for eye-water'. The treatment came to N£1:7:0. A year earlier eye-water had been bought; it may also have been for him.[821]

Harlescombe died between August 1807 and December 1816. He was in his mid-fifties to mid-sixties.

287 Frank, later Ebbo Frank, (dob 1753/4) was a healthy field worker and in 1783 valued at N£100. He was then about 30 years old. A few years later he was ill and in November 1789 probably was, with Little Frank, among the earliest patients in Nevis to receive a new kind of therapy. Dr Thomas Pym Weekes charged N£1:4:9 for 'Electrifying Ebbo Frank first time and L Frank'.[822] The fact that both Franks were electrified is a coincidence; the two were not related.

They were treated with Thomas Pym Weekes's brand-new 'compleat Electrical Apparatus'. Dr Weekes had recently ordered the machine from England. Given that the House promised to send him everything of the best, it is very likely that Dr Weekes owned the latest of the electricity-generating models: a contraption made of great cylinders, which were run by belts and foot-treadles and rubbed by woollen cloths or pads. These cylinders replaced the rotating globes that had to be rubbed manually; they were not only easier to operate but also produced a more constant and powerful electric current. Dr Weekes was using a technique that had been developed mainly in Germany and had been the rage all over Europe since about the middle of the century. Following earlier experiments by Christian Friedrich Ludolff and Professor Gottlieb Kruger, in the mid-1740s Christian Gottlieb Kratzenstein had found that administering electricity accelerated the heart, increased circulation, and contracted muscles. Kratzenstein considered the treatment beneficial for patients who suffered from rheumatic afflictions and certain nervous diseases, such as palsies, and soon people endowed electricity with almost mystical powers.[823] Electrical stimulation, the new, exciting invention that was part parlour entertainment, part medicine, was promoted in Britain by the recently founded Humane Society [824] and Dr Weekes would have been only too keen to introduce the latest European methods in the West Indies. No doubt there were bystanders who watched the process and who turned the treatment into something of a spectacle. Dr Weekes's electrical apparatus must have seemed like magic.

This electrifying seems to have cured Frank temporarily; in 1793 he was fit enough to work in Wiltshire's great gang. Soon afterwards, however, he was employed as a watchman 'down at the pond'. To have been demoted to a watchman, his health must have declined further but there were no doctors' charges recorded. Wiltshire or someone else knowledgeable in herbal remedies may have treated him until, a few

[818] PP, Misc Vols 12 Leeward Islands Calendar
[819] ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797. See also f20 for sale of Wansey's/Mount Ida plantation by Edward Parris
[820] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[821] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c and AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's a/c
[822] PP, AB 30 TP Weekes a/c; DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f34 'TP Weekes Doctor of Physic in Charlestown' a/c
[823] See, for instance, Egill Snorrason *Christian Gottlieb Kratzenstein … and his studies on electricity during the eighteenth century* p221
[824] Porter, Roy *Enlightenment* p207

years later, doctors Archbald and Williamson attended to him. He appears to have sustained an injury, which could have been from an accident or a fight:

27 December 1797	A visit for Frank	N£1:0:0
	stitching a wound in the Axilla	N12s
31 December	a visit	N20s
	bleeding	N8s3d
1 January 1798	8 cooling laxative powders	N£1:4:0
24 April 1798	3 strengthening plasters	
	for the back and wrists for Frank	N£1:2:0 [825]

The injury meant that, temporarily, he was put in charge of guarding an easier patch of ground, the nearby 'General's' or 'general piece',[826] but a year later he was back at the pond piece. In November 1798 four carpenters built him a new watch house. His old one was re-used. Men drew it up from the pond piece to Sharloes, repaired and erected it there.[827] It is not known how many watch houses were scattered over the plantation. Only one other is known. It stood high up on the mountain at 'the Banana Gutt adjoining Ward's line'.[828]

Frank probably became too ill to guard the fields, and he was put to lighter duties around the manager's house, which, apparently, he performed with great reluctance. Having worked as a watchman, he would have been used to an independent life whereas now he was expected to follow orders and work with others. A few months after Joe Stanley, the new manager, had taken up residence, he complained that 'Nanny & Frank I find very unwilling to wait on me, and have to oblige to threaten them, but I shall avoid any kind of severity.'[829]

Ebbo Frank died between August 1807 and December 1816. He was in his early fifties to early sixties.

288 York, later Old York (dob 1754/5). He was a field worker and, when he was in his late twenties, valued at N£100. In his mid-forties he still laboured in the field, in Wiltshire's great gang.

In his forties, on 10 February 1800, he is known to have absented himself from the plantation. He went away for only one day.[830]

Of the males in this group, Old York died last, on 3 December 1822. He was in his late sixties.

289 Dorchester (dob 1756/7) probably was the youngest boy in this group and small for his age: when about 10 or 11 years old he was still ranked among the 'child boys' rather than the 'boys'.

On 8 March 1769 Dorchester died 'by eating dirt'. He was about 12 years old. This happened on the same day Mingo killed the girl Agree and then hanged himself.

---

[825] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[826] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[827] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary November 1798
[828] PP, LB 9: JPP to John Taylor, 16 March 1792
[829] PP, Dom Box P: JW Stanley to John Frederick Pinney, 27 December 1805
[830] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary

What was generally known as 'eating dirt' went by several different names: *mal d'estomac,*[831] (corrupted to '*malde stomach'*), [832] *hati-weri,*[833] *Cacheara Africana* (also spelt *Cachexia Africana*). Although the name implied that it was peculiar to Africans, it was also said to occur among Creoles. [834] JR Ward has suggested that dirt-eating, although quite common, probably 'was rather over-emphasized in published accounts as a peculiar and disgusting habit', used by planters to illustrate 'African' depravity'.[835] This was underlined by the particularly loaded phrase 'dirt-eating' although it has to be remembered that the word 'dirt' is a Caribbean term for soil or earth; 'earth-eating' (or the scientific term, geophagy) would be more appropriate.

According to James Tobin, 'eating dirt' was among 'the many disorders to which negro children [were] peculiarly subject', [836] and while it may have affected 'a great many little ones'[837] and pubescent children,[838] adults certainly were prone to it, too - particularly pregnant and lactating women.[839]

Some, like Tobin, saw dirt-eating as an illness, but it was also a commonly held belief that it was a form of addiction.[840] In the second half of the eighteenth-century other explanations were in circulation. Wilberforce quoted Dr John Williamson, who believed that dirt-eating was a way of committing suicide,[841] while Dr Robert Thomas attributed to the deaths of some children to 'a disease of the stomach, or depravity of appetite', which induced them to eat dirt.[842] The abolitionist Ramsay also saw 'eating dirt, or clay', in a nutritional context: among people who had escaped it was a food of last resort and their desperate attempt at taking in sustenance.[843] Whatever their reasoning, few would have disputed Wilberforce's claim - again using as his reference Dr Williamson – that '*mal d'estomac*, or dirt-eating' rarely occurred on estates where the people were 'extremely comfortable'.[844]

Ramsay mentioned clay being eaten, a plantation manager spoke of a girl consuming burnt or soft stone, some of which was pounded,[845] but it was also said that, if a particular kind of earth was not available, people imbued other substances, such as 'plaster from the walls, or dust collected from the floor'.[846] However, as Susan Allport has pointed out, it was a misconception that people consumed surface dirt - this would have been loaded with bacteria and parasites. Clay was in fact collected mainly from well below the surface and dried to further reduce the possibility of contamination. She also stressed that dirt-eating (i.e. eating earthy or soil-like substances such as clay or chalk) must not be confused with pica, a perversion of appetite that causes people to ingest non-food items such as hair, for instance. [847]

---

[831] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 71 p262 James Tobin's evidence
[832] PP, WI Box 1823-1825: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate 1826
[833] Kiple, KF and VH Kiple 'Deficiency Diseases in the Caribbean' p207
[834] Barclay, Alexander *A Practical View of the Present State of Slavery* p345
[835] Ward, JR *British West Indian Slavery* p153
[836] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 71 p262 James Tobin's evidence
[837] NHCS, RG 12.10 Indictment of Manager on Stapleton p296
[838] Barclay, Alexander *A Practical View of the Present State of Slavery* p345
[839] Kiple, KF and VH King *Another Dimension* p75 and KF Kiple and VH Kiple 'Deficiency Diseases in the Caribbean' p208
[840] NHCS, RG 12.10 Indictment of Manager on Stapleton p296
[841] Wilberforce, William *An Appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity* part II p7; also GF Tyson and AR Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p88
[842] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 71 p256
[843] Shyllon, F.larin *James Ramsay The Unknown Abolitionist* p31
[844] Wilberforce, William *An Appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity* Part II p61, quoting Dr John Williamson (*Medical and Miscellaneous Observations relating to the West Indian Islands* 1817 Vol 2 p261)
[845] NHCS, RG 12.10 Indictment of Manager on Stapleton p290
[846] Kiple, KF and VH King *Another Dimension* p75
[847] Allport, Susan 'Women who eat dirt' in *Gastronomica*, *The Journal of Food and Culture* (Spring 2002) p33

Contemporary observers noted that dirt-eaters suffered from stomach pains, shortness of breath, giddiness, loss of appetite, palpitations of the heart, listlessness and depression. As the sickness progressed, patients became bloated, their legs swelled, and they displayed other symptoms associated with dropsies.[848]

Once detected, planters tried to curb the practise by fitting a contraption that would 'prevent the hand being conveyed to the mouth'. They employed different equipment: iron or tin masks which covered the entire face, cone-shaped mouth locks,[849] muzzles made of sole-leather,[850] or unwieldy wooden collars. In the 1820s such a device was adopted on the Stapleton estate in Nevis but it did not prevent the death of the little boy who had been forced to wear it.[851]

Investigating the deaths of many people at the hands of the then manager led the doctors, who had visited the Stapleton estate over a number of years, to study dirt-eating.[852] Dr Robert Caines tried to put his finger on the difference between England and the colonies; he believed that the 'constant feeding on ground provisions' disordered the stomach, causing dysentery which induced dirt-eating.[853] For Dr Alexander Hanley, too, improperly dressed ground provisions deficient in salt were the most likely cause for '*Cacheara Africana*, or *Mal-de-Stomach*'. In his opinion these ground provisions induced 'debility of the stomach, and consequently all the symptoms of dyspepsia, the most prevalent system of which is heartburn or cardialgia.' To counteract this, people took to 'eating dirt as an absorbent'. But Dr Hanley considered other causes, such as hard labour and exposure to cold, and he cited as evidence the difference in enslaved people's health under the previous managers. For the sick people Dr Hanley prescribed wine and sheep meat ('animal food'),[854] which was in line with, by then, contemporary thinking that wholesome food was the appropriate cure for *mal d'estomac*.[855] An Antiguan planter recommended imported beans or biscuit as a means of prevention.[856]

Today historians generally agree that dirt-eating was a result of malnutrition.[857] Kiple and Kiple pointed to the lack of certain vitamins in the enslaved people's diet – particularly vitamins A and B_1 (thiamine) - and suggested that the symptoms associated with dirt-eating signalled beriberi, an ailment caused by a deficiency in thiamine. [858] In wet beriberi the tissues around the heart become waterlogged – the accumulation of excess fluid typical of what doctors used to describe as a dropsy. Kiple and Kiple have argued that a significant number of enslaved people in the Caribbean succumbed to dropsies, but if deaths from diseases associated with the symptoms of beriberi were added, they claim that on some plantations the number of deaths could have accounted for as much as around a fifth of the total.[859] Better nutrition could have saved many sufferers. The Jamaican planter Long knew that dropsies could be cured with 'a very nutritious diet' and, as Kiple and Kiple have pointed out, 'In the minds of white planters good

---

[848] Kiple, KF and VH Kiple 'Deficiency Diseases in the Caribbean' p208
[849] Kiple, KF and VH Kiple 'Deficiency Diseases in the Caribbean' p207 and Allport, Susan 'Women who eat dirt' p32
[850] Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p88
[851] NHCS, RG 12.10 Indictment of Manager on Stapleton p289 and p298
[852] For instance, two contemporary publications concerned with dirt-eating were Thomas Dancer's *The Medical Assistant; or Jamaica Practice of Physic* Kingston 1801 p17 and James Maxwell's 'Pathological Inquiry into the Nature of *Cachexia Africana*, as it is generally connected with Dirt-Eating' in *Jamaica Physical Journal* No 2 (1835) pp409-35 (BW Higman *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica* p113).
[853] NHCS, RG 12.10 Indictment of Manager on Stapleton p292
[854] NHCS, RG 12.10 Indictment of Manager on Stapleton pp290-92
[855] Kiple, KF and VH Kiple 'Deficiency Diseases in the Caribbean' p208
[856] Ward, JR *British West Indian Slavery* p155
[857] Ward, JR *British West Indian Slavery* p153
[858] Kiple, KF and VH Kiple 'Deficiency Diseases in the Caribbean' p208
[859] Kiple, KF and VH Kiple 'Deficiency Diseases in the Caribbean' pp210-11, quoting, among others, Collins *Practical Rules* p85, Craton and Walvin *A Jamaican Plantation* p113 and BW Higman *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica* pp112-13; also KF Kiple and VH King *Another Dimension* p76. See also JR Ward *British West Indian Slavery* p155

nutrition was equated with fresh meat and fresh meat contains thiamine which could have cured the 'dropsies'.[860] Fresh meat also contains iron, another nutrient found in clay,[861] and therefore eating earth may have been a way of taking in missing nutrients such as thiamine and iron.[862] As suggested by Kiple and Kiple, it was no coincidence that the B vitamins and iron were plentiful in the 'hot liquor', a mixture of brown sugar and molasses, which workers drank during crop time and that during crop time they were said to have looked their healthiest.[863]

JR Ward had found that deaths from dirt-eating do not show much in records of enslaved populations. Recounting the contemporary view that dirt-eating was seen as a sign of harsh treatment, managers would have sought to conceal such incidents.[864] Equally, deaths attributed to dirt-eating may have been used to conceal, for instance, outbreaks of contagious diseases such as tuberculosis.[865] Dirt-eating is said to have virtually disappeared from the British West Indies after Emancipation.[866]

In her cross-cultural study on 'Women who eat dirt' Susan Allport has widened the debate by stressing that dirt-eating is practised in almost every part of the world.[867] Special clays or muds are and were consumed in Nepal, India, Africa (Europeans in Africa used to carry their edible clays in special little cases), in Central and South America (Peru) and the American South, where it was – and still is – mostly, but not exclusively, eaten by African Americans. The habit is chiefly found among women, especially pregnant women, but in China, for instance, entire populations are known to have resorted to dirt in times of severe need and in Haiti clay 'cakes' are being traded and bought by the poor. Birds and other animals, too, take in soil or clay but only those that are herbivores or omnivores and not strict carnivores. Equally, human populations whose diet is rich in animal products do not practise dirt-eating.

Among the nutrients contained in some edible clays are calcium, magnesium, iron and zinc but their composition varies. In Nigeria, for instance, Tiv women eat clay with high calcium and magnesium content whereas Igbo women's clay contains very little calcium.[868] Donald Vermeer has found that clays are eaten primarily by Tiv women during the early months of pregnancy but children and adult men, too, take clays for their antidiarrhoetic effect, and dried, pounded clays are applied to the skin of young children to heal scabious sores. Tiv mothers feed their children clay in the belief that it will make them strong.[869] Other benefits attributed to clay are the treatment of parasite infections and the removal of toxins from food; Allport cited the example of some South American people who use very fine clay to neutralise poisonous substances found in wild potatoes. Among the harmful effects of clay consumption are damage to tooth

---

[860] Kiple, KF and VH Kiple 'Deficiency Diseases in the Caribbean' p211
In the 1820s the pro-slavery campaigner Alexander Barclay claimed that dirt-eating had nearly disappeared - thereby confirming to the British public that malnutrition was no longer a pressing issue on the plantations (*A Practical View of the Present State of Slavery* p345). However, this is not borne out by the evidence from at least two plantations in Nevis. In connection with a high number of deaths on the Stapleton plantation the issue of dirt-eating was being examined, and from the doctors' investigation it emerged that in a population of around 200 there were six dirt-eaters among the children and four among the adults (NHCS, RG 12.10 Indictment of Manager on Stapleton p296, p289 and p298). On the similarly-sized Stoney Grove two boys are known to have died from 'Malde Stomach', one aged 7 in 1824 and another aged 16 in 1826 (PP, WI Box G). Under-recording by managers almost certainly explains why the only other known deaths in Nevis from the effects of 'marle stomach' were those of two males on the Stapleton estate: an 18-year-old field hand and a 52-year-old infirm man (Stapleton Cotton MSS 16 iiib and 16 iiic).
[861] Higman, BW *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica* p113
[862] Kiple, KF and VH King *Another Dimension* p121
[863] Kiple, KF and VH Kiple 'Deficiency Diseases in the Caribbean' pp208-09
[864] Ward, JR *British West Indian Slavery* p153
[865] Kiple, KF and VH King *Another Dimension* p145
[866] Ward, JR *British West Indian Slavery* p153
[867] Allport, Susan 'Women who eat dirt' pp28-37
[868] Allport, Susan 'Women who eat dirt' p35
[869] Vermeer, Donald E 'Geophagy among the Tiv of Nigeria' in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* Vol 56 No 2 (June 1966) pp199-200

enamel and, if wrongly prepared, ingestion of a variety of bacteria. Consuming the wrong kind of clay can also withdraw, rather than add, nutrients.

In parts of West Africa edible clays are systematically mined. The Tiv take theirs from pits at depths of approximately two to four feet below ground level,[870] the Ewe of eastern Ghana and Togo extract theirs from the base of hills in a particular region. Among the Ewe the mining and distribution of clays is an economic activity in which men, women and children partake: the men extract the clay, sell it to women and they and the children headload the clay from the pits to the nearby villages. There the material is washed, pounded and mixed with water until it reaches a doughy texture. This mass is roughly shaped and after drying for a short time is ready to be formed into its final shape. Sun-dried for several days it can then be marketed. The Ewe sell some of their processed clay in Ghana and also elsewhere in West Africa.[871]

Each piece weighs between 24 and 56 grams. Consumption varies; Vermeer has found that Ewe women eat from one to 300 grams a day. In addition to the locally produced clays which are exported some Ewe consume other earth-like substances, such as sands from beaches, clay from termite mounds and mud from the buildings constructed from such clays.[872]

While eating particular types of soil matter can have nutritional merit, Vermeer and Allport have introduced another dimension to the dirt-eating debate: that for some it is a cultural habit - clay-eating as a leisure activity – which is 'transferred from one generation to the next, like smoking or dipping snuff'. When asked why they consumed clay, Ewe men said that it gave them 'pleasure',[873] and like many other pleasurable habits, humans tend to abuse clay-eating. (In the American South people dug into roadside banks in search of clay to such an extent that their excavations caused damage to the roads.) Clay-eaters are said to crave their fix. This fits in very precisely with the eighteenth-century observation that dirt-eating was an addiction. Devouring an excessive amount can lead to intestinal blockages and while these can today be removed surgically, in the eighteenth century they would have resulted in death.

It is impossible to say what motivated Dorchester to imbue whatever substance it was that killed him. He may well have suffered from malnutrition, and he may have been inexperienced in the correct preparation and dosage of edible soil, or he had consumed the wrong kind. It is also possible, however, that his dirt-eating could have been a purely cultural activity which, combined with other factors, led to his death.

290 Charlotte (dob 1753/4) died between January 1769 and July 1783. She was at least 15, at the most 30 years old.

291 Caroline, later Old Caroline (dob 1754/5). She was a field hand. Valued in 1783 at N£85, in the early 1790s she worked in Wiltshire's gang.

Caroline was recorded as suffering from yaws from 6 July until at least 25 July 1801. The plantation diary ended on that date but her illness may have continued. Two other women, Patty, the midwife, and Monimia's Patty then also suffered from the disease. The midwife, a woman in her sixties, died; the other

[870] Vermeer, Donald E 'Geophagy among the Tiv of Nigeria' p197 and p199
[871] Vermeer, Donald E 'Geophagy among the Ewe of Ghana' in *Ethnology* Vol 10 No 1 (January 1971) p56 and pp59-61
[872] Vermeer, Donald E 'Geophagy among the Ewe of Ghana' p61, p67 and p59
[873] Vermeer, Donald E 'Geophagy among the Ewe of Ghana' p66

two survived. They would have been disfigured and possibly disabled. Despite this, Caroline's age was in 1817 estimated almost correctly at 'about 60'. She was two or three years older and must have been reasonably fit and healthy; the only known evidence of any illness was an absence from work on 18 November 1799.

Caroline died on 10 February 1823. She was in her late sixties. Having outlived Old York by a couple of months, she was the longest surviving person of this group of Africans.

292 **Diana** (dob 1754/5) died between January 1769 and July 1783. She was at least 14 years old, at the most 29.

293 **Myrtilla** (dob 1754/5). When she was in her late twenties, she was valued at N£80. She worked in the field.

In her early thirties, she had her first child, Hercules. Her son was born in July 1787 but died before he was two and a half years old. She was 'with child' again in May 1793. Her daughter may have been Nanno, who was born in November, but Nanno could also have been Patty's or Leah's child.[874] Myrtilla certainly had one daughter, Princess, who was born at the beginning of January 1795. It is possible that Princess's father was JPP's servant Pero Jones; he visited Nevis in 1794 and Princess was among those people JPP belatedly reserved for himself.

Myrtilla died not long after Princess was born, certainly before the beginning of May 1795.[875] She was around forty years old.

294 **Cordelia** (dob 1754/5) was the second person in this group whose death was attributed to dirt eating. Aged about 14, Cordelia died a few months after Dorchester, in August 1769.

◄► ▼◄►

295 and 296 On Friday, 7 February 1766, JPP purchased **two Congaw Negro Boys**. They cost S£28:11:7/N£50 and were intended for the Gingerland estate. However, they probably never worked there; according to JPP, they 'died soon after coming into my possession'.[876]

The boys were not bought directly from a slaver but from a woman called Catherine Burke. Nothing is known about her.

---

[874] Thomas Pym Weekes noted: 'Negroes supposed to be with child: Flora, Myrtilla, Sarah Fisher, Philley, Leah, Pereen, Barbai, Patty, John Tong' (PP, Misc Vols 12 Leeward Islands Calendar).
[875] Myrtilla and also Little Cudjoe were listed in the mortgage document in which ownership of Mountravers was transferred from JPP to John Frederick Pinney. It is likely that JPP had not had news of their deaths when the document was drawn up at the end of October 1795 (PP, Dom Box K1).
[876] PP, AB 15 Gingerland Plantation a/c; also AB 18 Catherine Burke's a/c and AB 16 Gingerland a/c

297 Scipio's Leah (dob 1750/1), a 'Creole negroe wench' said to have been 15 years old, was bought on 7 March 1766. She cost S£31:8:6/N£55.[877]

Her previous owner was Robert Patten. He may have been mentioned in Revd William Smith's publication of 1745, *A Natural History of Nevis,* as Dr Paten (sic) of Nevis, 'a person of good learning': he had attended the University of Aberdeen, was a ships surgeon and had travelled to India three times.[878] Elizabeth Patton, Mary Coker's daughter,[879] may possibly have been his wife; in 1771 she mortgaged 15 acres of land to JPP.[880]

Until July 1768 Scipio's Leah worked on the Gingerland estates, as did the field labourer Scipio (No 155). It is possible that he was Leah's father.

Scipio's Leah died on 11 August 1769 'with an inflam.y fever'. She was 19 or 20 years old.

◄► ▼◄►

JPP was then looking to strengthen his workforce with skilled men. Not many planters would voluntarily let go of their valuable specialists but defaulting debtors had no choice; once a writ of execution was issued, the Deputy Provost Marshall could seize their people and put them up for sale at auction. Writing about Jamaica in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the pro-slavery author Alexander Barclay found that these Marshall's sales were 'almost exclusively confined to the slaves of colored persons, and the lower class of whites, who seldom [were] land-owners and whose slaves, employed as menials and mechanics, working whenever employment can be found, have not the same local attachments as the great body of slaves permanently settled on the plantations.' Barclay claimed that although sales 'under writs of execution … present so disagreeable a spectacle, [they] are yet an evil of much less magnitude or extent than is generally supposed in England.' [881]

If JPP had any scruples about bidding for his chosen lots, there is no record of this. On 23 April 1766 he bought his first two men 'at vendue': Billey Coker and Daniel Foe. The Deputy Provost Marshall, Thomas Smith, presided over the auction.[882]

298 Billey, also Billey Coker, (dob 1736/7) was a 29-year-old 'Creole Negro'. A sailor and fisherman,[883] he cost S£82:6:0/N£140 or N£144.[884] Part of the purchase money was drawn on Evan Baillie, a partner in the company of Smith & Baillies and the father of JPP's future son-in-law.[885]

---

[877] PP, AB 18 Gingerland a/c
[878] Smith, Revd William *A Natural History of Nevis* p299
[879] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f227
[880] ECSCRN, CR 1771-1773 ff121-28
[881] Barclay, Alexander *A Practical View of the Present State of Slavery* p59
Barclay believed that many slaves, who changed hands this way, in fact benefited from a new owner, and in some ways this may well have been the case: owners who were deeply in debt were unlikely to spend money on feeding and clothing their slaves and would have been prepared to extract as much labour as possible.
[882] UKNA, CO 186/6: 24 March 1768
[883] Pares wrongly described Billey Coker as a cooper (*A West India Fortune* p348 fn15).
[884] PP, AB 16 Gingerland a/c; AB 20 Thomas Smith's a/c; AB 17: 20 May 1766; AB 18 Thomas Smith's a/c; AB 15 Gingerland a/c
[885] PP, AB 17: 23 June 1766

Billey Coker's previous owner may have been the widow Rachel Coker of Nevis who had died in 1764. Her sons Charles Keep and John Coker had inherited her land and people,[886] and it is likely that Billey Coker and others were seized for debts and auctioned off separately.

A skilled man, in 1770 Billey Coker was hired out at various times, once at a relatively high rate of N10s per week. He briefly worked for Captain Manning[887] and on board the *Colhoun.*[888] Most likely this was owned by the treasurer of St Kitts, Robert Colhoun, 'a man of very considerable substance' with property, merchant and ship-owning interests.[889] In 1772 Billey Coker was employed for several weeks on 'on board Guill.me',[890] probably on Captain Thomas Guillaume's ship, the *Aurora* (on which JPP sailed to London in 1774),[891] or on the *Matthew.*[892] Although said to have been a sailor, given the short spells Billey Coker was hired out it is unlikely that he went on any transatlantic crossing but could have been involved in inter-island traffic. Much of his time may have been spent working as a fisherman, possibly using the canoes JPP acquired in the early 1770s.[893] Fresh fish caught by him and others would have augmented everyone's diet on Mountravers.

Billey Coker probably was in declining health: in his mid-thirties, in 1772 or at the end of 1773, he was sold to the company of Gill & McGill for N£120. This was at least N£20 below his original purchase price which may suggest that his health was failing.[894] The fact that the business partners Joseph Gill and Robert McGill bought him at this time may suggest that they employed him on the brig they had acquired for trade with Virginia. It is not known what happened to Billey Coker after he was sold. The partnership of Gill & McGill was dissolved by 1775.

299 Daniel Foe was a 'Creole Negro' man. The high purchase price, N£176, reflected his skills as a carpenter and driver.[895]

His name may have alluded to Daniel Defoe, the author, who was born as Daniel Foe and later added the fashionable 'De' to his name. He had died in 1731 and probably was the sort of man to impress or amuse Eneas Shaw, Daniel Foe's previous owner. Having started off in business, throughout his life Daniel Defoe became a versatile entrepreneur, took an active part in the failed Monmouth Rebellion against the Catholic King James II and became a secret agent after being imprisoned for libel. He was a prolific author of books and pamphlets; his best-known novel, *Robinson Crusoe*, appeared in 1719.

In 1755 Daniel Foe may have been among Shaw's nine taxable people 'in town', or, more likely, among the 46 who lived 'in country'.[896]

---

[886] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 ff168-69
[887] Captain Manning may have been the master of a London ship; there may have been a connection with the company of Messrs Manning & Vaughan of London (PP, AB 30).
[888] PP, AB 20 Edward Jones' a/c
JPP accounted for the hire money on 24 October 1770, which was around the same time Jones sold a person to Elizabeth Weekes through JPP (4 October 1770). Jones probably had nothing to do with Billey Coker's hire but the transaction going through his account was another example of JPP's complicated accounting.
[889] Thoms, DW *The Mills Family: London Sugar Merchants* p3
[890] PP, AB 17
[891] PP, AB 21 Expense a/c
[892] SCRO, Moberley and Wharton Collection, D/MW 35/14/1
[893] PP, AB 20 Expense a/c
[894] PP, AB 20 and AB 21 Plantation a/c
[895] PP, AB 17 Nevis a/c; also AB 20 Thomas Smith's a/c; AB 18 Thomas Smith's a/c
[896] PP, Dom Box P: General's Tax Notebook 1755

Shaw owed JPP money, possibly from the days when he had been John Frederick Pinney's attorney.[897] Having been in Nevis since the previous year but wishing to return to England again, Shaw was busily settling his affairs and had written to JPP about Daniel.[898] Shaw, who was also in debt to Edward Jesup, wanted Daniel to go to Jesup's plantation and had asked if JPP would 'relinquish his right in favour of Mr Jessup'.[899] Shaw feared that the Deputy Provost Marshall would insist on the sale, which, indeed, he did. This approach confirms Alexander Barclay's view that Marshall's sales in many cases were 'a mere form, to convey a valid title to encumbered property, when, in point of fact, the sale has been a private bargain'.[900]

JPP could well have done with a competent, skilled man. His two drivers were both ailing and he only had one carpenter, but on auction day he already decided to give up Daniel Foe and accounted for N£200, money received from Eneas Shaw. [901] Daniel Foe would not have been long on Mountravers and some time within the next year he went to live on Edward Jesup's neighbouring plantation, which was then leased to Eneas Shaw. There his appraised value of N£200 was the highest of all 143 people; the next, the carpenter Castor, was worth N£60 less. Daniel Foe probably worked under John Buck and Thomas Arthurton's nephew John, who acted as manager 'for a while' after the previous, Benjamin Legget, had died of a fever a couple of years earlier.[902]

It is not known how long Daniel Foe lived on Jesup's. He may have been alive when Shaw, who had returned to Nevis once again, unsuccessfully petitioned the Assembly at the end of April 1770 that he might be allowed the value of an enslaved man of his who had been 'lately executed'. The reason why he had been put to death is not known, nor his name. [903]

During his time in Nevis, Shaw, as befitted a man of property, took part in political life [904] but returned to England in the early 1770s, apparently soon after he presented his petition for compensation and soon after Edward Jesup's death. He continued leasing the estate from Jesup's brother-in-law, Job Ede, until he died in July 1782. His son, Jeffery Meriweather Shaw, following the capture of Nevis by the French in February 1782, agreed with John Ede to continue the lease in a 'friendly and temporary fashion' for the duration of the war and accordingly notified their joint factors, Messrs Boddingtons in London.[905] In 1817 the owners of Jesup's, John and Job Ede, registered 70 males and 76 females but Daniel Foe was not among them.

◄► ▼◄►

300 Fanny, also Great Fanny (dob 1741/2)**.** On 8 May 1766 JPP bought Fanny, a 24-year-old 'Creole Negro' woman. She cost S£37:2:10/N£65.[906] Her previous owner was Sarah Kitt.

[897] ECSCRN, CR 1757-1762 ff377-78
[898] PP, LB 3: JPP to Edward Jesup, 29 May 1766
[899] PP, Cat II.1755- Dom III.ii – Summary: Aenas Shaw to JPP, 17 May 1765
[900] Barclay, Alexander *A Practical View of the Present State of Slavery* p59
[901] PP, AB 18 Eneas Shaw's a/c
[902] SCRO, Moberley and Wharton Collection, D/MW 35/15; D/MW 35/18: Valuation 23 July 1767; D/MW 35/14/1
[903] UKNA, CO 186/7
[904] UKNA, CO 186/6: 15 October 1768 and 22 October 1767
[905] SCRO, Moberley and Wharton Collection, D/MW 35/22 and 35/27
[906] PP, AB 15 Gingerland Plantation a/c; also AB 17: 8 May 1766

It is possible that Mrs Kitt had been widowed recently. Her husband, who once had 17 individuals in his possession,[907] died some time after about 1761 and before 1772. Sarah Kitt had a young daughter; another had died as an infant.[908]

Although originally intended for the Gingerland estates, Fanny worked on Mountravers.

Great Fanny died between January 1769 and July 1783. She was aged between 27 and 42 years.

◄► ▼◄►

In May 1766 John Hay Richens started work on the Gingerland estate. He needed more hands, and on 3 June 1766 JPP bought twenty African children. They had all come on the *King of Prussia.* JPP bought them directly from the captain, John Shipherd. This was the single largest group JPP acquired and at a total cost of S£500/N£850 represented a major investment.[909] He trusted Shipherd and his vessel; William Coker had considered her 'a safe and good ship'- [910] despite having been 'in a very leaky condition' on a previous voyage. The captain had then been obliged to put into Boston and unload her cargo so that she could 'be caulked and made tight again'.[911]

A 350-ton vessel,[912] the *King of Prussia* had been constructed in 1751 and registered in London in 1758.[913] Her first known voyage to Nevis was in 1761, under Captain William Cromartie's command.[914] The vessel had strong connections with Nevis. In 1764 the wife of JPP's neighbour, Mrs Eleanor Jesup, had owned a share in the *King of Prussia*,[915] and the voyage on which the children came was a joint venture between the Nevis planters George and Joseph Webbe. They shared the risk with 14 other investors. One of these part-owners was a man called Thomas Tyson,[916] most likely a small planter from the parish of St James Windward.[917] The captain on this voyage, John Shipherd, had made several trips to Nevis before, although on at least one occasion he had commanded a different ship.[918] John Shipherd may also have become related to the Nevis Gardners through his sister's marriage to a Mr Gardner.

---

[907] ECSCRN, CR 1741-1749 f123
[908] UKNA, CO 186/6 List of Books and Papers in the Secretary Ordinary's Office in Nevis
NHCS, St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825 and VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 1 p376 and p377
[909] PP, AB 15 Gingerland Plantation a/c; also AB 18 Captain John Shipherd's a/c
[910] PP, WI Box D: Wm Coker to JPP, 26 March 1764
[911] PP, WI Box D: Wm Coker to John Frederick Pinney, 21 October 1762
[912] UKNA, BT 6/3 f164: Note from Edward Hanley, Custom House, London, 9 April 1777 for the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations at their request transmitting 'An Account of the Tonnage of ships from Great Britain to Africa January 1 1757 – January 1 1777 with names and what part of African Coast where possible'.

There were probably at least three more vessels called *King of Prussia*: One was a sloop registered in Rhode Island, which was sold in 1762. It had also sailed to the Gold Coast and was captured by the French after the slaves were taken on board. One was ship-wrecked in 1770 after slaves disembarked, on a journey from Jamaica. From 1767 there was also a Liverpool ship of the same name, which, until 1776, regularly sailed to Cameroon.
[913] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 75730
[914] PP, MSS in Red Boxes, Box 17: Bundle concerning Manors of Westham and Monkton Hadley: Edward Jessup's account of the purchase of 20 mules dated 6 June 1761
[915] PP, LB 3: JPP to William Coker, 10 January 1764
[916] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 75730; UKNA, CO 106/1 f13 List of ships entered inwards 1 April-5 July 1766 and CO 106/1 f14 List of ships cleared outwards 5 April-5 July 1766
[917] In 1755 Thomas Tyson registered 29 slaves (PP, Dom Box P: General's Tax Notebook 1755).
[918] UKNA, CO 186/6: 9 December 1772; PP, LB 3: An Account of sugars made on my Estate in the Island of Nevis 1763, AB 15 f23 and WI Cat 3 Index III.ii Domestic: 1 September 1764, and SCRO, Moberley and Wharton Collection, D/MW 35/14/1: Eneas Shaw to Edward Jesup, 15 May 1765

The children Shipherd brought to Nevis had come from the Gold Coast. Most unusually, the voyage of the vessel on which they arrived can be traced in some detail. It had started in London, with the Committee of Merchants Trading to Africa (CMTA) chartering the *King of Prussia* to take goods, supplies and passengers to the Gold Coast. On his way to Africa, Captain Shipherd was to pick up some freight which the CMTA had already ordered: brandy and cowrie shells from Holland and 'West India wine' from Madeira.[919]

Bound for Holland, the *King of Prussia* departed London soon after 31 October 1765.[920] On board were soldiers and civilians who were to work at the CMTA forts on the Gold Coast, but one of the passengers, 'Mr Edward Allen, an indented writer in the service of the African Committee', had failed to turn up. The *King of Prussia* sailed off without him.

Among the passengers was a young African, the 24-year-old Philip Quaque. He had been away from his homeland for over a decade. As a boy he had been sent to England for his education, which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) had sponsored, and he had become a clergyman. Recently ordained by the Bishop of London [921] and not long married to an English woman, Catherine Blunt, Revd Quaque was returning to the Gold Coast to take up his post of chaplain to which the CMTA had appointed him at the request of the SPG.[922] He travelled with his wife and Mrs Quaque's servant and lady companion, Mrs Camage.[923]

The *King of Prussia* carried 14 guns,[924] and, before proceeding to cross the Channel, Captain Shipherd would have followed the CMTA's instruction to pick up the Committee's gunpowder at the mouth of the Thames, at Gravesend.[925] *En route* to Holland, about forty miles east of Clacton and Harwich, the journey almost ended when the vessel was nearly wrecked on the Galloper Sands. Captain Shipherd managed to avert disaster and the *King of Prussia* safely reached 'Helvoet Sluis' (Hellevoetsluis) near Rotterdam. Gratefully Revd Quaque conducted prayers on board ship for the 'sailors, soldiers and many of the passengers' but tersely noted the captain's absence.

The *King of Prussia* proceeded on her journey and met with further dangers. On the morning of 30 November she ran aground in the Straits of Dover[926] but, with little damage, was able to continue onwards.[927] From then on, she 'met in the way with innumerable other dangers, frights, great gales of wind, and terrifying storms and hurricanes' and on 20 December finally landed unharmed at Madeira. [928]

---

[919] UKNA, T 70/69 f51: CMTA to Messrs Conron & Lathom (?Latham), Rotterdam, 6 September 1765, and CMTA to Messrs Betencourt, Donaldson & Searle, Madeira, September 1765
[920] UKNA, T 70/69 f62: CMTA to Cape Coast Castle, 31 October 1765
[921] Revd Quaque was not the first missionary of African origin who worked on the Gold Coast. Revd Christian Protten, whose father was Danish and mother African, was educated in Denmark and Saxony and returned to work as a missionary in Accra. In 1742 Jacobus Eliza Capitein, an African educated in the Netherlands, was appointed preacher at Elmina (Priestley, Margaret 'Philip Quaque of Cape Coast' in PD Curtin *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade* p107, p99, p100, and pp131-32).
[922] Martin, Eveline C *The British West African Settlements* and UKNA, T 70/69: CMTA to Cape Coast Castle, 29 October 1765
[923] UKNA, T 70/1306; also T 70/31 f159: William Mutter, Cape Coast Castle, to CMTA, 21 February 1766
[924] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 75730
[925] UKNA, T 70/69 ff55-6: CMTA instructions to Captain Shipherd, 29 October 1765
[926] RHL, MSS C/AFW/1 Letters of Revd Philip Quaque: Revd Philip Quaque, Cape Coast Castle, to SPG, 29 February 1766. Revd Quaque's letter, inaccurately entered as written on 28 February 1766, and a letter from Quaque of 14 March 1766 were entered, summarised in the Society's Journal as item no. 23 and read at a Committee on 15 September 1766 (RHL, SPG Archives *Journal* 17 134-135).
[927] UKNA, BT 6/3 f164: Note from Edward Hanley, Custom House, London, 9 April 1777 for the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations at their request transmitting 'An Account of the Tonnage of ships from Great Britain to Africa January 1 1757 – January 1 1777 with names and what part of African Coast where possible'.
[928] RHL, MSS C/AFW/1 Letters of Revd Philip Quaque: Revd Philip Quaque, Cape Coast Castle, to SPG, 29 February 1766.

The passengers had at least five days ashore in which to recover from their ordeals. Revd Quaque and his 'little family' gratefully accepted the hospitality of a local resident, an English merchant.[929] Captain Shipherd and his crew, meanwhile, loaded the wine, as ordered by the CMTA.

Some time after Christmas the *King of Prussia* weighed anchor and left port. In 1765, on average every two days a ship departed Madeira but most of the vessels were not slavers; about three quarters were on their way to the West Indies or to North America.[930]

Ordered to proceed directly from Madeira to Cape Coast, Captain Shipherd would not have stopped on the Windward Coast to load rice or pick up captive Africans, as some vessels did. Instead, he proceeded eastwards. Anyone standing on deck would have seen their destination, Cape Coast Castle, from a long way off: 'This castle', one captain wrote, 'has a handsome prospect from the sea, and is very regular and well-contriv'd fortification, and as strong as it can be made … being encompasse'd with a strong and high brick wall.' Inside, it contained 'a fine spacious square wherein 4 or 500 men may be very conveniently drawn up and exercised.'[931]

The *King of Prussia* landed at Cape Coast on 5 February 1766.[932] The *Albany,* which had left London after the *King of Prussia*, arrived at about the same time. Aboard the *Albany* was Mr Edward, the writer who had missed his passage on the *King of Prussia*.[933] He may have travelled in the company of some other passengers: two more 'writers' (Henry Dyre and Charles Church Marshall), two surgeons' mates (James Williamson and Alexander Mein), an assistant surveyor, John Armstrong, and the carpenter, John Holmes.[934] Twenty soldiers disembarked the *King of Prussia*, as well as Revd Quaque and his wife. Her companion appears to have had second thoughts about leaving the safety of the ship; she remained on board a while longer.[935] The soldiers received their rations, including rum and beef,[936] and Revd Quaque and his wife were installed in Cape Coast Castle in the 'two of the most convenient rooms'. The clergyman immediately led prayers.[937]

The castle accommodated a sizeable population. The chief agent, assisted by a warehouse-keeper and a book-keeper, oversaw all the business, while a surgeon provided medical care. Other Europeans stationed at Cape Coast Castle were tradesmen, such as blacksmiths, carpenters and armourers, as well as a hundred military men. But African 'Castle slaves' outnumbered Europeans; the porters, labourers, canoe men, cooks, washer women and concubines.[938]

Some of the *King of Prussia's* cargo was intended for trading, some for the forts, and some for equipping the slavers for their onward voyages. The goods from Holland had arrived safely - 11,343 pounds of

---

According to the Madeiran records, the *King of Prussia* arrived and left on 24 December 1765 (*Livros dos Entradas e Saidas no. 125,* Provedoria e Junta da Real Fazenda, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, courtesy of David Hancock).
[929] RHL, MSS C/AFW/1 Letters of Revd Philip Quaque: Revd Philip Quaque, Cape Coast Castle, to SPG, 29 February 1766
[930] Hancock, David 'A revolution in the trade: wine distribution and the development of the infrastructure of the Atlantic market economy 1703-1807' in John McCusker and Kenneth Morgan (eds) *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy* CUP, Cambridge 2000 p110 Table 5.1 Departures from the Island of Madeira 1727-1807 and pp111-19
[931] Evans, Chris *Slave Wales* p20, quoting Thomas Phillips 'A journal of a voyage from England to Africa, and so forward to Barbadoes, in the years 1693, and 1694', in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, sone now First Printed from Original Manuscripts, others now First Published in English* (London, 1732 6 volumes) Vol 1 p204
[932] RHL, MSS C/AFW/1 Letters of Revd Philip Quaque: Revd Philip Quaque, Cape Coast Castle, to SPG, 29 February 1766
[933] UKNA, T 70/69 f65: CMTA to Cape Coast Castle, 4 December 1765
[934] UKNA, T 70/31 f159: William Mutter, Cape Coast Castle, to the Committee CMTA, 21 February 1766
[935] UKNA, T 70/69 ff56-61: CMTA to Governor and Council Cape Coast Castle, 29 October 1765
[936] UKNA, T 70/1024 Cape Coast Castle Day Journal of Payments for January and February
[937] UKNA, T 70/31: John Hippisley, Cape Coast, to CMTA, 20 March 1766
[938] Evans, Chris *Slave Wales* pp20-1

cowrie shells that were used as currency in Africa and 10,046 gallons of brandy – as well as other alcohol (20 hogsheads of porter, 640 gallons of Jamaica rum and 579 gallons of wine) and provisions and a variety of foodstuffs: 2,800 pounds of bread, 50 barrels of flour, 900 pounds of ham, 66 ½ hogsheads of beef and 25 ½ of pork, 318 cheeses, 70 firkins butter, 5 ½ gallons of vinegar, 216 bottles of mustard, 180 bottles of fine oil, 48 bottles of ketchup and other groceries, including 60 pounds of pepper, raisins and currants. In the *King of Prussia's* holds were also brass pans, teakettles by the dozen, corks, pipes and nearly 3,000 pounds of leaf tobacco, 2,500 pewter basins, a thousand pint tankards, 600 Danes guns and 250 barrels of gunpowder. The ready-made clothing was probably issued to the staff at the forts: two dozen hats, 200 white shirts, 12 fustian coats, 18 patterns worsted and silk breeches, 300 pairs silk and thread stockings, 290 pairs shoes and 50 pairs slippers. In addition, the *King of Prussia* also brought large quantities of cloth for trading: eight thousand pieces – among them Silesias, long ells, 'halfsays', Patna chintz, plain and striped 'taffaties', 'Cambrick' and printed linen – and 2,800 yards of material, including brown Holland, Oznabrigs, white Pomeranian and Irish linen, and countless items for dress-making: wire buttons and stock tape, trimming for clothes, needles and thread, and 'ribband and velvet'. Among the castle stores were lamps, coals, 100 muskets for the soldiers, 20,000 bricks, over 2,000 foot of 'tyles', wood, paint, linseed oil, 600 kegs of tallow and 112 pounds of soap, two beach bedsteads with mahogany posts, journals, ledgers, ink powder, tools for carpenters, builders and blacksmiths, and a hundred gunners' handspikes. Revd Quaque brought along his own supplies: a covering for a communion table (made of 'superfine purple cloth' with a silk fringe); two chalices; two fine Holland surplices and two pattens, which he may well have purchased during the vessel's stop-over in Rotterdam. The total value of goods aboard ship, including charges in England, came to £13,522:15:8.[939]

The *King of Prussia* lay anchored offshore. This meant that each and every item had to be unloaded from the ship's hold into an endless succession of canoes. Having ridden the last stretch of water through surf, the canoes dropped off the freight on the seashore from where it was taken landside. The work was a laborious and after almost three weeks remained unfinished. At the end of February Governor John Hippisley arrived at Cape Coast Castle and found that 'the cargo of the *King of Prussia* was not much more than half landed'.[940] By 5 March the vessel still held a good deal of its freight and to encourage the 'free canoemen … to be expeditious in unloading the Company's ship' eight pounds of 'leaf tobacco' was to be shared out among them. On the 10th 'free labourers' brought some of the freight from the waterside into the Castle and on the 13th canoemen from other forts arrived to pick up their supplies. A week later '54 free canoemen' went on board the *King of Prussia* to fetch yet more wares: '72 ½ gallons brandy, cloth, 15 Guinea stuffs, 7 brass pans, 42 pounds of pewter basins'.[941] Not everything arrived at its rightful destination. Some packages went astray and it was said that 'most if not all' of the missing goods were stolen after being landed.[942]

Once the cargo was unloaded the carpenters could get to work. They fitted the platforms that were to hold the new cargo, the captive Africans. The height between decks differed from 12 to 18 inches (31 to 46 cm),[943] just enough for a person to lie on their back. Men and women were usually separated by partitions.[944] But the people intended to fill the shelves were in short supply. There was 'scarce any trade'.[945] Shipherd was competing with at least three other British vessels anchored off Cape Coast and

[939] UKNA, T 70/457 Cape Coast Castle Journal for January and February 1766; also T 70/1024 numbered 1516
[940] UKNA, T 70/31: John Hippisley, Cape Coast, to CMTA, 20 March 1766
[941] UKNA, T 70/1024: Cape Coast Castle Day Journal of Payments
[942] UKNA, T 70/69 ff76-82: CMTA to Captain Coast Castle, 3 September 1766
[943] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 82 p20 and Vol 68 p11
[944] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 82 p20
[945] UKNA, T 70/69 f70: To the Master of ye Merchant Hall, Bristol and Liverpool, 19 March 1766

off Anomabo, twenty miles down the coast. In addition to the *Sawrey*, the *Sampson* and the *Richmond*[946] there were Dutch and French vessels 'lying at Anamabo (sic) Road without molestation'.[947] One other British slaver was about to depart, the *Black Prince*. She had left England over a year before the *King of Prussia*, but, despite having brought a very marketable cargo of goods from Bristol, Captain William Miller had struggled to fill his vessel. Finally his hold was full and he was ready to set sail.[948]

It appears that the war between the Ashantee and the Fanti, which had started the year before, had interrupted the trade in captives. Local agents hoped that new supplies could be had soon; the King of the Ashantee was considering an invasion of the sea coast. At that stage the Akim were taking sides with the Ashantee, and the coastal Fantis entered into 'alliance with the Warsaws [Wassaw] and the Tufferoes'.[949] The Governor of Cape Coast Castle, meanwhile, tried to stay out of their disputes[950] but was ready to reap whatever benefits came his way.

Although it appears that the *King of Prussia* lay off Cape Coast for most of the time, she may have sailed east to Anomabo, or sent her boats there to fetch captives.[951] The fort at Anomabo sometimes held as many as 440 or 450 people, most of whom belonged to an enterprising Irishman, Richard Brew, and one of his partners.[952] A one-time governor, Brew had built up a private slave-trading empire at Anomabo that included factories (slave holding stations) at Tantumkweri and Mumford, Ouidah and Popo, Benin, Lagos and at distant Cape Lopez. Schooners, brigs and sloops supplied these stations, and brought goods and enslaved Africans to Anomabo.[953] In theory, then, the children JPP purchased from Shipherd could have come from as far as present-day Nigeria, or even Gabon. They might also have originated from the regions to the west of Cape Coast because a number of captives were brought down from the Windward Coast for sale on the Gold Coast. It is not known how much the African middlemen charged for the children but they would have been cheaper than the adult men whose end price was then 'at least' equivalent to S£22 a head. This amount included all the 'contingent charges from presents, house custom, liquor, cloths etc'.[954]

At a time when captives were hard to come by and other ships were struggling to fill their holds – the *Sawrey* was still lying off the Gold Coast the following January - [955] the *King of Prussia* was able to leave Africa after only about two to two and a half months. As a store ship for the CMTA, Captain Shipherd probably had an arrangement with the Company for her to be filled up first. Vessels the size of the *King of Prussia* might have aimed to take on board as many as three to four hundred Africans but it has been estimated that the *King of Prussia* would have loaded 218.[956] In addition to the human cargo, Captain Shipherd took on board 44 elephant teeth and a cask of small elephant tusks called scerevitios (also scrivellos, screvelos, servilas). He also still had wine from Madeira.[957]

---

[946] UKNA, T 70/31: John Hippisley, Cape Coast, to CMTA, 20 March 1766
[947] UKNA, T 70/69 ff56-61: CMTA to Cape Coast Castle, 29 October 1765
[948] UKNA, T 70/31: John Hippisley, Cape Coast, to CMTA, 20 March 1766
[949] UKNA, T 70/31: John Hippisley, Cape Coast, to CMTA, 20 March 1766
For a brief overview of the Ashantee/Fantee war see Margaret Priestley *West African Trade and Coast Society* pp11-3
[950] UKNA, T 70/69 ff56-61: CMTA to Cape Coast Castle, 29 October 1765
[951] *Lloyds List* of 20 June 1766
[952] Priestley, M *West African Trade and Coast Society* p90 fn1, summarised from NA, T 70/31: William Mutter to CMTA, 25 October 1765
[953] Priestley M *West African Trade and Coast Society* p72
[954] UKNA, T 70/31: John Hippisley, Cape Coast, to CMTA, 20 March 1766
[955] *Lloyd's List* 17 June 1766
[956] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 75730
For examples of other vessels of 240 tons (353.3 British measured tons) taking on board greater numbers of slaves, see voyages Numbers 33264, 77097, 81681, 81682 and 82363.
[957] UKNA, CO 106/1 f13 List of ships entered inwards to Grenada between 1 April and 5 July 1766

In the year 1766 altogether 2,635 individuals are known to have been taken from the Gold Coast to the Americas, and the twenty children whom JPP bought were among this number.[958] More would have been shipped had they not perished on their way to the coast, or while awaiting onward transportation in the stinking cells at Cape Coast Castle. Males and females were kept in separate rooms in which they ate, slept and carried out their ablutions. The children may have been incarcerated with their parents or other relatives, or they have made friends with strangers. They only left the cells when they were made to board the canoes that ferried them through the surf to the ship riding at anchor. The *King of Prussia* would have departed in the morning to catch the offshore breeze.[959]

There are no details about the children's Middle Passage but for about six to eight weeks[960] they would have suffered all manner of deprivation: bruising from shackles, seasickness, illnesses, dehydration. An allowance of half a gallon of water a day per person (two and a quarter litres) would have been generous; more likely they had to make do with a pint of water and a quart of soup (one- and three-quarter litres of liquid in total).[961] The shortage of drinking water was compounded by the heat below deck and the water loss caused by perspiration and vomiting due to seasickness. Dehydration caused muscle cramps and weakened people's bodies, made them apathetic and delirious. At the time doctors interpreted these mental symptoms as 'fixed melancholy' which they believed to be a form of suicide, a will to die by holding one's breath. It was said that two thirds of the enslaved people who died aboard ship succumbed to 'fixed melancholy'. In reality people died from loss of sodium.[962]

Twice a day the captives were fed boiled horse beans, rice, corn or yam, occasionally wheat. Sometimes the food was flavoured with pepper, palm oil and a bit of meat or fish,[963] but their severe dehydration would have made swallowing difficult, and they would have had to eat with the debris of seasickness all around them. The lack of hygiene caused a wealth of diseases. Dysentery, the 'flux', killed many.

---

[958] In November 1764 it had been noted that slaves were very cheap owing to the native wars but in 1765 the situation changed. In the summer of that year Richard Brew described how the trade had 'strangely altered within these six weeks' and went on to describe the military actions that were taking place between the Ashante and the Warsaws and the Akim. The Fantees were then in control of a great many slaves that they were hoarding: 'When the Akim and Shanties were fighting, the worthy Fanties were very busy, pillaging and stealing the Akims' who, starving, gave themselves up to anyone who would feed them 'so that slaves became very plenty among the gentry, but they have not yet offered them up for sale.' Brew also mentioned the hapless Captain Miller who by then had been lying off the coast for six months and had 'not even got 20 slaves' (Donnan, E *Documents* Vol 3 p248: Letter from Richard Brew at Annmaboe 10 July 1765 and fn.2)

Year	Number of ships	Number of individuals from the Gold Coast	Number of individuals 'brought down from Windward'
1764	26	4,520	360
1765	12	2,360	250
1766	14	2,375	260
1767	24	4,002	80
1768	23	5,781	61

Human exports declined in the years 1765 and 1766 during the war between the Ashantee and the Fantee. From 1769 the figure rose again to 5,905 and in 1770 to 7,203 individuals. The dispute between the Ashantee and the Fantee continued until 1772. As Margaret Priestley pointed out: warfare 'did not always increase the flow to the coast as is sometimes assumed … it could lead to a stoppage of the inland paths' and involved time and effort in resolution (*West African Trade and Coast Society* p76).

Sources: UKNA, T 70/1531 An anonymous 'Annual Register of the number of slaves exported the Gold Coast of Africa January 1755 – December 1768 inclusive'; BT 6/3 f84-5 List of the ships exporting slaves in 1775 with numbers and totals for the years 1759-1775 and T 70/1263 Gilbert Petrie's list.

[959] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 68 pp313-40

[960] The average crossing time from Africa to the Caribbean was two to three months. The shortest recorded crossing time of any of the French vessels was 25 days from Whydah to Saint Domingue (Hugh Thomas *The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* p409).

[961] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 68 pp313-40; Vol 82 p20

[962] Kiple, KF and BT Higgins 'Mortality caused by Dehydration during the Middle Passage' in Joseph A Inikori and Stanley L Engerman (eds) *The Atlantic Slave Trade* p321, p331, p327 and p325

[963] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 68 pp313-40 and KF Kiple and BT Higgins 'Mortality caused by Dehydration during the Middle Passage' p329

Sometimes people lay shackled to their dead neighbour until the ship's crew came to clear out the corpses.

The heat and stench in the quarters below were only relieved by exercising on deck and the indignity of being made to 'dance'. Those who did not comply were flogged. During storms people had to remain below decks on their hard, claustrophobic platforms. One seaman described how he heard captives mourn their situation by singing 'lamentatious songs'; others disintegrated and 'went mad', or tried to hang or drown themselves. They took control of their lives and of their deaths – to them death was preferable to enslavement. Not everyone accepted their fate. People's resistance to enslavement started in Africa, continued when they were held in the forts, loaded onto canoes and onto the ships. Men were known to have freed captives from vessels lying off shore,[964] and enslaved Africans rose during the Middle Passage. They fought singly and *en masse*, with or without success. The annals of Transatlantic Slavery are full of people's determination to escape their enslavement.

By the 1760s illnesses such as smallpox and measles were in decline as a cause of death,[965] but allowing for a rate of depletion of 15 per cent, on their way to the West Indies as many as 29 people may have died aboard the *King of Prussia*.[966] How well or how badly they fared would have depended on a variety of factors such as their ages and conditions, how long they had been held in the coastal stations, how tightly they were packed, the nourishment they received, how the ship's crew treated them and, of course, the weather during the crossing. As to Captain Shipherd, Revd Quaque did not have much time for him. He dismissed him as 'a man that regards very little of his duty to his Maker and even shew so much common benevolence due to his fellow creatures; and as for humanity and Christian feeling for the misfortunes of others, he has but very little implanted in him.'[967] Revd Quaque appeared to criticise the captain for not giving him opportunities to hold services aboard ship, rather than for his treatment of his crew or of the Africans. By contrast, a London merchant house valued John Shipherd as 'a very careful man'[968] and JPP rated him as a captain who was very good at safely transporting other living cargoes: mules.[969] As to the *King of Prussia,* she had the reputation of being 'a very good' ship.[970]

On 24 May 1766 Captain Shipherd and his vessel arrived safely at Grenada. On board were thirty crew members,[971] 189 African captives, ivory, and Madeira wine.[972] The 189 Africans from the *King of Prussia* were among the 7,774 individuals who, during a two-year period from November 1764, arrived on vessels at Grenada. Not all of them disembarked.[973] In the case of the *King of Prussia*, only 107 people were landed; the rest were destined to be sold in Nevis.[974]

---

[964] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 82 p22, Vol 72 p305 and p279 and p281, p4 and 6
[965] Kiple, KF and BT Higgins 'Mortality caused by Dehydration during the Middle Passage' p333 fn9, quoting RH Steckel and RA Jensen *Determinants of slave and crew mortality in the Atlantic slave trade* Working Paper No 1540, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge MA 1985 p7
[966] There are no accurate figures as to how many people died during the Middle Passage. Mortality declined from the early 1700s to the early 1800s from close to 25 per cent to around five to ten per cent. Research has shown that mortality during the Middle Passage varied greatly with time, length of the voyage, and the age of the enslaved people (Manning, Patrick 'The Slave Trade: The Formal Demography of a Global System' in Joseph E Inikori and Stanley L Engerman (eds) *The Atlantic Slave Trade* p120).
[967] BCLAS, MSS C/AFW/1 Letters of Revd Philip Quaque: Revd Philip Quaque, Cape Coast Castle, to SPG, 29 February 1766
[968] Aberystwyth Bodrhyddan MSS 2: Truman Neave & Co, London, to Ellis Yonge, 6 August 1767
[969] PP, LB 3: JPP, Nevis, to Thomas Lucas, 7 June 1769
[970] Aberystwyth Bodrhyddan MSS 2: Truman Neave & Co, London, to Ellis Yonge, 6 August 1767
[971] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 75730
[972] UKNA, CO 106/1 f13 List of ships entered inwards to Grenada between 1 April and 5 July 1766
[973] UKNA, CO 106/1 List of vessels entering Grenada with slaves 13 November 1764 – 10 October 1766
[974] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 75730

After two days at Grenada the vessel weighed anchor again and sailed for Nevis. She reached the island on 29 or 30 May 1766. JPP noted that 'Captain Shipherd is arrived'.[975] The remaining 82 Africans were prepared for sale, and on 3 June JPP bought about a quarter of them. Pleased with his purchase, he praised them as '20 fine Negroes [crossed out and inserted] slaves'.[976]

The *King of Prussia* remained at Nevis for about seven weeks. The fetid platforms were dismantled to make room for hogsheads and barrels, and carpenters carried out urgent repairs to the vessel. Then the plantation produce was loaded. The Stapleton estate supplied 40 hogsheads of sugar[977] and Mountravers at least eight, but, given his solid reputation, other planters would also have trusted Shipherd with their produce. JPP handed the captain a basket of presents intended for a friend in Dorchester,[978] and on or around 26 July Captain Shipherd and his crew set sail and left Nevis.[979] On 23 August, almost four weeks into their journey across the Atlantic, they briefly encountered another vessel. Captain Billinge, on his way from Jamaica, spotted the *King of Prussia* at 'Lat. 42 N. Longit. 46-58', and the two captains exchanged news. Shipherd reported that all was well and proceeded onto London. The *King of Prussia* reached Dover on 18 September; Gravesend four days later.[980] Her journey had lasted less than a year.

Meanwhile, back in Africa, before the year was out, a number of people had died already. The first to perish were three of the twenty soldiers who had arrived on the *King of Prussia*: Joseph Slater and Charles Lewis on 15 April; William Robinson three days later. The factor Henry Dyre, 'a fine youth of seventeen', died in mid-May,[981] and the man, who informed the CMTA of the young man's death, Governor John Hippisley, succumbed within the next three months. John Holmes, one of the recently-arrived carpenters, clung on to life but was in a dangerous situation; another, John Armstrong, had been buried already.[982] By September 'six or seven captains of ships' were 'suddenly cut off' after a brief illness and, no doubt, so were members of their crews. Care of some the sick might have fallen onto Revd Quaque's English wife but she had been unwell ever since she arrived. By September she was close to death. She died in November. While the Reverend got away with a bout of 'flux and fever', Mrs Camage, his wife's 'bosom companion' and 'waiting maid', fell ill as well but she pulled through and in 1769 she and the clergyman married. Their union was short-lived. The following year the new Mrs Quaque died in childbed, and in 1772 the widower took as his third wife a young African woman.[983] Revd Quaque served as chaplain at Cape Coast Castle for fifty years until his death in 1816. His contribution to missionary work is recognised by an entry in the *Historical Dictionary of Ghana*.[984]

As to Captain Shipherd and the *King of Prussia*, it appears that this was the only slaving voyage either he or the vessel undertook. In 1767 John Shipherd was back in Nevis to fetch plantation produce[985] and after that was planning to take the *King of Prussia* to the coast of Barbary (North Africa) to fetch a large

---

[975] PP, LB 3: JPP to Coleman & Lucas, London, 30 May 1766, and JPP to Edward Jessup, 30 May 1766
[976] PP, LB 3: JPP to Coleman & Lucas, London, 25 July 1766
[977] Stapleton Cotton MSS 16, copy in MSS 18: Walter Nisbet, Nevis, to Messrs Trueman (Truman), Neave & Co, 25 July 1766
[978] PP, LB 3: JPP to Coleman & Lucas, London, 25 July 1766
[979] Stapleton Cotton MSS 16: Walter Nisbet, Nevis, for the Stapletons to Messrs Trueman (Truman), Neave & Co, 17 July 1766
[980] *Lloyd's List* 1766 List No 3200 and No 3201
[981] UKNA, T 70/1306
[982] UKNA, T 70/69: CMTA to Cape Coast Castle, 3 December 1766
[983] Priestley, Margaret 'Philip Quaque of Cape Coast' pp117-20, quoting SPG Archives, London, 'C' MSS West Africa, Letters of Philip Quaque from Cape Coast Castle: Revd Quaque to SPG, 28 September 1766, 7 March 1767 and 8 March 1772
[984] McFarland, Daniel Miles *Historical Dictionary of Ghana* p xxv and p152
Sadly, Revd Quaque felt it necessary to send his children to school in England, 'in order to secure their tender minds from receiving the bad impressions of the country, the vile customs and practises and above all, the losing of their mother's vile tongue' (Paul Edwards and James Walwin *Black Personalities in the Era of the Slave Trade* Macmillan, London 1983, quoting M Priestley 'Philip Quaque of the Gold Coast' in Philip Curtain (ed) *Africa Remembered* pp99-139
[985] Aberystwyth Bodrhyddan MSS 2: Truman, Neave & Co, London, to Ellis Yonge, 29 August 1767

consignment of mules.[986] Shipherd appeared in the records one final time two years later, in 1769. He was in Nevis then and had fallen ill. In his sickbed he was nursed by an unmarried woman called Catharine Butler Brodbelt, and often visited by a friend, Robert Hinshaw. His health deteriorated and one day, 23 June, Shipherd knew he was close to death. 'At about 3.00 o'clock in the afternoon' he asked Hinshaw to write 'notes and heads' of his will so that they could be put into proper form. Shipherd dictated these and early next morning Hinshaw had them written up by an attorney. As soon as the lawyer had finished, at around 8.00 or 9.00 o'clock Hinshaw took the will to Shipherd. Several people were in the room: the surgeons William Glenn and John Benton, a mariner, Peter Smith, and Catharine Butler Brodbelt. Hinshaw asked if Shipherd wanted the will read. Shipherd was weak, and Miss Brodbelt stood behind him, supporting him. William Glenn read that, apart from wanting his body 'devoutly interred' and his debts settled, Shipherd wished to leave to his nephews John, Francis and George Gardner S£50 each. The rest was to go to a man called John Smith of Denham (Denhom) in Middlesex.[987] Shipherd paid great attention to what was being read but was unable to sign the document; 'a pen was for that purpose three times put into his hand and each time dropped'. Shipherd died that day, 'in his perfect senses'.

Later this unsigned will meant that he was considered to have died intestate. The attorney and the witnesses Catharine Butler Brodbelt and Peter Smith gave evidence to the effect that 'nothing but bodily weakness' had prevented Shipherd from signing the will. Robert Hinshaw relinquished his position as executor,[988] and two men, Eneas Shaw and Daniel Ross, both gave security and petitioned for the administration of the estate. It transpired that various people in Nevis owed Shipherd money, in total almost N£5,000 and S£1,000. He, in turn, owed money to Mr Vanderpool. Shipherd's death in Nevis and his state of affairs demonstrates just how much the lives of some British seafarers and the inhabitants of West Indian colonies were entwined.

Dr Sholto Archbald, the merchant James Begg and the Deputy Secretary, Alexander Henderson appraised Shipherd's assets.[989] He owned no people but a considerable quantity of clothing and bedding which would have lasted him a voyage without having to wash anything: two pairs of boots, nine coats, seven cloth waist coats, seven breeches, one embroidered blue satin waistcoat, 14 shirts, eight linen waistcoats, three towels, a mattress, a bolster, a pillow, a blanket, six pillowcases and a sheet. As befitted his status as a captain, he owned seafarer's equipment: an old Hadley's quadrant, two 'English Pilots', three charts and a parcel of navigation books. Other reading matter consisted of four volumes of the *Attorney's Guide* and seven volumes of *The Spectator*. There were dining utensils - six each of silver table spoons, silver tea spoons and old tea spoons, and a case containing a dozen breakfast knives and forks – and some very masculine items: a case of razors, a small sword and a cane. Oddly, he also possessed a woman's saddle cover with girths and bridle - perhaps Miss Brodbelt's? A reminder of the slaving voyage to the Gold Coast was also found among his possessions: a quarter case of Madeira wine worth N£10.[990]

In due course news of Shipherd's death reached the West Country; JPP mentioned to his step-father, John Hayne in Dorchester, that 'Captain Shipherd died a few weeks ago.'[991]

---

[986] PP, LB 3: JPP, England, to Wm Coker, Nevis, 14 October 1767
[987] UKNA, PROB 11/956 Papers attached to the will of John Shipherd
[988] UKNA, PROB 11/956
[989] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 3 p226 and UKNA, CO 186/6: 24 March 1768
[990] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f232; see also CR 1769-1771 f193
[991] PP, LB 3: JPP to John Hayne, 25 July 1769

◄► ▼◄►

This time, when JPP decided on the new arrivals' names, he did not confer on them his family's names. Instead, he widened the circle and borrowed some from friends or acquaintances. Tom Maynard was, no doubt, named after the ship captain who for many years plied the route across the Atlantic to Nevis,[992] and Walter after another member of the Maynard family, or perhaps after Walter Nisbet. When he called one of the girls Leonora (a pet form of Eleonora) he may well have remembered Edward Jesup's wife Eleanor.

Three names had Hebrew origin: Sam and Natt are the diminutives of Samuel and Nathaniel, although Sam may, possibly, also have been derived from sambo (on the Codrington plantation, in 1741 a man had the Christian name Samuel and the plantation name Sambo).[993] Natt was also a contemporary American name in its own right. Joseph was the third name with a Hebrew and Old Testament origin but it could possibly have been derived from Cudjoe, among the Akan people the name given to a boy born on a Monday. Maria, too, may very possibly have had an African origin: Mawiyah (MAH-wee-yah) is an Arabic, Northern African name, meaning the essence of life.[994] Alternatively, JPP may have named her and one of the boys as a pair, having had in mind the biblical characters Joseph and Maria. The girl known as Nobody could have ended up with that name because it was mis-heard for Nongbo (nong-boe), among the Vai people of Liberia a personal name,[995] but it is more likely that she was very small and that her new name was intended as a pun on 'no body'. Scandall's name could have had a similar origin.

The names of some of the other children had classical or literary roots. One boy became known as Vulcan, in Roman mythology the god of fire, while the youngest child was re-named Bacchus and another Hector - in Greek mythology the names of the god of wine and vegetation. Hector was also a Trojan hero in Homer's *Iliad* and a character in William Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. Polydore may have been named after the much-admired Polydore Vergil, an Italian humanist who wrote the *History of England,* or after Polydore, the name assumed by Guiderius, the legendary king of Britain in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*. John and James may have been named after kings (one of them immortalised in Shakespeare's play *King John*), while Antony could have alluded to Mark Antony, the Roman statesman and a character in *Antony and Cleopatra*, another Shakespeare play. Shakespeare's tragedy *Othello, the Moor of Venice,* was the inspiration for another name – hinting at threatening black, male sexuality, as well as jealousy, murder and suicide - while Oroonoko's new name was borrowed from Aphra Behn's novel *Oroonoko, or the History of the Royal Slave.* This novel of an enslaved African prince - the name JPP gave to another boy, Prince, may have been a spin-off – was first published in the 1680s and later became a popular play. Certainly a previous Nevis resident, Revd Smith, was aware of Aphra Behn's novel,[996] and JPP might have seen the play in London. In 1759 it was performed, for instance, at the Theatre Royal.[997] In the 1780s a slaving vessel also carried the name.[998]

---

[992] Stapleton Cotton MSS 13 (iii) - 13 (v); 13 (vii) and 13 (viii); 4.12; PP, DM 1841/7, Box L; also AB 4
[993] Handler, Jerome S and JoAnn Jacoby 'Slave Names and Naming in Barbados' pp704-05 and p695
[994] Ellefson, Connie Lockhart *The Melting Pot Book of Baby Names* p15
[995] Muñoz, Sharon R *The Afro-American Griot Speaks*
[996] Revd Smith wrote about Ann rather than Aphra Behn (Smith, Revd William *A Natural History of Nevis* p100).
[997] Fryer, Peter *Staying Power* p145
[998] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 67 p264
Aphra Behn's novel *Oroonoko, or the History of the Royal Slave* is set in Surinam, which lies between the Orinoco and Amazon rivers. It is the story of Prince Oroonoko, the grandson of the African 'King of Coromantien'. Like Friday in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Robinson Crusoe*, Oroonoko conformed to a European ideal of beauty - he had European features:

After the children arrived in Nevis, one died almost immediately; the rest JPP split between Mountravers and the Gingerland estate. There ten of them worked under John Hay Richens: Polydore, Hector, Sam, Othello, James, John, Tom Maynard, and the girls Maria, Leonora and Nobody. For some inexplicable reason, Bacchus, the youngest, was neither on the Mountravers nor the Gingerland lists.

Apart from the one child who perished very soon after arriving in Nevis, another four died between 1769 and 1783: Walter, John, James and Leonora. It may be significant that three of these (John, James and Leonora) had worked on the Gingerland estate, a harsher and more demanding environment than Mountravers.

By 1783, 13 of the children had grown into adults and were worth a total of N£950. One young man, Polydore, had escaped off the island, never to be heard of again, and another, Prince, had been sold. Later Natt - a 'good for nothing' - was also sold.

Of the remaining 12, one man, Vulcan, died in 1789 or 1790, two women between 1790 and 1794 (Maria and Nobody), Joe and Anthony died in 1799, Scandal in 1800. Of the remaining six who were sold with the plantation to Huggins, five died before 1817: Tom Maynard, Sam, Oroonoko, Hector and Bacchus. The longest surviving member of this group, the field hand Othello, died between 1817 and 1822.

◄► ▼◄►

301 Polydore (dob 1752/3) is on record as the first of this group who absconded. Aged 16 or 17, he was caught by John Hay Richens. Most likely this was not his first escape but there are no references of other rewards having been paid until Richens collected N8s3d for 'catching Polydore'.[999]

His nose was rising and Roman, instead of African and flat. His mouth the finest shaped that could be seen; far from those great turned lips which are so natural to the rest of the negroes. The whole proportion and air of his face was so nobly and exactly formed that, bating his color, there could be nothing in nature more beautiful, agreeable, and handsome. There was no one grace wanting that bears the standard of true beauty. His hair came down to his shoulders, by the aids of art, which was by pulling it out with a quill, and keeping it combed; of which he took particular care.

He was also intelligent, of noble bearing and brave. The story involved a beautiful woman, Imoinda, who was sold into slavery. Oroonoko, a slaveholder himself, also ended up enslaved after being lured abroad the ship of an English captain with whom he had previously dealt in slaves. Shipped to Suriname, sold there and re-named Caesar by his new master, he met Imoinda again (then called Clemence). They soon married and he sought to gain their freedom. When this was not forthcoming, Caesar and his fellow slaves fled the plantation *en masse* but, when pursued, the others gave him up. Only Clemence, now pregnant with their child, stood by him, but Caesar also surrendered. He was punished but not killed, escaped and, rather than have his child born a slave, he murdered Clemence and their unborn child. Caesar's story ended with the planters torturing him, and his heroic death. The moral of the story was clear: even noble, and perhaps justifiable, attempts at insurrection would be punished by death. Although the setting was removed to South America, the novel was a reminder, too, that the rising against King James II, the Monmouth Rebellion, had failed.

Prince William Ansah Sessaracoa, the son of John Corrantee of Anomabo, saw the play in London. William Ansah, like Oroonoko, had been betrayed by a slaving captain. Instead of being taken from Ghana to England for his education, the captain sold Ansah and a companion into slavery. After the captain's death the treacherous act was reported to the Jamaican authorities, and the two noblemen ended up in England with the Earl of Halifax, then President of the Board of Trade and Plantations. Being sent to England to be educated was not uncommon among sons of African slave traders but the real-life Oroonoko-story struck a chord with English society, and the two were not only educated but also introduced to the King and, according to Horace Walpole, became the 'fashion at all the assemblies'. Ansah and his companion saw a production of *Oroonoko* at Covent Garden and was moved to tears by the dialogue between the two lovers, Oroonoko and Imoinda (Hugh Thomas *The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* pp465-66). William Ansah returned to Africa in the early 1750s. On his return he was magnificently dressed but his father immediately asked him to take off his European clothes and dressed him in Fanti clothes to emphasise his return to Fanti culture. Ansah worked at Fort Anomabo for many years as a writer and became a useful intermediary (M Priestley *West African Trade and Coast Society* pp13-21).

[999] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1769

Polydore only appeared again in the documents at the end of February 1780, when JPP rather cryptically accounted for N6s, 'paid for Scandal on Polydore's account'.[1000] Similar entries suggest that this might have been a re-imbursement that JPP paid to Polydore on Scandal's behalf. For instance, Scandal, one of Polydore's shipmates, may have stolen something for which JPP compensated Polydore. By then Polydore worked as a sugar boiler.

Polydore probably bid his time and chose the right moment, and the right ship, to free himself. He may have planned his escape with Charge (No 176), a man with whom he had worked on the Gingerland estate not long after he first arrived in Nevis. In 1781 Polydore succeeded; Charge, however, gave up and returned to Mountravers on his own accord. JPP recounted the details in a memo:

> This evening (Saturday) Polydore left the Estate & it is believed he is gone on board the *Hornet Privateer* - Charge, also, ran away. Charge returned 8 April. Polydore was seen in Town on Saturday night, the 25th. Charge came to my lower work on Monday evening and promised the fire-man to come home the next morning - since which, to this day April 1st 1781 either of them has been heard of.
>
> Charge returned April 8 [Sunday]. Polydore is branded on his right breast I P [JPP], on his left breast the fig.s 1766.[1001]

This was not a case of just going underground for a few days, visiting friends or having a rest – this was a proper escape. Polydore would have known the risks involved. If caught, he faced the death penalty 'without the benefit of clergy' – without being able to claim leniency. This was laid down in a law of Nevis which went back to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

In order to publicise the escape, on 1 April 1781 JPP paid Thomas Howe, the printer, N8s3d,[1002] either for producing handbills or for placing an advertisement in the *St Christopher Gazette.* The publicity did not have the desired result, and 'Polydore soon after got off the Island'.

There is no way of knowing whether he actually escaped on the *Hornet* or on another craft. He may have sought refuge in one of the neighbouring islands but sooner or later JPP would have heard of his whereabouts. It is more likely that Polydore did, indeed, flee on the *Hornet*. As a privateer, the vessel operated outside the normal rules which governed the Royal Navy, and she was under command of a certain Captain John Kimber. His main aim was not to protect the sugar plantations and to defend the colonies but to run a profitable enterprise. He took enemy ships as prizes, and the paltry reward Kimber could have claimed for apprehending an absconder was more than compensated by the profits he could gain from having on board ship a disaffected young man, eager to earn his pay and committed to fight for his freedom. A risk-taker and a bully, Kimber was just the sort of captain who might have been looking for a strong and willing volunteer to supplement his crew, and if a runaway offered his services, why should he care that some two-bit planter wanted his man back?

For Polydore escaping on a privateer would have been a smart move. Conditions aboard ship were better than on a Royal Navy vessel: 'the food was more palatable, the pay was higher, the work shifts were shorter, and the power of the crew in decision-making was greater.' But, according to Linebaugh and

---

[1000] PP, AB 17 Nevis a/c
[1001] PP, DM 1773 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 Expense a/c
25 March 1781 was a Sunday, and not a Saturday, as stated by JPP.
[1002] PP, AB 26 Plantation a/c; also AB 27 WB Weekes's a/c

Rediker, 'privateers were not always happy ships. Some captains ran their vessels like naval craft, imposing rigid discipline and other unpopular measures that generated grievances, protests, or even outright mutinies.'[1003]

The *Hornet* needed more men. The *Hornet* needed Polydore. Ever since the vessel had left Bristol on 2 May 1780, her crew had changed constantly, indeed, Kimber himself had taken over command from Captain Bernard McDavite (also McDavitt) after this 'truly brave and humane man' had died in Newfoundland. When McDavite left Bristol, he had with him 46 men. This included several foreigners and a Francis Blackey, who may well have been a black man. Over the following months 17 crew members left and 30 men joined, most of them in Newfoundland. On 22 September alone four entered the service, but two of these later 'ran' (deserted) at St Kitts. It is possible Polydore then already knew of the ship. The *Hornet* was at St Kitts in late October/early November 1780, accompanied by a prize: the *Defence* who carried a cargo of 320 hogsheads of tobacco. Kimber had captured the vessel while she was on her way from Maryland to St Eustatius. When Kimber was at St Kitts, twelve new men joined his crew. Six of these later deserted elsewhere: Pero Garnet, Josia Maria, John Bryn, James Arthur, ?Martest Martin and John Travers. Pero Garnet may have been associated with John Bourryeau Garnett's plantation in Palmetto Point, St Kitts (later mortgaged to the Pinneys as West Farm), and no doubt he and some of the others who joined were either enslaved or freed men. After cruising elsewhere in the Caribbean, the *Hornet* was back at St Kitts in February 1781. Eight more crew signed up before she set off to South America.

When she left Bristol, fitted out with 32 guns, the government had granted the *Hornet* Letters of Marque. These were issued to vessels at times of war, thereby licensing Kimber and his crew to take action against enemy ships – American and French - and to confiscate them. In effect, privateers were legalised pirates. Then Britain had declared war on the Netherlands and although it has been said that Britain had not provided privateers with letters of marque against the Dutch,[1004] it is likely that Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney semi-officially dispatched Kimber to the Dutch colonies on the South American coast by.

The Admiral and his fleet had arrived on nearby St Eustatius at the beginning of February and, after the Dutch Governor had surrendered,[1005] had remained in the island. Rodney kept the Dutch flag flying, thereby deceiving Dutch and American vessels into believing that they were entering friendly territory - allowing Rodney's men to busily capture one enemy merchantmen, frigate and warship after another.[1006] Rodney dispatched a squadron to unprotected St Martin, which easily fell into British hands and, although he considered his fleet insufficient to attack the Dutch-held island of Curaçao,[1007] he may have ordered Kimber to head south and participate in the capture of the Dutch South American mainland colonies. Six privateers, two from Barbados and four from Bristol, took Demerara and Essequibo on 24 February. From Barbados came the schooners *Halton* and *Polly*, from Bristol the *Bellona*, the *Mercury*, the *Porcupine* and the *Hornet*.[1008] Between them, these six privateers brought out 15 prizes totalling 4,098 tons, with 124 guns mounted. The largest was a 600-ton ship, the *Boreas* of Amsterdam. As Commander Damer Powell put it, '… they had a degree of courage and enterprise …'[1009]

[1003] Linebaugh, Peter and Marcus Rediker *The Many-Headed Hydra* p161
[1004] Damer Powell JW *Bristol Privateers and Ships of War* pp252-53
[1005] Burns, Sir Alan *History of the British West Indies* p524
[1006] Vice-Admiral Hood was taking part of the loot back to England when he encountered the French commander Counte de Grasse and his fleet. Hood was defeated and lost his booty. French privateers captured part of Rodney's booty when he was on his way home with it (Cornelius Ch Goslinga *A Short History of the Netherland Antilles and Surinam* p85).
[1007] Goslinga, Cornelius Ch *A Short History of the Netherland Antilles and Surinam* p85
[1008] Berbice was taken separately. Later the French, allies of the Dutch, took the three colonies, which were then restored to Holland. In 1796, when war broke out between England and Holland, the Dutch lost the colonies again.
[1009] Damer Powell, JW *Bristol Privateers and Ships of War* pp252-53

After their successful mission, Kimber and his crew once more returned to St Kitts, just at the time when Polydore went missing from Mountravers. Two men joined the *Hornet* on 31 March – Edward Dunstone and Edward Ryan - and during the next month another thirty signed up. These were:

Edward Thompson and William Ward (3 April)
John Holmes, William Jones, and Thomas Robinson (4 April)
John Wife and Walter Morgan (5 April)
Alexander McQuinne (6 April)
William Freeman (7 April)
William Canon, John Degroves, Ralph Isaac, Thomas Lowry, Joseph Parker, William Smith and Nicholas Todd (8 April)
John Beverage (9 April)
Richard Webber, William Thomas, and John Gregory (10 April)
Thomas Keyton and Jeremiah Mahaney (11 April)
William Conner and William Warner (12 April)
Thomas Kennedy (14 April)
James Harris, Henry Mydulch, and Margues Senova (21 April)
William Moore and John McGinniss (6 May)[1010]

Polydore could have signed on, using any one of these names as aliases. If his *nom de guerre* was John Beverage or Thomas Lowry, he was 'pressed' - that is ordered to serve on a Royal Navy ship - before the *Hornet* even left St Kitts. Polydore might have borrowed a more familiar name, one that occurred in Nevis, such as Freeman, Morgan, Thompson, Ward, Jones, or Moore.

If he did manage to get away on board the *Hornet*, a fortnight later he would have taken part in his first naval adventure. The ship, together with the *Surprize* captured and carried into Antigua the Dutch brig *Three Friends*, on her way from Amsterdam to St Eustatius. She was worth over £16,000 Currency.[1011]

The *Hornet* arrived back in Bristol on 26 July 1781. During the fifteen months she had been away, altogether 217 men had served on her at one time or another.[1012]

It Polydore did, indeed, sail on the *Hornet*, it is possible that he remained in Bristol or went elsewhere in Britain. Alternatively, he may have signed on as crew on the next slaver bound for Africa: the *Apollo,* under James Sutherland's command, left on 6 August 1781, with a crew of 40. If he intended to return to Ghana, the *Gascoyne* under Captain William Chalmers left Bristol five days later and reached Cape Coast Castle by mid-November.[1013] Polydore may have arrived home again after an eight-month journey and after he had been away from Ghana for more than fifteen years.

Of course he may have taken to life at sea and joined one of the merchant ships lying in Bristol harbour. Not long after the *Hornet* arrived, two of her crew, William Ward and John Degroves, for instance, signed on to serve on the *Monmouth*. The vessel left for St Petersburg in Russia on in August 1782 and returned two months later.[1014]

[1010] SMV, Ships' Muster Rolls 1771-1783: Muster Roll No 25
[1011] *New-Lloyd's List No 1260,* London, Friday, 20 April 1781
[1012] SMV, Ships' Muster Rolls 1771-1783: Muster Roll No 25
[1013] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 17906: The *Apollo*, bound for Africa and then to St Kitts, was captured by the French after the slaves had been taken on board. Voyage No 17907: The *Gascoyne* left Africa on 3 March 1782, with 590 slaves on board; 509 arrived at Jamaica on 13 May 1782. She arrived back in London on 5 July 1782
[1014] SMV, Ships' Muster Rolls 1771-1783

Kimber had proven his success as a prize-taker and Polydore may have chosen to remain with him. The *Hornet* was put up for sale but was again at sea in January 1782, under Kimber's command. He and his crew captured a sloop, which was sent into Setubal (Portugal), and they were back in Kingroad near Bristol a couple of months later. With them was another prize, the *Purissima Conception.* They had taken this Spanish 350-ton ship on a passage from Cadiz to South America. Later that year Captain Kimber and his crew took two brigantines, the *Three Brothers* and the *Betsey*, bound from Santo Domingo to France and from Guadeloupe to Boston. The *Hornet* then re-took for the second time the 600 tons-*Trois Soeurs,* which had been seized at the end of 1782 by a Bristol ship and had been re-taken by an American privateer. This prize was the subject of a sketch by Nicholas Pocock.[1015]

From then on the *Hornet* was engaged in the slave trade, but not under Kimber's command. On 20 January 1784 she left Bristol for Africa with Captain Charles Thomson (Thompson) and a crew of 46.[1016] Fitted with only six guns, she sailed to Angola, where she took 343 captives on board. Originally intended for Barbados, she arrived at Jamaica at the end of May 1785, unloaded 280 Africans and returned to Bristol on 20 September 1785.[1017] The vessel was advertised for sale in June 1787. Described as 'for the African trade', she measured 250 tons and had an 84' keel and a 27' 6" beam. She was 10' 6" deep in the hold and 4' 6" between decks.[1018] The *Hornet's* space between decks was similar to that of other slavers: the *Peggy,* for instance, measured just 4' distance (122 cm), the *Sally* about 4'5" (137 cm).[1019] The space a person had to lie in was about 6 feet long (183 cm) and 16 inches (41 cm) wide.[1020]

James Rogers, a prolific Bristol slave trader, fitted out the *Hornet* for Africa but he died, and in July 1793 she was advertised for sale again, 'being copper sheathed, intended for Bonny and having cleared customs'. John Anderson & Co refitted her in September and October,[1021] and, bedecked with 12 guns, on 9 November she sailed with a crew of fifty from Bristol to Bonny. There 432 Africans were taken on board; 393 arrived at Jamaica.[1022] On her return journey to London[1023] the *Hornet* was wrecked on 14 October 1794 on the Owers (or Oars), near Portsmouth. The crew were saved.[1024]

Captain John Kimber, meanwhile, was also engaged in the slave trade. In April 1791 he sailed on the *Recovery* from Bristol to New Calabar and Grenada and arrived back at Bristol just before Christmas 1791.[1025] In May the following year he set off on another voyage in the same vessel, again to Calabar.

[1015] Damer Powell, JW *Bristol Privateers and Ships of War* pp266-67
[1016] Richardson, David *Bristol, Africa and the eighteenth century Slave Trade to America* Vol 4 p93, quoting E190/1235/3; E190/1236/3; ADM 7/103; CO 142/22; SMV Wharfage Books; SMV Muster Rolls 1785-6 No 146; ParlP XXIV (1789) 629; *Felix Farley* 13 December 1783, 24 January 1784, 22 January, 9 July, 6 August, 24 September 1785, 16 June 1787; Lreg; LL 18 January, 5 July, 2 August, 20 September 1785
[1017] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 17934
[1018] Richardson, David *Bristol, Africa and the eighteenth century Slave Trade to America* Vol 4 p93, quoting E190/1235/3; E190/1236/3; ADM 7/103; CO 142/22; SMV Wharfage Books; SMV Muster Rolls 1785-6 No 146; ParlP XXIV (1789) 629; *Felix Farley* 13 December 1783, 24 January 1784, 22 January, 9 July, 6 August, 24 September 1785, 16 June 1787; Lreg; LL 18 January, 5 July, 2 August, 20 September 1785
[1019] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 82 Richard Story's evidence
[1020] Luffman, John *A Brief Account* Letter XIX 6 July 1787 in VL Oliver *The History of the Island of Antigua* Vol 1
[1021] Richardson, David (ed) *Bristol, Africa and the Eighteenth-Century Slave Trade to America* Vol 4, quoting Bristol Presentments; ADM 7/112; T 64/286; C 107/10; ParlP XLII (1795-6), 849; Jamaica Journal; *Felix Farley* 20 July, 9 November 1793; Lreg; LL 18, 22 July, 17 October 1794
[1022] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 18180
[1023] Richardson, David (ed) *Bristol, Africa and the Eighteenth-Century Slave Trade to America* Vol 4, quoting Bristol Presentments; ADM 7/112; T 64/286; C 107/10; ParlP XLII (1795-6), 849; Jamaica Journal; *Felix Farley* 20 July, 9 November 1793; Lreg; LL 18, 22 July, 17 October 1794
[1024] Damer Powell, JW *Bristol Privateers and Ships of War* pp266-67
[1025] The owners were John Rogers, Walter Jacks and two Gordons, John and William (David Eltis *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 1811).

Having taken over 300 captives on board, the ship left on 1 September.[1026] 'On the High Seas' and three weeks into the voyage, Kimber was involved in an incident that later led to him being indicted for murder. He brutally assaulted a 14- or 15-year-old girl. First he struck and beat her with a whip 'in and upon the back, sides and other parts of the body.' Then he tied and fastened her by means of a gun tackle and, according to the ship's surgeon, who gave evidence in the case against him, 'she was ordered to be suspended by one hand, and then by another, and then a boy was ordered to pull her legs by a sudden jerk.' Suspended by the leg, Kimber flogged her. She hung like that for about half an hour. She received 'several mortal wounds and bruises … on the back, sides, arms, legs and other parts of her body …and … languished from the 22nd to the 27th of September, and then died.' Apparently the girl had refused to dance naked on deck.[1027]

The *Recovery's* second master, Samuel Price, at some stage during the voyage took command and the vessel landed at Jamaica. One hundred people, a third of her cargo, had perished *en route*.

William Wilberforce raised Kimber's brutal assault in a speech before the House of Commons and the captain was arrested and put on trial. The case, that he 'did kill and murder' the girl, was heard in Bristol. A local man in a town that had grown fat on slavery and the slave trade, he had the sympathy of the jury and was acquitted. Instead, the prosecution witnesses - the ship's surgeon and the third mate - were charged with perjury.[1028]

Kimber's acquittal had largely rested on the evidence by one of the ship's owners, Walter Jacks. The other owners were James Rogers, John Gordon junior and William Gordon.[1029] The two Gordons may well have been related to James Gordon, a wealthy Scot who owned plantations in Antigua. He later bought the manors of Portbury and Portishead (near Bristol) and Naish House on the Failand ridge.[1030] At the time the Kimber trial took place, William Coker's son Revd William Young Coker lived at Gordon's Naish House. Revd Coker would, no doubt, have taken a keen interest in the case which was fuelling the anti-slave trade debate. The celebrated engraver George Cruikshank contributed an engraving which reminded the British public of the horrors Africans endured during the Middle Passage.[1031]

Soon after the court case ended, Kimber made another slaving voyage for Walter Jacks and John Gordon junior and then did another three on London and Liverpool ships. His last voyage was in 1799.[1032]

Polydore was remembered many years after he had left Nevis. Complaining about the quality of sugars produced - 'very brown and indifferent' – in the late 1790s JPP recalled that 'during the time Polydore was my head boiler my sugars were many shillings better than what are made now.'[1033]

302 Hector, later Old Hector (dob 1754/5). He may well have become a stock keeper soon after he arrived on Mountravers; on the Stapleton plantation the youngest of five males responsible for looking

[1026] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 18115 and others
[1027] Dresser, Madge and Sue Giles (eds) *Bristol & Transatlantic Slavery* p139 The Trial of Captain Kimber reported in *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* for 16 June 1792, p163 and p179
[1028] Dresser, M *Slavery Obscured* p163 and p179
[1029] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 18115
[1030] Bond, James *Somerset Parks and Gardens, A Landscape History* p93
James Gordon rented Naish for some years from Revd Coker and his wife Elizabeth who inherited the estate from her father, Walter King Coker.
[1031] http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery/details Image 'Trade-1' originally published in London, 10 April 1792
[1032] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 18115 and others
[1033] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 10 November 1797

after livestock was a boy of eleven. Along with the other working animals on Mountravers, Hector may have been made responsible for the camels after Portsmouth and Billey died.

Valued in 1783 at N£80, he had a reputation as a troublesome fellow. When JPP wrote to Coker, his manager, to allow his old friend John Hay Richens to occupy the house at Woodland and to let his stock feed in the pasture above the house, he added that Hector was to take care of them. He also advised that 'If he misbehaves or neglects them, pray have him corrected.'[1034] Not that Coker needed such advice; a couple of months earlier he had two clogs put on one of the men and later that year he purchased three new negro neck locks.

When Hector was lent to Richens, no other people from Mountravers were hired to him. Earlier Richens had employed Hector's shipmate Othello, as well as Miah, Bess Powell, Sheba Jones and Peggy Richens. To lessen his debt, he had sold three individuals to JPP, probably his last. Judy, whom he had bought from JPP, most likely was dead by then but their teenaged daughter Molly may have lived with him then.

Richens was disintegrating from drink and debt, and something happened very soon after Hector went to work for him up at Woodland - an argument perhaps over the cattle, or over Molly? Some drunken row, or a drunken rage? Whatever the cause, somehow Hector ended up with a gunshot wound which his daughter cured and which then required six weeks 'house room … under doctors care' at Diana Foot's.[1035] While he was hospitalised, someone else must have been employed to look after the cattle which was pastured up at Woodland.

When JPP heard of the incident, he gave Coker his consent 'to dispose of that wicked fellow Hector in any way you think most beneficial to the Estate.'[1036] By the time JPP's letter reached Nevis, Richens had died already.[1037] Hector was not sold but remained on Mountravers, where, in his early forties, he was still one of five stock keepers, responsible, with Warry, for cattle.[1038] The men employed to look after the livestock certainly had some success in breeding cattle and horses. Two of the horses, Poppet and Sqirrel (sic), the manager proudly declared as 'Creoles foled (sic) upon the estate'.

Hector died between August 1807 and December 1816, in his early fifties to early sixties.

303 Sam, later Old Sam (dob 1753/4). When he was about 17 years old, he was hired for nine weeks to John Cornelius.[1039] A carpenter, Cornelius had employed the carpenters Range, Codando and Glasgow and was working with them on Mountravers, 'building a lofted house and altering the old house', when one of them, Range, died of smallpox. For a while Sam replaced him but probably performed unskilled labour - afterwards he never worked as a carpenter. When valued at N£100 at the age of thirty, he almost certainly was one of the domestics.[1040]

[1034] PP, LB 6: JPP to William Coker, 4 May 1787
[1035] In total, the bill for treating Hector came to N£7:16:9 (PP, AB 36 Archbald & Williamson's a/c and AB 30 Plantation a/c 1783). Diana Foot probably was the woman who in 1765 had attempted to cure Princess of a fallen womb and delivered Lucy. She may have run a sort of hospital in town.
[1036] PP, LB 6: JPP to Coker, Nevis, 24 October 1787
[1037] PP, LB 9: JPP to William Coker, 9 February 1788
[1038] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[1039] PP, AB 20 f66 John Cornelius' a/c
[1040] Sam was not listed as a carpenter; neither did he appear in the plantation diary (PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary).

Sam died between August 1807 and December 1816. He was at least about 53 years old, at the most 64.

304 **Vulcan** (dob 1753/4) may have been ill for some years; in 1783 he was valued at only N£60.

In his mid-thirties, Vulcan died between the beginning of January 1789 and the end of 1790.

305 **Walter** (dob 1754/5) died between July 1774 and July 1783. He was in his late teens to late twenties.

306 **John** (dob 1753/4) was one of three people who lost their lives during the smallpox outbreak in 1770. The others were Phillis and Range. John died in March; he was 16 or 17 years old.

307 **Othello** (dob 1754/5) was a field hand.

Aged about 28, he was hired to John Hay Richens from about June 1783, with Bess Powell. Both valued at N£90, Othello's hire rate was N£10 and Bess's N£12 a year.[1041] In 1785 Richens was unable to pay their hire and the money he owed was included in a bond.[1042] It is not known where Richens lived then but he was already drinking too much and suffering from a bad leg as a result. By the time he came to stay at Woodland, Othello and Bess Powell had finished their assignment.

In 1790, during JPP's visit to the island, Othello sold him 11 pounds of pork worth N8s3d.[1043] A few years later, when he was in his mid-forties, Othello was still working in the field.

In 1817 he was said to have been 'about 60', about three years younger than he was. Of the people in this group who remained on Mountravers, he lived the longest: Othello died between 1817 and 1822. He was aged from 62 to 66 years.

308 **Natt** (dob 1752/3). Only one reference exists to a reward being paid for Natt's capture (N4s1 ½d on 29 June 1781)[1044] but he must have absented himself more often: on 26 May 1784, in his early thirties, the manager Joseph Gill accounted for his and George Wells's sale. Gill's entry in the account book spoke of his frustration; he sold the 'two runaway good for nothing negroes Nat and George Wells' for N£100.[1045] Gill was prepared to incur a loss because they were got rid of for less than their appraised value; a year earlier Natt had been worth N£80 and George N£40.

They were sold to Daniel Ross, a merchant to whom JPP had sold several people. Ross had family links with North America, Glasgow, Hamburg (Germany), as well as St Vincent, where he owned three plantations (Donuhea, Bellevue and Long Point).[1046] Natt and George Wells may have been sent to work

[1041] PP, AB 30 Negro Hire a/c; also AB 35 Negro Hire a/c
[1042] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f168 and AB 30 Negro Hire a/c
[1043] PP, AB 27
[1044] PP, AB 17: 29 June 1781
[1045] PP, AB 35 Plantation a/c 1784; also AB 30
[1046] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f627, ff650-51

in that island. Alternatively, they may have ended up in Virginia - Grace, whom Ross had bought ten years earlier from JPP, had already been shipped there. Daniel Ross may have taken Natt and George Wells with him; he left Nevis two months after he bought these two men, 'never to return'.[1047] But equally well they may have succeeded in freeing themselves. What is certain, though, is that when Daniel Ross died a year after he bought them, Natt and George Wells were not among his possessions.[1048]

309 Scandal (dob 1754/5) first appeared in the records in February 1780 when JPP paid N6s 'for Scandal on Polydore's account'.[1049] Given the evidence of his thieving later on, it is likely that Scandal had stolen something from Polydore, one of the sugar boilers, and that JPP was re-imbursing Polydore for the theft.

A couple of years after JPP had recorded the payment, Scandal was involved in a robbery, with George Wells, William and one of Ann Weekes's people, Rigby. It happened during a period of famine, and hunger may have driven the men to crime. They stole almost N£11 worth of salt fish and sugar from Modeste Lapula, a free French fisherman. He appears to have dealt in foodstuffs; Lapula had earlier sold a large number of fowls. To make up for the loss, JPP paid Lapula N£6:12:0 for the 'proportion of damage done by his Negroes' and another N£4:2:6, Rigby's share. Rigby's owner, Ann Weekes later repaid JPP.[1050] Rigby's co-offenders, George Wells and William, were both sold within the next eighteen months, but it is not known how Scandal was punished. It would have been severe; crimes against property could even result in the offenders losing their lives. In one year, in 1767, two enslaved men were executed in Nevis for property crimes: Andrew for theft and Oroonoko for burglary.[1051] But the 'late robbery of salt fish and sugar' did not appear to have affected Scandal's value; he was appraised at N£90.
In August 1791 Scandal stole from another free person, Betty Williams.[1052] She lived in one of JPP's houses in Charlestown.[1053] To compensate her, the manager 'agreed to allow [N3s] for a duck which Scandal stole'.[1054] Four years later, again in August, Scandal was involved in another theft, this time with Acree: they took a hog from 'a Negro of Mr Scarborough's'. The plantation paid N8s3d compensation.[1055] That it would have been easy to steal animals comes from evidence from another estate in Nevis, Mr Mills's plantation. When all the workers were in the field, in the slave village there were 'plenty of hen eggs, fowls, pigs. Yams. Cotton &c, lying unguarded about their habitations.'[1056] Without a watchman present, or old people who kept an eye on things, any intruder would have had easy pickings.

[1047] ECSCRN, CR 1783-1785 f653
[1048] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f650
[1049] PP, AB 17 Nevis a/c: 29 February 1780
[1050] PP, AB 26 Plantation a/c and DM 1173 - Nevis Journal 1780-1790 f91
[1051] In May 1767 Andrew's owner Charles Hutton was re-imbursed with N£80, and Oronooko's owner, Robert Morgan, in December 1767 with N£70 (UKNA, CO 186/6). In Nevis owners were compensated in full; on Antigua compensation was halved if an enslaved person was executed for serious crimes (Luffman, John *A Brief Account* Letter LXXIV 9 November 1787 in VL Oliver *The History of the Island of Antigua* Vol 1).

The punishments meted out to thieves in Nevis – deportation or execution – were similar to punishments in Britain. This is illustrated by the case of a man called William Hughes, who claimed to have sailed 'in Captain Ward's ship from Nevis'. Accused of have picked a gentleman's pocket of a silk handkerchief, he was in October 1771 sentenced to be transported for seven years but absconded. He was arrested, accused of having picked pockets elsewhere in London and was on 21 October 1772 charged with 'being found at large before the expiration of the time for which he received sentence to be transported'. His defence, that he had been confused with his cousin of the same name, was not accepted. He was found guilty and sentenced to death (http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/luceneweb/hri3/ Case Ref T17721021-63).
[1052] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794
[1053] PP, LB 11: JPP, at Sea, to James Williams, 9 August 1794
[1054] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f91; also AB 39
[1055] PP, AB 52: 1 August 1795; also AB 47
[1056] *Aaron Thomas's Journal* p49

In the late 1790s Scandal worked in the field and the boiling house but his health may have been declining already.[1057] In April 1800 he had a job with two others who were losing their strength: London, a man in his forties who had become a watchman, and Lucy, a woman in her mid-sixties. Together they attended the masons.

Scandal died later in the same year, in December 1800. He was in his mid-forties.

310 James (dob 1754/5) probably was a mule keeper. After a mule had died from bats and worms, JPP gave Coker directions ('you and James') to feed the mules grass and to keep the pens well littered.[1058]

James died between January 1769 and July 1783. He was between 14 and 29 years old.

311 Tom Maynard (dob 1755/6) may have been a cattle keeper in his youth, having replaced Cambridge (No 241), an African boy who died in 1765. Tom Maynard worked on the Gingerland estate and during his time there was 'gored in the breast by a cow'. Dr John Benton attended to him. His treatment was expensive; 'medicines, visits, etc' came to N£4:0:6.[1059]

Tom Maynard must have made an excellent recovery: in 1783, when he was about 27 years old, he was appraised at N£100. He and Sam were both worth N£20 more than the average value of this group of Gold Coast people. By then he worked in the field and did so until he was at least his early forties.

During a period when Coker was struggling to maintain discipline, Tom Maynard ran away but was caught. He had been in hiding for five months until someone apprehended him. On 16 August 1789 that person received a payment of N12s4 1/2d.[1060] The second time he was known to have escaped was while Thomas Pym Weekes was the manager. Tom Maynard's absence lasted for 'about 15 weeks and 4 days'. A man from another plantation brought him back, and on 3 November 1792 'Mr Ward's Monday' received an even higher reward, N18s6d, for catching him.[1061] Having been away for relatively long periods, he seemed to have hidden locally and not attempted to get off the island.

Tom Maynard disappeared from the records between August 1807 and December 1816. Given his history of absenting himself, he may well have succeeded, but given his age - he was in his fifties, or very early sixties - it is equally likely that Tom Maynard died.

312 Anthony (dob 1754/5). His 1783 value of N£90 did not suggest any illness but not long after he was appraised, he had an accident. He sustained an injury to his left hand which had to be stitched and then dressed. Treatment lasted almost a month. On 12 May 1785 doctors Archbald and Williamson were paid N£4:19:0 for looking after him.[1062] In the next year Anthony was among the people 'the French

[1057] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[1058] PP, LB 3: JPP, London, to Wm Coker, Nevis, 24 September 1767
[1059] PP, AB 18 John Benton's a/c
[1060] PP, AB 40; AB 30 Nevis Cash a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f48
[1061] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f102; also AB 39 Plantation a/c and Cash a/c
[1062] PP, AB 31 Archbald & Williamson's a/c

doctor' treated for crabobas,[1063] a leprosy-type skin disease. Weakened by the accident and the illness, he became a watchman.

Depending on the cane-growing cycle, the number of watches, as well as stock keepers, fluctuated. One November day, a month before the main harvest started and while the cane was ripening, 17 watches and stock keepers were employed; 13 on a day in April, near the end of crop time, and ten on a day in July when all the canes had been cut. As the harvest progressed, there was less need to guard against theft and sabotage, or roaming animals. Watches like Anthony guarded the cane fields but also had under surveillance the slave 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.[1064]

Anthony died on 10 April 1799.[1065] He was in his mid-forties.

313 Oroonoko (also Oronooko) (dob 1754/5) was a mason and almost certainly trained by Tom Jones, a Creole man purchased in 1769. At N£130, Oroonoko's value in 1783 was the highest of the Gold Coast people and the same as the mason Bettiscombe, who had learnt his craft from a white man.

In 1783 and 1784 Oroonoko was hired out for the first time, together with Tom Jones and another young mason, Caesar Scoles. Their different levels of expertise were reflected in their hire rates; for Oroonoko and Caesar the rental was N£2 and for Tom Jones N£6 a month. The men worked for John Arthurton senior and junior, relatives of JPP's former employee Thomas Arthurton.[1066]

Next Oroonoko and his two fellow masons were hired to James Tobin for 13 days in late July and early August 1785,[1067] and then with Tom Jones to John Taylor for a month in September.[1068] Presumably they worked on Tobin's Stoney Grove estate just on the other side of Charlestown and on Taylor's Tower Hill plantation to the north of Mountravers. Later on in the year and during early 1786 Oroonoko was several times hired out for short periods. Now Bettiscombe, an African trained by a white man, joined the gang. Again, their hire rates differed. Oroonoko's stood at N1s8d, half of Bettiscombe's and a third of Tom Jones's.[1069] Oroonoko, Bettiscombe, Caesar Scoles and Tom Jones worked for different periods for three different people: Roger Bridgwater, William Smith and Walter Nisbet. Oroonoko's employment lasted for eight, six and twenty days.[1070] Roger Bridgwater was a planter and a millwright and the masons would have done the masonry work on windmills while he was engaged with the carpentry aspects, whereas on William Smith's neighbouring estate, Oliver's, the men spent a week hanging 'coppers etc. at the works'.[1071] Walter Nisbet would have employed them on his Mount Pleasant plantation.[1072]

[1063] PP, AB 30 Plantation a/c
[1064] Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p8
[1065] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover and entry
[1066] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f138 22 September 1783 and f163; also AB 31 John Arthurton's a/c
[1067] PP, AB 31 f28 James Tobin's a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f177
[1068] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f181
[1069] PP, AB 35 Roger Bridgwater's a/c, Estate of William Smith's a/c, James Tobin's a/c, Walter Nisbet's a/c; AB 30 Negro Hire a/c
[1070] PP, AB 35 Roger Bridgwater's a/c, Estate of William Smith's a/c, Walter Nisbet's a/c; also AB 30 Negro Hire a/c
[1071] PP, AB 43 Roger Bridgwater Millwright and Planter a/c
[1072] Gordon, Joyce *Nevis* p19
It is unlikely that this was today's Nisbet's Plantation Inn; on the Iles map of 1871 Mount Pleasant is shown on the road from Camp to Mount Lily.

Oroonoko's next major job was on Mountravers, this time working only with Bettiscombe and Tom Jones. Caesar had died. JPP had urged his manager to 'Keep in repair the work at Woodland'[1073] but two years on he decided he wanted it 'put into complete order.' Wishing for a 'proper work at Woodland, put up by my own people', he had sent from Bristol ten hogsheads of building lime and a large copper that would hold 160 gallons. He wanted his mason set to work as soon as possible.[1074] The processing facilities at Woodland needed to be improved because two particular pieces of cane land warranted the expense; these fields were 'kindly' and would make 'upwards of two casks per acre'.[1075] To do the job, Coker employed the mason John Keepe, who hired Oroonoko, Tom Jones and Bettiscombe, for a total of 78 days.[1076] Almond and Philip were apprenticed to John Keepe at the same time but Philip proved troublesome and Keepe returned him to the plantation.

Meanwhile, John Arthurton, who had earlier employed Oroonoko with Tom Jones and Caesar Scoles, had been appointed as JPP's attorney.[1077] On a visit to England, he briefed JPP about progress on Woodland. JPP approved of Coker's efforts:

> I have seen Mr Arthurton who has informed me of the plan you have adopted respecting the boiling house at Woodland …. , by turning the still house loft into a cooling and curing room, and to put a new roof over the coppers and gangway, so the building when finished will be in the form of an L. Let it be put up by my own people at your leisure, and the sides built with lime and stone. Always use as little wood in the mountainous situations as you possibly can.[1078]

The job was not completed yet, and in the following year John Keepe engaged all three men for long periods; Oroonoko and Tom Jones for four and Bettiscombe for three months at a total of N£56:12:6[1079] which made up half the hire income for that year. At the end of 1790 John Keepe invoiced for:

Building 420 1/2 perches wall at 5s	N£105:2:6
Turning 13 arches at 20s	N£13
Turning one arch over the coppers	N£3
Hanging a set of coppers	N£33
Making an ash pit	N£1:10:0
Building a chimney 24 feet high at N20s a foot	N£24[1080]

During his visit in 1790, JPP replaced Coker with Thomas Pym Weekes and, with this appointment, major construction projects started or were in their planning stages: a new windmill at Sharloes, repairs and improvements to the cattle mills and the boiling house, a new cistern at Woodland. JPP approved of Weekes's plans of building arches under the water table of the windmill but, fearing too much expense, curbed other schemes.[1081]

In the autumn of 1790 Oroonoko and the other masons started on the windmill by cutting the first stones.[1082] At the end of the year Keepe charged for '5100 head stones at N8s3d and 60 firestones at

[1073] PP, LB 6: JPP to Coker, 16 January 1787
[1074] PP, LB 9: JPP to Coker, 8 February 1789
[1075] PP, LB 9: JPP to Wm Coker, 17 September 1789
[1076] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f43 Negro Hire a/c
[1077] ECSCRN, CR 1785-1787 f156
[1078] PP, LB 9: JPP to Wm Coker, 15 October 1789
[1079] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f185 Negro Hire a/c; also AB 43 John Keepe's a/c
[1080] PP, AB 43 f27
[1081] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, 24 January 1791; 20 July 1791
[1082] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, 27 September 1790

N22s';[1083] Abraham Alvarez had freighted these from Long Point.[1084] JPP planned to have the windmill finished to take off the crop in 1792, but to save on the freight charges he delayed sending the materials until the first ship the following year – there was 'time enough'. In the meantime, the millwright and carpenter Brazier was to prepare the timberwork to receive the ironwork, and, before lime was sent, Weekes was to 'get the tarass on the spot ready'. The tarass - pumice-like lumps of volcanic stone - was quarried locally and had to be prepared before it could be used. This required good judgment by the masons. Pounded and sieved to a powder and combined with the right quantities of slaked lime and sand, it was used to line cisterns and other structures that had to be water-resistant. The mixture acted as a water proofer but if too much sand was added, it leaked. The potential for sabotage was great.

As the best model for the windmill JPP suggested the one on Mr Herbert's estate at Clay Ghut,[1085] which had been completed a few years earlier.[1086] Its construction details are known. Inside, from the floor it measured 22'9" (7 m), at the base the walls were 3' thick (91 cm) and tapered from 21' to 13'9" (6.40 m to 4.20 m). There were two interior platforms above the main floor and a vaulted room, or 'dungeon', for keeping spare parts. Four openings had different functions: one was wide and low so that the extracted juice flowed to the boiling house; one tall and narrow, to install or remove parts; one that crushed cane stalks; and one from which to access the dungeon. The spaces between the three heavy iron rollers, with diameters of between 1'7" and 2' (48 cm and 61 cm), could be regulated and the juice collected in a liquor box to await call from the boiling house. The carriage and roundhouse turned on a circular wooden track, or collar, which was greased with tallow.[1087] With this model in mind, in January 1791 JPP sent out large quantities of lime and ringbolts that were to be fixed to the walls of the windmill as it was being erected.[1088] John Keepe hired Oroonoko, Bettiscombe and Tom Jones again and the foundation stone was laid on 25 July 1791.[1089]

By the end of the year, John Keepe and the masons had completed 795 perches of stone work, and another 433 perches for a tail tree wall with landing and a landing to the mill. They had laid the floor and bed of the mill, made a cistern in the mill, put in three doors and one in the 'dungeon', as well as a window in the mill and nine air holes. The masons had also erected 29 perches of wall and made two windows in the 'little' boiling house, hung two sets of coppers and a still, built 44 feet of chimney and 7 and a half perches of 'tight wall'.[1090] They had got through a lot of work but the 'exorbitancy' of Keepe's invoice stunned JPP.[1091]

In 1792 John Keepe engaged Oroonoko again, for about nine months.[1092] During this time illness kept him from work for three weeks. There were still more building projects that had to be completed and for part of the year Thomas Pym Weekes employed Mr Keepe's mason, at N£2 a month although, as Weekes pointed out, 'This negroe was worth N£3:6:0 per month'.[1093] Weekes also hired his own mason Charloe to the plantation.

[1083] PP, AB 43
[1084] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f99
[1085] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, 28 November 1790, 9 December 1790, 24 January 1791
[1086] An inscription above the entrance of the windmill at Clay Ghut reads: 'The Honourable John Richardson Herbert Esquire 1785'
[1087] Gjessing, Frederik *The Windmills in Nevis*
According to Vincent Hubbard, the windmill at Clay Ghut was 'disassembled in 1940, and the wooden upper works were taken to the United States Virgin Islands and placed at Whim Plantation as part of an outdoor museum' (*Swords, Ships and Sugar* 1996 ed p141). George Tyson confirmed that they were still at Whim in St Croix (Pers. comm., 27 July 2004).
[1088] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, 24 January 1791
[1089] PP, AB 43 Cash a/c
[1090] PP, AB 39 f44 31 December 1791
[1091] PP, AB 39 f122
[1092] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f68, f85 and f124 Negro Hire a/c
[1093] PP, AB 39 John Keepe's a/c

The windmill was now at an advanced stage. At the end of January 1792 five carpenters even laboured on a Sunday 'to expedite the windmill', and by February the work had progressed so much that Thomas Pym Weekes could buy '4 bolts of canvas for windmill sails'.[1094] Robert Wallace, a blacksmith in St Kitts, was charged with making some of the metal parts,[1095] and, 'in order to expedite the windmill', Weekes hired a canoe to travel to St Kitts to sort out the ironwork.[1096] At Woodland, nine people worked extra hours on a Sunday, putting up a roller,[1097] and several masons and carpenters were employed on Sundays. They had paid helpers who attended to them.[1098] During the year, the masons built just over 65 perches of wall and 23 steps and laid the 'foundation of a new cistern'.[1099] Meanwhile, the millwright Edward Brazier was engaged down at Sharloes, busily finishing off both the horse- and the windmill with Little Frank, who was at that time apprenticed to him 'to learn the business of a millwright'.

At the beginning of September 1792 John Keepe and his masons finished the work at the horse mill and the boiling house, and Keepe received payment for 23 1/2 perches of wall on the 'horse millround at Sharloes' and for turning an arch 'across the gangway in Sharloes boiling house'. In April the following year he completed the work on five perches of wall and also the foundation of the new cistern at Woodland.[1100] These were his last jobs at Mountravers; John Keepe was buried a few months later, at the beginning of December. [1101] He left his six people to his wife, his two sons and his daughter.[1102]

By then Oroonoko's fellow masons Tom Jones had probably also died and Bettiscombe was ill. He was manumitted when JPP visited Nevis in 1794. There was a malignant fever in St Kitts around the end of 1793[1103] but the masons' deaths and illnesses may have been unconnected - it was as if Thomas Pym Weekes's construction schemes had exhausted everybody. They certainly exhausted JPP's patience and he sacked Weekes.

Oroonoko then became the oldest and most experienced mason and worked with a new team of younger men, Almond and William Fisher, but their first job together was not until July 1797. It appears that at first Almond and William Fisher worked for Peter Butler but that Oroonoko replaced Almond after eight days and then completed the job over a 19-day-period with William Fisher.[1104]

Oroonoko outlived the members of the team of four masons who had worked together in the early days. Tom Jones and Bettiscombe had died in their forties and Caesar aged around 20; Oroonoko died between August 1807 and December 1816. He was in his early fifties to early sixties.

314 Prince (dob 1754/5). There is no record of any incidents involving Prince but something must have happened for him to be sold after working on Mountravers for almost nine years: on 22 March 1775

[1094] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f99 and f100
[1095] PP, AB 39 f118
[1096] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f99
[1097] The people who worked at Woodland on a Sunday were paid N2s each (PP, AB 39 Cash a/c).
[1098] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f99
[1099] PP, AB 39 f122
[1100] PP, AB 39 f122
[1101] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 3 St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825
[1102] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff190-91
[1103] Evans, JAH 'Nathaniel Wells of Piercefield and St Kitts: From Slave to Sheriff' in *Monmouthshire Antiquarian* p96, quoting NLW Bodryddan Correspondence Vol 1 West Indies 17 December 1793
[1104] PP, AB 47 JPP's Nevis a/c 1792-1802

the company of Gill & McGill bought him for N£65. Then aged about 20, he was still described as a 'Negro boy'.[1105]

Prince was the third person sold to the merchants Joseph Gill and Robert McGill. Their partnership was, however, dissolved within weeks of buying Prince, and it is possible that, as part of their settlement, Robert McGill relinquished Prince to Joseph Gill and that Gill took him as his manservant on a business trip to Philadelphia. Prince may even have been sold there. However, this is only conjecture; there are no further records concerning Prince after he was sold to Gill & McGill.

315 Joe (dob 1753/4) probably was a field labourer. When aged around thirty and valued at N£60, he may have been ill already.

Joe absconded at least three times. The first occasion may possibly have been linked to Hector being shot by Richens in July. The relatively high reward of N16s6d, which Coker paid on 7 November 1787, suggests he may have been away for a while,[1106] and the three Negro neck locks Coker bought in October may have been intended for Joe's punishment.[1107] Whatever the punishment was, it did not deter Joe. The following year he absconded again, and on 14 August 1788 Coker paid out N4s1½ 'for bringing home Joe'.[1108] Under Thomas Pym Weekes, he absented himself once more and on 1 July 1792 'a Negro belonging to Mr Baillie' collected N16s 6d 'for catching Joe'.[1109] This person belonged to one of the plantations James Smith Baillie owned to the north of Mountravers.[1110]

It is likely that Joe suffered from King's Evil; it was noted that 'Evily Joe' died on 26 April 1799. He was in his mid-forties.

316 Bacchus (dob 1756/7). Purchased at nine years of age, he was the youngest in this group of Africans, and he and Warry, an Ebbo, were the youngest African boys JPP bought.

In 1783 Bacchus value was N£90. A field hand, in his early forties he also worked in the still house. Presumably more responsibility fell on him after the deaths of the other distillers, Cudjoe Stanley and Jacob, who died in the late 1790s.

Bacchus died between August 1807 and December 1816. He was between fifty to sixty years old.

317 Leonora (dob 1753/4) died between January 1769 and July 1783. She was thirty years old at the most.

[1105] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c and AB 21 Plantation a/c 1775; also AB 20 Gill & McGill's a/c
[1106] PP, AB 36 Plantation a/c
[1107] PP, AB 30 Plantation a/c
[1108] PP, AB 35 Plantation a/c
[1109] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f101; also AB 39 Plantation a/c f30
[1110] ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797 f458
In 1778 James Smith Baillie was left, with his parents, by his grandfather James Smith 'plantations in Lowland called the Windmill, Mount Pelier and Stuarts, Hams, Williams, Canoe Gutt, Greenland' (VL Oliver *Monumental Inscriptions of the West Indies* p109).
[1110] PP, AB 17: 17 December 1782.

318 **Maria** (dob 1753/4). In July 1783 she was worth a mere N£45. It is likely that this was due to having undergone a difficult birth, that of her first child, Little Harriett, in December 1782. JPP paid the white midwife 'Agnes Adams N3s6d for delivering Maria, she having sat up the whole night and visited her several times'.[1111] Three years later, on 10 November 1785, Maria had another daughter, Mimba, but the girl died, aged eight years at the most.

She may have been alive at the time of her daughter's death but Maria also died, between January 1791 and December 1793. She was in her late thirties or early forties.

319 **Nobody** (dob 1753/4) was, at N£35, the lowest valued of the Africans. She was worth about the same as a five-year-old girl. Of the adults, only Gretaw, a woman in her late forties, was appraised at even less. Almost certainly Nobody was by then in the third gang which did the lightest work on the plantation. She would have worked with other sickly people, pregnant women and young children.

Despite her low value, she survived for another ten years. Nobody died between December 1793 and July 1794, aged about 40.

320 **The twentieth person** who was bought from Captain Shipherd and who died not long after arriving in Nevis may have been a boy called Little Peter. The youngest in the group and still a 'child boy', he was on the Gingerland estate.[1112]

◄► ▼◄►

321 **Catharine** was born on Friday, 21 January 1767. Her mother, an entailed woman, may have been Little Molly.

Aged one and a half years at the most, Catharine died between 1 May 1767 and 10 July 1768.

◄► ▼◄►

In February 1767 JPP bought another nine Ebboes from Smith & Baillies, St Kitts, for ?£232. [1113] Three of these (Apung, Warry and Scrub) were known to have been bought on 20 February, five others on the next day: Silvia, Weymouth, Prue, Quaw, and Patch. The ninth person may either have been Hannah, Little Peter, Omar, or Cuffee.

All these new captives were children and had probably been transported on either or both the *Bristol Gally*, which arrived at St Kitts on 5 February 1767, and/or the *Kitty,* which arrived six days later. Both ships had been to Bonny but the *Kitty* had also called at New Calabar. The masters of both vessels were very familiar with this part of Africa, having taken cargo from there several times in the past. With six

[1111] PP, AB 17: 17 December 1782
[1112] Little Peter was not on the list which was drawn up in 1769. His name was the penultimate name on the original May 1767 list, after Bacchus and Prince, two other Gold Coast slaves, who were also at the end of the 1769 list (Prince, then Joe, then Bacchus). The boys were all aged 9 to 13 years; the average age of the boys was about 11.
[1113] PP, AB 15 Gingerland Plantation a/c

previous slaving voyages under his command, Captain John Barker of the *Bristol Galley* was a more experienced master than James Nixon, who had completed three, and while Captain Barker had called at St Kitts several times before, Captain Nixon had previously always sailed to Jamaica.[1114]

Both vessels had left Bristol within four weeks of each other (the *Bristol Gally* on 26 May, the *Kitty* on 22 June 1766) and Captain Nixon's catching up may have made Captain Barker decide to set sail for the final leg of the triangle just 23 days after arriving. He departed St Kitts on 28 February and after a roundtrip of 252 days was back in Bristol on 30 April. Captain Nixon, meanwhile, stayed on until 16 March and returned to his homeport on 25 May 1767. He and his crew had been away for 234 days.

Unfortunately the figures for the number of captives taken on board are inconclusive. For both vessels the imputed number of people was 336, of whom 272 landed. This represents a loss of one in five but the figures are estimates based on the size of the ships. Although the information about the enslaved people is uncertain, more detailed information exists about the ships and the crews: Both were 120-ton vessels, but the *Bristol Gally* had six and the *Kitty* two guns. With their crews of 31 and 32 they had much the same number of men at the outset of the voyages yet the *Bristol Galley* arrived at, and left, St Kitts with more men: 31 and 21, compared to the *Kitty's* 27 and 16. On Captain Barker's ship five men lost their lives – one on 23 September, probably while lying off Africa, and the other four on the final leg of the journey: two crew members died on 10 April, one on 23 April and another two days later. Captain Nixon, on the other hand, had, by the time he arrived in the Caribbean, already lost six men, including one who had drowned on 7 January. Another sailor died at St Kitts. The *Bristol Galley* also lost slightly fewer crew through desertion although men from both vessels legged it as soon as they dropped anchor: from the *Bristol Galley* five and then one more on the day the ship set sail; from the *Kitty* altogether eight. Captain Nixon also discharged an additional five men and on the day he left for England, hired three in their place. Two of these were from Bristol, one from Liverpool.[1115] Overall, on both ships about a fifth of the sailors lost their lives.

Having arrived back at the end of April, Captain Barker sailed again from Bristol in December 1767, and again he commanded the *Bristol Galley*.[1116] He completed another voyage on the same vessel, also for the same owner, Thomas Sims, and then sailed twice more on another ship. Captain Nixon left Bristol later in 1767, again on the *Kitty*, did one more roundtrip from that port in 1772 and another one from Liverpool to Calabar in 1783. He probably died on that voyage, as did a third of the crew.[1117]
The naming of the new arrivals followed a similar pattern to that of earlier arrivals. In Warry JPP almost certainly remembered his friend and business partner from Chard, George Warry, but the name could also have had African origins: Warri or Waree is a town in southern Nigeria as well as an inland town in Benin; among the Ibo of Nigeria a child born on Afor market day is called Worie (Wo-ree-eh),[1118] and the popular West African board game Mancala is in Ghana known as Oware.

Apung was given the same name as a previous man on Mountravers who had died in October 1764 just before JPP came to Nevis. The name may be a variant of Oppong, or Opon, which is a Fanti and Twi personal name,[1119] or of Abong which among the Ga people who live around Accra is a name for a third

[1114] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyages Numbers 17360, 17500, and 17538
[1115] SMV, Ships' Muster Rolls 1762-1768: '*Bristol Galley* John Barker Master' and '*Kitty* James Nixon Master'
[1116] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 17641
[1117] John Mitchell was the second Captain on the *President* (David Eltis *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 83167).
[1118] Ellefson, Connie Lockhart *The Melting Pot Book of Baby Names* p156
[1119] Pers. comm., Revd Agyenim Boateng, Tafo, 25 May 1999

child born after twins.[1120] The name Quaw had also been in use on Mountravers before; Old Quaw had died before 1761. It is the Akan name for a boy born on a Thursday (Quao among the Fante;[1121] also Ekow and Yaw among the Ashanti and Akim),[1122] but Kwa (qua) also has meanings in other languages. In Ibo it means to slip off; to miss; in Umbundu to bark; to halloo in hunting; in Bambari salt; the breast; to arrive at maturity, while in Twi it is the sound of scratching or laughing but also to make incisions, and the word for joint or juncture.[1123] It is, however, questionable whether the name was meant to carry any of these meanings; more likely is that it was one of those common African names – like Quashey – which were popular with slaveholders.

At Weymouth in Dorset ships sometimes made landfall after crossing the Atlantic (it became a popular spa town after George III stayed there) but at that time Lord Weymouth was also the Secretary of State. The reason for naming one man Scrub may have been prompted because he was small, undersized. In the eighteenth century it was also a term for a worthless wastrel.[1124] This name, which may suggest recklessness, was in contrast to one of the girls', Prudence, or Prue for short. Latin in origin, on Mountravers this was an unusual name; few people were given names which conveyed moral messages. Silvia, a character in Roman mythology, may also have been taken from Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. For Patch no explanation has been found.

Groups of Africans JPP had bought earlier he had intended for his Gingerland estate but had then split them with Mountravers, while he dispatched everyone in this group to work at Gingerland. For JPP they proved to be a solid investment because all but one survived until January 1769 and seven until 1783. Scrub was sold. He fetched N£120. The others were not very valuable – worth, on average, N£60 each in 1783 – but five men and one woman lived relatively long: four survived until after Mountravers was sold, and of these four one woman made it to the abolition of slavery.

322 Scrub (dob 1750/1) was in late 1769 hired to John Williams Sanders for three months, at N£3 per month.[1125] By then he had become a mason; he may have been trained by Tom Jones. Given the shortage of skilled labour, it is surprising that JPP parted with him shortly afterwards. He sold him to the same man who had hired him, John Williams Sanders, but his sale was part of a deal – it was 'per agreement'. On 21 February 1770 Scrub was sold, and on the same day JPP acquired from Sanders a seven-year-old boy called Range's Will, also 'per agreement'. It was an unequal deal: Scrub was sold for N£120 and the boy bought for N£40.[1126] The background to this swap is not known but Range's Will may have been the son of Range (No 165) and JPP may have sought to unite father and son.

Scrub then moved to Sanders's estate, Woodland. Lying higher up the mountain, it benefited from a healthier environment but it was also steeper and people had to work harder to bring in the crops. Scrub, as a mason, had much opportunity to practise his skills; the plantation structures generally were in poor state and maintaining them would have kept him busy. The estate was run-down. Sanders struggled to keep Woodland financially afloat, and he was forced to borrow large sums of money from merchants in

---

[1120] Julia Stewart *1001 African Names* p157
It is also possible that someone mockingly called him Apung, after Obong, the title of the ruler and patriarch of the Efiks who mainly live in the hinterland of Old Calabar, now Cross River State, in Nigeria (http://www.thisdayonline.com/archive/2001/12/15/200011215cul01.html).
[1121] Pers. comm., Agyenim Boateng, Tafo, 25 May 1999
[1122] Hart, Richard *Slaves who Abolished Slavery* Vol 2 Table 1 p11
[1123] Muñoz, Sharon R *The Afro-American Griot Speaks*
[1124] BBC Radio 4 'Roots of English' presented by Melvyn Bragg, broadcast 14 December 2000
[1125] PP, AB 20 JW Sanders' a/c
[1126] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c and AB 20 JW Sanders's a/c

London and from various members of his family.[1127] Nothing is known about Sanders's plantation management but his means of maintaining discipline were just as brutal as they were on other estates. In 1768 JPP had sold him a 'negro neck lock'.[1128]

When Scrub came to Woodland about eighty enslaved people lived on the estate.[1129] Integrating into their community would not have been too difficult; he would have known many of them from when he was hired to Sanders, and with Woodland lying adjacent to Mountravers, Scrub could maintain contact with his old friends.

Then in his late teens, Scrub was alive in June 1779. By January 1781 the estate was in JPP's possession and Edward Brazier bought from Woodland for his plantation in St John Figtree 55 people. Scrub may well have been among them but in 1817 he was not on Brazier's/Willett's estate.

323 Apung (dob 1753/4) became a field labourer and was in 1783 valued at N£70. In his mid-forties he still worked in the field.

Apung died between August 1807 and December 1816. He was at least in his early fifties, at the most in his early sixties.

324 Warry (dob 1757/8). Aged about 25 and appraised at a mere N£50, by 1783 he may have been a cattle keeper already. Weymouth, who probably was in charge of the plantation sheep, was considered worth N£10 more but the men's tasks did not determine their value; Hector, the other cattle keeper, was assessed at N£80.

One writer in the 1820s held the opinion that Africans, or youths aged between twelve and twenty, were the wrong kind of people to work with cattle or mules; he advised planters to choose 'the tractable, docile youth, of Creole birth, for most of them know how both to lead and yoke cattle, and ride and tackle mules.'[1130] On Mountravers exactly the reverse was the case; those who worked with animals tended to be young African men.

Cattle were a valuable resource on a sugar plantation. They pulled carts and, harnessed to the drive shaft of the animal mill, they powered its grinding mechanism. In addition they produced the all-important manure, for, as everyone knew, '"the planter who makes the most manure, will make the most sugar."'[1131] In fact, when Nevis capitulated to the French in 1782 the importance of animals as dung-producers was enshrined in the Articles of Capitulation. Although only the 20th item - but ranking higher than the issue of returning detained people to their respective owners - it stipulated that the breeding of stock, particularly of horned cattle, was to be 'encouraged as much as possible and the destruction of them prevented'. Recognising that, at once it 'may appear to be too trivial a request, yet when the almost universal use of cattle mills and the absolute necessity of making a proper quantity of manure is taken into consideration',

[1127] BULSC, WI Cat DM 792 and DM 792/2-6 Bonds and Mortgages
[1128] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c and JW Sanders a/c
[1129] ECSCRN, CR 1769-1771 ff373-85
[1130] Higman, BW *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica* p188, quoting Thomas Roughley *The Jamaican Planter's Guide; or, a System for Planting and Managing a Sugar Estate, or other Plantations* London 1823 pp97-119
[1131] Caines, Clement *Letters on the Cultivation of the Otaheite Cane* p3

maintaining a healthy cattle population would be 'found an article of great moment … towards making this conquest of value to the most Christian Majesty.'[1132]

During crop time sugar was processed day and night, and people as well as animals worked in shifts. According to Ward, round-the-clock working required at least four teams of livestock, each with eight animals [1133] but Davy also described seeing only six boys driving their mules.

Warry's and Hector's duties would have included rounding up and getting ready the next team of cattle and looking after them when they had finished their stint. Once harvest was over, cattle needed particular care. They were exhausted and visibly wasted away and had lost so much of their strength that they could not even transport light burdens.[1134] Stock keepers had to tend to sick and injured animals, such as the 'old cattle with its leg broke'[1135] and others that were deliberately maimed. There were no veterinary surgeons; only once JPP paid an ordinary doctor for medicines for the camel[1136] and never for treatment. Any treatment had to be done by people employed on the plantation, and they would have known how to deal with common ailments, such as the teeth of cattle becoming loose. If neglected, their teeth would fall out and, unable to feed themselves, they would starve to death. To prevent this, stock keepers regularly had to rub the cattle's teeth and tongues 'with sour oranges and salt, or with pickle and souring.'[1137] Occasionally the manager called in help from surrounding estates. Once Cubbena, who came from neighbouring Oliver's, earned himself N10s6d by cutting barbs out of 14 cattle.[1138] This was at a time when an old man, Johnno, was looking after the cattle with Cambridge, a young African who may have been inexperienced in animal husbandry. It is likely that Warry and Hector acquired the skills to remove the barbs themselves. They 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.'[1139]

Draft cattle had to be shod[1140] and it would have been one of Warry's tasks to calm and hold the animals but Bridport, the carter, may also have done this. Occasionally he was employed to mind the cart cattle.

Warry and other stock keepers 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 field workers. These small tokens of power and independence probably led them to be more confident and outspoken. Stock keepers - these 'lazy, heedless herdsmen' -[1141] gained a reputation that led one writer to assert that

> It should be observed that those Negroes who are employed in the pastures to tend the cattle are generally much more ignorant than the regular field Negro – and are universally more vicious, more addicted to swearing and every other vice.[1142]

[1132] UKNA, CO 152/62 Journal of the Siege of Brimstone Hill 1782
[1133] Ward, JR *British West Indian Slavery* p99
[1134] Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p143
[1135] PP, AB 47 f114 Cash a/c
[1136] PP, AB 18 f23 Dr John Boddie's a/c
[1137] Caines, Clement *Letters on the Cultivation of the Otaheite Cane* p128
[1138] PP, AB 17 Nevis Cash a/c
[1139] Caines, Clement *Letters on the Cultivation of the Otaheite Cane* p129
[1140] Pers. comm., Dr Michael Costen, University of Bristol, 24 June 2004
[1141] Caines, Clement *Letters on the Cultivation of the Otaheite Cane* p124
[1142] 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

To this the author could have added Higman's observation that looking after cattle 'probably provided more opportunities for shirking'[1143] and other forms of resistance.

What the author of the report portrayed as 'ignorant' and 'vicious' can also be seen as cattle keepers expressing their individuality which developed from a lifestyle that was at odds with the obedience and submission planters expected of their workers.

Warry died, in his late forties to late fifties, between August 1807 and December 1816.

325 Quaw (dob 1756/7) was on the plantation for six years and then tried running away twice in quick succession. Both times he was caught and the person who brought him back was paid N8s3d.[1144]

While Quaw was absent, several people from Gardner's plantation had also left the island, and they and Quaw may well have been tempted by a new opportunity to shelter in a foreign territory. At the end of the previous year, the Council had heard complaints that Catholic Puerto Rico was 'harbouring runaway slaves' ('one of the greatest Evils') and charged JPP and fellow Council member John Dasent with drawing up a petition to His Excellency the General 'relative to the Negroes being carried off this Island to Puerto Rico'. [1145] Puerto Rico, under Spanish control, would have been a safe place to go for Quaw and others; in May 1774 several people from Nevis did manage to escape to that island. Just how odious this mostly Catholic destination was to the mostly Protestant planters in Nevis is evident from their virulent opposition to the passing in 1752 of legislation aimed at removing some of the disabilities Roman Catholics faced in Britain and her colonies. In Nevis inhabitants responded with some rioting and Lieutenant-General Fleming reported 'the irregular and violent proceedings of the Assembly'.[1146] For much of the seventeenth century the French occupied part of neighbouring St Kitts, and people in Nevis lived in continual fear that at times of war the island's Catholics would again join forces with France - as the Irish had done in St Kitts in 1689. Along with other Leeward Islands, Nevis forbade the settlement by Catholics.[1147]

It is not known whether in JPP's and Dasent's appeal to the Governor of Puerto Rico was successful but the Nevis Assembly heard a year later that, in the case of abscondees from Danish St Croix and St Thomas, the Governor there had finally successfully applied to the Spanish Governor for their return.[1148] Previously, each successive Spanish Governor had claimed that enslaved people had come to Puerto Rico to be baptised.[1149] Although at risk of being returned or, as was alleged, re-taken into bondage in remote parts of the colony, as late as the 1820s Puerto Rico, some fifty miles distant, was still the favoured destination for enslaved people escaping from Danish-held St Croix.[1150]

[1143] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p26
It should be pointed out that in this context Higman wrote about labour in Jamaican cattle pens and not about individual cattle keepers like Warry. However, Warry and Hector would have enjoyed similar independent work and movement as their fellow slaves employed in Jamaican cattle pens.
[1144] PP, AB 17 and AB 21 Plantation a/c
[1145] UKNA, CO 186/6: 9 December 1772
JPP had a direct interest in getting these abscondees returned from Puerto Rico because he had stood security for them for his father-in-law, William Burt Weekes. Their return, therefore, was 'a matter of great moment' to him (PP, LB 3: JPP to Wm Coker, 7 May 1773).
[1146] Burns, Sir Alan *History of the British West Indies* p498, citing *Journal* 1750-1753 p369, p410 and p439. See also UKNA, CO 186/2: 7 November 1753 and 8 March 1754
[1147] Hubbard, Vincent K *A History of St Kitts* p103 and R Pares *A West India Fortune* p8
[1148] UKNA, CO 186/6
[1149] Westergaard, Waldemar *The Danish West Indies Under Company Rule* p161
[1150] Tyson, GF and AR Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p172

Quaw attempted another escape. In 1782 Nevis surrendered to the French and the enslaved people were near starvation,[1151] and this time Quaw absconded with Hannibal, a cattle keeper with whom he had worked on the Gingerland estate. They were caught. The amount paid for their capture, N6s, suggests they had been absent for a relatively short period.[1152] Quaw and Hannibal were the only two named individuals for whom rewards were paid that year, but from the accounts it is evident that more rewards were paid for the capture of other, unnamed deserters.[1153]

When Quaw's value was appraised seven months after his return, he was worth a relatively low amount, N£60. He probably was ill already; Quaw died two years later, on 20 June 1785. He was in his late twenties.

326 Weymouth, **later Old Weymouth,** (dob 1754/5) and the sheep keeper Lena were both on the Gingerland estate between 1766 and 1768, and it is likely that he took over from this woman after she died, some time after the mid-1770s. In 1783 he was appraised at a relatively low N£60.

The number of sheep, about seventy, had not changed since Lena's time but Weymouth also had four goats in his care. On Mountravers, the animals were kept in two places: at Sharloes and in the yard by the Great House.

Sheep and goats on Mountravers, 1767 and 1783

	Rams	Ewes	Wethers	Lambs	Goats	Total
1767, Mountravers	1	20	10	18	0	71
1767, Gingerland	1	12	5	4	0	
1783, Sharloes	4	20	1	6	4	75
1783, in the yard	4	32	0	4		

[1154]

Weymouth looked after sheep when he was in his mid-forties, and it is likely that he and the other stock keepers continued with their occupations into late in life. On Mesopotamia in Jamaica, two thirds of the stock keepers stayed in the same line of adult work until they died or retired, without switching to secondary employment. Looking after livestock was skilled and physically less demanding work, and on Mesopotamia these men generally worked longer and stayed healthier than craft specialists and field hands.[1155] Except for Hector's and Billey's injuries, none of the men engaged in stock keeping had any recorded medical attention - which might suggest that they, too, were relatively healthy and as healthy as the people on Mesopotamia - but this did not mean that they lived significantly longer than the field workers on Mountravers, and in that respect the stock keepers fared differently from those on Mesopotamia. Their mortality patterns were closer to those stock keepers and watchmen on three other islands. In examples drawn from Barbados, St Lucia and Berbice, Barry Higman's analysis revealed that

[1151] Hubbard, Vincent K 'Slave Resistance in Nevis' Part II p9
[1152] PP, AB 17: 22 November 1782
[1153] PP, AB 26 Plantation a/c
[1154] PP, LB 3: A List of Mules, Cattle …' and AB 26
[1155] Dunn, Richard S '"Dreadful Idlers" in the Cane Fields' p810

'stock keepers and watchmen showed even higher mortality rates than field laborers'. This was not surprising, though, as 'such slaves were often selected because of their frailty.'[1156]

Weymouth died between August 1807 and December 1816. He was in his early fifties to early sixties. The cattle keepers Hector and Warry also died during this period.

327 Prue (dob 1754/5). Her value in 1783, N£60, was the same as six other women. They all lived into their forties, fifties and even well into their sixties but Prue died young, aged between about 28 and 31 years. She died after July 1783 and before the end of December 1785.

328 Patch, later Old Patch, (dob 1755/6) may already have been mentally ill, when, aged about 27, she was appraised at N£50. Of equally low value were four other adults, including another Ebbo from this group, the stock keeper Warry. When she was in her late thirties, and possibly earlier, Patch did not work in the field. She may have been an auxiliary: carrying water to the field, minding children, looking after fowl and maintaining the plantation provisions grounds.

In her mid-thirties she absented herself from the plantation. She left on 18 February 1791 and managed to stay away for several months. At the same time George Vaughan and Violet were also gone but they were caught in May and in July. It was not until the end of August that she was caught. Someone informed on her and let it be known that she could be found 'in Mr Taylor's mountain' – about a mile north from Mountravers and probably high up where people might have had their allotments. Patch had been concealed there by a man called Joe who lived on John Taylor's Tower Hill plantation. He probably was her friend or lover. The manager on Mountravers, Thomas Pym Weekes, paid a reward of N16s7 1/2d for Patch's return.[1157]

In January 1797 doctors Archbald and Williamson treated Patch first with alternative pills, [1158] then in October that year with 'specific pills' and lotion.[1159] This could have been for another illness but when sold ten years later, she was described as 'Old Patch (mad)'. As in any community, among enslaved people there were cases of mental illness; Matthew Lewis, for instance, described one woman who had 'gone out of her senses' and, with no 'separate place for her confinement', was put in the plantation hospital where 'her ravings' disturbed the other patients. Another woman was restrained in a specially made 'straight waistcoat'.[1160] Patch was 'deranged and not easily kept up',[1161] and had there been a suitable institution in the island, it is likely that she would have been incarcerated there but in Nevis there was, as yet, no place for her to go. In England public institutions that provided psychiatric care were being set up but in Nevis the issue was not addressed until the early 1830s, when it was proposed to build a lunatic asylum within the jail yard.[1162] While mental illness was still clearly linked with confinement rather than care and cure, by the 1830s it was deemed necessary and desirable to separate mentally ill people away from the ordinary prisoners. Previously the Legislature had discussed cases of insane prisoners only in terms of them disturbing other inmates and clogging up the jail so that there was no room for debtors or offenders, [1163]

[1156] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p334
[1157] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f91; also AB 39 Cash a/c
[1158] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[1159] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[1160] Lewis, Matthew Gregory *Journal of a Residence* p89, p90 and p103
[1161] ECSCRN, CR 1805-1808 ff527-31
[1162] UKNA, CO 186/14: 3 October 1833
[1163] UKNA, CO 186/13: 29 April 1828

and had responded by contracting out the care of mentally ill people to private individuals. In one case, the government had a room built next to the family home so that the lunatic William Roper 'could benefit from the company of his family'[1164] and in another took up one man's offer 'to undertake the care feeding etc' of two insane women. This made the women vulnerable to exploitation and was costing the taxpayers N£36 a year,[1165] whereas a permanent facility, a lunatic asylum in the prison yard, could be built for just three times this amount.[1166]

In the absence of a proper place of confinement and probably without any children who could look after her, JPP made similar ad-hoc provisions for Patch, and when he sold the estate he ensured that this continued: 'on condition she is taken care of by the purchaser of the estate', he added another person.[1167] Patch's attendant may have been one of the young girls whom JPP had at first reserved as his own but whom he gave up for sale: Princess, probably orphaned by then; Frankey Vaughan's daughter, Ritta; or Quasheba's daughter Nanny.

Patch died between August 1807 and December 1816. She was in her early fifties to early sixties.

329 Silvia, later Old Silvia (dob 1755/6) was a field labourer. Valued in 1783 at a relatively low N£66, in her mid-forties she still worked in the field. She was in Jack Will's second gang.

On 9 July 1800 'Old Silvia ran away this afternoon', and four days later, on 13 July, 'Old Silvia came home'.[1168] She absconded on the same day the African woman Harriott died but the two incidents may not have been connected.

Apart from having a tooth extracted in 1785,[1169] she had no further recorded medical treatment and may have been relatively healthy throughout her life. However, when she was only in her mid-forties, Silvia was already termed 'Old'. There is no reason to believe that a mistake was made and that she was thought of as older than she was; in 1817 her 'reputed age' was judged quite correctly at 'about 60'. She was then listed as the only African said to have been of 'yellow cast'.

In total, ten Africans survived on Mountravers until 1817 but by 1830 they had all died – except for Silvia. She lived the longest, and of those bought in the 1760s, she was the only African who survived to the abolition of slavery. Silvia was then in her late seventies.

The ninth Ebbo in this group who died not long after arriving in Nevis may have been Hannah, Omar, or Cuffee.

◄► ▼◄►

[1164] UKNA, CO 186/12: 16 August 1821
[1165] UKNA, CO 186/14: 16 December 1832
[1166] UKNA, CO 186/14: 12 December 1833
[1167] ECSCRN, CR 1805-1808 ff527-31
[1168] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[1169] PP, AB 31 Archbald & Williamson's a/c 1785

330 Little Affey, or Gretaw's Affey, was born on Wednesday, 18 March 1767. Her mother, Gretaw, was an entailed woman and a field hand. Aged 16, Affey's value of N£60 was that of other girls in their teens who worked in the field.

Dr Springett treated Affey for a sore when she was 15 years old.[1170] This may have been connected to treatment she received some years later because in 1788, the year her mother died, Dr Thomas Pym Weekes attended to her 'old obstinate venereal complaint'.[1171]

Within a few years of Dr Weekes treating her, Affey's state of health was such that she could only work in Jack Will's second gang. Other women her age were in the first gang. Ten years on, she was only able to do very light work. She had not even reached her mid-thirties when she was declared 'useless'. She suffered from 'ye Evil'.

Aged 36, in May 1803 Affey had a child.[1172] Given that she had endured many years of illness, the new-born may well have been weak and sickly and probably died at birth or soon after. If it did survive, her child may have been either James or John Pedero. Both boys died young. Affey did not live long after giving birth. She died some time before December 1806.

331, 332 and 333 Nanno, Little Mingo and **Moll Henderson**. On 23 or 30 April 1767 JPP purchased 'a Creole Negro woman' and two children: the two-year-old Little Mingo (b 10 February 1765) and the three-month old Moll Henderson (b January 1767). Together they cost S£57:2:10/N£100.[1173] It is likely that Nanno was the children's mother. At just three months of age, Moll seems to have been the youngest of all the children JPP purchased.

Their previous owner, Alexander Henderson may have belonged to a family with Bristol, slave trading and shipping connections.[1174] He served for several years as the island's Deputy Secretary[1175] and Collector of Customs.[1176] In 1769 he, with two others, appraised Captain John Shipherd's effects, [1177] and the following year, while suffering from 'a violent disorder of the stomach and bowls', sought twelve months leave of absence from the Legislature. He needed a change of climate to restore his health,[1178] and probably after his return he manumitted Bob, the son of a mulatto woman, Catharine.[1179] It appears that some years later he was trading with a partner at St Kitts.[1180]

[1170] PP, AB 17: 20 January 1782; also DM 1773 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f47
[1171] PP, AB 35 Plantation a/c 1784; also AB 30 TP Weekes' a/c
The total cost of N£14:12:6 included treatment for Leah.
[1172] PP, AB 57 Plantation a/c
[1173] PP, AB 15 Gingerland Plantation a/c
[1174] There were several Bristol Hendersons: Daniel Henderson, coming from St Kitts, was discharged at Bristol from the *Ruby* in 1761 (SMV, Ships' Muster Rolls 1759-1762); in September 1764 James Laroche Bristol received sugar sent by Coker per *Ruby*, master Henderson (PP, WI Cat 3 Index III.ii Domestic). - Daniel Henderson was part owner of the snauw *Africa,* which sailed from Bristol to New Calabar and St Kitts. Daniel Henderson was also part owner of the *Nevis Planter* with other Bristol men: Bush & Elton, Captain Henry Webb and Henry Bright. John Henderson sailed on the *Nevis Planter* c 1770 (BRO, 39654 (2)). In March 1791 James Henderson's ship, the *David*, was mentioned (BULSC, DM 1061Captain David Duncombe's Papers).
[1175] UKNA, CO 186/7: 24 March 1768
[1176] UKNA, CO 186/7: 2 July 1772
[1177] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f232
[1178] UKNA, CO 186/7: 30 April 1770
[1179] ECSCRN, CR 1771-1773 f409
[1180] PP, LB 3: JPP, Nevis, to Messrs Alex Henderson & Murray, St Kitts, 8 March 1775

Although intended for the Gingerland estate, Nanno, Moll and Little Mingo were on Mountravers until sold at cost price, most likely between January and July 1768, to William Coker.[1181] The Cokers also bought Violet alias Sally from JPP and owned other people but it is not known what happened to Nanno Henderson after 18 December 1769 - the day she sold four ducks to JPP.[1182]

334 Fanny Coker (also Frances Coker), a mulatto, was born on Wednesday, 26 August 1767. She was Black Polly's oldest daughter and almost certainly fathered by the manager William Coker.[1183] The first girl born to a purchased woman, she had four younger brothers and sisters. The next sibling, Billey Jones (b 1773), was also a mulatto – her mother claimed JPP was his father – while her other three siblings were black: Hetty (b 1781), Cubbenna (b 1784) and Little Molly (b 1787).

Fanny Coker was the only individual from Mountravers known to have been baptised in the eighteenth century. On 30 June 1770 Revd John Clerkson, the rector of St Paul's, performed the ceremony.[1184] William Coker was then in Nevis, but soon after the baptism he left the island and his wife gave birth to their second son, John Frederick – Fanny's half-brother. The Cokers already had an older boy, William Young, who was two years Fanny's senior. The Coker boys were cousins of JPP and his wife (William Coker had married Mrs P's aunt, Frances), and Fanny Coker, therefore, was related to the Pinneys as a cousin-by-marriage.

On 26 December 1771, on the same day he paid her mother for 'sundries', JPP gave Fanny N8s3d -[1185] most likely a Christmas present. As JPP occasionally handed out money to others, the gift in itself was not significant, but Fanny Coker was singled out as special when, as an eight-year-old, she began her 'schooling'. She started this stage in her life with two new habits which had been ordered from the seamstress Mary Frances.[1186] This woman was also in charge of tutoring Fanny until Fanny went on to complete her schooling with Frances Vaughan and Mary Keep(e). They appear to have been married women who undertook to instruct favoured enslaved people and also white people's children. Certainly two of JPP's children, as well as Mulatto Polly, were with Mary Keep at the same time as Fanny, and, having become skilled in sewing and other domestic tasks, Fanny Coker almost certainly learnt to read, write and do sums under Mary Keep's tutelage. She remained with Mary Keep for about twenty months. In all, Fanny's training stretched over four and a half years and cost well over N£14.[1187]

When Fanny had started her schooling, she had been enslaved; when she finished, she was free. She and Kate Coker, one of William Coker's people, were both freed on the same day. Witnessed by JPP's friend John Patterson and entered in the Court House in Charlestown, this was a proper manumission and formally recorded in the following document:

> Nevis know all men by these Presents that I Pinney of the Parish of Saint Thomas Lowland in the island of Nevis Esq for Divers (sic) good Causes and Considerations me hereunto especially moving have given up released and renounced by these Presents do give up release and renounce unto a certain female Mulatto Girl Slave called Fanny and to all her future issue and

[1181] PP, AB 16 Gingerland a/c
[1182] PP, AB 17: 24 January 1769 and 18 December 1769
[1183] PP, AB 20 Wm Coker's a/c
[1184] Fanny Coker's baptism cost N£1:13:0 (PP, AB 17: 30 June 1770). On 1 June 1770 JPP accounted for N£1:13:0 as money Coker had 'lent' him (DM 1773/1 Nevis Journal), and presumably this was for Fanny Coker's baptism.
[1185] PP, AB 17: 26 December 1771
[1186] PP, AB 26 Mary Frances' a/c
[1187] PP, AB 17: 29 December 1775; AB 21 Expense a/c; AB 20 Expense a/c and AB 26 Mary Keep's a/c

> increase all and all manner of Right Title Claim Demand and Trust that I now have or that any other Person or Persons hereafter claiming or to claim by from or under me may presume to have in or unto the said Mulatto Girl called Fanny and her future Issue and Increase and I do hereby further declare her and her Issue to be absolutely and to all Intents and Purposes free for ever more thereof I have hereunto set my Hand affixed my Seal this Twentyninth day of September one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven (sic) - Pinney
>
> Sealed and delivered in the Presence of John Patterson Nevis before the Honourable William Woolward one of the Justices of the Court of Kings Bench and Common Pleas held in and for the said Island personally appeared John Patterson of the said Island and made Oath that he was present and did see the within named Pinney sign seal and as his Act and Deed Deliver the within Deed Poll or Manumission and that he this Deponent is the Subscribing witness thereto - John Patterson - sworn before me this 15th day of September 1778 ' [signed] W Woolward Nevis September 15 1778 Vera Copia, Recorded and Examined Wm Henry ?Djsy[1188]

The document was sworn before William Woolward, the eldest Assistant Justice of HM Court of King's Bench and Common Pleas -[1189] an erstwhile surveyor,[1190] customs waiter,[1191] and Deputy Treasurer.[1192] He died a few months later;[1193] Fanny's and Kate's manumissions were among the last he oversaw. The proving and recording of 'Fanny's Freedom' cost N£2:2:0,[1194] an expense that would have deterred many an owner from legally freeing their people.

Fanny Coker was 13 years old when she finished her schooling and it likely that she then began her formal employment. While working as a seamstress, she may also have looked after the youngest Pinney child, Alicia. But Alicia fell ill and died young; Fanny Coker attended the child's funeral. Dressed in mourning clothes made from callimanco (a woollen textile), Fanny wore a 'black trimmed hat' and brown stockings[1195] and shoes. These were someone's cast-offs, or a present – perhaps from her proud mother - because the first record of her purchasing a pair was not until Christmas the following year when JPP gave her N12s to buy shoes.[1196] He also bought a considerable amount of dress-making material for Fanny.[1197]

[1188] ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 ff112-13; also PP, Box D No 9
[1189] ECSCRN, CR 1777-1778 f129
[1190] Stapleton Cotton MSS 13 (viii)
[1191] UKNA, CO 186/6: 15 October 1767 and CO 186/7: 27 October 1768
[1192] PP, AB 18: Plantation a/c 1767
[1193] Although appointed in Woolward's will, JPP, together with Daniel Ross, declined to act as his executors (ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f466 and f467). They must have known that the administration would be time-consuming and awkward. William Woolward had 'small real estate' and was indebted to several merchants of St Kitts and Nevis: John Stanley, Daniel Ross, William Priddie, Alexander Frazier, James Begg and Robert McGill (Book of Wills 1763-1787 f465). JPP certainly did not appear to think highly of Woolward. In a document entitled 'Inscription prepared for a Monument erected to the memory of William Woolward of Nevis by desire of his daughter, Lady Nelson – October 1798' a comment almost certainly to have been written by JPP was added: 'As her Ladyship approved of this she must have been sensible, that the less that was said of her father the better'. Indeed, little was said in the monument of her father: William Woolward – of this Island Esq – Died the 18th of February – 1779 – Aged 53 years – He married Mary the Daughter of – Thomas Herbert Esqr – To whose joint memory – This Tablet is erected, - By their only Daughter – Frances Herbert: - Who was first married to – Josiah Nisbet MD: - and since to Rear Admiral Nelson – Who, for his very distinguished services, - Has been successively created – a Knight of The Bath – and a Peer of Great Britain – By the Title of – Baron Nelson – of The Nile' (dashes inserted to indicate lines) (PP, RHO Bound Volume).
[1194] PP, AB 21 Expense a/c
It appears that recording manumissions then cost N£1:10:0 and proving another N12s. Elsewhere JPP accounted for N£1:4:0 'proving Kate Coker's and Fanny's manumission (AB 26 William Woolward's a/c).
[1195] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 ff8-12 Expense a/c Nevis
[1196] PP, AB 17: 22 December 1782
[1197] PP, DM 1773 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f46 Expense a/c

Most likely she transformed this material into clothes suitable for wearing in England because - although Nancy Jones had accompanied the Pinneys on their honeymoon - it was Fanny whom they took to England. Of course the Pinneys would not have needed to ask Fanny's mother for permission but, in any case, it is very likely that Black Polly had wanted Fanny to go to England. It meant that her daughter could live as a free person, away from the cane fields, the sound of whips and the smell of boiling houses. England was where well-off white people sent their children to school, and England was where the fine clothes and shoes and the 'morocco' leather slippers came from, and the fine candles and the good soap and the luxury food that white people ate: best hams, tripe and potted woodcock. No doubt, Fanny and her mother found the prospect of living so far apart hard to bear, but at the same time saw that going abroad opened up opportunities for bettering her station in life – and with any luck, her family's.

On 5 July 1783 the Pinneys, Fanny Coker and Pero Jones (No 265) left Nevis on board the *Jonge Vrow Charlotte*. In addition to attending to Mrs P, the 15-year-old Fanny would have looked after Pretor, the youngest son, and also their three charges, James Tobin's sons Charles and Joe and Dr Peterson's son Jack.[1198] After an easy passage which took one day short of six weeks[1199] they landed at Dover, briefly lodged with a Miss Twiss [1200] and then moved on to London. Unused to the cold weather, the heating at Townsend's lodgings proved insufficient and JPP had to spend over £2 for an additional '1 ¼ chaldron (sic) of coals'.[1201]

While in London, Fanny was given her first English money, S15s6d and another S5s6d, and on the very day she received the second payment,[1202] she bought presents for her mother. These were sent to Nevis through one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees, Nancy Weekes.[1203] Almost immediately, as if to make up her shortfall, JPP gave Fanny another S5s6d.[1204]

The Pinneys' three older children - John Frederick, Betsey and Azariah – already attended school in England and the family was now re-united. While in London the Pinneys also met friends and acquaintances from Nevis. Their daughter Betsey was looked after by Mrs Grace Patterson, young Jack Peterson's aunt. The two families were close: Mrs Patterson's brother-in-law on her husband's side, Richard Oliver, was a neighbour of the Pinneys in Nevis and Pretor Pinney's godfather.[1205] An Alderman and Member of Parliament, Richard Oliver had plantations in Antigua and Nevis and, no doubt, would have brought servants from the West Indies to England.

One servant the Pinneys and their staff are known to have met was the Nevis-born Catherine, or Kitty, Nisbet. The daughter of one of Walter Nisbet's mulatto women, she had belonged to Walter Nisbet but had been free almost since birth and had lived in England for over a decade.[1206] In the mid-1770s Kitty Nisbet had accompanied Walter Nisbet and his wife to Nevis, and while staying in the island for well over a year [1207] the Pinneys almost certainly would have met her. In London they renewed their acquaintance -

---

[1198] PP, AB 30 Captain Thomas Courtin Chivers' a/c; also LB 5: JPP to Simon Pretor, 13 August 1783, and JPP to George Webbe, 13 August 1783
[1199] PP, AB 34: 15 August 1783
[1200] PP, AB 30 Thomas Courtin Chivers a/c
[1201] PP, AB 34: 24 September 1783
[1202] PP, AB 34 : 25 August 1783 and 30 October 1783
[1203] PP, LB 5: JPP, London, to Joseph Gill, 30 October 1783
[1204] PP, AB 34 f4
[1205] PP, LB 5: JPP to Simon Pretor, 30 June 1781
[1206] On 25 August 1762 Walter Nisbet manumitted the girl christened Catherine, daughter of his mulatto woman Nancy William. The witnesses were Thompson Hicks and Peter Bowden (ECSCRN, CR 1757-1762 f446). Once in England, Kitty Nisbet kept in touch with her people in Nevis; she is known to have sent home 'a carravan box' (PP, LB 5: JPP to Thomas Hyde, 27 December 1783).
[1207] Pers. comm., Sheila Hardy, 16 June 2006

JPP bought linen from Kitty Nisbet for Fanny - [1208] and Mrs P evidently enjoyed her company. No doubt Kitty would have gossiped with Mrs P and Fanny about the 'horrid family scene' that had unfolded recently: Walter Nisbet had discovered a Navy captain, Thomas Totty, 'in bed with his wife',[1209] and the Nisbets had become the talk among the West India set. Being a servant, Kitty Nisbet was well-informed of the goings-on and in due course appeared as a witness in the divorce case *Walter Nisbet v Ann Nisbet*. After the divorce Mr Nisbet quickly got over his severe 'indisposition and distress of mind'[1210] by marrying again just a few months later.[1211]

In November the Pinneys, Fanny Coker and Pero left London for William Coker's estate in Dorset. They spent Christmas at Woodcutts,[1212] and then Fanny probably temporarily stayed behind with Pretor[1213] while the Pinneys and Pero moved on to Stratford. There they visited the Nevis planter George Webbe (the father-in-law of JPP's soon-to-be business partner, James Tobin). Stratford, which is not far from Salisbury, had briefly been home to the widowed Fanny Nisbet, but she had left for Nevis in December and the Pinneys missed out on seeing her.[1214] After Stratford the Pinneys and their servants enjoyed staying in Bath, a lively spa town with many amusements and distractions, and they then settled down in rented accommodation in Bristol. In the summer the Nevis planter James Tobin and his family[1215] also came to Bristol, and JPP and Tobin set up the company of Pinney & Tobin.

In the 1740s Bristol's most wealthy inhabitants had been scorned for being mean and lacking in manners, but by the late 1780s the port's 'gentry, merchants and capital traders' had improved their reputation and compared favourably with their counterparts in other big cities. They had become gentrified and were admired for their splendid 'town and country houses, equipages, servants and amusements.'[1216] Mrs P, the West Indian Creole, had to establish her place in this society, and it is likely that James Tobin's wife Elizabeth – George Webbe's daughter – helped with introducing her to the right kind of people. Mrs P may also have been assisted by Kitty Nisbet, the free mixed-heritage woman from London who soon became 'Mrs Pinney's woman'. In her early twenties, Kitty Nisbet was younger than Mrs P (who was then about 30 years old) and, being a freed woman, of lower status but, having lived in the Metropolis, she knew the English ways and what was expected of a lady. Mrs P had a 'partiality for Kitty' and was 'much satisfied with her conduct', but soon after the Pinneys had settled down in Bristol, Kitty's former employer, Walter Nisbet, was preparing to go to Nevis again and made enquiries about her. JPP replied on his wife's behalf and interestingly not only stated his wife's needs - that she would 'be extremely sorry to part from her' – but he also considered Kitty's views: 'I believe Kitty will be equally as concerned to leave her' and 'I dare say, she will tell you that she lives very happy.'[1217] As a free woman Kitty Nisbet could choose to leave Mrs P's service, and it is likely that in the summer of 1784[1218] she accompanied Walter Nisbet and his new wife to Nevis where she remained until Nisbet's death in the 1790s.[1219] Mrs P engaged a new maid, Hannah Gowler.[1220]

[1208] PP, AB 34 f4
[1209] PP, LB 5: JPP to John Patterson, 12 February 1784
[1210] Handlist for *The Stapleton-Cotton Manuscripts*, University of North Wales Box 2/18 v (Stapleton Cotton MSS. 18): Walter Nisbet to Lady Stapleton, 10 May and 10 July 1783
[1211] PP, LB 5: JPP to JR Herbert, 16 April 1784
[1212] PP, LB 5: JPP, Stratford, to Joseph Gill, 5 January 1784
[1213] PP, LB 5: JPP to WB Weekes, Woodcotts (sic), 8 February 1784
[1214] PP, LB 5: JPP to JR Herbert, Nevis, 16 April 1784
[1215] PP, LB 37: JPP to George Webbe, Salisbury, 17 June 1784
[1216] Rule, John *Albion's People* p74, quoting PT Marcy *Eighteenth Century Views of Bristol and Bristolians* Bristol University Press 1966 pp15-6
[1217] PP, LB 5: JPP to Walter Nisbet, 25 March 1784
[1218] Stapleton Cotton MSS 18: Walter Nisbet, Grafton Street, to Lady Stapleton, 11 June 1784
[1219] Walter Nisbet died in December 1797 in Nevis of yellow fever. He was 53 years old (Aberystwyth Bodrhyddan MSS 2: Richard and Thomas Neaves, London, to Revd Shipley 3 February 1798). Two of his children were buried with him (Memorial tablet in St

In addition to doing whatever sewing and mending needed to be done, Fanny would have mostly looked after Pretor until another Pinney offspring arrived in September 1786, Mary. The girl's Godparents were friends from Nevis who had moved to England: the widow[1221] Grace Patterson, James Tobins' wife, Elizabeth, and her father, George Webbe, [1222] who had by then moved from Stratford to Bristol.

Soon the first visitors arrived from Nevis, allowing the Pinneys to maintain their contact with the island. In the summer of 1785 Revd William Jones's wife Frances came with their daughter Sally and a temporary servant, Kate Coker (with whom Fanny had been freed), and also Mr and Mrs John Arthurton who travelled with a maidservant.[1223] Mother and daughter Jones moved into lodgings JPP found for them, and Mrs Arthurton remained in Bristol but Kate Coker went on to stay with the Cokers at Woodcutts and then sailed back to Nevis with the Cokers and Mr Arthurton.[1224] Her visit to the West Country had consequences. During her time in Bristol, Kate Coker had travelled to Sherborne where she had purchased some material from the shop run by JPP's cousin-by-marriage, Samuel Whitty. Instead of paying for this she had charged it to JPP's account. The bill arrived in Bristol long after Kate Coker had arrived back in Nevis, and the reactions by Mrs P and by JPP were very characteristic. Taking a more balanced, indulgent view, Mrs P thought 'Mr Whitty more to blame than Kate, by not sending in the account before Kate left Bristol' while JPP saw Kate's behaviour as ungrateful. To him it became a matter of principle to make her pay the bill. She already owed him money. Crossly, JPP wrote to William Coker:

> Kate has behaved very ill, by leaving several small accounts unsatisfied - and notwithstanding Mrs P gave her 1 pr shoes, and 6 yards muslinett for a gown, she had the impudence to go to Messrs Whitty & Northcote's and take up another six yards to make herself a petticoat, which they have charged to me, 16/6. Some altercation arose in consequence of it, and I have refused to pay it, but at the same time, I think it incumbent upon me to make Kate pay the money. I therefore earnestly request you will compel Kate pay the money she owes me, and the above 16/6, so as I may receive it in a bill of exchange by your first ship to this port. [1225]

JPP, who had already paid Fanny 16s on Kate's behalf,[1226] clearly felt that Kate Coker had to be held responsible for her actions.

Soon after settling down in Bristol JPP had joined the newly-formed West India Society.[1227] Its aim was to halt the Parliamentary campaign to 'annihilate the African trade'. Like many other planters, JPP supported

---

James Anglican Church, St James Windward) but his widow was left to bring up seven children. The oldest was ten years old (Aberystwyth Bodrhyddan MSS 2: Robert Thomson, St Kitts, to Revd Shipley, 16 February 1798). Nisbet's widow left Nevis in 1799 (Aberystwyth Bodrhyddan MSS 2: WW Harman 4 May and J Cottle 22 May 1799 to Revd Shipley). It is very likely that Kitty Nisbet went with her; as Catherine Nisbet she had bought three slaves from one of Nisbet's executors and then freed them. When the transactions were recorded, Catherine Nisbet was described as 'formerly of Nevis but at present in Great Britain' (ECSCRN, CR 1799-1801 f117). At some stage Mrs Nisbet and the children moved to Bath where she was buried in December 1819, in nearby Walcot church, as was her daughter Mary Amelia Nisbet. It is not known what happened to Kitty/Catherine Nisbet.

[1220] PP, Misc Vols 8 Diary of JPP

[1221] PP, DM41/108/2

[1222] Family Bible in the Georgian House Museum, Bristol

[1223] PP, LB 37: JPP to John Arthurton, 30 July 1785

[1224] Fares for crossing the Atlantic varied according to the accommodation provided. Kate Coke's passage in 'the ship's part' cost six Guineas, the fare for the Cokers and Miss Dredge came to 25 Guineas - the same as Mrs Jones and Sally had to pay on their way from Nevis (PP, LB 37: P & T to Revd Wm Jones, 16 June 1785). When Nanny Weekes travelled to England in 1797, Captain Maies charged her ten Guineas. In 1808, passage for Mrs Erskine and her servant Ritta on the *King David* cost the most, 40 Guineas (LB 22: JPP to James Tobin, Nevis, 20 September 1808).

[1225] PP, LB 6: JPP to Wm Coker, Nevis, 4 February 1786

[1226] PP, AB 34 f12; also AB 27 f15

[1227] PP, Misc Vols 8 Diary of JPP: 13 October 1784 and AB 34: 16 January 1786

restricting and regulating the slave trade, but in his view total abolition would 'be attended with fatal consequences' that would prove 'very injurious to Westindia credit and property.'[1228] He considered contracting all his concerns in the West Indies[1229] but hoped that by stalling the momentum which had gathered around abolishing the slave trade, people would 'have time to cool down and see the affair in a proper light.'[1230] The view from Walter Nisbet on Nevis was that 'the mistaken zealots' in the abolition movement were engulfed by 'enthusiastic madness'. They had misrepresented slavery – in fact, so he claimed, 'the lower classes in Nevis' were 'as happily situated as the lower class of people in England, and infinitely superior to the same class in Scotland and Ireland … and Wales, too.'[1231] In Bristol, meanwhile, a few dissenting voices were beginning to be heard. Among them were Ann Yearsley, a milk woman whose *Poem on the Inhumanity of the Slave Trade* was published in 1788,[1232] and Robert Hall, a young assistant Baptist pastor who aired his pro-abolitionists views in letters to the local press. To counter the propaganda by the West India Society, the abolitionists formed their own group and set up the Bristol Abolition Committee. Among its members was Robert Hall's colleague from the Broadmead Baptist Church, Revd Caleb Evans.[1233] No doubt abolitionists were present that day in March 1788 when the famous preacher John Wesley delivered his sermon in the New Rooms in Bristol. While Wesley attacked the immorality of slavery, proceedings came to a sudden halt. An earth tremor shook the building. For a full six minutes everyone waited to see what came next. To anyone in the congregation this could only have meant one thing: Divine Intervention.[1234]

Shortly before Wilberforce moved a motion in Parliament to withdraw from the slave trade, JPP half expected this proposal to be carried and repeated his view that abolition would 'be a deep stab to West India credit and the value of property.'[1235] He wrote this on 26 March 1789, not long after Fanny Coker had committed herself to become a member of the Baptist church. Having been baptised as a child in Nevis, she chose to undergo baptism again as an adult and joined the worshippers in Broadmead Baptist Church – the very church whose leaders were active in the abolition movement in Bristol. Fanny Coker's aligning herself with the Baptists must be seen as a direct reaction to contemporary political events; she was taking a stance in opposition to what her employer stood for. In this respect her independence of mind may well have brought her into conflict with the family for whom she worked.

In choosing the Baptists Fanny Coker also displayed religious maturity. She made a conscious choice not to attend the nearby Anglican parish church of St Augustine the Less but instead committed herself to an alternative Protestant belief system.

According to Baptist principles, adults wishing to be baptised have to repent for their past sins and deliver a personal confession of faith before they can undergo baptism by full immersion, and on the evening of

---

Formed in January 1782, the Bristol West India Society decided in June 1789 to 'provide a fund for the expenses which will attend the opposition of the Abolition of the Slave Trade'. For a year, from 24 April 1789, members were to pay 6p per hogshead imported to Bristol from the sugar colonies. In London, the Planters Club performed much the same function but members there did not want others to know how many hogsheads they had imported and, instead, decided on voluntary contributions (Lillian M Penson *The Colonial Agents of the British West Indies* p288).

[1228] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to Ulysses Lynch, St Kitts, 29 January 1788

[1229] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to Wm Coker, 9 February 1788

[1230] PP, LB 37: P & T to Ed Brazier, Nevis, 11 February 1788

[1231] Handlist of *The Stapleton-Cotton Manuscripts*, University of North Wales Box 2/18 v: Walter Nisbet, Nevis, to ?Lady Stapleton 23 May 1788

[1232] Midgley, Clare *Women Against Slavery* p33

[1233] Dresser, M *Slavery Obscured* p139 Table 7. For details about the abolitionist movement in Bristol and the role of the Baptists see pp138-41; also Revd Dr Roger Hayden 'Caleb Evans and the Anti-Slavery Question' in *Baptist Quarterly* Vol 37 (2001) pp4-14 and Timothy Whelan 'Robert Hall and the Bristol Slave-Trade Debate 1788-1789' in *Baptist Quarterly* Vol 38 (2000) pp212-24

[1234] Thomas, Hugh *The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* p508

[1235] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to Wm Coker, Nevis, 26 March 1789

Tuesday, 10 March 1789, 'Frances Coker the descd.t of African ancestors, gave a most intelligent and pleasing acc.t of the work of God upon her soul, and was accepted as a candidate for baptism.'[1236] Some months later she underwent baptism[1237] and began her lifelong commitment to the Baptist church. She also influenced the pattern of baptisms in Nevis because most of her nephews and nieces were baptised not into the Anglican but into the Wesleyan Methodist congregation – the only Protestant alternative in the island.

In 1789 Mrs P was suffering from breathing problems.[1238] Feeling very poorly, she was placed under Dr Moncrieff and her health improved[1239] but she wanted to go to Nevis to recover her health. It appears that the maid Hannah Gowler had left, and for the journey Mrs P intended to take as her maidservant Fanny, the 'sympstress alias nursemaid'.[1240] But Fanny refused to go. Again, she showed that she was strong-willed and of independent mind. Mrs P and JPP's cousin from Sherborne, Mary Pretor, tried to change her position. Fanny stood firm. JPP could not believe it. Exasperated, he wrote to his daughter Betsey:

> Fanny has been so inhuman as to refuse going out with your mother, notwithstanding she is distressed for a proper assistant and wishes to carry her in preference to any other - even her ill state of health has no weight tho' the time she will be absent is so short - all that I could say or my cousin Mary Pretor, availed nothing - such ingratitude I never before experienced. She has been brought up by your mother, from her infancy, with great tenderness, and we have never considered her in the light of a menial servant, but as one who had a claim to our protection and support.
>
> By this unaccountable behaviour and cruelty towards your mother, as well as the manifest total want of feeling and affection for any branch of my family, she has forfited (sic) every pretension to any future favour or notice from me or them.
>
> I have desired her to leave my house, but notwithstanding her ungrateful conduct, I shall not turn her out of doors, as she deserved, until she can procure a place in some respectable family, and I sincerely wish she may be happy and live to see her error but she must not expect an asylum in my house again. ... [1241]

What Fanny Coker's real reasons were for refusing to go to Nevis may never be known but what JPP perceived as Fanny's ingratitude may have been a fear of sailing across the Atlantic and of being shipwrecked; just earlier in the year the packet from Antigua had been feared lost.[1242] Ships were not only dangerous but also smelly, noisy and unhygienic places. Rats and cockroaches abounded,[1243] and the livestock they carried - for butchering on the journey and for trade - made the area around the half deck 'almost as fragrant as a cow yard'.[1244] During storms animals got bruised or they perished, or if they

---

[1236] BRO, 30251/BD/M1/3; also reported in Sydney C Hall and Harry Mowrley *Tradition and Challenge - The Story of Broadmead Baptist Church* p35
[1237] BRO, 30251/BD/R1/4a No 553 List of members of the Baptist Church in Broadmead Bristol 1758-1802 and 30251/BD/M1/4 Broadmead Records 1817-1834 No 90
[1238] PP, LB 8: JPP to Azariah Pinney, Frankfurt, 17 October 1789
[1239] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to TP Weekes, Nevis, 15 October 1789
[1240] PP, AB 33 f9
[1241] PP, LB 8: JPP to Elizabeth Pinney at Mrs Murray's, Kensington Square, 27 October 1789
[1242] PP, LB 37: P & T to Mrs Arthurton at Mr Carters 36 Cheltenham (sic), 16 January 1789
[1243] On one journey the ship's surgeon observed how 28 rats 'and near 2 bushel of live cockroaches' jumped out of a barrel of rice that had not been closed properly. The vessel was so badly infested that the boys went 'fishing' for them, dangling baited lines over the open hatchways. Around the bait was twisted some oakum which, when the rat took the bait, got entangled in its teeth. The animal could then be drawn up by the line (*Aaron Thomas's Journal* p123 and p71).
[1244] *Aaron Thomas's Journal* p20

panicked and broke free from their wooden crates, had to be shot to stop the ship from capsizing. On one journey over twenty mules and horses had been washed overboard.[1245] After being cooped up during storms chickens and pigs were allowed to roam free on board deck, and the wooden planks became a slippery mess.[1246] Perhaps Fanny, like JPP, suffered badly from seasickness,[1247] or she was repulsed by the lawlessness aboard ship. On the return journey, when the vessels carried rum as well as sugar, sometimes the rum room became full and there was no place to store the alcohol 'where the sailors would not come at it.'[1248] Then the crew might help themselves and once drunk and out of control, there was no escape for a female travelling below deck. There was no privacy; at the most the poorer sorts of travellers were shielded by sheets hung between the births. Even those who had the benefit of cabins might be uncomfortable: on the *Nevis* the decks were so low that tall passengers had to stoop.[1249] In all weathers the wooden ship creaked and groaned, the sails and ropes beat against the masts, and throughout the journey a sickening smell of unrefined sugar hung everywhere.

During the eighteenth-century domestic servants frequently changed their places of work. Good servants could pick and choose their employers[1250] and Fanny Coker, having been in England for over six years, would have found a new station quickly – unlike Mary Prince, another woman servant who had been brought from the West Indies. She wanted to run away from her employer in London but had nowhere to go because she 'was a stranger, and did not know one door in the street from another, and was unwilling to go away.'[1251] Fanny Coker was skilled – JPP would have given her a reference attesting to that - [1252] and as a free woman she faced no impediments. She could have decided to leave her employers but she chose to stay. The most likely reason is that she had a good relationship with the Pinneys, in particular with Mrs P. It is plausible that Fanny Coker liked her mistress. A portrait of Mrs P from around that time shows her as a stocky and benign-looking woman - not beautiful but kind and motherly. She spoilt her children, was energetic and fond of walking (she had large feet)[1253] and apparently enjoyed a harmonious relationship with her husband.[1254] Living in a foreign country Mrs P and her maid servant - the two Creole women - may have found friendship in each other's company.

Undoubtedly Fanny Coker would have very carefully weighed up the advantages of remaining with the family and, once she decided to stay, she used one of JPP's cousins, Mary Pretor, as her intermediary. In his letter to Betsey JPP could report in a 'PS' that Fanny had undergone a change of heart: 'Since writing the above, Miss Pretor informs me, that Fanny has made some overtures to her, and seems sorry for

---

[1245] PP, LB 6: JPP to John Patterson, Nevis, 9 February 1787
John Levy recounted how during a two-day storm all 21 head of cattle had to be killed (Levy, Rachel Frances (ed) *The Life and Adventures of John Levy* p19).
[1246] Cordingly, David *Heroines & Harlots, Women at Sea in the Great Age of Sail* p138
[1247] PP, LB 8: JPP, off Lundy, to James Tobin, St James Square, Bristol, 8 March 1790
[1248] PP, WI Cat 3 Index III.ii Domestic: Captain John Beach to John Frederick Pinney, 29 June 1761
[1249] PP, LB 8: JPP to JR Herbert, 25 January 1789
[1250] *The Housekeeping Book of Susanna Whatman* p5
[1251] Ferguson, Moira (ed) *The History of Mary Prince* p77
[1252] John Fielding, writing in 1768, complained that employers did not give truthful references to their servants. 'Most of the Inconveniences arising in Families from the Misconduct of Servants are owing to the partial and unjust Characters given them by their Masters and Mistresses, either from false good nature or undeserved Resentment.' Fielding advised that the best way to get a reference was to talk to the previous employer (D Marshall 'The Domestic Servants of the Eighteenth Century', quoting from Fielding, John *Extracts from the Penal Laws* p141)
[1253] PP, LB 3: JPP to James Fleming, Shoemaker at the Golden Slipper in old round Court, in the Strand, London, 12 July 1772
[1254] Both John Frederick Pinney I and JPP made disparaging remarks about Creoles. They judged them lazy, 'uninteresting and unenterprising people', and, by extension, Pares has attributed these qualities to Jane Pinney. To Pares, Mrs P was the 'daughter of an island busybody' whose sole contributions to the marriage consisted of bearing children and shifting onto her husband responsibility for several insolvent relatives. Pares thought she was a 'fond, chaotic' Creole woman whom he got to know through the few remarks her husband made about her in his letters and accounts. But Pares's judgment that JPP wrote of his wife 'in tones of affectionate contempt' (*A West India Fortune* p74, p102 and p165) seems harsh both on JPP and on Mrs P; JPP's tone was more one of bemused affection. Pares missed the point that the couple's relationship was, judging by the available evidence, a close and an amicable one.

what has happened, and that she will now go with her mistress.'[1255] And so, on 25 November 1789 Mrs P and Fanny sailed from Bristol aboard the *Union Island*. Their only known fellow passenger was a Mr Strode, a saddler – not the sort of man with whom a lady and her maid would normally have kept company but aboard ship social norms would have been suspended for the duration of the journey.

After a passage of 37 days the women arrived on New Year's Day,[1256] and 'Captain Seaton landed all his passengers in good health and spirits' [JPP's underlining].[1257] Fanny Coker's joy at seeing her mother again can only be imagined. Since she had left Nevis, her mother had given birth to two more children, and Fanny saw her brother Cubenna and her sister Molly for the first time.

JPP, who had also been in poor health, wanted to see to his affairs in Nevis, and he and Pero were to follow later in another fleet. In the meantime he had to attend to some of the business that normally his wife would have dealt with. He acted as a middleman concerning a 'small commission' that a certain Mrs Smith had left with Mrs Tobin,[1258] and he did his best to satisfy Mrs Coker's niece who wanted a hat sent out to the West Indies. Because 'Mrs Ellery's description of her hat was by no means as explicit as we could have wished', Mrs Tobin stepped in and chose a beaver hat, 'at present the most fashionable'.[1259] (Customers in the West Indies were very discerning. On one occasion JPP had complained about boxes of ribbons having been sent to Nevis which turned out so unfashionable that they 'could not be disposed of at home.')[1260] JPP also bought lining and printed calico for Fanny, and it probably was he who also took some trade goods from Mrs Tobin's maid Priscilla Gould to Nevis. When JPP and Pero arrived at the end of April, he found his 'beloved wife much recovered from her late indisposition.'[1261]

In Nevis Fanny Coker saw her white half-brother John Frederick Coker again, and the woman after whom she had been named, William Coker's wife, Frances, and, of course, William Coker himself. For some years he had been managing Mountravers and when, during their visit, JPP sacked him from his job, Fanny, no doubt, would have overheard many an argument between the Pinneys because Mrs P pressurised her husband to install as manager her half-brother, Dr Thomas Pym Weekes.

While one of Mrs P's aunts faced hardship through her husband's dismissal, another aunt died during their visit: Betsey Weekes - one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees.[1262] For Ann Weekes, another Cedar Trees Lady and aunt of Mrs P's, Fanny made a large bed quilt with the calico that JPP had bought in England. The quilt required over 30 yards of material,[1263] and during her stay in Nevis Fanny would have been busy getting her sewing done. In Nevis JPP also bought Fanny some fine chintz from Mrs Brazier.[1264]

Mrs Brazier was the wife of the planter and millwright Edward Brazier, a man sympathetic to the Methodists, and it is very likely that Fanny Coker would have made contact with the Methodist missionary in the island. Since she had lived in England, Dr Thomas Coke, a clergyman and founder of Methodist

---

[1255] PP, LB 8: JPP to Elizabeth Pinney at Mrs Murray's, Kensington Square, 27 October 1789
Another woman called Webbe (Captain Webbe's daughter perhaps?) would have taken Fanny Coker's place had her mother allowed it.
[1256] PP, AB 34 f29
[1257] PP, LB 38: P & T to Mrs Dunbar, Gt Ormond Street, 6 March 1790
[1258] PP, LB 38: P & T to Edward Brazier, Nevis, 30 January 1790
[1259] PP, LB 38: P & T to Charles Ellery, Nevis, 30 January 1790
[1260] PP, LB 3: JPP to Messrs Wm Reeve, 7 February 1771
[1261] PP, AB 34 f29
[1262] PP, AB 39
[1263] PP, AB 33: Aaron Nortcote 27 February 1790 and AB 37: 16 June 1790
[1264] PP, AB 30 TP Weekes' a/c

missions abroad, had visited Nevis twice. He had set out on his first journey from Pill - a place downriver and not far from Bristol – and had landed at Antigua.[1265] From there he had visited several islands. In 1787 his reception in Nevis had been civil but the planters were hostile to the Methodist principle that each person was accepted as a child of God. Dr Coke had left volunteer missionaries in other islands, among them St Kitts, and must have felt that Nevis, after all, would prove a fertile recruiting ground because when he returned two years later he left behind a missionary, Revd Thomas Owen. One of Owen's first tasks was to start a school in Charlestown, and soon he taught a class of 21.[1266] Some time in 1790 the Methodist Chapel in Charlestown was being built but when Fanny Coker stayed in the island it may not yet have been completed.[1267]

The goods brought from Bristol on behalf of Mrs Tobin's maid, Priscilla Gould, were sold in Nevis for close to N£11,[1268] and, no doubt, the travellers stocked up on many things to take back with them to England. After Mrs P and Fanny had been in Nevis for seven months, on 1 August the Pinneys and their servants left the island. They set foot at Lamplighter's Hall near Bristol in the evening of 11 September.[1269]

With them had travelled Mulatto Polly's ten-year-old daughter, Christianna Jacques. Fanny would have been charged with looking after the child, who, unhappy and unable to cope with the separation from her family and friends, was homesick and became difficult to manage. This may well have been made worse by an unsettled start in Bristol. The Pinneys and their servants had to move around because their newly built house in Great George Street was not ready, and for several weeks they imposed on the Tobins and then went into lodgings in Hotwells. The Pinneys may have regretted not having stayed in Nevis over winter - they could have returned with the spring fleet – particularly as JPP's health had 'received great benefit from the voyage.' Mrs P, too, was 'amazingly improved' although 'some relict of her complaint' still remained.[1270] The family and their servants finally moved to Great George Street in March 1791.

Now employed as Mrs P's lady's maid, Fanny Coker travelled all over the West Country and beyond. Her first major journey probably was to Cheltenham in 1791,[1271] or the following year to Weymouth. These were fashionable places, enjoyed by the rich and powerful, even royalty. King George III regularly visited Weymouth to recover his health - JPP was thrilled when he 'saw the King on the Esplanade' - [1272] and for two to three weeks Mrs P and Mrs Tobin enjoyed the sea air and mingled with the bathers. The Pinneys were never far from people they knew from Nevis; in Weymouth they came to see Sally Jones who attended a school there.[1273] Her father, Revd William Jones, had turned up in Bristol in 1788,[1274] probably to take William Jones junior to school in England ('a promising little fellow').[1275] The clergyman had returned to Nevis, leaving his family in the city.

[1265] A memorial stone by the river Avon, which was erected by the Methodist Episcopal Church USA, marks the departure from Pill of 'Francis Asbury in 1771 and Thomas Coke in 1784 and other Methodist Preachers' who sailed to the Americas.
[1266] Anon 'Rekindling the Flame: The Story of the Emergence and Growth of Methodism in Nevis' in *Methodism: Its Roots and Fruit;* also Revd Wilfred Easton and Revd Dom. A Parker *Kindling of the Flame 1760-1960* pp49-50
[1267] On 1 August 1789 the planter John Ward sold to Revd Thomas Owens (elsewhere Owen) 70 square feet of land in Charlestown for N£81:13:4 (ECSCRN, CR 1789-1790 ff516-17).
[1268] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f15
[1269] PP, AB 34 f29 and f34
[1270] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to Simon Pretor, 24 May 1790
[1271] PP, LB 10 JPP, Bristol, to John Henry, Stockwell near London, 11 September 1791
[1272] PP, LB 19: Memo/Diary section: 28 September 1791
[1273] Baptised in 1778 at the age of 'eight months and 24 days' (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 2 pp168-74 and St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825), Sally Jones was about 14 years old when she started school in Weymouth (PP, LB 10: JPP to Mrs Hepburn, Weymouth, Dorset, 19 January 1791, and LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to Revd Wm Jones, Nevis, 16 June 1792).
[1274] PP, LB 37: P & T to Revd Robert Jones, 1 May 1788
[1275] PP, LB 11: JPP to Revd Wm Jones, 1 February 1793

Revd Jones's wife, Mrs Frances Jones, appears to have struggled. Her financial circumstances were unstable (JPP lent her some money),[1276] her son was not well and had to be removed 'to Clifton for a change of air',[1277] and Sally, her daughter, got herself into trouble for going 'alone to Mrs Hallowells in College Street, without telling her mother'. Taking on the role of guardian, JPP had told her off for this 'impropriety of being seen in the street alone.'[1278] But more worrying was her daughter's eye complaint, and Sally's health had been the reason why JPP had taken the girl to Weymouth, to attend school there. He believed that bathing would be good for her eyes and was reassured when he saw that even in winter several bathing machines were out every morning.[1279] In line with contemporary thinking that bathing in cold water was good for one's health, in the house in Great George Street JPP had a cold plunge bath installed.[1280]

JPP joined Mrs P during her stay in Weymouth,[1281] as did their son John Frederick. The Pinneys were energetic travellers, and one or other member of the family was always on the move. Earlier that year John Frederick had been to Paris and his brother Azariah to Nevis, for his health. After staying at Weymouth, Mrs P appears to have gone on to Sherborne where Fanny left her to return to Bristol with the six-year-old Mary Pinney.

The family travelled in JPP's recently refurbished carriage with the coachman, David Williams.[1282] At first, during the time they had lived in rented accommodation in Park Street, JPP had bought a carriage,[1283] but as the house came without a stable, he had to 'hire one near it'.[1284] When keeping coach horses proved too expensive, JPP – ever frugal, ever keen to economise – considered selling them.[1285] In contrast, the new house in Great George Street had a stable at the back of the property and when the Pinneys moved there, JPP was able to resolve the family's transport situation. He employed a local company of coach makers to repair and spruce up his carriage They varnished it and fitted it with plated furniture and a new harness -[1286] and he engaged a coachman, David Williams, and a stable boy, George Guppy. However, young Guppy only stayed for seven or eight months.[1287] He caught the smallpox and left the Pinneys' service once he had been nursed back to health.[1288]

After returning from their summer holidays in Weymouth and Sherborne, back in Bristol Mrs P became 'much indisposed'. JPP diagnosed this as 'matrimonial effects' and seemed perturbed that his wife had 'taken it into her head to breed again.'[1289] Mrs P gave birth to their last child in April 1793. He was christened Charles, after her 'full brother'.[1290] The boy's baptism was largely a family affair. The Pinneys decided that the baby's godparents would be their eldest son, John Frederick, a friend of the family from

---

[1276] PP, AB 33 f14 and f29
[1277] PP, LB 37: JPP to Revd Jones, 1 October 1789
[1278] PP, LB 9: JPP to Revd Wm Jones, Nevis, 10 February 1789
[1279] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to Revd Wm Jones, 20 January 1791
[1280] See also Clare Hickman 'Taking the Plunge, 18th-century bath houses and plunge pools' on http://www.buildingconservation.com/articles/bath-houses/bath-houses.htm
[1281] PP, LB 11: JPP to John Taylor, Nevis, 14 August 1792
[1282] PP, LB 10: JPP, Sherborne to Coker, Woodcutts, 5 October 1792
[1283] PP, Misc Vols 8 1784-1785 [28 February 1785]
[1284] PP, LB 5: JPP, Bristol, to WB Weekes, 4 March 1784
[1285] PP, LB 8: JPP to WB Weekes, undated c 1789/90
It is possible that JPP was bluffing about selling the coach horses in order to plead poverty with his father-in-law and that he did not sell them, after all, but moved them to Racedown. In October 1791, on the day the coachman David Williams entered his service, JPP gave him 10s6d to go to Racedown 'for my coach horses' (PP, LB 19: Accounts 3 October 1791).
[1286] PP, AB 41: 1 May 1792
[1287] PP, LB 12: JPP to Proctor Thomas, Wellington, 12 October 1797
[1288] PP, LB 10: JPP to WB Weekes, 14 November 1791 and 6 December 1791
[1289] PP, LB 11: JPP to TP Weekes, 10 November 1792
[1290] PP, LB 10: JPP, Bristol, to John Frederick Pinney Trinity College, Oxford, 3 May 1793

Nevis, young Edward Brazier, and Mrs Judith Butler Dunbar of London. Their daughter Betsey stood in for her.[1291] After Charles's arrival presumably Fanny Coker became a nursemaid once more but she may have shared the duties with Christianna Jacques. Certainly by the autumn of 1794 Fanny was accompanying Mrs P on her travels again.

Fanny Coker's duties as a personal servant meant she had to attend to her mistress at all times. After getting dressed herself, her first task would have been to lay out the clothes and accessories Mrs P was going to wear that day. During the cold period she would warm these in front of the fire, ready for Mrs P to slip into. She would have laced Mrs P into her stays, smoothed any folds and adjusted the pleats on her petticoat (the eighteenth-century term for women's skirts), pinned her bodice in place and tied the ribbons on her shoes. If Mrs P was going out or entertaining guests at home, she would have undertaken this process twice a day.

Etiquette required women wore particular clothes for particular occasions and as a lady's maid Fanny Coker would have had to know what was appropriate for Mrs P to wear and which accessories were most suitable. And everything had to be in perfect order. It would have been Fanny Coker's duty to see that none of the clothes had any spots or stains, rips or rents. She had to remove mud from boots and shoes, brush dust from cloaks and remove dirt from the hems of dresses. A lady's maid was expected to know how to clean various kinds of fabric: to get dust out of the folds of woollen dresses these were only lightly beaten with a cloth; silk and satin were never beaten but gently cleaned with a soft cloth (of a similar colour, kept especially for the purpose); velvet had to be refreshed with a soft brush; muslins and other light materials were not brushed but shaken. Items with delicate embroidery were sprinkled with hot, dried breadcrumbs that were spread over the fabric which was then covered in linen, tapped on the reverse and brushed clean.

Washing bed and table linen would not have been Fanny's responsibility but soaping small articles such as lace collars and shawls was. She would also have been responsible for ironing these and other delicate items, and for keeping clean Mrs P's jewellery and accessories: the bonnets (dusting these lightly with a feather), the little bags, the fans and decorative feathers. Peacock and other feathers were worn by ladies on special occasions, and if these got damp, they had to be warmed in front of a fire and then gently reshaped by hand, or with a soft brush. Fanny had to know how to mix cosmetics and make hair pomade from ingredients such as lard, castor oil and scent. She had to apply these mixtures properly, and she had to be able to dress hair: know how to make it curl and how best to tie it up with ribbons. This aspect of her work included the proper care of combs and brushes so that they were clean and the bristles did not spoil through careless handling.

After breakfast Fanny Coker would have had to air Mrs P's bedding and the bedroom (unless it was raining), dust ornaments and items of small furniture. During the day and in the evenings much of her time would have been spent altering garments to improve their fit, or, by adding fashionable touches, refresh tired gowns and accessories. Even for wealthy people clothes were valuable possessions and Fanny would have repaired a great number of garments – not just Mrs P's but also her husband's and those of the children – as well as the family's bed and table linen.

If they went travelling, Fanny would have packed a box for herself. Almost all servants had these lockable boxes which were their only truly private spheres. For Mrs P Fanny would have packed several trunks. But first she had to clean and air the trunks and line them with paper. She had to know what her mistress

[1291] Family Bible in the Georgian House Museum, Bristol

might require on her journey and pack each item carefully: delicate dresses, for instance, were folded and wrapped in calico; pairs of shoes travelled in cloth bags. She had to stow everything in such a way that it was secure and could be found again easily. Fanny had to be organised and methodical.

In the evening Fanny would have had to read to Mrs P. It was said that the education of a lady's maid should be 'superior to that of the ordinary class of females' - it was not sufficient to be able to read, a maid had to be able to read out loud in a pleasing manner.[1292] In Nevis Mrs P had subscribed to *Town & Country* and the *Lady's Magazine*[1293] but in Bristol she became a member of the library, and Fanny would have read to her not just newspapers and magazines but also books. Mrs P benefitted from a new fashion; subscription libraries were part of a trend that was developing towards the end of the eighteenth century and during the beginning of the nineteenth century which allowed for education to spread more widely across greater sections of the population.[1294] As never before, membership of libraries enabled Mrs P, Fanny and other women to learn about new subjects and to form their own opinions.
Unlike Pero, Fanny Coker received wages, underlining the fact that as a slave-servant he had a paternalistic relationship with his employer while hers was a contractual one. In the 1790s her wages were £10 a year, paid quarterly. In addition, 'soap, starch and washing small clothes' came free.[1295] If washing could not be done at home, she received an allowance for this and her pay went up from £2:10:0 to £3 a quarter.[1296] Tea and sugar – sometimes specified separately in servants' contracts - appear to have been perquisites. At one stage Mrs P bought her a 'memorandum book,[1297] which may have been intended as a journal to note purchases and their quality,[1298] or perhaps this was to encourage Fanny to keep track of her expenditure the way Mrs P had learnt to do. White women in the West Indies had a reputation for being feckless and spendthrifts[1299] but if Mrs P had been so inclined JPP had curbed this and had taught her to account for her expenditure. Following her husband's example (and no doubt to please him) Mrs P proudly told him: 'I am very regular in my accounts for I assure you I balance every Monday my cash.'[1300]

Fanny's memorandum book may also have been intended to note down Mrs P's visits and appointments. The Pinneys led an active social life and Fanny Coker would have accompanied her mistress whenever she went out on her own. Regular excursions would have been to one of Bristol's coffee houses; Mrs P subscribed to Jack's Coffee House [1301] from where JPP also conducted some of his business. Mrs P was a keen walker and Fanny would have gone out with her. However, Fanny may not always have

---

[1292] Hill, Bridget *Servants - English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century* p230; see also Bridget Hill's *Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth Century England*
[1293] PP, LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to Nathaniel Martin junior, 6 July 1776
[1294] Murray, Venetia *High Society* p124 and Reed, Michael *The Georgian Triumph* p220
Planters in the West Indies subscribed to British newspapers and magazines but generally were not great readers, as the statistics of imported books show. During a five-year period in the 1780s only £8 worth of books were imported into Nevis (weighing two pounds) while £153 worth went to St Kitts ('Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council appointed for the Consideration of all Matters relating to Trade in Foreign Plantations' Part IV 1789 Appendix 6 Export of British manufactured Goods to WI Islands 5 January 1783-5 January 1788). Inventories in the Nevis Books of Wills give a good idea of the kind of property people held. Unusually, there were 'some old books' among the possessions of one woman, Mrs Frankey Vaughan, but generally few people left behind any books or pictures (ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f459).
[1295] PP, AB 49 c f10: 28 December 1793; also AB 42 Elizabeth Pinney's a/c
[1296] PP, Domestic (Somerton and Bristol Expense Book) 1801-1804 f16, f41, f42 etc
[1297] PP, AB 49 f18 and f24
[1298] Vickery, Amanda *The Gentleman's Daughter* p165
[1299] Evans, JAH 'Nathaniel Wells of Piercefield and St Kitts: From Slave to Sheriff' in *Monmouthshire Antiquarian* p94, quoting NLW Bodryddan Correspondence Vol 1 The West Indies 152-53
[1300] PP, Dom Box S4: Jane Pinney to JPP, Cork, 23 January 1794
[1301] PP, AB 49 f15

accompanied her mistress if she travelled with other members of the family. One trip to Bath, for instance, may have been made without Fanny because JPP, Mrs Tobin and their daughters came along.[1302]

Whenever the family entertained at home - and they regularly had dinner guests - Fanny would have had to stay up and remain awake until Mrs P retired to bed. JPP, 'a very musical man',[1303] bought a harpsichord for Betsey,[1304] and there would have been music in the house which the servants got to hear from behind closed doors. Fanny Coker could not rely on having time off to plan her own entertainment; she would always have had to place her mistress's needs before her own. Granting servants leave was at the employers' discretion and deliberately kept flexible to underscore the employees' dependent status. One contemporary of the Pinneys, Susanna Whatman, had this to say about female servants' free time:

> A servant is not to go out without asking leave. Neither is she to expect to have leave every Sunday that it is her turn to go to Church. Such a custom would be the means of laying the servants under constant and frequent obligations to their friends and acquaintances, and make the leave of going out no favour at all.[1305]

Despite similar restrictions, Fanny Coker could have enjoyed a social life away from her place of work. She attended Broadmead Baptist church,[1306] and she may have been able to bring home female friends but certainly could not legitimately receive male visitors. It is very possible that as a 14-year-old Fanny had been sexually active and treated for venereal disease,[1307] and if, as an adult, she did have intimate relationships, these would have been conducted away from Great George Street. Hers was a live-in job and had she wanted to get married, as was customary at the time she would have had to leave her position.

In the summer of 1794, while JPP and Pero were still in Nevis, Fanny was at Racedown, which, over the years, she visited often. Life in the country brought with it greater freedom but she would have had to adjust to a quiet, rural existence. There was company - Racedown Farm across the road, Harlescombe Farm a few hundred yards down the valley, and a mile away, up the road, Blackdown House – but, apart from the Blackdown Pinneys, her company would have been unsophisticated farmers and farm workers.

As in Great George Street, at Racedown the servants' accommodation consisted of two bedrooms. The men's contained little furniture - a 'stump bedstead, a bed and bolster, an arm chair and a perambulator case' - while the 'Maid Servants Chamber Attick' was slightly better equipped with '2 red cedar bedsteads with ½ ?Jesley; feather bed and bolster; 3 best whitby blankets; 1 old blanket; 1 Mahogany chair - bottom back broke the same as the 5 in the common parlor; 1 large gouty chair on castors (very good); and 1 (very good) yellow ware chamber pot'.[1308] This inventory was compiled in the 1790s by JPP's cousin, Joseph Gill, when he lodged at Racedown.

[1302] Mr and Mrs P, Mrs Tobin and their daughters went for breakfast with John Patterson who had settled in Bath. Planning to 'take an early family dinner, so as to return in the evening', JPP appealed to his friend from Nevis to keep the arrangements informal: 'The Ladies desire you will not treat them as strangers, but as friends in the family way, with beef-steaks …' (PP, LB 10: JPP, Bristol, to John Patterson, Paragon Buildings, Bath, 25 February 1791). This request fits in with the notion that people in the West Indies were socially less formal than in Britain and that they carried with them some of that informality.
[1303] PP, Cat 3 Dom Box 1763-1793: Jane Pinney to Azariah, 2 April 1792
[1304] PP, LB 7: JPP, Bristol, to Grace Patterson, 18 July 1785
[1305] *The Housekeeping Book of Susanna Whatman* p53
[1306] 'Fanny Coker' was No 26 on a 'List of the Members who have signed the Covenant 1795' (BRO, 30251/BD/R1/4c(i); also 30251/BD/R1/5 Register of Members (admitted between 1745 and 1798) under the pastoral care of John Ryland (admitted 2 February 1794); and 30251/BD/ M1/3 p194).
[1307] PP, AB 17: 11 August 1781
[1308] PP, AB 3 f42

In the summer of 1794 Fanny had the company of a woman called Nancy, probably another servant. Fanny travelled back to Bristol with her at the beginning of September - the coachman and Nancy in the gig, and Fanny on Betsey Pinney's mare. Not long after they left Racedown, the gig's shafts broke and they were forced to go back. They stayed for another couple of weeks at Racedown and, when they set off again, the women swapped places: Fanny sat with the coachman in the chaise 'and Nancy on horseback went on tow'. This way they journeyed back to Bristol -[1309] a distance of well over 50 hilly miles (80 km). Servants had to be able to ride hard and for long distances (another time JPP wanted Pero to take some goods 'in a portmanteau behind him', all the way from Bristol to Dorset).[1310] Fanny also travelled alone by public coach,[1311] demonstrating that she was an independent woman who could make her own travel arrangements. On another trip it was Pero who would make the arrangements. In 1796, while Azariah was touring Ireland,[1312] Mrs P took John Frederick and Betsey on a vacation to Yorkshire, and Pero and Fanny accompanied them. Pero had to ride on ahead to sort out their accommodation and their horses. JPP, meanwhile, stayed at home, running the business and attending to family matters. He still had responsibilities towards his half-brother's family, the Hayneses, and just then one of them had lost his job.[1313] In Nevis, Mrs P's half-brother, Thomas Pym Weekes, had died, leaving two orphaned sons, and JPP was trying to find a way of getting their mother's Scottish family to accept responsibility for them. On his return from Nevis JPP had looked well and had been 'the colour of a mulatto',[1314] but since then had suffered from 'a rheumatic complaint' in his right hand,[1315] and his health and all the family matters were causing him great unhappiness.[1316]

When the holiday-makers returned to Bristol, they found that their 'little friend Joseph' Brazier had gone back to school after having been ill in Bristol. Joe Brazier attended the same institution in Reading as young Pretor Pinney,[1317] Revd Dr Richard Valpy's King Henry VII School.[1318] Joe's elder brother, Edward, had been at Oxford with John Frederick Pinney - Edward was studying to become a clergyman[1319] and John Frederick a lawyer. (Subsequently, John Frederick entered Lincoln's Inn in London, while the business-minded Azariah underwent training in a counting house before being sent up to Cambridge.) JPP thought highly of both Brazier boys. Edward's 'temper and conduct' made 'him agreeable to everybody'[1320] and Joe was a 'well disposed boy'.[1321] JPP was less keen on the Huggins boys, Peter Thomas and Edward. They were to go to school on the outskirts of Bristol – the same school that two of James Tobin's sons and nephew attended. [1322] Their father, Edward Huggins, had come to England four

---

[1309] PP, AB 2: Joseph Gill's account of Racedown Lodge: 1 September 1794 and 20 September 1794
[1310] PP, LB 10: JPP to WB Weekes, Racedown Lodge, 19 November 1790
[1311] On 8 April 1795 JPP accounted for Fanny Coker's expenses to Bath which included the purchase of oranges (PP, AB 42 f63).
[1312] PP, WI Cat 3 Index III.ii Domestic: Draft letter Azariah Pinney to Mr Jones, June 1796
[1313] PP, LB 12: JPP to Mr Hayne at Messrs Clarke & Watts, Market Place, Norwich, 13 August 1796, and JPP to Messrs Clarke & Watts, 27 November 1797
[1314] PP, Dom Box S1: WB Weekes to Revd William Jones, 1 May 1795
[1315] PP, LB 11: JPP, Bristol, to George Hobson, Nevis, 16 December 1794
[1316] PP, Dom Box S3-3: Mrs P, Cheltenham, to JPP, 20 July 1796
[1317] PP, LB 12: JPP to Revd Valpy, Reading, 25 January 1797
[1318] PP, LB 10: JPP, Bristol, to Revd Dr Valpy, Reading, 21 October 1793
It is very likely that many other boys from Nevis and other Leeward Islands went to the same school in Reading, which Pretor Pinney and Joseph Brazier attended. One of these certainly was the St Kitts-born Revd Daniel Gateward Davis.

Since 1781 the school had been under the inspired leadership of Dr Richard Valpy, an Oxford graduate who had taken Holy Orders. Appalled by the conditions of the school, he spent his own money to provide a new schoolroom and by 1791 the numbers of pupils reached their peak at 119. Dr Valpy wrote Greek and Latin grammars, directed school plays, was a skilled orator and, of commanding presence, contributed to the fame of the school. He died in 1836. The school went into decline until it had only three pupils. It was closed down in 1866. King Henry VII School is now Reading School, a selective grammar school for boys (http://www.readingschool.reading.sch.uk/school/schoolhistory/)
[1319] Foster, Joseph (ed) *Alumni Oxonienses 1715-1886*
[1320] PP, LB 38: P & T to Edward Brazier, Nevis, 30 January 1790
[1321] PP, LB 12: JPP to Mr William Humphrys, Fair-Hill, Birmingham, 18 August 1796
[1322] PP, LB 40: TP & T to Edward Huggins, 2 November 1796

years earlier,[1323] possibly to sort out their education but, according to JPP, had left sending them to school rather too late. JPP did not approve of the Huggins boys' characters and bluntly told their father that education could improve children but that it could not 'alter their nature.'[1324] All of these Nevis Creole boys, and others, stayed at Great George Street and much of the looking-after would, no doubt, have fallen on Fanny Coker and the other female servants. They would also had to care for the stable boy George Guppy when he was suffering from the smallpox, and Sally Jones, who had endured the same complaint. It is not inconceivable that Fanny Coker also had the smallpox at some stage in her life and that she would have borne the scars.

In December 1796 Fanny Coker attended another Pinney family funeral when Mrs P's father, William Burt Weekes, was buried near Bristol. Mrs Coker, Mrs P's aunt, was then staying at Great George Street, and shortly afterwards Joe Brazier was back - ill again -[1325] and then Nanny (also Nancy) Weekes arrived in Bristol from Nevis with the orphaned Weekes boys. JPP had not wanted her to come but they already were on their way when in January 1797 he had asked his attorney in Nevis to '... inform Miss Nancy Weekes that I beg she will not think of sending the Negro woman Nancy … or any person'.[1326] JPP had wanted the boys looked after by the ship's captain, but Nanny Weekes, a free woman, did travel to Bristol after all.[1327]

Fanny Coker would have been delighted at her visit. Some years earlier she had sent Nanny a present of a handkerchief, and it is very likely that over the years they would have exchanged more gifts. Although in the West Indies it was not uncommon for a female servant to sleep in the same room as her mistress,[1328] during her stay in Bristol Nanny Weekes would have shared the female servants' bedchamber. It is easy to imagine how Fanny Coker and the visitor spent time together: Fanny telling her friend all the gossip about the Pinney family and Nanny Weekes updating her with news from Nevis.

When Nanny Weekes left again in May 1797, no doubt Fanny Coker gave her presents to take for her family in Nevis. Some years earlier, while Kate Coker had stayed in Bristol, Fanny was known to have spent five shillings on a 'locket with hairwork'.[1329] These lockets enclosed ornaments of delicately worked human hair and were popular keepsakes, and undoubtedly Fanny intended Kate Coker to take this purchase to Nevis. One item that Fanny was known to have given Nanny Weekes was a black cloak and bonnet that she had made for Miss Ann Weekes, one of the two remaining Ladies at the Cedar Trees.

[1323] PP, LB 38: P & T to Edward Huggins, Messrs Lane, Son & Frasers, Merchants, London, 10 September 1792
[1324] PP, LB 40: TP & T to Edward Huggins, 2 November 1796
[1325] PP, LB 40: TP & T to Edward Huggins, 2 November 1796
[1326] PP, LB 12: JPP to John Taylor, Nevis, 18 January 1797
[1327] Sold at auction in 1770, Nanny Weekes had been bought by the carpenter (UKNA, CO 186/7: 8 April 1777) Edward Jones (PP, AB 20 Edward Jones' a/c) who had sold her to JPP, and JPP, in turn, had sold her in the same month to Elizabeth Weekes for the same amount that he had bought her from Jones, N£72 (AB 20 Elizabeth Weekes's a/c). She may have been sold immediately because she was too rebellious, or JPP may have bought her on behalf of Elizabeth Weekes, one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees. After Elizabeth Weekes's death in 1790 Nanny remained with the other two Ladies and was then freed. According to her manumission document, Nanny Weekes was also known as Ann Vincent Symonds (ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797 f619). This is one of the earliest uses of a free person's double-barrelled name and shows how she dissociated herself from at least two of her previous owners, Edward Jones and Elizabeth Weekes. She may originally have belonged to Symond's estate.

Nanny Weekes alias Ann Vincent Symonds had outlived not only Elizabeth Weekes but also her previous owner, Edward Jones. He had died in 1786 (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 3 (Cayon Diary). Ann Weekes also died before her and left her an annuity of N£10 (ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff368-74).
[1328] When Governor William Mathew Burt contacted JPP about staying at Mountravers, he wrote that he was planning to bring his daughter, his daughter's servant, his own servant and one of his nephews. He stated that his daughter would have no objection to having her servant quartered in the same room as herself, while Burt himself did not mind if his nephew's bed was in his room. In his reply, JPP thanked him for politely suggesting that he would not be offended, should he 'be under the necessity of adopting the West-India mode of making two beds in a room' (PP, Dom Box S4: Governor William Mathew Burt to JPP, 6 May 1777, and JPP to Burt, 12 May 1777).
[1329] PP, LB 19 f8 Sundry a/c

This work was clearly outside Fanny's usual duties, and she received payment for making the items, £1:16:0.[1330] Almost certainly it was also Fanny who had sewn the 12 sets of baby linen which 'Mrs P has had made' but it appears that when she did sewing for the plantation, Fanny did not get paid for it.[1331]

After Pero died, Fanny Coker accompanied JPP to Dorset to visit his namesake, John Pinney who lived at Blackdown. Although Racedown was just down the road they appeared to have stayed at the rather grander Blackdown House. On leaving, Fanny forgot to pack JPP's shoes and silver buckles and he had to make arrangements to get them back.[1332] Perhaps it was her way of making JPP realise that his clothes were the responsibility of a male servant. Other servants employed around that time were Charles Thomas, a new footman, and Mrs P's 'upper servant' called Sarah Marks, elsewhere described as a 'waiting woman'.[1333] Another woman servant, Hanny, may have been employed in the kitchen. She left the Pinneys' service to work in Shaftesbury for one of JPP's cousins and her surgeon husband, Richard Pew.[1334]

In 1799 Mrs P suffered from ill health again. She had 'intermittent fever' (malaria?),[1335] and, for 'want of circulation', was ordered to take the waters in Bath. Owing to her ill health she had to forego dinner with Lady Nelson - [1336] a decision she would not have taken lightly because she was keen to keep in touch with her friends and acquaintances from Nevis. Mrs P probably had with her the 'waiting woman', Sarah Marks, while Fanny stayed at Racedown. There was no longer a live-in housekeeper at the Pinneys' country residence and Fanny would have been quite independent. She would have enjoyed privacy not afforded to her in the house at Great George Street. However, although unobserved by her employer, her master's reach did extend to Racedown. Fanny's duties included opening the window shutters every day and the windows in fine weather and, not quite trusting she would do as told, JPP asked his namesake that, when riding by from Blackdown, he should check that she carried out the instructions.[1337]

The Pinneys by then had acquired their second country home, which JPP had purchased in 1798. His daughter Betsey had been 'much surprised' that he had 'actually bought an estate',[1338] and had it been his decision alone, he would not have done so. Once again it was Mrs P who had pushed him. JPP described to Betsey how they had purchased Somerton Erleigh: 'We walked over the house, garden and pleasure grounds; which pleased your mother so much that she expressed a wish of my becoming the purchaser and hoped I would not stand out for a trifle.' The house, 'completely and elegantly furnished and not over large', came with four pieces of land rented out to tenants, one and a quarter acres of garden, fruit trees and a small hot house in which grapes and pineapples were ripening. Having looked over the property, the Pinneys returned late in the afternoon 'and in about five minutes agreed for the purchase of the estate', including the house and the furniture. Invited to sleep at the house, Mrs P was 'delighted', while JPP's had second thoughts: 'It was with fear and trembling I made the purchase lest I should injure the youngest of my family and God only knows how it will turn out for I am quite ignorant of the real value of the property.'[1339] The purchase of Somerton Erleigh shows just how resolute Mrs P was, and how much sway she held over her ever-cautious husband.

[1330] PP, AB 22 f64; also AB 37 and AB 41 f26 Caribee Islands A/c
[1331] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 10 November 1797
[1332] PP, LB 14: JPP to John Perkins, Henlee near Crewkerne, 11 October 1798
[1333] PP, LB 14: JPP to Mr W Marks, 24 May 1798, and AB 41 p86
[1334] PP, LB 15: JPP to Messrs Pretor, Pew and Whitty, Bankers, Sherborne, 19 July 1799
[1335] PP, LB 14: JPP to James Williams, 26 January 1799
[1336] PP, Dom Box S1: Elizabeth Baillie, Bath, to JPP, 17 February 1799
[1337] PP, LB 15: JPP to Pinney, Blackdown nr Crewkerne, 25 February 1800
[1338] PP, Dom Box S1: Elizabeth Pinney, Berkeley Square, to JPP, 25 August 1798
[1339] PP, Dom Box S1: JPP, Seaton, to Elizabeth Baillie, 20 August 1798

Fanny was not present when the Pinneys purchased Somerton. Betsey Pinney had got married and given birth to her first child. Finding her servant Grace 'very unwell', Betsey had called on Fanny to look after her son, Evan.[1340] Fanny Coker was engaged as a temporary nursemaid. In the following year Betsey had a second child, Jane,[1341] but by then Fanny probably was back at Great George Street. Betsey had been the first Pinney child to get married. JPP was distraught at losing his daughter ('a good looking young woman', according to Lady Nelson),[1342] but one wonders how Fanny Coker felt about Betsey marrying into a family that was so actively involved in the trade in enslaved people. Betsey's father-in-law, Evan Baillie, had shares in a slaver, the *Emilia*,[1343] and her husband's uncle, JPP's 'very good and worthy friend, Mr Alexander Baillie',[1344] had traded in enslaved people in St Kitts. In the 1760s JPP had bought several Africans - but not Fanny's mother - from his company, Smith & Baillies. As a young man Peter Baillie was said to have been 'been wild and expensive' but 'after living with his father for some time … [had] conducted himself with great propriety.'[1345] For their honeymoon the young couple travelled to Scotland, to visit Uncle Alexander Baillie's Dochfour estate.[1346]

The second family wedding was that of John Frederick. Self-absorbed and dull, he somehow managed to marry an intelligent and sensible woman, Frances Dickinson. She came from a wealthy planter family and a dynasty of MPs.[1347] To celebrate the wedding, in a paternalist gesture that was typical of the time, JPP laid on for the 'workmen servants and others' a hogshead of strong beer, wine and other treats, as well as some music - the violinist's pay at 5s was similar to the rate paid to 'Negro musicians' in Nevis.[1348] (On Betsey Pinney's marriage Frances Coker had also received a cash gift but for the servants her wedding had been a quieter affair.)[1349] It is likely that John Frederick's wedding party took place at Somerton Erleigh; in June Mrs P and Charles went there in JPP's carriage while the footman Charles Thomas and Fanny travelled in John Frederick's gig. Their journey home was less comfortable. Fanny and the footman returned on horseback.

At Somerton Erleigh a new cook, Jemima Rees, had just started work, and she went on to work for the Pinneys in Bristol,[1350] but it appears that she did not stay long because in the following year another cook, Elizabeth Morgan, was already employed at Great George Street. In March 1802 she and Fanny accompanied Mrs P to Somerton – this time Fanny rode comfortably in the 'chariot' while the footman trotted along on horseback. In June they left Somerton for Sherborne and Weymouth. With them travelled the youngest Pinney child, the nine-year-old Charles. In Weymouth they were joined by the two daughters, Mary and Betsey. Mrs Betsey Baillie came with her children and her two servants. After staying on the coast the whole party descended on Somerton. Over the years this tended to be Mrs P's pattern: first a family holiday at the seaside, then an extended visit to Somerton. In the summer of 1800,

---

[1340] PP, Dom Box S1: Elizabeth Baillie, Berkeley Square, to JPP, 25 August 1798
[1341] PP, LB 15: JPP to JB Dunbar, 37 Gloucester Street, 13 July 1799, and Burke's Landed Gentry
[1342] Delaforce, Patrick *Nelson's First Love – Fanny's Story* p364
[1343] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyages Numbers 17920, 17933, 17952, 17967 and 17990; also Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 72 pp637-40 and D Richardson *Bristol, Africa and the eighteenth century Slave Trade to America* Vol 4 p93
[1344] PP, LB 12: JPP, Bristol, to Mrs Dunbar, 87 Gloster Street, Queen Square, London, 9 May 1797
[1345] Delaforce, Patrick *Nelson's First Love – Fanny's Story* p364
[1346] Alexander Baillie died in February 1798. John Frederick attended the funeral (PP, AB 41 Cash a/c).

Over the years the Pinneys hosted many guests, among them well-known figures such as Lady Nelson and the Wordsworths, but they were outshone by Betsey Pinney's brother-in-law, Hugh Duncan Baillie. In 1817 he entertained Queen Charlotte on her visit to Bristol at his 'large house in Park Row' (Charles Henry Cave *A History of Banking in Bristol* p54). Hugh Duncan Baillie's house later became the site of a theatre. It was situated on the corner of Park Row and Woodland Road.
[1347] Dunning, Robert *Somerset Families*
[1348] PP, AB 42: 20 August 1801
[1349] PP, AB 42 Elizabeth Pinney's a/c
[1350] PP, LB 16: JPP, Somerton, to Robert Case, 6 August 1801

for instance, Mrs P took her two little grandchildren and their maids, as well as Fanny Coker, first to Exmouth on the south coast and from there to Somerton where they joined JPP and their daughter Mary.[1351] In another year, in 1803, the Pinneys and Fanny did not go to the seaside but went to London before visiting their country residence. They were hardy travellers. On 27 April they set off in a post chaise, got as far as Maidenhead Bridge where they slept and reached John Frederick's house at 46 Wimpole Street at about 10 o'clock the following morning. They returned to Bristol almost a month later. Mrs P then went on to Somerton with Fanny and another female servant, Harris, and on 26 November the three women returned to Bristol 'for the winter'.[1352] While she was away from home during the summer, Fanny's wages rose to £3 a quarter to include the cost of having her clothes washed - [1353] here one woman at the upper end of the servant class engaged the services of another woman who was much lower down the social order.

Frances Coker was thrifty and became a woman of some substance. As early as 1802 she had money invested in stock, £60.[1354] She received half yearly dividends of between £1:4:0 and £1:10:0.[1355] This was done through the agency of JPP who also invested money for the footman Charles Thomas and another servant, Ann Virgin,[1356] the long-term, permanent housekeeper at Somerton Erleigh.[1357] JPP valued Charles Thomas – he was 'honest and sober, always at home' - but because this man's memory was 'very defective', he asked him to leave his service. Charles Thomas went to live with a gentleman in Bath[1358] but did not stay for very long in that job and then had problems finding new employment.[1359] Meanwhile Farmer Sansom's son, whom JPP had earmarked as an overseer on Mountravers, chose to remain in England, and it is very likely that this 'very quiet civil man'[1360] took over from Charles Thomas, starting off as a footman and later becoming JPP's butler.

Fanny's other fellow servants at that point in time were William, Matthew and Harris, and there was also a kitchen maid and a housemaid[1361] but there were many others who came and went. Coachmen, in particular, changed frequently. Those employed by the Pinneys had to make themselves useful when stationed in the country; they were expected to keep busy with, for instance, driving the cart and making hay.[1362] Men used to the urban hustle and bustle may have found this cumbersome but they chose not to

---

[1351] PP, Domestic (JPP Somerton Expense Book) 1799-1804

[1352] PP, JPP Domestic (Somerton and Bristol Expense Book) 1801-1804 f16, f41, f42, f58, f72, f76, f111, f114, f120, f134, ff153-54, ff155-56, f184 , f187, f224, and page at back, upside-down; also LB 18: JPP to Miss Jones, 30 November 1803
The trip in the post chaise to London probably convinced JPP to yield to his wife's wishes once again. For three years she had wanted a new carriage and had enlisted the help of her son John Frederick who was trying to get a new one. It proved difficult but as her son pointed out, when the old one needed repairs, it would be bad 'economy' not to buy another (Dom Box S4-2: John Frederick Pinney to JPP, 24 June 1800). Two years on, and John Frederick Pinney could report that he might be able to get one through a recommendation by his father-in-law's coachman, for 85 guineas, or one from a nobleman for £200. The problem was that it had that man's coat of arms on it (Dom Box S4-2: John Frederick Pinney to JPP, 23 April 1802). Finally, in June 1804, JPP 'recommenced keeping a four wheel carriage' (Dom Box S4-2: John Frederick Pinney to JPP, 23 April 1802). One of the first trips he would have done in this would have been to Taunton, to attend the funeral of his old friend from Nevis, Mrs Judith Butler Dunbar (LB 18: JPP to Badcock and Co, Taunton, 4 August 1804). Later John Frederick Pinney bought in London 'a phaeton with four new wheels and head - to go with either one or two horses - and a seat behind, removable at pleasure, for an additional person'. He ran this vehicle for a few months and then wanted to give it to his father, but as JPP preferred 'his own open carriage, a gig', JPP offered it for sale in St Croix where it would 'suit many persons' (LB 45: John Frederick Pinney? to Messrs Behagen & Co, St Croix, 12 March 1811).

[1353] PP, Domestic (Somerton and Bristol Expense Book) 1801-1804 f16, f41, f42, etc

[1354] PP, LB 17: JPP to Messrs Williams & Sons, London, 11 December 1802

[1355] PP, DM 1173 JPP Ledger 1803-1806 Cash a/c

[1356] PP, LB 17: JPP to Williams and Sons, 29 June 1802

[1357] Ann Virgin had been in the Pinney's service since at least the beginning of April 1799 (PP, AB 41).

[1358] PP, LB 18: JPP to Dr Curries, Upper Church Street, Bath, 20 April 1804

[1359] PP, LB 20: JPP to John Jones junior, Wooley near Bradford, Wiltshire, 27 February 1806

[1360] PP, LB 20: JPP to Revd H Parsons at Goathurst nr. Bridgwater, 1 December 1805

[1361] PP, LB 18: JPP to John Frederick Pinney ,13 May 1803; JPP to James Tobin, 1 August 1804, and LB 19: JPP to John Frederick Pinney, ship *Pilgrim*, King Road, 24 November 1804

[1362] PP, LB 18: JPP to John Frederick Pinney, 13 May 1804

leave. They tended to be dismissed rather than depart on their own accord. After the first coachman, David Williams, had left, JPP employed the 'good tempered' Daniel Allen, who, 'rather slovenly' and too fond of a free drink, had been 'found twice intoxicated on his box'.[1363] Another coachman, John Banger, wasted 'an inconceivable quantity' of hay by littering the horse stable with it, instead of using straw and, after a 'very impudent' response to JPP's censure, was told to leave. Banger resented JPP's sense of economy and retaliated by maligning his employer to the other servants, saying that his 'drawing-room was only fit for a servants' hall, and that his late master, Mr Gordon, lived like a Prince.'[1364] A further coachman John Watkins 'behaved so very improper and insolent' to a clergyman that JPP felt compelled to apologise on the man's behalf. JPP went further than that and told the Reverend that he 'should have requested … to have punched him as an example to others'. In the eighteenth-century employers constantly complained about unreliable servants[1365] and JPP uttered a common complaint at the time: 'Men-servants are become so very impudent, that they forget their situation....' He followed this up by promising the clergyman to 'discharge John Watkins from his service.[1366] And there was Jonathan, a stable boy, who left before he could he dismissed. He had 'shamefully neglected the coach horses', letting them remain loose in the stable. Another servant discovered them and found Jonathan 'fast asleep in the hay loft'. Guiltily, the following morning the boy set off for Somerton 'without saying a word to anyone'.[1367] Women servants, too, could be unreliable, such as the washerwoman who delayed dispatching a trunk and a box which contained the linen of one of the Pinneys' visitors.[1368] At a time when employers faced a high turnover of servants, having a stable, sober and trustworthy woman like Fanny Coker would have been of great benefit to the household. She could guide and train some of the new staff and provide continuity and set a good example to others.

The Pinneys had their share of family tragedies – all of them witnessed by Fanny Coker and the other live-in servants. Within a space of two years their son Azariah died, just before his 28th birthday, and also JPP's uncle Simon Pretor,[1369] and Betsey Baillie lost a very young baby daughter.[1370] Mr and Mrs Pinney greeted each new grandchild with great joy but Betsey appears to have miscarried another child[1371] and one of John Frederick's little boys died young.[1372]

An ongoing concern for the Pinneys was their son Pretor who suffered from depression and possibly also epilepsy. He was getting worse and was sent to live near the sea and then to Halstock in Somerset, where Joseph Gill was lodging already. Around the same time Pretor went to live in Halstock, Charles's bad back got increasingly troublesome. The Pinney's youngest boy was supposed to have gone to school in Reading,[1373] but probably was not up to the rigours of Valpy's establishment; after all, Joe Brazier had come back from there with chilblains.[1374] Instead, Charles had first been tutored by Revd George Coleridge at Ottery St Mary in Dorset[1375] and then by another clergyman in Leicestershire.[1376] His back had caused the boy to walk in a 'strange manner in which he protruded his belly', and to balance out a distortion of the spine he had been fitted with 'a contraption to take the weight of his head and shoulders

[1363] PP, LB 15: JPP to Sir Henry Cosby, Barnesville near Chepstow, 11 October 1800
[1364] PP, LB 17: JPP to Simon Pretor, 3 June 1802
[1365] Marshall, D 'The Domestic Servants of the Eighteenth Century' p15
[1366] PP, LB 20: JPP to Revd H Parsons at Goathurst nr. Bridgwater, 1 December 1805
[1367] PP, LB 18: JPP to John Frederick Pinney, 13 May 1804
[1368] PP, LB 43: JPP to William Colhoun at Longford near Derby, 25 February 1804
[1369] PP, Dom Box S1: R Pew to Mrs P, 25 August 1804
[1370] PP, LB 18: JPP, Bristol, to Wm Dickinson, 11 June 1804
[1371] PP, LB 22: JPP to James Tobin, 12 April 1808
[1372] PP, Misc Vols 20 John Frederick Pinney's Daily Journal 1812: 29 January 1812
[1373] PP, LB 14: JPP to Revd Valpy, Reading, 25 January 1799
[1374] PP, LB 12: JPP, Bristol, to Wm Humphrey, nr Birmingham, 23 January 1797
[1375] PP, Dom Box P: Revd George Coleridge, Ottery St Mary, May, June 1802, and 10 August 1802
[1376] PP, LB 22: JPP to Revd Thomas Bratwaite, Hinckley, Leicestershire, 8 February 1808 and 22 September 1808

off his spine and rest on his hips.'[1377] By the time Charles was 16 years old, his complaint had got so much worse that he had to remain in bed for several months,[1378] and it is likely that, even after he stopped growing, he never recovered from what probably was a severe case of scoliosis, a curvature of the spine.

During these troubled years the only member of the family who did not face any major problems was Mary Pinney. She married Jeremiah Ames,[1379] the son a prominent Bristol banker who was one of the founders of what later became the Bristol Bank.[1380] While JPP had reacted with great emotion to the wedding of his oldest daughter,[1381] to Mary's he responded much more calmly - almost as if detached from the proceedings.[1382] Both women were dutiful daughters but whereas Betsey was lively and somewhat flighty, Mary comes across as more staid. Like her brother Charles, she became an Evangelical Christian and many years later played an important role in supporting the school on Mountravers.

Fanny Coker almost certainly kept up her contacts with friends and family by corresponding with them; certainly her brother is known to have written her a letter. She also sent boxes and parcels to Nevis. Some of these may well have been trade goods that she supplied, in addition to those JPP sent. Certainly Fanny tried to plead her mother's case and get JPP to dispatch another consignment of soap and candles to her, without her mother having paid for a previous shipment - an intervention which JPP heartily resented.[1383] On another occasion Fanny sent bundles of iron hoops for her brother Billey Jones, for his coopering work.[1384] When Fanny Coker wanted to send anything to Nevis, she would have had the opportunity to add her parcels to Mrs P's shipments. Mrs P and also her friend Mrs Tobin did their own small-scale trading and the dollars JPP changed in 1794 for both women were, no doubt, for goods that he had taken to Nevis on their behalf.[1385]

Mrs P and Mrs Tobin supplied various women who lived in Nevis. Miss Vincent, for instance, sent a pair of stays to Mrs Tobin so that these could be used as patterns for gowns to be made up in England and Miss Vincent ordered black silk from her,[1386] while Mrs P dispatched articles for Edward Brazier's daughter's 'private use'.[1387] Another invoice attests to £11 worth of 'sundries shipped by Jane Pinney on board *Edward*/Wm Vernam – upon account and risk of Mrs Elizabeth Sanders there.'[1388] These appear to have been items ordered for the women's own use but others were for sale in the island, such as 'The sundries bought at the fair by Mrs P for exportation.' Mrs P knew what kind of things would find a ready market across the Atlantic and her account, which totalled £13:14:7, is worth listing in full:

[1377] PP, Dom Box P: JPP to John Frederick Pinney, 8 August 1802
[1378] PP, LB 23: JPP to Revd Jn Kempthorne, Claybrook, Butterworth, Leicestershire, 30 December 1809
[1379] PP, AB 42 Memo 10 April 1806
[1380] Anon *Historical Research Report, Predecessor Institutions* p18 Appendix 5
[1381] PP, AB 42
[1382] PP, AB 42
[1383] PP, LB 14: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 12 November 1798
[1384] PP, LB 18: JPP to Henry Williams, Nevis, 15 December 1803
[1385] PP, AB 39
Dollars appear to have been the preferred currency for small-scale traders. In the 1830s was said that the accounts in the island were kept in Stirling 'except for hucksters who keep them in dollars bits and dogs (UKNA, CO 187/9 Blue Book Nevis 1835).
[1386] PP, LB 37: JPP to Thomas Erskine, Aberdeen, under cover to Mr Weekes, 17 October 1787
Almost certainly the Miss Vincent with whom Mrs P and Mrs Tobin sent stays was Ann Le Park Vincent. The daughter of William Vincent and his wife Judith, she was born in Nevis in 1742 (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 3 Transcript of St George's Parish Register). She died, unmarried, in 1797 (NHCS, St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825).
[1387] PP, LB 46: JPP & John Frederick Pinney to Ed Brazier, Nevis, 30 September 1808
[1388] PP, AB 37

	£:s:d
4 doz. check handfs. at 8/……	1:12:0
4 doz. do. [ditto] at 10/……	2:0:0
2 doz. do. at 11/……	1:2:0
6 printed cotton do. at 2/ …….	0:12:0
3 muslin worked do. at 3/……..….	0:9:0
40 y.ds Ribbon at 4 ½ / ……	0:15:0
3 y.ds velvet do.1 inch wide at 1/6…….	0:4:6
1 Japan tea tray …….....	0:10:6
2 ¼ y.ds striped cotton for 3 Waist.cts at 4/	0:9:0
7 patterns for Waistcoats at 2/8……	0:18:8
1 pr. fine ellwide (5 ½ y.ds) printed cotton	0:18:0
44 ½ y.ds edging at 8/……	1:9:8
12 groce horn waist. & moulds ……	0:1:6
2 groce do. coat do. ……	0:0:6
1 doz. butcher's knives ……	0:3:6
2 doz. cutteau do. at 3 1/6 ……	0:7:0
2 doz. penknives at 2/……..	0:4:0
1 doz. Hairps. ……..	0:0:6
1 doz. buckling combs ……	0:2:6
1 doz. negro do. ……...	0:2:6
6 ivory small toothed do. …….	0:4:6
1 doz. ivory bodkins 6/ 1 doz. do. 3/ …..	0:0:9
1 pr. silver shoe buckles ……	1:7:0[1389]

The women also traded in small quantities of cotton. Miss Vincent sent a bale to London,[1390] and when she was in Nevis, Mrs Tobin and her maid Priscilla Gould shipped off bales of cotton for sale in England. The House found that Mrs T's was better quality than 'Gould's', whose cotton they sold at 18d a pound. Mrs T's three bales fetched 2d a pound more.[1391]

Over the years produce regularly arrived from Nevis at Great George Street, among them dried cashews, orange flower water, guava jelly, cayenne pepper, tamarinds, lemons, limes, as well as a number of calabashes and, of course, turtles. These treats are known to have been ordered by, or intended for, the Pinneys, but in all probability Fanny Coker would also have received her own presents, sent by friends and relatives. It is likely that ships' crews transported these in return for a small fee or a favour, and that they brought garden produce and also presents and curios, such as the shell of a star fish that was among one of the orders the Pinneys had made. In addition, visitors from Nevis would also have carried presents from Fanny's family. Christianna Jacques's mother, Mulatto Polly, for instance, came to Bristol several times, and it is unthinkable that Fanny Coker's mother, Black Polly, would not have asked the traveller to carry some gifts for Fanny.

On one of her visits Mulatto Polly was stuck in England, having accompanied the young Mr Scarborough and his wife and children as a servant. Another servant who was stranded was Ritta who arrived in Bristol on the *King David*.[1392] A free black woman,[1393] she had accompanied the widow Mrs Sarah Erskine from

[1389] PP, AB 33 f28
[1390] PP, LB 37: JPP to Thomas Erskine, Aberdeen, under cover to Mr Weekes, 17 October 1787
[1391] PP, LB 45: P & T to James Tobin, Nevis, 20 July 1809, 17 August 1809 and 26 July 1809
[1392] PP, LB 22: JPP to James Tobin, Nevis, 20 September 1808

Nevis as her servant but her mistress had died aboard ship off the Banks of Newfoundland.[1394] The House paid for Ritta's mourning attire, her passage, her wages and her support while she took lodgings in Bristol.[1395] She did not remain long and returned in the same ship in which she had arrived.[1396] There is no record of Fanny Coker looking after Ritta during her stay in Bristol but it is very likely that she did. Regarding another young servant woman, Mrs Judith Butler Dunbar's Molly, JPP wrote to Mrs Dunbar to 'Tell Molly that Fanny has promised me to take great care of her.'[1397] Without family of her own in England and sustained by her faith, Fanny undertook to look after others.

Fanny Coker was a member of the black servant class in Bristol, and it is likely that, apart from fellow congregationists in the Baptist church, her friends were of the same background. Some servants may even have come from Nevis, for example George Evans and Priscilla Gould who worked for the Tobins. They lived up the road in Berkeley Square, just a couple of minutes' walk away. Tobin's father-in-law, George Webbe senior, also had a black servant and George Webbe junior brought on his visits to Bristol his servant, John Pierre. An interesting question is whether free coloureds who enjoyed an independent income would have considered Fanny Coker and other servants worthy of their friendship. Mary or Maria Herbert, for instance, lodged in Queen's Square until her death in 1795. Supported by a generous annuity from the president of Nevis, the father of her son, she belonged to the free mixed-heritage elite but it is not known whether this hierarchy mattered among the Nevisian emigrants.

One of Fanny Coker's friends was Ann or Nancy Seymour. She worked as a servant for Mrs Frances Jones who came from Nevis in the year 1800. Mrs Jones appears to have returned to Nevis in late 1793 with her daughter Sally,[1398] possibly because her clergyman husband could no longer afford Sally's school fees of over S£100 a year.[1399] In 1800 her husband, Revd Jones, had died. Then in her late forties, Mrs Jones returned to England,[1400] but prior to her sailing across the Atlantic Ann Seymour had travelled to England on her own and brought the widow's baggage from Nevis.[1401] Ann Seymour did some work for the Pinneys for which she earned a little money[1402] but she was not employed in Great George Street. After living in Bristol for some years she went to work in London and may well have ended up being employed by another Nevis family, the Taylors. In 1810 John Taylor's daughter Mary got married and wanted to employ Ann Seymour. JPP, on behalf of his wife, recommended Fanny Coker's friend as 'a valuable servant for a housekeeper'. Since Mrs P considered her 'a faithful and good servant, equal to

---

[1393] ECSCRN, CR 1803-1805 f53
[1394] PP, LB 22: JPP to Miss Weekes, 1 October 1808
[1395] PP, LB 22: JPP to James Tobin, Nevis, 20 September 1808, and LB 46: JPP & JF Pinney to James Tobin, 1 October 1808
[1396] PP, LB 22: JPP to Miss Weekes, 1 October 1808
[1397] PP, LB 12: JPP to JB Dunbar, London, 2 November 1795
[1398] PP, LB 11: JPP to Revd Wm Jones, 6 August 1793 and 22 October 1793
[1399] PP, AB 40 1 July 1793
When Sally Jones was at school in Weymouth, Revd William Jones was struggling to finance his brother's escapades in London. A lawyer by training (ECSCRN, CR 1776-1768 f489), Coleman Jones remained in London and ended up 'living amongst sharpers and vagabonds' (LB 9: JPP to Revd Wm Jones, Nevis, 21 January 1790). On behalf of Revd Jones the House paid him money and ordered him clothes, but Coleman Jones pawned one lot JPP had ordered and only survived because the landlord 'supplied him 'with food when no other person would' (LB 11: JPP to Revd Wm Jones, Nevis, 23 July 1792). Jones also pawned the next coat (LB 11: JPP to Revd Wm Jones, 6 August 1793), and then his clergyman brother in Nevis became unable to support him any longer. In the hope that Revd Jones's business would pick up, JPP allowed Coleman Jones to draw money 'on the House' until James Tobin suggested he returned to Nevis (LB 12: JPP to Nathaniel Martin, London, 25 October 1794). But Jones was determined to stay in England (LB 12: JPP to Mrs JB Dunbar, 20 December 1796) and finally, in 1797, the House lost patience and decided that Coleman had to find himself a job (LB 40: TP & T to JB Dunbar, 22 February 1797). Revd Jones's situation, meanwhile, had got worse, and JPP wrote to one of the correspondents in Nevis: 'The account you give of Mr Wm Jones is truly deplorable' (LB 12: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 23 April 1797). No more was heard of Coleman Jones. Revd William Jones died in November 1800.
[1400] PP, LB 16: JPP, Somerton, to JB Dunbar, London, 8 July 1801
[1401] PP, LB 16: JPP to Frances Jones, Nevis, 27 November 1800
[1402] PP, AB 42 Mary Pinney's a/c

her situation',[1403] with these recommendations Ann Seymour may well have secured a position in Mary Taylor's new household.

Ann Seymour's former mistress, Mrs Frances Jones, died in Bristol, in July 1813. Fanny Coker had known her for many years and no doubt attended her funeral in the church of St Augustine the Less.[1404]

The year 1816 saw a particularly harsh winter,[1405] and in the following year JPP's health declined. For a long time he had suffered from various complaints: stomach trouble,[1406] inflammation of the eyes,[1407] piles,[1408] pains in the throat,[1409] pains in his right side[1410] and shingles.[1411] He had asthma[1412] which abated[1413] and then came back, leaving him debilitated.[1414] In the last few years he had lost weight so that a coat that had been made for him no longer fitted but was too large.[1415] JPP had reached his late seventies and it was time to make his will. Among his bequests was one for Fanny Coker to which he attached a requirement: provided she remained in Mrs P's service or left with her permission, she was to get the dividends on £1,000 worth of consols, invested at three per cent.[1416] Tying her to this bequest appears ungenerous towards Fanny who had served the family since birth but it was a way of ensuring that his wife in her old age did not have to find, and then adjust to, new servants. JPP's health deteriorated further and for the last ten days of his life he 'was in a dangerous state'. He died on Friday, 23 January 1818.[1417] On his death he was worth £340,000 – worth over £26 million in 2016.

Despite his wealth he had remained in his relatively modest house in Bristol. He and his family did spend considerable sums of money on their living expenses, but he had economised on some outgoings like candles (one October day Mrs P wrote 'for it is so very dark that I cannot see'),[1418] and even at an advanced age he had checked the accounts, always paying close attention to detail. Ruffled by an accounting error that amounted to three pennies, he had pointed this out to his son Charles: although a 'trifling' sum, it was 'not improper to be noticed'.[1419] This diligence had benefited him in his business ventures and had made him a very rich man. When news of his death reached Nevis, it was noted there even by someone who had not known him personally. JPP had left his mark in the island.[1420]

One wonders how Fanny Coker felt about JPP's death. All her life she had lived in close proximity to him – the man who, no doubt, was the father of her brother Billey Jones. This man had allowed her mother and her brother to live a semi-free life in Charlestown yet he had never legally freed them and had prevented Billey Jones from buying his children – JPP's grandchildren. He had punished Fanny's brother

---

[1403] PP, LB 23: JPP to J Taylor, Carshalton Park, Surrey, 10 February 1810
[1404] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 2 p356; BRO, BAFHS CD-ROM Burials 1813-1837 and FCP/StAug/R/2(C)5
[1405] Murray, Venetia *High Society* p85
[1406] PP, LB 8: JPP to JB Dunbar, London, 16 June 1789
[1407] PP, LB 9: JPP to James Tobin, 4 July 1790, and LB 24: JPP to JC Mills?, Nevis, 3 March 1814
[1408] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to John Taylor, Nevis, 6 February 1792
[1409] PP, LB 12: JPP, London, to James Tobin, Bristol, 4 November 1793
[1410] PP, LB 12: JPP, Bristol, to JB Dunbar, London, 6 October 1794
[1411] PP, LB 23: JPP to Mrs Roberts, 22 June 1812
[1412] PP, LB 16: JPP, Bristol, to JB Dunbar, London, 29 January 1801
[1413] PP, LB 19: JPP to James Parris, 32 St Thomas Street, Weymouth, 25 August 1808
[1414] PP, Dom Box C1-1: JPP to Charles Pinney, 15 November 1815
[1415] PP, LB 24: JPP to Robert Birket, 4 George Street, Adolphi Strand, London, 12 June 1814
[1416] PP, WI Box G: 29 October 1817; also ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1805-1818 ff386-89; also UKNA, PROB 11/1605 and WI Box G: Probate of JPP's will, 25 January 1818
Pinney's stipulation was not unusual, Kathleen Chater mentioned a will with a similar clause (*Untold Histories* p88).
[1417] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 2 p376; also Memorial inscription in Clifton Church, Bristol; also PP, LB 54: P & A to George Webbe, Flushing near Falmouth, 26 January 1818
[1418] PP, Cat 4 Misc Vols and Item, Bound Vol of Misc MSS 1672-1806: Jane Pinney to Frederick (Pinney), (no day) October 1802
[1419] PP, Dom Box C1-1: JPP to Charles Pinney, 10 November 1815
[1420] BCLAS, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b): 25 January 1818

for not paying his hire charges by ordering two of his children, William and Fanny, to work on the under-funded Clarke's Estate which was under mortgage to the House. And while JPP had got married and had raised a family, Fanny Coker had remained unmarried and in his service.

The allowance her employer had left her, added to her own savings, provided Fanny Coker's pension.[1421] On 31 March 1819 she drew her annuity of £30 from which tax was deducted.[1422] But this was not her only income; Fanny Coker also received half year dividends from stock,[1423] and investments.[1424] Her wages had risen to £26 a year,[1425] and, having managed to acquire some wealth, three months after JPP's death Fanny Coker decided to make her will. Although a servant all her life, she had become prosperous.

She called on two fellow servants to witness her will, Celia Hiscox and JPP's butler, John Sansom. The document followed a conventional format, starting with 'In the Name of God Amen I Frances Coker servant of Mrs Pinney of Great George (sic) in the City of Bristol being in perfect health of body and of sound mind memory and understanding praised be God for the same do make this my last Will and Testament …' She left for her 'dear mother Polly in the island of Nevis thirty pounds' but if her mother died before her, the money was to go to her brother William Jones. He was to get £20, her watch and all her silver spoons and other plate. To her brother Cobenna (sic) and her two sisters she left £10 each, and they were to share all her clothes and bed linen. She remembered her old friend Ann Seymour with a personal gift, her 'best tea chest', but the most telling bequest she made to the Pastor of Broadmead Baptist Meeting. To him she left £5 'for the missionary belonging to the Baptist'. This was the Baptist Missionary Society, founded in 1792 - the oldest of the Non-Conformist missionary societies. Working class-based, the organisation distinguished itself from the Church Missionary Society, which was founded seven years later by upper class, evangelical Anglicans linked to William Wilberforce.[1426] This bequest shows Fanny Coker's awareness of political developments and a wish to influence them by supporting the Baptists' missionary efforts in the West Indies. The Pastor of the Baptist church in Pithay and then King Street, Revd Thomas Roberts, later became a member of the Committee of the Bristol Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society which was set up in 1823. In his portrait a set of chains signifies his abolitionist stance.[1427] That Revd Roberts was also sensitive to the needs of individual members of his congregation is evident from the assistance he gave Mrs P's nephew William Burt Weekes in finding work and accommodation in Bristol. Charles Pinney was on friendly terms with Revd Roberts, and one must assume, therefore, that Charles approved of Fanny Coker's bequest. She appointed Charles as one of her executors; her brother Billey Jones as the other.

[1421] PP, Pinney (Domestic) 1815-1845
[1422] PP, Dom Box B3-6: Form 2, receipt of annuity for Fanny Coker, dated 31 March 1819
[1423] PP, P Ledger f114 and AB 65 f114 Contingent Fund and Ann Virgin's a/c
[1424] PP, Domestic T3: Bank Book William Moffat & Burgess to Charles Pinney from June 1817-January 1853
[1425] PP, P Ledger f120 Mrs Pinney's a/c
[1426] William Carey, an English Baptist who sailed to India, has been credited as starting the modern Baptist missionary movement but a Virginian-born slave, George Liele (also Lisle), had carried out missionary work in Georgia after he was freed. Ordained as a Baptist pastor in 1775, he then spread the gospel in Jamaica and formed the first Baptist church there. He later emigrated to West Africa and began missionary work in Sierra Leone (http://www.internationalministries.org/SPECIALFOCUSAmericanBpstistMisssionAfrica.htm).

Another well-known member of the Broadmead Baptist Church was William Knibb. In 1824 he went as a missionary to Jamaica and was there during the 'Baptist War' in 1831. The following year Knibb returned to Britain to campaign for the end of slavery. An inspiring preacher, he travelled widely, taking a set of chains used on enslaved people to meetings (http://www.discoveringbristol.org.uk). He gave evidence to two Parliamentary Select Committees (Anon 'Report from the Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendix and Index' – Slave Trade Vol 2; and 'Negro Apprenticeships, with Minutes and Evidence' Vol 3 p243 and BW Higman *Montpelier Jamaica* p201, quoting 'Report from the Select Committee on West India Colonies' in *Parliamentary Papers* 1842 (9) Vol 13 p433).
[1427] http://www.discoveringbristol.org.uk

Having bequeathed S£85 in cash (worth almost £6,700 in 2016) and her personal belongings, she signed her will.[1428] A year later, by March 1819, her handwriting had become slightly shaky,[1429] suggesting her health was in decline. By February the following year she fell 'severely ill … with a liver affection'.[1430] Mrs P engaged a nurse and for about two months Frances Coker was in her care[1431] until she died on 12 April 1820. She was 52 years old. She had not disappointed her fellow Baptists: she had 'lived honourably and died comfortably'.[1432]

Frances Coker, a 'woman of colour', was buried on 17 April 1820 in the Baptist Burial Ground in Redcross Street, on the 'south side of Strattons tomb'.[1433] Revd Thomas Roberts presided over the funeral[1434] which would have been a dignified event attended by fellow servants and worshippers from the Broadmead church but few members of the family. Charles Pinney was in Nevis and Mary Ames probably too grief-stricken to attend another funeral; she had buried her husband the previous month.[1435]

Frances Coker was laid to rest in a manner that befitted a respectable woman in nineteenth century Britain. The burial fee came to 6d, and in the following month a further 5s was paid to Isaac James, a lay tutor at the Baptist College,[1436] for permission to erect stones on her grave. A local company made her tomb stone at a cost of £1:2:0. It is possible that her grave was made of brick, covered with flat stones the length and breadth, and with a flat stone placed on top.[1437]

Charles Pinney's partner in the firm, Robert Case, relayed the news of her death to Nevis: 'Fanny Coker has paid the debt of nature.' Giving details of the legacies she had left to her family,[1438] in his role of executor Charles was to pay the money to Fanny's family. Mrs P thought it was 'a good opportunity' for him to pay the money while in Nevis, 'instead of remitting it from this country'.[1439] Surprisingly, Mrs P had mentioned to Charles the death of her long-standing servant more or less only in passing - 'You no doubt were sorry to hear of poor Fanny's death. She died as she lived a good Christian' - and she went on ask her son to give Black Polly an annuity left by JPP.[1440]

[1428] PP, Pinney (Domestic) 1815-1845, 1818: Loose receipts, 16 October 1818
Later it was said that John Samson drew up the will (Dom Box C1-6: RE Case to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 19 April 1820). In her will, Fanny Coker's sister Hetty was called Kitty.
[1429] PP, Dom Box B3-6: Stamp Office Legacy Duty Form 2
[1430] PP, Dom Box C1-6: RE Case to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 19 April 1820
[1431] PP, P Ledger f120 Mrs Pinney's a/c
[1432] BRO, 30251/BD/ M1/3
[1433] BRO, FC30251/BD/RS/5(a)5 Broadmead Baptist Burials 1804-1822
[1434] The entry in the burial register described Frances Coker as a 'woman of colour', aged 53 years. She was a year younger (BRO, F97 Non-Conformist Registers Baptist Broadmead, R.G.4 1827 f110; 'The Register of Burials in the Burying Ground in Redcross Street Bristol belonging to the Baptist Congregations in Broadmead and the Pithay from 1804 to 22 March 1836').
The poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge described his friend Revd Thomas Roberts as "the only extemporary preacher he had ever listened to with pleasure." (Roe, N (ed) *English Romantic Writers in the West Country* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2010 p105 quoting Fuller, 1842, pp27-8).
[1435] PP, Dom Box C1-6: RE Case to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 24 March 1820
[1436] Hall, Sydney C and Harry Mowrley *Tradition and Challenge - The Story of Broadmead Baptist Church* p43
[1437] BRO, FC30251/BD/RS/5(a)2 Baptist Broadmead Burials 1806-1830, Frame 28
In the late eighteenth century a new part of the Burying Ground in Redcross Street was opened up for interments. Rules stipulated that 'All graves shall be covered with flat stones equal to the length and breath.' Over the coming years the numbers of burials increased and in 1806 the Deacons agreed to increase the fees for opening a grave 'be advanced from five shillings to ten shillings for adults, from two shillings and six pence to five shillings for children under fourteen years of age.' Members of the congregation were excused from paying for the ground. It was also agreed to 'allow flat stones to be put down for one Pound' (BRO, F97 Non-Conformist Registers Baptist Broadmead, R.G.4 1827, Broadmead Burials, Frame 2).
[1438] PP, Dom Box C1-6: RE Case to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 19 April 1820
[1439] PP, Dom Box C1-6: Mrs E Baillie, York Crescent, Clifton, to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 13 May 1820
[1440] PP, Dom Box C1-6: Jane Pinney (Mrs Pinney), Swanage, to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 25 October 1820

Very soon after he had returned to England, Charles Pinney had Frances Coker's will proved at London.[1441] Her clothes and bed linen were valued at £15, her metal watch at £3:3:0 and her tea caddy at 10s. The cash in the house, in the bank, or still owed, amounted to £43:10:5, the annuity to £95:7:6. The outgoings, including the legacies, came to £138:10:8. The funeral had cost a few pennies short of £22, the probate almost £6, and as executor Charles Pinney incurred expenses of close to £7. Once everything was accounted for, 7s3d were left.[1442] Just as Mrs P had packed up Pero's belongings and sent those to his family in Nevis, in February 1821 she sent three trunks to Black Polly 'with her poor daughter Fanny's clothes'.[1443] As a seamstress Frances Coker had possessed more clothes than would have been usual for domestic servants.

Not long after probate was granted, and as if triggered by this, her fellow servant at Somerton Erleigh, Ann Virgin, made her will. She, too, was comfortably off and left close to £300 in cash, her own bed and bedding and what she called 'little furniture' – tea caddies, wooden sewing cases, money boxes and suchlike.[1444] Ann Virgin lived for several more years and died, in her eighties, in 1830.[1445] Ann Seymour, Fanny's friend who had been left her best tea chest, was then still alive.[1446]

Mrs P did not seek to replace Fanny Coker but kept one male servant.[1447] She continued to travel to the seaside – in 1820 she visited Swanage - [1448] but her husband's death had affected her greatly. She grieved deeply for him. Even after almost two years she could not bear to be at Great George Street. After returning from Somerton Erleigh, she 'found it so melancholy that she did not remain there but a few minutes.' To overcome her misery and her loneliness, she went to stay with her daughters, the widowed Mary Ames and Betsey Baillie. Mary Ames told her brother Charles: 'At this moment she is sitting on the sofa desiring me to say a thousand things for her.'[1449] Mrs P, who had always been supportive of her children, now depended on them. Despite suffering much ill health during her life, she had always managed to look after her family and friends but she deteriorated after her husband's death. In August 1821 the children found her 'in a very declining state'[1450] and by the following January she was confined to her bed. She stayed in Bath.[1451] Her health worsened and Mrs P died in March, with her daughters at her bedside.[1452] 'Much beloved and regretted', Jane Pinney was buried in the family vault in Somerton. In the parish church the family erected a memorial to her and her husband.[1453] Her granddaughter remembered her 'as overflowingly benevolent' with a 'bright and beaming ... smile'.[1454]

[1441] UKNA, PROB 11/1645/245
[1442] PP, Pinney (Domestic) 1815-1845: Single sheet summary entitled 'Legacies under the will of Frances Coker Spn. dec.d'; also Handwritten List, also Form No 2 Stamp Office, Receipt for Annuity, and Form 3, Register DC No. 3 1821 Flo. 606: 'An Account of the Personal Estate and Monies arising of the Real Estate of Frances Coker Spin.t late Servant of Pinney Esq of the City of Bristol who died on the 12th day of April (1820); also AB 70 p91 Cash a/c and Probate of Will No 73865; also 1818 Account Book p85
[1443] PP, Dom Box C1-7: Mrs Jane Pinney, Bath, to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 21 February 1821
[1444] PP, Misc Vols 21 and Dom Box K2-18
[1445] PP, Dom Box B3-6: Stamp Office Legacy Duty Form 1
[1446] In November 1835 the House paid Ann Seymour £25:11:5 on 'Frances Coker's account'. It is likely that this was money left over from JPP's bequest. In September 1833 Frances Coker's £1,000 worth of three per cent consols had been valued at £1,290 (PP, Pinney (Domestic) 1815-1845 f85, and Dom Box C1-6: Form 1). According to the Bank of England Inflation Calculator, in 2016 this was worth over £140,000.
[1447] PP, LB 28: Charles Pinney to John Hyde, Surveyor, 8 January 1822
[1448] PP, Dom Box C1-6: Jane Pinney, Swanage, to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 25 October 1820
[1449] PP, Dom Box C1-5: Mary Ames, Harley Place (Clifton), to Charles Pinney, 8 November 1819
[1450] PP, LB 25: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 1 August 1821
[1451] PP, LB 28: Charles Pinney to John Hyde, Surveyor, 8 January 1822
[1452] PP, Dom Box D1: Jane Baillie to Mrs (Frances) Pinney, Thursday (no day) 1822
[1453] Memorial to John and Jane Pinney in St Michael and All Angels Church, Somerton
[1454] PP, Misc Vols 48 Misc Notes

Today no memorial marks Frances Coker's grave. The last burials in Redcross Street took place in 1865, and by 1926 the site had become unsightly. The Charity Commission allowed the sale of the land.[1455] Graves were moved to a different part of Bristol, to Greenbank Cemetery. At the bottom of the slope from Greenbank View, near the old Midland railway line, a drab headstone commemorates the re-interment of the remains from Redcross Street, in graves 70-74N. Graves 548 and 552N were also used for re-interments but not solely for the Baptist Burial Ground. No individual names were recorded.[1456] The original burial ground in Redcross Street had by the 1970s become a grubby, litter-strewn park but was in the early twenty-first century restored and has once again become a quiet place of rest.

Frances Coker's name lived on in her family in Nevis: her brother Billey Jones had a daughter called Fanny and a son, William Jones, who with his wife Maria Sprouse also named their daughter Fanny.

335 **Acree** was born on Thursday, 1 October 1767, to an entailed woman. His grandfather may have been Achree, his father Accra (also Acraw) from Woodland plantation[1457] and his mother Little Molly (No 227). If Little Molly was his mother, his siblings were Friday (b 1775), Quashee (b 1776), Jibba (b 1780) and John-Peter (b 1794), who died in infancy.

Aged 15, Acree's appraised value of N£66 was relatively low for a boy his age. Although as an adult he did work in the great gang, as a teenager he must have been comparatively weak. Another plantation-born boy, Daniel, at the age of only 12 years and 9 months was valued at the same amount, as was Miah, a plantation-born girl, who was almost a year younger than Daniel.

In August 1795 Acree was involved in a theft, with Scandal, a young man from the Gold Coast who committed several robberies. Together they stole a hog from 'a Negro of Mr Scarborough's', and the plantation had to pay N8s3d compensation.[1458] This incident occurred in a year when several other thefts took place on Mountravers and enslaved people in a number of Caribbean islands rose against their masters and fought for their freedom. The young men's stealing may be seen as an attempt to destabilise the political situation in Nevis but, equally, it could also have been just a straightforward case of thievery.

When Acree was aged about thirty, he suffered from 'a bad venereal' and doctors Archbald and Williamson performed on him the only known surgery for venereal disease. The operation cost N£6:12:0,[1459] the same amount the doctors charged for dealing with Warrington's tumour.

Over a period of almost four years, from November 1799 to August 1803, Acree absented himself from the plantation at least five times. This may have been a pattern throughout his life, and the lives of other people. In Acree's case three absences can be traced through the accounts books and two through the

---

[1455] Hall, Sydney C and Harry Mowrley *Tradition and Challenge - The Story of Broadmead Baptist Church*

[1456] Pers. comm., J Norman, Bereavement Services Officer, Bristol City Council, 7 January 2000
In 2017 Fanny Coker's 250 birthday was remembered with an event entitled 'Daughters of Igbo Woman' which claimed to bring 'to public attention a little known 18th century African woman Frances (Fumnanya)* Coker 1767-1820 and her mother, Adaeze & grandmother, Ojiugo.' [*elsewhere spelt Funnanya]. There is no evidence anywhere in the Pinney Papers that Fanny Coker had an African name; her mother's name and grandmother's character were also entirely speculative. The event took place at Greenbank Cemetery in Bristol and, although Fanny Coker had chosen to become a loyal member of the Baptist church and with her bequest to the Baptists showed her support for their missionary work to replace African religion with Christianity, somewhat incongruously the anniversary of her birthday was celebrated with traditions borrowed from African rituals: African drumming and dance.

[1457] Accra may possibly also have been the father of the boy Little Accra or Acraw, who in 1774 and 1779 was on Woodland. That child may, therefore, have been Acree's half-brother.

[1458] PP, AB 52: 1 August 1795; also AB 47 (In this account Acree was not mentioned; perhaps he was less involved than Scandal, whose third recorded theft this was.)

[1459] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c

plantation diary but, as this is the only plantation diary available, there is no evidence of other, probably brief absences. He was gone twice for short periods and both times 'Acree came home' on his own accord: he was away for two days from 2 November 1799 and for three days from 13 January 1800. On the third occasion, he left on Monday, 7 July 1800,[1460] and James Williams sent hunters after him. They caught him two weeks later. Perhaps he was then already trying to flee the island, or it was the punishment that the manager meted out that made him leave again soon after: on 11 August 1800 James Williams paid three hunters N9s each 'for catching Acree who ran away and had been continually robbing the Negroe houses and at last attempted to escape off the island.'[1461] The last record of him absconding again was three years later, when on 7 August 1803 a reward of N9s was paid 'for catching Acree'.[1462]

He did not succeed in running away and was sold with the plantation to Edward Huggins, but he may well have escaped some time before December 1816. He was not recorded as being transferred from Edward Huggins to his son Peter Thomas. Acree was then in his late thirties to his late forties. Quashee, who may have been his brother, and who was badly beaten by Huggins in the public flogging in 1810, may also have left the island around that time.

336 and 337 Nancy Maillard, also Nanny (dob c 1733/4)**,** and her son **John** (dob c 1755/6). On 8 February 1768 JPP bought the 34-year-old 'Negro woman' Nancy Maillard, together with her son. The boy was aged 'about 12'. They cost a relatively low S£40/N£70.[1463]

Their previous owner was Elizabeth Maillard who had some years earlier sold people to Haim De Lima, a Jewish shopkeeper. He had died in the meantime, leaving two of his people their freedom and bequeathing a third to a niece.[1464] Nancy Maillard may have known them; indeed, they may have been her relatives. It is equally possible that the nine-year-old Ritta Maillard, whom JPP bought from Richard Stanley four months after he had acquired Nancy Maillard, was also her child. All three remained on Mountravers until the other people came back from the Gingerland estate later in the year.

Nancy Maillard's son John died in the second half of 1768 and, after about two and a half years on Mountravers, in October 1770 Nancy Maillard was sold to Elizabeth Wells. For JPP it was a good deal; he 'received in part' N£66, only N£4 less than he had paid for her and her son.[1465] The girl Ritta Maillard, whom he had bought separately, remained on Mountravers.

There were several Wells families in St Kitts, and Elizabeth and her sister Ann Wells may have been the granddaughters of the St Kitts planter Richard Rowland. However, in Nevis there was also an Elizabeth Wells, a (step?) sister of Joanna Jones and Mary Clarke,[1466] two women with whom JPP had business

---

[1460] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[1461] PP, AB 47 f116 Cash a/c and f111 Cash a/c
[1462] PP, AB 57 Plantation a/c
[1463] PP, AB 20 and AB 18 f27 Elizabeth Maillard's a/c; also AB 21 Plantation a/c 1768 and AB 16 Estates in Nevis a/c
[1464] Terrell, Michelle M *The Historical Archaeology of a Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Jewish Community* p325, citing ECSCRN, CR 1762-1764 f446
[1465] PP, AB 17 Cash a/c
[1466] Evans, JAH 'Nathaniel Wells of Piercefield and St Kitts: From Slave to Sheriff' in *Monmouthshire Antiquarian* p92 and pp93-4, citing Oliver *Monumental Inscriptions* (Dorchester, 1927, no volume number) p142; pers. comm., Ann Rainsbury, Curator, Chepstow Museum, 28 October 2003; ECSCRN, CR 1797-1799 f393
Elizabeth and Ann Wells may have been linked to the merchant William Wells, who appears to have been in Nevis since at least 1740 (Acts of the Privy Council 1720-1740 No 505). He ran a large plantation; in the mid-1750s he paid tax on 275 slaves (PP, Dom Box P: General's Tax Notebook 1755) and owed about £7,000 to several London merchant houses (Thoms, DW 'The Mills Family: London Sugar Merchants' p9). He disappeared from view after 1763, when he rented from Samuel New's two houses 'that front the Main Street opposite the market place' (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 6 p116).

dealings. They were not particularly well off although when Mary Clarke died, she owned four people – most likely her domestic servants.[1467]

Elizabeth Wells, Nancy Maillard's new owner, had sold to JPP a young girl, Violet Wells, and a teenaged boy, George Wells, and just a couple of months earlier she had freed her woman Betty Wells. By purchasing Nancy Maillard, Elizabeth Wells may have intended to replace the freed woman.[1468] Elizabeth Wells freed two more people, a girl, Peggy, and a man; Nat.[1469] She did not marry and was alive in the late 1790s[1470] but nothing more is known about Nancy Maillard.

338 Ritta, also Stanley's Ritta and Ritta Maillard (dob 1758/9). Ritta, a nine-year-old black Creole girl, was purchased on Saturday, 2 April 1768, from Richard Stanley. She cost S£26/N£45.[1471] Later JPP acquired people from Richard Stanley in his capacity as auctioneer but Stanley did not hold that post yet [1472] and Ritta was therefore his own. It is likely that she had originally come to Stanley from Elizabeth Maillard, who may have had to let go of Ritta and other people in order to raise money.

In July 1783 Ritta was worth N£110, the same as Black Polly. Her high value suggests that she was a domestic and in good health. She may have been pregnant when appraised, and it is likely that on 30 October 1783 Ritta gave birth to a girl, Phoebe, but that she suffered from complications after the birth.[1473] On 26 November 1783 the doctor visited her and gave her four boluses [1474] but Ritta Maillard died two days later. She was in her mid-twenties.

She was the second person who died after JPP left Nevis. Whereas losing the other, Constant, was of little consequence, she was a valuable woman and JPP comforted his manager Joseph Gill: 'Ritta Maillard is a loss, but it cannot be helped, such occurrences will happen; I am persuaded she wanted no care from you.'[1475]

339 Violet Wells alias Sally (b c 1759-61). She probably was an African girl of about seven or eight years of age when she was bought on 24 June 1768. Elizabeth Wells sold her for S£22:10:0/N£38.[1476]

Just a couple of months before JPP sold Nancy Maillard, Elizabeth Wells had manumitted a woman called Betty Wells but, given that there appeared to have been business links between JPP and Joanna Jones and Mary Clarke, it is unlikely that it was this recently freed woman who bought Nancy Maillard (CR 1769-1771 and UKNA, CO 186/6).

[1467] Mary Clarke's will shows how enslaved families - and units of enslaved people who may have lived together for a long time - could be split up on the death of their owner, and how their death could mean continuing enslavement for some but freedom to others. Mary Clarke left to her sister Elizabeth Wells her two mulatto boys Tom and Richard for life and after Elizabeth Wells's death, they were to be manumitted. Her woman Nanny Puppah was to be freed immediately, but Nanny Puppah's daughter, the girl Matilda, was to serve a mustee girl named Polly, the daughter of the mulatto woman Jenny Bridgwater, for ten years and then Matilda, too, was to be given her freedom. In this case the colour of the individual also determined her fate: the black girl had to wait on the mixed heritage girl (ECSCRN, Nevis Wills Book 1787-1805 f419).

[1468] ECSCRN, CR 1769-1771; also UKNA, CO 186/6: 9 December 1772

[1469] ECSCRN, CR 1797-1799 f350 and CR 1799-1801 f54

[1470] ECSCRN, CR 1797-1799 f393

[1471] PP, AB 16 and AB 18 f33 Richard Stanley's a/c and Plantation a/c

[1472] Before Richard Stanley, Thomas Smith was Deputy Provost Marshal (UKNA, CO 186/6: 24 March 1768).

[1473] In 1802 Phoebe was pregnant and one of the children born in 1802 was called Ritta Maillard. This child was, most likely, named after her grandmother.

[1474] PP, AB 30 Archbald & Williamson's a/c

[1475] PP, LB 5: JPP to Joseph Gill, 30 March 1784

[1476] PP, AB 16 and AB 17 Nevis Cash a/c; also AB 20 Plantation a/c

Violet Wells was on Mountravers for less than four months when she was sold to William Coker's wife. On 4 October 1768 she was sold for N£7 more than she had been bought.[1477] The deal may have included Dung Belly Fibba, a woman of about sixty years of age, whom JPP gave to the Cokers some time after July 1768. William Coker was in England and, most likely, his wife acquired the women for domestic duties and to look after their three-year-old son William Young. Mrs Coker was then living at Fort Charles. Her husband briefly returned to Nevis, fathered another son but was on his way to England again when their second son, John Frederick, was born in August 1770. Mrs Coker was also preparing to leave Nevis and just after she had given birth, JPP wrote to her husband about an ownership dispute involving another slave, Amelia. The letter suggests tension between Mrs Coker and Violet Wells, or Sally, as she called her, or that Violet/Sally was not up to the work that was required of her: 'Mrs Coker is desirous of having her [Amelia] until she leaves the island, in the room of Sally who I shall sell immediately, having (I am in hopes) a purchaser ready to receive her.'[1478] The purchaser was none other than JPP's friend John Hay Richens. He bought Violet/Sally on 1 January 1771 for N£66 from William Coker, together with Coker's man called Blandford,[1479] but, as it was not convenient for Mrs Coker to part with Violet/Sally before she left for England, she remained in her service until the end of April 1771.[1480] The other Mountravers person with Mrs Coker, Dung Belly Fibba, died some time after January 1769, probably before Mrs Coker's departure.

With John Hay Richens were already two Mountravers people, Judy and her child Molly, and in May that year Richens also bought from Coker another mother and her child. Richens was renting a plantation and building up his workforce. In 1772 he bought another person from JPP, a man called Congo Will. A 'plantation negro', Congo Will died within the next three years but in June 1775 Violet Wells was among twenty people mortgaged by Richens to JPP. His plantation did not make any profit and he needed to raise funds to keep going but within a few years he lost the property. If she had survived until then, Violet would have been sold yet again.

In 1780 Richens was working as a boiling house watch on Woodland.

◄► ▼◄►

A week after he had brought the people who had worked on the Gingerland estate back to Mountravers, JPP bought, what turned out to be, his last African imports: a nine-year-old boy and a ten-year-old girl. They came from his old supplier, Smith & Baillies.[1481] On 16 July 1768, the day he went to St Kitts, JPP entered in his accounts: 'To my passage to St Kitts to purchase Negroes 15s a whip 9d'.[1482] The whip could have been intended for use on livestock but these two entries so close together make for uncomfortable reading.

The children were said to have originated from the Windward Coast. It is most likely that they came on a Liverpool snauw, the *Nelly and Nancy.* This 120 tons vessel[1483] was new, having been built and

[1477] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c 1768 and Lowland Plantation a/c
[1478] PP, LB 3: JPP to Wm Coker, 28 August 1770
[1479] PP, AB 18 William Coker's a/c
[1480] PP, LB 3: JPP to William Coker, 12 August 1770
[1481] PP, AB 16 and AB 20 Lowland Plantation a/c 1768
[1482] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c
[1483] UKNA, BT 6/3 f150-95: Note from Edward Hanley, Custom House, London April 9 1777 for the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations at their request transmitting 'An Account of the Tonnage of ships from Great Britain to Africa January 1 1757 – January 1 1777 with names and what part of African Coast where possible'.

registered only four years earlier. The same men who had fitted her out for her previous two slaving voyages had done so again: Thomas Johnson, William Dobb, William Pownal, John White, Peter Rigby, John Salthouse and Joseph Brown. The *Nelly and Nancy* had arrived back from her last voyage five months before departing again. She had set off from her homeport on 13 July 1767 - almost exactly a year before JPP bought his two African children.

Captain Richard Dobb and his crew of 32 had sailed to the Windward Coast. With low-lying coastal mangroves and wetlands, the hinterland was almost entirely forested, and the *Nelly and Nancy* had remained off this coast for several months. Captives had been picked up at Sestos and at Bassa in present-day Liberia. They would have belonged to the main peoples groups in Liberia, the Bassa and Kru of the coastal region; the Gio, the Vai, or the Kpelle of central Liberia. But the *Nelly and Nancy* would have taken on board no more than a few captives at a time. This was because there were no holding forts, owing to the geography of the region. The abolitionist Thomas Clarkson described how the ship's trade, as opposed to the castle trade, operated:

> The ships are obliged to be constantly looking out, and sending their boats to that part of the coast where the smoke is seen. The generally receive about three of four slaves at a time, and carry them to the ships. It sometimes happens, however, that slaves are brought to them by the natives.[1484]

One captain's journal provides further details of this trade. For over a month his vessel worked its way slowly along the coast. Often they would stop, fire a gun and canoes would come out to trade but sometimes the surf was too high for the boats to get through. During that slaver's slow trawl the captain recorded only eight purchases: once four canoes came with only one girl, and the captain 'bought her and 2 small teeth [elephant's tusks]', then some canoes came 'with slaves and ivory but so dear [he] could not buy any ivory.' Two days later three canoes bought one boy. After a month the captain moved further east towards the Gold Coast where he spent the next five months, repeating the process.[1485]

The *Nelly and Nancy* left Africa on 31 May 1768. It was then the rainy season,[1486] and lying off the coast for longer than was absolutely necessary would have increased the risk of disease and deaths.[1487] Captain Dobb went to Antigua and then on to St Kitts where he arrived after a voyage of about six weeks. The majority of African captives were taken off at St Kitts.

The *Nelly and Nancy* arrived back at Liverpool on 14 October 1768. Capt Richard Dobb made five or six voyages in total, all on Liverpool ships, for different combinations of owners, but one of them was always William Dobb - presumably a relative of his. Richard Dobb mostly went to the Windward Coast and from there to Jamaica, with one journey each to South Carolina and Antigua/St Kitts. Once, on a return journey from Jamaica to England, he had been shipwrecked. [1488]

[1484] Jones, Adam and Marion Johnson 'Slaves from the Windward Coast' in *Journal of African History* Vol 21 (1980) pp17-34, citing Thomas Clarkson *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species in Three Parts* London 1786 p29
[1485] BCRL, B4764: 'Journal of an Intended Voyage in the Ship *Black Prince* from Bristol to the Gold Coast of Africa'
[1486] *Atlas for Ghana* p28 Table: West Africa Rainfall
[1487] Inikori, Joseph E and Stanley L Engerman (eds) *The Atlantic Slave Trade* p332
[1488] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyages Numbers 91147, 90936, 90937, 91014, and 91015 Richard Dobb was a member of a shipping dynasty; there were also captains William and John Dobb. One of these men would have been Captain 'Dobb', master of the *Active* (Voyage No 90862).

The boy JPP bought he named Hallstock, after the property he owned in Dorset, and the girl he called Hannah; a girl of the same name had died not long before. By 1783 they were worth more than double their purchase price of S£40/N£84, with Hallstock valued at N£110 and Hannah at N£60.[1489]

340 Hallstock (dob 1758/9) was a field worker and in 1793 worked in both Jack Will's and Wiltshire's gangs. Five years later he was in Wiltshire's great gang.

In 1801 one of the overseers paid him some money for goods, services, or work done: On 18 July George Vaughan handed N£1:2:6 to the manager for 'Hallstock in his account'.[1490] Unfortunately the purpose of the payment was not recorded.

Hallstock died between August 1807 and December 1816. He was in his late forties to late fifties.

341 Hannah (dob 1757/8). In December 1782 she had treatment from John Springett. Judging by the cost, N£6:12:0, Springett probably operated on her.[1491]

Aged around thirty, Hannah had her first child: Polly (b March 1787), followed five years later by Diana (b December 1792). In 1793 Hannah was in Wiltshire's great gang; in the late 1790s her daughter Polly, then aged eleven, also worked in the field.[1492]

In November 1823 she lost her younger daughter, Diana. She survived her daughter by just a couple of years. In her late sixties, Hannah died on 1 February 1826.

◄► ▼◄►

342 Frederick's Fanny, also Fanny Frederick (dob 1748/9). A 'Creole negro woman' aged 19, she was bought for S£41/N£70 on 27 or 31 July 1768.[1493]

Her previous owner, Farren Frederick, occasionally gambled with JPP and Dr Foot,[1494] and also had dealings with Captain John Shipherd of the *King of Prussia.* He owed Shipherd money, N£8:15:0.[1495] Nothing else is known about him; Farren Frederick appeared only briefly in JPP's accounts. He probably was a manager on a neighbouring plantation; a year after buying Frederick's Fanny JPP mentioned that 'My neighbour Frederick's Negroes are sold'.[1496]

Some time before May 1774 Fanny was delivered of a child.[1497] It is likely that this was Mary Path, born in March that year. Mary Path later had a daughter called Fanny Frederick and she may well have named her child after her mother.

[1489] PP, AB 16 and AB 20 Lowland Plantation a/c
[1490] PP, AB 47 Cash a/c
[1491] PP, AB 26 John Springett's a/c and Plantation a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f97
[1492] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[1493] PP, AB 16, AB 21, AB 20 Plantation a/c; also AB 18 f34 Farren Frederick's a/c
[1494] PP, AB 20 Jesse Foot's a/c
[1495] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f232
[1496] PP, LB 3: JPP to Wm Coker, 24 July 1769
[1497] PP, AB 20 f138 Plantation a/c

In May 1778 John Springett treated Frederick's Fanny for a sore in her jaw. The amount paid, N£3:6:0,[1498] suggests a serious intervention. Frederick's Fanny died some time before July 1783, possibly as a result of her illness. She was in her late twenties to mid-thirties.

343 Betsey Arthurton, also Mulatto Betsey, was born on Tuesday**,** 13 September 1768. According to JPP, the mulatto James Arthurton (b 1775) was Phibba's son,[1499] and it is very likely that Betsey was also her daughter. The children's father, Thomas Arthurton, was an overseer and distiller on Mountravers until 1777.

When Betsey was eight years old, the seamstress Mary Frances trained her. Mary Frances also instructed Fanny Coker and Mulatto Polly. At a cost of N1s6d a week, Betsey was apprenticed from July 1777 until the end of May 1779.[1500] During that time she would have learnt how to make, mend and alter items of clothing, as well as accessories and household furnishings: how to measure up a person and then cut materials into shapes and stitch the individual pieces together; how to sew invisible seams with tiny regular stitches and make hems that lasted. She learnt how to darn neatly, adjust items of clothing, unpick a garment and refashion it into another. She had to understand textiles and how they could be used to best effect. While part of her job would have involved stitching endless seams on items such as bedlinens and tablecloths, her job may also have involved a certain amount of creativity. She may have learnt how to adorn dresses with ribbons and bows, or embroider shawls and other items. Betsey may have developed a style of dress-making that appealed and became popular.

While she developed her skills as a seamstress, she also widened her social horizons. Away from Mountravers, from an early age Betsey had contact with many people. During the time she was being schooled, Mary Frances was 'given and granted' eleven people by the widow Frances Cole, and presumably they all joined the seamstress's household.[1501]

At the beginning of April 1783, with the Pinney family's departure to England only three months away, Thomas Arthurton sought to buy his children and offered N£200 for both. This was subject to JPP giving him 'an absolute bill of sale'. JPP refused. Because the children were entailed to his son, their sale was exceptional - all he could do was to defer the absolute sale until John Frederick came off age. Betsey and James changed hands for N£120 and N£60 respectively. The remaining N£20, with interest, became due when the Bill of Sale could be issued.[1502]

On 5 July 1783, the day the Pinneys left Nevis, the 'Mulatto girl conditionally called Betsey Arthurton' (after her paternal grandmother) was sold to her father, together with her brother James.[1503] Betsey was relatively expensive; among the females only Mulatto Polly's appraised value was as high as this girl's selling price. JPP's investment in her training as a seamstress had paid off, and it equipped her with a worthwhile skill from which she could earn a living.

[1498] PP, AB 26 John Springett a/c
[1499] PP, LB 15: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, 29 October 1799
[1500] PP, AB 21 Expense a/c, AB 26 f133 Plantation a/c, AB 26 Mary Frances' a/c; also AB 17: 10 February 1778
[1501] In April 1778 the following slaves were 'given and granted' to Mary Frances: Black Sam, Cate, Sue, the three mulattoes Nancy, Sall and Betsey, Creole, Jemmy, Peggy, Isaac and Bidgy (ECSCRN, CR 1777-1778 f551).
[1502] PP, AB 26 f209 Thomas Arthurton's a/c; also AB 30 Thomas Arthurton's a/c
[1503] PP, AB 26 Plantation a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f138

Betsey and James then entered a new life with the wider Arthurton family. It seems that their father, who was in his early forties when he bought the children, did not hold official posts; he may have operated somewhat outside white planter society. Both he and his brother John fathered several mixed-heritage children; for instance around the time Betsey went to live with her father, his son William, her half-brother, was born. By the late 1790s she had several more half-brothers and half-sisters as well as cousins, John Arthurton senior's children. And she had three children of her own: Ann (Nancy), Robert and John. Ann's father almost certainly was the mulatto stonemason John Arthurton (her cousin, John Arthurton senior's son) who worked on Jesup's estate. He may also have been the father of Betsey's sons Robert and John. John Arthurton, the stonemason, was left S£50 in his father's will,[1504] and this probably went towards him buying his freedom. On paying S£80, his then owner John Ede freed John Arthurton in 1803.[1505]

By mid-1799 Betsey Arthurton was still enslaved. Finally, five years after JPP's son John Frederick had come off age, her father requested a Bill of Sale from the Pinneys.[1506] According to the original terms of the sale, this was granted.

But she did not live to become free. Betsey Arthurton died some time before February 1803. She was, at the most, 34 years old.

Her children, however, were freed. In 1803 their grandfather manumitted Ann, Robert and John,[1507] as well as several of his mistresses and their children and his son James (Betsey's brother).

Betsey Arthurton's children Ann and John are difficult to place. The transactions between various members of the family were convoluted, particularly as the relationships are not always clear and the Arthurtons repeatedly used the same names for their children and their enslaved people. Betsey, for instance, was not the only Elizabeth Arthurton. In the 1810s there were three – all free coloureds: one of them, the daughter of John Arthurton senior and Joan Peterson, mentioned in her will of 1816 her half-sister Elizabeth (the daughter of John Arthurton senior and a mulatto woman, Charlotte) and Elizabeth, the wife of her half-brother Charles. There was also another woman called Ann Arthurton (a free mulatto, the planter Samuel Sturge's housekeeper and mother of his mestee children) and three men by the name of John Arthurton. Ann's father, the stonemason, was then the oldest of the three living Johns. Apart from Betsey's son, there was also Betsey's half-brother, her father's mestee son John Fraser Arthurton.

When he was in his seventies, Betsey's father eventually bought a plantation, Richmond Lodge in the parish of St John Figtree. He died in 1824 and willed the property in trust to his son John Fraser Arthurton and his friend Samuel Sturge. Thomas Arthurton had made various bequests; he gave a person to each of his six under-age grandchildren (the children of his sons John Fraser and James – Betsey's brother), but he left none for Betsey's children; they were adults by the time old Arthurton died. Betsey's son Robert did not appear to have owned anyone but Ann and John acquired their own people independently.

The evidence is not conclusive but the stories of Betsey's children – as well as those of their enslaved people – went something like this: when she was in her late teens or early twenties, Betsey's daughter Ann was left some money by the Elizabeth Arthurton who made her will in 1816 (in effect Ann's half-

[1504] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff270-72
[1505] John, the 'reputed son of John Arthurton the Elder dec'd', was manumitted with the black man Frank by John Ede on 19 February 1803 (ECSCRN, CR 1801-1803 f521).
[1506] PP, LB 15: JPP to James Williams, 29 October 1799
[1507] ECSCRN, CR 1801-1803 ff506-07, ff527-28

aunt).[1508] Ann may have put this money towards buying her first person: on 20 March 1823 she purchased a nine-year-old girl, Lucy. She bought the child from a free mixed-heritage man, James Scarborough, for N£115.[1509] Two years later she filed her first slave registration, which Samuel Sturge signed on her behalf. It is not clear whether this was Samuel Sturge senior or junior.

Samuel Sturge senior was not only her grandfather's friend but also the grandfather of her son Robert (who was named after her brother). It is more likely that Sturge's adult son, also called Samuel, was Ann Arthurton's partner. While Sturge senior apparently managed the Tower Hill plantation in St Thomas Lowland,[1510] Ann Arthurton lived in Charlestown, possibly with Sturge senior's mother. Sturge either leased or was in the process of buying some land with a house and outbuildings in Charlestown.

The property was by the seashore in a mixed neighbourhood.[1511] The neighbours on one side were the planter William McPhail, his wife Jane and their people. Aged around forty, the McPhails were the same age as Samuel Sturge senior,[1512] and they had plantation business in common. The property they lived in had probably been a present to Jane McPhail from her uncle, the merchant and planter Peter Butler,[1513] and William McPhail either owned or managed a plantation called Paradise. In the late 1820s the McPhails fell on hard times, petitioned to be relieved from income tax [1514] and then moved to St Thomas Lowland. They may have gone to live on Tower Hill where Jane McPhail's uncle worked in the mid-1830s[1515] and Samuel Sturge probably worked in the 1820s.

Ann Arthurton's neighbours on the other side were a well-to-do 'free Negro woman', Ann Bennett, and her enslaved people. Aged around forty and free for half her life,[1516] she had become a wealthy woman. At one time she owned 25 men, women and children. The land on which she lived may have been rented from John Burke, a gentleman from whom she had purchased many of her people.[1517] In addition to receiving S£365 from the British government's slave compensation fund,[1518] Peter Butler, Jane McPhail's uncle, left her a legacy.[1519] Although that legacy may never have been forthcoming,[1520] when she made her will in the late 1830s Ann Bennett was able to bequeath a considerable amount of property. To her

---

[1508] In her will Elizabeth Arthurton did not distinguish between full and half siblings. She left N£20 for Ann, the daughter of her brother John. Elizabeth Arthurton also left money for Samuel Sturge's son Samuel and appointed Sturge senior as joint executor, together with Charles Arthurton – another (half)-brother of hers (ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1805-1818 f312).
[1509] ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 vol 2 f20
William Keepe, who then was the Deputy Provost Marshall, witnessed Ann Arthurton's purchase of Lucy from James Scarborough. As Lucy later acquired the surname Laurence it is likely that he had bought her from a member of the Laurence family.
[1510] Samuel Sturge signed the 1817 and 1825 slave registers for Tower Hill plantation and, said to be from St James Windward, he was buried in St Thomas church, which he would have attended, it being close to the plantation.
[1511] Later it was claimed that Samuel Sturge owed N£440 to Robert Mulhall, a plantation manager, for the property in Charlestown. Mulhall died at the beginning of 1827 (NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 1) and his executors brought a lawsuit for the debt and judgment was made against Samuel Sturge. However, his mother, Ann Arthurton, then produced the Bill of Sale for the property: she had bought the land with a house and outbuildings for N£440 at a Marshalls Sale in September 1827, a few months after Mulhall's death (ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 vol 2 f726). It is likely that Ann Arthurton lived in this property – she had secured her abode by purchasing it.
[1512] William McPhail's man Harper was buried in February 1824 (NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837), his woman Grace Ross's illegitimate daughter Elizabeth Maria was baptised in September 1831 (St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No559). In 1834 he declared nine slaves as his own; Peter Butler signed his register. William McPhail, then from St Thomas Lowland, was buried in January 1834, aged 51. Jane McPhail from Charlestown was buried in January 1842, aged 59 (St Paul's Burials 1844-1865).
[1513] ECSCRN, CR 1814-1817 ff596-98 and CR 1819-1823 f530
[1514] UKNA, CO 186/13: 12 November 1829
[1515] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873
[1516] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965, and ECSCRN, CR 1797-1799 ff508-10
[1517] UKNA, T 71/368; T 71/1543 Bundle 7 and T 71/366, entered in ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 vol 2 f105 on 6 January 1824. See also f21
[1518] HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 pp107-08
[1519] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1837-1864 f77
[1520] On 10 March 1840, after Peter Butler's death, Joseph Stanley renounced the executorship of Peter Butler's estate; renouncing executorship suggests financial chaos.

daughter and to her granddaughter she each left a house with land: one property fronted the beach, the other faced the market place. In addition, she left livestock, cash and some furniture.[1521] The free woman Ann Bennett had done very well for herself.

However, by the time their neighbour Ann Bennett made her will, Samuel Sturge and his son were long dead. Aged 46, the father had died in July 1828;[1522] his son died in May the following year, aged 22. They were both buried in the cemetery in St Thomas Lowland,[1523] but Ann Arthurton chose to have her son Robert baptised in St Paul's church, on 5 March 1830. The father was the planter Samuel Sturge.[1524]

After Samuel Sturge died, Ann signed the next slave inventory herself and registered a boy called Thomas, who had belonged to her father, the stonemason John Arthurton. He was dead by then; he had died not long before Samuel Sturge.[1525] Her father had bought Thomas from James Scarborough on the same day as Ann had bought her first slave, Lucy.[1526] Her father had also owned three others: a black boy called Providence and two children of 'yellow' colour, Moses and Sarah. These he had bought jointly with Ann's brother from a free mixed-heritage woman, Ann White, in 1818.[1527] Around that time John Arthurton senior had also purchased a woman, Leah, whom he then freed in consideration 'of the regard' he had for her. He had to prove in front of Justices of the Peace that she was not likely 'to become chargeable to the public, nor [that] she [was] incapacitated either by age or bodily infirmity from earning or getting a competent maintenance.'[1528] This woman Leah may well have been the mother of Moses and Sarah – the children her father had registered with Providence. Ann's father died in 1826 and, some time between 1825 and 1828, also Moses. After her father's death, Samuel Sturge, who acted as his executor, inherited Thomas, and Ann's brother John took over the girl Sarah he had jointly bought with their father.[1529] After Samuel Sturge's death, Thomas went to Ann Arthurton, who also got to own Providence but, aged 18, Providence died - he was buried in March 1830 -[1530] and then Thomas also died.

Ann Arthurton's brother John, meanwhile, had a daughter called Charlotte with a free mixed-heritage woman, Anne Corbiere. The girl was baptised in February 1824.[1531] John also owned people. He had bought a woman, Frances Jones, from a young free woman, Margaret Jones,[1532] acquired James, an 18-year-old, from the former Mountravers manager Joseph Webbe Stanley and bought another male, Ben, from Sarah Frost.[1533] John registered a further three people: a 61-year-old African woman, Lucinda, and

[1521] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1837-1864 f77
[1522] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 10
[1523] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 Unnumbered
[1524] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 473
[1525] UKNA, T 71/367
[1526] ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 vol 2 f19 or f29
[1527] ECSCRN, CR 1817-1819 f468 and CR 1817-1819 f254
[1528] John Arthurton did not register Leah in 1817 but freed her on 17 April 1821 (ECSCRN, CR 1819-1823 ff244-45).
[1529] According to the 1828 register of 'John Arthurton dec'd', Thomas and Providence were left to Samuel Sturge 'by the will of Ann Arthurton'. Here 'by the will of' probably meant that Ann Arthurton was giving up her ownership in favour of Samuel Sturge. In his register, Sturge declared Thomas as 'inherited from John Arthurton senior' (UKNA, T 71/367).
[1530] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 340
[1531] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 72
[1532] Frances Jones was aged 30 in 1822 and described as 'yellow' (UKNA, T 71/365). Margaret Jones, then in her early twenties, was one of the many free women who freed their family members; in January 1822 she manumitted her mother Judy Jones (NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 698 and ECSCRN, CR 1819-1823 f464).
[1533] UKNA, T 71/ 367 and T 71/369
Ben, whom John Arthurton bought from Sarah Frost, probably was the boy Benjamin who had been left to Sarah Frost by her aunt Martha Morris. In her will Martha Morris bequeathed him to her 'well beloved niece' Sarah Frost who inherited him in 1810 (ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1805-1818 f171).

Louisa and the mulatto William.[1534] Lucinda and Louisa were dead within six years; William lived until at least 1834. Once again, the children that were born did not compensate for the losses - despite Frances Jones having her first child within a year or so of being bought: her son John Henry was baptised in September 1824, her son Thomas in October 1827.[1535] John Arthurton's next slave registration return included the addition of Thomas 'by birth' but it was James, not John, Arthurton who was said to have been the owner when in March 1832 Frances Jones buried her son Thomas. He was six years old.[1536] It is very likely that this James was John Arthurton senior's son. He did not otherwise figure in the records.

Not long before he died, Samuel Sturge had bought two people: Harry, an African, from Frederick William Clarke (a son of the planter who owned the estate next to Mountravers), and Joseph, a black Creole, from the free man William Prentice. Harry and Joseph became Ann Arthurton's property, but Harry was 'sent to [the Parish of St James] Winward (sic) as a domestic to John Sturge' – presumably a relative of hers on Samuel Sturge's side. Ann Arthurton's woman Lucy, meanwhile, had given birth to a daughter, Jane, and was pregnant with another when Ann Arthurton completed her last slave registration in 1834. Lucy's daughter Ann Eliza was baptised a month before slavery was abolished.[1537]

It may not have mattered to any of the Arthurton people which member of the family owned them, but between Ann and her brother John all the uncertain designations led to litigation. In 1834 Ann included Sam Sturge's people when she stated that she owned five; John recorded four, plus another one who had previously belonged to their father. From their returns none of these numbers add up but Ann was awarded compensation for four people (S£48), while her claim for another six was litigated and her brother John received the money, S£129.[1538]

It almost certainly was this John Arthurton (Ann's brother and the son of the Mountravers woman Betsey Arthurton) whom the free mulatto woman Frances Chizzers in 1837 appointed as one of her executors. John was described as 'a retailer'. The other executor was a ships carpenter, John Samuel Allers.[1539] Formerly a slave, Frances Chizzers and her daughter Nancy had once belonged to one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees, Mrs Pinney's aunt Ann Weekes.[1540]

John Arthurton took on, or began using, a middle name, Cooke.[1541] This was either to avoid being confused with his half-brother John Fraser Arthurton who was sometimes just called John,[1542] or because he was following the increasingly fashionable use of middle names. Acquiring a middle name was also a way of asserting one's distinct personality.

Shortly after Emancipation, John Cooke Arthurton[1543] lived in Charlestown, opposite the former Customs House [1544] and next to the carpenter John Thompson. A man of colour freed from slavery in the early

---

[1534] According to Ann and John Arthurton's 1828 slave register, Lucinda, Louisa and William were given in January 1828 'By Purchase of a Mortgage Bond of Mrs Jane Pemberton to Robert Jack of St Kitts to whom they were made over and transferred to us' (UKNA, T 71/367).
[1535] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 Numbers 52 and 279
In the parish register Frances Jones was recorded as Fanny and as belonging to the free mulatto John Arthurton. Her son John Henry was not recorded in his next slave register.
[1536] UKNA, T 71/387 and NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 457
[1537] Ann Arthurton's slave Ann Eliza was baptised on 2 July 1834 (NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 710).
[1538] HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 pp107-08 and pp314-15: Claims Numbers 174 and 175
[1539] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1837-1864 ff1-3
[1540] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff368-74
[1541] The same land was referred to as John Arthurton's and John Cooke Arthurton's
[1542] ECSCRN, CR 1838-1847 f512
[1543] ECSCRN, CR 1835-1838 f406
[1544] ECSCRN, CR 1838-1847 f183

1820s, Thompson was renting an eighth of an acre with 'buildings, stables, kitchen, outhouses etc' and still occupied the land in the mid-1840s when John Arthurton, who was also trading as a merchant, rented out part of his, the adjoining, property.[1545] With both their properties facing the Public Street on two sides, their premises may well have housed Thompson's carpentry workshop and shops or warehouses.

At some stage, probably in 1852, John appears to have acquired another property in Charlestown.[1546] Surrounded by roads, it fronted the beach and was occupied by Henry Harper, a merchant and Emigration Agent.[1547] The freehold for this property John wanted to leave to his daughter Charlotte Corbiere Arthurton and, if she died intestate, he decided it should go to his niece Emma, the wife of Thomas Erskine.[1548]

As a freeholder, John Cooke Arthurton was entitled to stand for, and vote in, annual elections for the vestry board, and from 1860 onwards he served as a member of the vestry for the parish of St Paul's.[1549] The vestrymen managed parish affairs and wielded a considerable amount of power at local level. In addition, as a property-owning freeholder Arthurton also had the right to vote for members of the Assembly and could thereby influence island-wide politics. Given that people had been disenfranchised for so long, it is surprising that a relatively small number of citizens got involved in political affairs; in the 1861 election only 33 per cent of registered voters took part.

Participation in the election for members of the Assembly, 1861

Parish	**Registered to vote**	**Votes cast**	**% of voters participated**
St Paul's	80	35	44
St John Figtree	135	45	33
St George Gingerland	123	45	37
St James Windward	87	12	14
St Thomas Lowland	38	16	42
Total	463	153	33

Participation was the highest in the urban St Paul's district with its well-established free population and the lowest in rural St James Windward on the other side of the island. [1550]

[1545] UKNA, T 71/1543 Bundle 7
John Thompson was renting the property from Dr William T Nicholson of Tobago. The property, which measured 48' by 43', bordered the Public Street to the east and north, a house then in occupation of John Cooke Arthurton to the west and property formerly Mistress William Hendrickson's to the south. William Nicholson acted as William T Nicholson's attorney. The property which John Arthurton rented out to Joseph Liburd was slightly smaller; it measured 34' x 42' (CR 1838-1847f90 and f664).
[1546] ECSCRN, CR 1847-1858 f217 and f219
[1547] UKNA, CO 187/33 Blue Book Nevis 1859
[1548] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1837-1864 f508
[1549] UKNA, CO 187/34 and CO 187/35 Blue Books Nevis 1860 and 1861
[1550] UKNA, CO 187/35 Blue Book Nevis 1861

John Crooke Arthurton had property to pass on, and in April 1863 he made his will. It is likely he was ill by then; he died later in the year, in December. He was recorded as having died at the age of 74. He was buried in the churchyard at St Thomas Lowland.[1551]

His sister Ann had died many years before him. She had also lived in Charlestown,[1552] and almost certainly had been buried as Ann Sturge in St Thomas Lowland, where Samuel Sturge senior and junior, as well as her grandfather Thomas Arthurton had been interred. Ann Sturge was buried on 26 March 1854. She was said to have been sixty years old.[1553] It is likely that she fell victim to the cholera; 'the dreadful visitation with which it has pleased God to visit Nevis.'[1554]

John and Ann Arthurton's brother Robert married a woman called Priscilla Daniell. The couple and their witnesses made their marks by way of a signature. Their wedding took place on 20 August 1840,[1555] the same day as the baptism of their daughters Lucy Ann and Jean. Robert Arthurton was a carpenter and the family lived on Taylor's estate [1556] (where Samuel Sturge senior had probably worked in the 1820s). However, Robert and his family moved to Pollards Land where they were among the first three dozen settlers to establish a new, independent village which later became known as Jessups Village. Robert's uncle John Fraser Arthurton drew up the leases for these properties, and several other Arthurtons built their houses in the village. One of them, James, may have been Robert's nephew – the son of his brother John - or a former slave of Mrs Joan Arthurton's. Registered by her in 1817 as an eight-year-old, she freed James between 1831 and 1834.[1557] The other Arthurtons who moved to Pollards Land were Abraham, about whom nothing is known, and a woman called Catherine. Having lived at Jessups Bay, Catherine Arthurton was buried in July 1877, at the advanced age of 102.[1558]

Robert and his wife Priscilla had at least one more child; their son John Robert was baptised in December 1853. Robert still worked as a carpenter[1559] and until his death lived in Jessups Village. His age under-estimated by about three to four years, Robert Arthurton was said to have been 77 years old when he was buried in December 1882. He, too, was laid to rest in the cemetery at St Thomas Lowland[1560] but his wife, who outlived him by over a decade, was buried in the Methodist Burial Ground in Charlestown. Priscilla Artherton (sic) died in October 1895. She was 95 years old. She, too, had lived in Jessups Village until her death.[1561]

Of Betsey Arthurton's three children (Ann, John and Robert), Robert was the last to die – almost exactly a hundred years after Robert's grandfather had bought his mother from JPP.

344 Barbai, also Baba (1807 only), was black and born on Wednesday, 9 November 1768. Her mother was an entailed woman.

[1551] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 865
[1552] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 340
[1553] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957
[1554] PP, LB 34: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 30 March 1854
[1555] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
[1556] NHCS, Transcripts of Baptisms St Thomas Lowland 1831-1873 Numbers 603 and 604
[1557] UKNA, T 71/369
[1558] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1954 No 1248
[1559] NHCS, Transcripts of Baptisms St Thomas 1831-1873 No 1006
[1560] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 1386
[1561] OMCC, Burials (Clifton) 1887-1961 No 217

When she was nine years old, John Springett cured Barbai of 'negro worms'.[1562] This treatment did not affect her value; aged 14, she was appraised at N£80.

From the age of 16 and over a period of about twenty years, Barbai had five children. Her first, Little London, was born in July 1785. Two years after her first child, she had Flora (b July 1787), then Kate (b February 1794), Betsey (b June 1797), and Adam (b July 1806). Little London was black; Kate (later Kate London) and Betsey (later Betsey Arthurton) were of 'yellow cast'.

The 31-year-old sugar boiler London may well have been the father of her oldest son, Little London, and possibly also of Kate whereas one of the mixed-heritage Arthurtons probably was Betsey's father. Given the spacing between children, the gap between Kate and Flora was probably due to her having been ill: in July 1789 Dr Weekes prescribed for her a 'visit in the country'. This cost N£1.[1563] In 1793, pregnant with Kate, she worked in Tom's and then in Jack's second gang. It is possible that by the late 1790s she did not work in the field any more.

Her daughter Flora probably had a child before Barbai's last child, Adam, was born in 1806. Flora died between August 1807 and December 1816, as did Barbai. She was at least in her late thirties, at the most in her late forties.

345 Miah was born on Tuesday, 20 December 1768. Her mother was an entailed woman, the field hand Peggy (No 125). After giving birth to Miah, she died in childbed at the beginning of January 1769. Almost certainly Miah had an older sister, Toa alias Peggy (b December 1763).

Having lost their mother, the girls would have been brought up by members of their extended families, or by other foster parents. They may, possibly, have suffered neglect, which could explain why Toa died between 1774 and 1783 and why Miah was not very strong. In 1783, when she was 14 years old, she was appraised at a relatively low amount, N£66. Barbai, a girl a month older than Miah, was valued at N£80 and Betsey Arthurton, a mulatto three months older, at N£100.

Her frailty may have been the reason why JPP hired her out to his friend John Hay Richens. Miah worked for him from January 1783 onwards, for five months. Her hire rate was quoted as an annual sum, N£10, which suggests that she was meant to have remained with Richens for longer.[1564] But she returned to Mountravers and after she left, Richens hired Othello and Bess Powell for three years and also Sheba Jones. When Miah was employed by him, presumably Peggy, Bessey and Richen's Quasheba, whom JPP acquired in 1785, were still working for Richens.

In the early 1790s Miah was employed in Jack's second gang but in 1797, over a two-months-period, she underwent extensive treatment. She had consumption:

[1562] PP, AB 26 John Springett's a/c
[1563] PP, AB 30 TP Weekes' a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1789-1794 f24
[1564] PP, AB 26 Negro Hire a/c, AB 26 f188 JH Richens' a/c, AB 26 Negro Hire a/c and DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f103

8 March	12 ? pills
30 March	a visit
24 April	a phial gargle
3 May	a box of pills[1565]

A month later, on 5 June 1797, Miah died from consumption. She was 28 years old.

346 George Wells (dob 1754/5)**,** a 'Creole Negro', was bought on Friday, 10 March 1769, for N£70.[1566] His previous owner, Elizabeth Wells, had already sold Violet Wells alias Sally to JPP but the girl was, by then, already with Mrs Coker.

When he was in his late twenties, George Wells was involved in the 'robbery of salt fish and sugar', with William, Scandal and Rigby, one of the men who belonged to Mrs Pinney's aunt Ann Weekes. While this did not affect Scandal's value, George Wells was appraised at only N£40, the lowest of all men.

Aged around thirty, George Wells was sold with Natt, a man of about the same age. Natt was a Gold Coast slave. Although there were no records of rewards paid for catching George Wells (only one for Natt), manager Gill described them as 'two runaway good for nothing Negroes'. The merchant Daniel Ross bought them in 1784 for N£100.[1567] They probably did not remain in Nevis; it is likely they were shipped off to Ross's St Vincent plantations, or to his kinsman in Virginia, the merchant David Ross. It is also possible that, after Ross bought them, the men freed themselves.

347 Tom Jones (dob 1745/6)**,** a 23 -year-old Creole, was bought on 7 April 1769. His purchase price of N£200 [1568] was the amount he was appraised at 14 years later. He was a mason and with the distiller Ducks Jemmy the highest valued person on Mountravers.

His previous owner was William Jones (later Revd William Jones), and he almost certainly was one of the five people William's father Mathias Jones had registered for his children in 1755. Mathias Jones died in the early 1760s and, as he was then under age, William Jones's guardian John Ward transacted the business. At the time of the sale William Jones was in England.[1569] Tom Jones would have known and may have had contact with the African woman Harriott and the children Pero, Nancy and Sheba Jones, whom JPP had purchased in 1765 from William Jones's step-mother, Joanna Jones.

Tom Jones first appeared in the records before he came to Mountravers: on 24 December 1768, in time for the Christmas festivities, he borrowed N8s3d from JPP. Later he borrowed more money, and also repaid some.[1570] Unusually, he received N11s 3 1/4d for cutting stones [1571] and N£2:13:3 in the 1770s, 'four weeks allowance and for work done'.[1572]

[1565] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[1566] PP, AB 20 f38 Lowland Plantation a/c; also AB 21 Plantation a/c
George Wells was also included in the total cost of N£625. It is possible that a payment in AB 17 to Elizabeth Wells for N£23:2:0, 'in part for a Negro' related to his purchase.
[1567] PP, AB 35 Plantation a/c 1784; also AB 30
[1568] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c; also AB 21 Plantation a/c 1769
[1569] PP, AB 20 John Ward's a/c; see also ECSCRN, CR 1763-1764 f405
[1570] PP, AB 17: 18 May 1770
[1571] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1769
[1572] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c and AB 20 f221 Expense a/c

As a skilled man, he was hired out to about a dozen different people. Some of them were planters or merchants; others were masons. He often was on loan longer than the other plantation masons.

He carried out his first job on Mountravers. He and Bettiscombe hung a set of coppers, completed a chimney and repaired stonework in the lower works, Sharloes. Employed by the partners Charles and Nathaniel Clifton,[1573] for about six months they fixed the damage caused by the hurricane in August 1772. They may have been assisted in the jobs by Nathaniel Clifton's man Pompey.[1574]

In late 1775 Tom Jones was on hire to Andrew Reid. He worked for him for a month and a half - [1575] in fact not long before Reid lost his life in a duel. Reid had challenged a Mr Higgins, who had shot dead a friend of his, Dr Dalgleish, and Reid, in turn, had been killed by Higgins by a shot 'in the belly'. Their duel at the church in St Thomas Lowland and Higgins's subsequent trial caused quite a stir in Nevis.[1576]

In 1776 Tom Jones and Bettiscombe spent some time underpinning the house and making steps at JPP's Mountain Estate in St John Figtree parish[1577] but for the following six years Tom Jones was not employed away from the plantation until Robert McGill engaged him for two months. McGill already had in his employ Tom, the cook. Shortly afterwards Tom Jones and JPP came to an arrangement that allowed him to exercise independence: he hired himself from JPP and employed a man from the plantation, Guy, to cut firestones for him. Tom Jones, in effect, became Guy's employer. The money he had to pay Guy represented less than a third of Tom Jones's rate of N£6 a month.[1578]

From October 1782 Tom Jones, Bettiscombe and Caesar Scoles were rented to the mason Richard Lynch, and over a four-months-period[1579] they probably repaired and improved the works at Sharloes. Almost certainly Tom Jones had trained one of the men, Caesar Scoles, as well as another with whom he subsequently worked, Oroonoko. At N£6 per month Tom Jones's rate was three times that of Caesar's and Oroonoko's when the three men were in 1783, and for a month in 1784, hired to John Arthurton.[1580] In 1784 Tom Jones alone also spent three days working for Samuel Lynch, and early in 1785 he hung a copper at a neighbouring estate, that of Richard Oliver. Unusually, for this job there was no charge.[1581] In 1785/6 the team did several short stints together, until Caesar Scoles died or was too ill to work. They worked on various estates: William Smith's, James Tobin's, Roger Bridgwater's and Walter Nisbet's.[1582] Tom Jones was next hired to the mason John Keepe who later engaged him again for another three weeks.[1583] One of the jobs the men did in the autumn that year was to erect Mrs Weekes's gravestone. JPP sent the gravestone from Bristol for his wife's grandmother, who had died three years earlier and who was buried in the cemetery in St Paul's. He asked his manager to '... please make my masons put it

[1573] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c
[1574] Pompey was mortgaged with five others to James Smith and later became Smith's property. Referring to an indenture dated 12 June 1772, the mason Nathaniel Clifton junior sold six slaves to James Smith: Pompey, Lucy, Pegg, Domingo, Frankey and Lettey. The witnesses were John Brown and Patrick Sutherland. Sworn on 3 June 1777. Nathaniel Clifton received N£213 from James Smith (ECSCRN, CR 1777-1778 f88).
[1575] PP, AB 20 f175 Plantation a/c
[1576] PP, LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to ?Mills and Swanston, 1776
[1577] PP, AB 20 f175 Plantation a/c
[1578] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f76 and f58
[1579] PP, AB 26 Richard Lynch's a/c; also AB 26 f208 Negro Hire a/c
[1580] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f138 and f163; also AB 31 John Arthurton's a/c
[1581] PP, AB 30 Negro Hire a/c and AB 31
[1582] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f181; also AB 35 Estate of William Smith's a/c, James Tobin's a/c, Roger Bridgwater's a/c, Walter Nisbet's a/c
[1583] PP, AB 30 Negro Hire a/c

up properly'.[1584] The slate memorial lies broken now, but it still bears witness to the work of Tom Jones and the Mountravers masons.[1585]

Tom Jones was the only person on Mountravers for whom the plantation purchased shoes. He had his first pair bought in the island in early 1777[1586] and later Coker ordered another 'pair of stout shoes' to be sent from England.[1587] These were delayed; JPP was waiting for the *Nevis* to sail.[1588] Within a few months the shoes arrived in a 'small parcel' addressed to Thomas Pym Weekes.[1589] Later JPP's son Charles asked for shoes to be sent out as presents; [1590] they were a luxury item but were also worn for health reasons - as in the case of one of Lady Stapleton's people. An attorney asked his 'Ladyship to order out two pair of strong servants shoes for Cuffee … he is sometimes so lame he can hardly follow the Negroes',[1591] and a manager wanted a couple of pairs of shoes for an old, 'tender footed slave overseer'.[1592]

Almost certainly Coker had ordered the footwear for Tom Jones because his health was failing. The only record of any medical treatment for him was from the time he was bought - JPP had paid nearly N£8 for medicines - [1593] but just when he sent the shoes on their way, JPP prepared to replace him. He asked Coker to 'Put out one of my sensible boys an apprentice to a mason that there may be one fit to succeed Tom Jones.'[1594] Subsequently three young men were apprenticed. Although probably suffering from poor health, at this stage Tom Jones was still fit enough to be employed on a major building project, Woodland. JPP wanted to have the works in complete order and asked that his manager 'set my masons to work' as soon as possible.[1595] For the next couple of years Tom Jones, with Oronooko and Bettiscombe, was hired for long spells to work on the boiling house and the chimney at Woodland. John Keepe, the white mason, oversaw the project.[1596] While he was working for Keepe, Tom Jones lost a couple of working days, most likely due to illness.[1597] His last assignment was to erect the windmill at Sharloes with Oronooko and Bettiscombe.[1598] It is likely that he did not see it completed and that he died in late 1791/early 1792,[1599] certainly before December 1794. Tom Jones was in his mid to late forties.

348 Polydore, a 'Negro man' aged 27, was acquired on Monday, 24 July 1769. He remained on Mountravers for a year. He was 'returned' on 17 June 1770 on payment of N£80 - the same amount JPP had accounted for his purchase.[1600]

[1584] PP, LB 6: JPP to Wm Coker, Nevis, 27 October 1787
[1585] The wording on Mary Weekes's memorial reads: 'Relict of >Mary Weekes.>Relict of Wm Weekes >late of this island> Gentleman> who departed the 2nd Day of April 1784 in the 97th year of her Age> Much regretted (sic) >and> deservedly lamented> by all who knew her. – Her husband was gunner in Nevis 1707-8 and gunner at Fort Charles 1748.'
[1586] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f67 Plantation a/c; also AB 26
[1587] PP, AB 35 f38 'Invoice for Sundries for plantation use'
[1588] PP, LB 9: JPP to Wm Coker, Nevis, 16 October 1788
[1589] PP, LB 9: JPP to Revd Wm Jones, 10 February 1789
[1590] PP, WI Box O-3: Charles Pinney to RE Case, Bristol, undated
[1591] Ryland Stapleton MSS 7.1: Timothy Tyrrell to Lady Frances Stapleton, 8 July 1724
[1592] Ryland Stapleton MSS 4.5: Joseph Herbert to the 4th baronet, 27 July 1725
[1593] PP, AB 20 Jesse Foot's a/c
[1594] PP, LB 9: JPP to Wm Coker, 8 February 1789
[1595] PP, LB 9: JPP to Wm Coker, Nevis, 8 February 1789
[1596] PP, AB 43 f27 John Keepe's a/c and DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f43 Negro Hire a/c
[1597] PP, AB 39
[1598] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f185 Negro Hire a/c
[1599] John Keepe did further masonry work in 1792 but did not hire Tom Jones.
[1600] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c

He was recorded as bought from Mary Griffin and sold to Penelope Griffin; one woman had mortgaged him while the other paid off the loan.[1601]

◄► ▼◄►

On Monday, 11 September 1769, two men, John Richardson Herbert and Aeneas Shaw, appraised thirteen people who belonged to William Burt Weekes,[1602] JPP's future father-in-law. The following day JPP acquired five other people from Weekes. They were all young: Abraham and Jacob were 18, Paul was 17 and Polly Weekes and Leah Weekes were both 16 years old. Not only are the similar ages in this group striking but also the Hebrew, or biblical, origin of most of their names. This may suggest that previously they had been bought and named together and, described as 'Negroes', it is likely they were Africans rather than Creoles.

Their purchase price originally came to N£260 but there appears to have been a dispute between JPP and William Burt Weekes, because on 5 March 1771 a court decided that JPP should pay seven months interest on N£380 - the actual purchase price. JPP also credited Weekes's account with the difference for the 'labour of the Negroes' from the date of purchase to the date of the court judgment.[1603]

Of the five people, Paul died before 1783; the others were appraised at a total of N£338.

349 Abraham (dob 1750/1).

In September 1782 Abraham sold JPP pork worth N3s3d, and just before Christmas that year, a boor pig for N8s.[1604]

During JPP's time in Nevis, Abraham probably worked around the house[1605] and, although valued at a relatively sound N£80 in 1783, may then already have suffered from King's Evil. He appears to have been a standing watch in the yard, with Cubbenna and Nero, the cook. JPP accused Abraham and Nero of neglecting their duties.[1606]

In February 1783 the two enjoyed a break in their routine when they were hired out for one day 'to help ship off the cannon at Long-point'[1607] in the parish of St John Figtree. They would have worked with people from other plantations and some who belonged to private owners.

By 1798 Abraham certainly was suffering from King's Evil and was the 'greater part of time not able to do anything'.[1608] Three years later Abraham was declared 'useless', and he died, in his early fifties, on 1 May 1803.

[1601] In 1769 JPP accounted for seven purchases for a total of N£625 but entered eight people as purchased (PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c).
Penelope Griffin, described as a widow of the island of Dominica, died around the time of this transaction (ECSCRN, CR 1775-1776 ff184-85).
[1602] PP, WI Box D; also WI 'Damaged or Fragile Box': Typed transcript of an appraisement
[1603] PP, AB 20 WB Weekes's a/c
[1604] PP, AB 17: 30 September 1782 and 22 December 1782
[1605] In 1793 Abraham was not on the gang list.
[1606] PP, AB 27 JPP to Joseph McGill, 1783
[1607] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f105
[1608] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover

350 Jacob (dob 1750/1), like Abraham, kept pigs; in October 1780 he sold pork to JPP.[1609]

Jacob became a distiller. He may have taken over this post after the distiller Ducks Jemmy died. This was around the time Dr Thomas Pym Weekes became manager, and Jacob may well have appealed to him (the son of his former owner) to appoint him as a distiller. After all, he would have known Thomas Pym Weekes from when he was a little boy.

Jacob worked with two other men, Bacchus, an African in his forties, and Cudjoe Stanley, who died in 1798. By then Jacob's health was declining, and in addition to working as a distiller he was employed as a watchman. He guarded the immediately area around his place of work; the 'bridge and still house piece'.

Jacob died on 18 February 1799. He was in his late forties. Almost certainly his death was a result of an accident. The day before he died, the manager had logged in the plantation diary a 'misfortune in the mill'.[1610]

351 Paul (dob 1751/2).

On 23 December 1777 he bought two gallons of rum from the plantation.[1611] Given that this was a small quantity, it is likely that the alcohol was not for sale but for his own consumption during the Christmas holidays.

Paul died before July 1783. He was aged between 25 and 32.

352 Polly Weekes (dob 1752/3) was a field labourer and worked in the great gang although she was not very healthy and in 1783 her low value of N£63 reflected this. By then John Springett had treated her for 'venereal complaints', [1612] and later, in November 1798, she had 12 pectoral powders.[1613] These presumably were for a chest ailment.

However, despite her apparent ill health, of this group she survived the longest. Polly Weekes died between August 1807 and December 1816. She was at least 54, at the most 64 years old.

353 Leah Weekes (dob 1752/3) remained with William Burt Weekes; she was hired to him. Weekes also had working for him two other individuals who belonged to JPP: John Wilks and the boy William. So seamless was the hire arrangement (and William Burt Weekes paid so little for their hire) that JPP felt it necessary to protect his right to ownership by charging money 'as an acknowledgment of them being my property'. Weekes, by then his father-in-law, was supposed to pay N£8 a year but only ever handed over token sums, totalling no more N£20 in all.[1614] Presumably they all lived at William Burt Weekes's home and workplace, Fort Charles.

[1609] PP, AB 17: 16 October 1780
[1610] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[1611] PP, AB 17: 23 December 1777
[1612] PP, AB 26 John Springett's a/c; also AB 17: 4 September 1778
[1613] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[1614] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c and Wm B Weekes' a/c; AB 27 WB Weekes's a/c and AB 26 f199 Negro Hire a/c; also DM 1773 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f67 Plantation a/c

While hired to JPP's father-in-law, for some months Leah Weekes was hired out to Joseph Batterton, a 'free Negro' and a fisherman. She gave JPP the N£10 she had earned.[1615] With Joseph Batterton was already another Weekes slave, Catto, whom he had bought two years earlier.

Leah Weekes remained in William Burt Weekes's possession until March 1782, a few months before he went to live in England. After he left Nevis, Leah Weekes was 'permitted to work out on paying N6s per week'.[1616] She first worked for nine weeks for the free French mulatto fisherman Modeste Lapula, who also hired Harry London,[1617] and then for eight for another free person, Penny Weekes.[1618] Before being freed by Mrs Pinney's aunt Jane Weekes, Penny Weekes had sold a large quantity of rum - [1619] thereby possibly financing her manumission -[1620] and had hired the girl Frankey Vaughan (No 425) from JPP. At N6s a month, hiring Frankey Vaughan was much cheaper; it cost the same to employ Leah Weekes for just a week.[1621]

In the following years until 1786 Leah Weekes made various cash payments and earned in total just over N£40.[1622] This included four weeks she, with Philley, worked for the new overseer, James Williams.[1623] She continued to hire herself out for days or weeks at a time but it is not known for whom she was working.[1624] One of her hirers probably was James Chapman (he mortgaged people to JPP in 1782),[1625] and it is likely that in October 1788 Leah Weekes had a 'yellow cast' son called Tom Chapman. Her next known employer was another free mulatto, Jeremiah Browne, who lived in Charlestown. She worked for him from mid-August 1790 until the beginning of March 1791 and, as this was a long-term assignment, the rate was reduced from N6s to N4s a week.[1626] However, Leah's employer Jeremiah Browne 'left the island, probably' and the hire charge of N£5:8:4 remained unpaid.[1627]

JPP may have set up this deal while he visited Nevis, because from 1791 onwards Leah Weekes, as well as Tom Thraske, John Wilks and Tom McGill were 'not considered as plantation negroes'. The income from their hire went to JPP's private accounts[1628] but in the following year he substituted Mulatto Polly for Leah Weekes as one of his people. Leah Weekes continued to hire herself out but the money then went into the plantation account rather than JPP's.[1629] Her payments became more erratic and ceased altogether in the mid-1790s. Presumably she was ill and not working any more. Aged around fifty, Leah Weekes died between January 1802 and May 1803.

◄► ▼◄►

[1615] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f33 Memo
[1616] PP, Misc Vols 7 1783-1794 Notebook; also AB 31 Leah Weekes' a/c
[1617] PP, AB 30 Negro Hire a/c
[1618] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f139 and f142
[1619] PP, AB 26 f56 William Burt Weekes's a/c
[1620] ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 f136
[1621] ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 f669
[1622] PP, AB 31 Leah Weekes' a/c 1785; also f24 Negro Hire a/c for individual payments
[1623] PP, AB 30 Negro Hire a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f181
[1624] PP, AB 31 Leah Weekes' a/c; also AB 30 Negro Hire a/c
[1625] ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 f669
[1626] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f69
[1627] PP, AB 39 Jeremia (sic) Browne's a/c
[1628] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, 24 October 1791
[1629] PP, AB 39, AB 50 Negro Hire a/c and AB 52 f19 Negro Hire a/c

354 Range's Will, also Jack Will, (dob c 1761/2)[1630] was an eight-year-old black Creole boy purchased on 12 February 1770. He was bought for N£40 'per agreement' from JPP's neighbour, John Williams Sanders, on the same day as JPP sold Sanders the mason Scrub, a 19-years-old Ebboe, also 'per agreement'.[1631] It is likely that the carpenter Range (No 165) was Jack Will's father; he died from smallpox ten days before the purchase was completed. Jack Will's mother would have remained with John Williams Sanders. She could, possibly, have been Phibba - one of five people Sanders mortgaged in the following year to JPP.[1632] It appears that they did not come into JPP's possession but may have ended up with Edward Huggins senior – at least Jack Will's mother.

Valued in 1783 at N£100, Jack Will may already have been earmarked as a driver. Ten years later, then aged thirty, he certainly had become the driver of the second gang.[1633] It appears that his job caused him and the other driver, Wiltshire, to be taken to court by William Scarborough, the son of a neighbouring planter. Scarborough took out a warrant and summons against them but for some reason Jack's name appears to have been deleted.[1634] Neither the cause nor the outcome of this case is known.

In 1798 Jack Will disappeared from the plantation for about ten days. This happened at the same time as Philip, Hector McGill and George Vaughan were gone. Jack Will was the first to return and this was his only known absence.

He did not have any recorded medical treatment and it is likely that, fit and healthy, he remained a driver after Mountravers was sold and that in 1810 he was the second driver who had to carry out Edward Huggins's instructions to flog a group of Mountravers workers. He had to beat his brother called Aberdeen who lived on Edward Huggins senior's Golden Rock Estate.[1635]

Jack Will died on 5 December 1826. He was in his mid-sixties.

◄► ▼◄►

In March and August 1770 JPP acquired two new people, Glasgow Wells and Jemmy Wells. Their previous owner was the widow Mary Clarke,[1636] who in April the year before had assigned nine people to JPP: Glasgow, Jemmy, Pallas, Frankey, Amey, Nanny and Lubbo, together with Lubbo's two children Rittah and Inian. For these nine people, Mary Clarke had received N£406 from JPP, 'this being money due from William Hyndman dec'd'.[1637] Struggling to keep afloat financially, a month later Mary Clarke took out another bond from JPP [1638] but two months later, in July 1769, she found herself in prison as an insolvent debtor.[1639]

[1630] In the 1817 slave register, Range's Will (Jack Will) was recorded as having been born on the day he was purchased (UKNA, T 71/364).
[1631] PP, AB 20 John Williams Sanders' a/c; also AB 21 Plantation a/c 1770
[1632] With Phibba John Williams Sanders mortgaged Picam, Fido, George and one other (ECSCRN, CR 1769-1771 f442 (Courtesy of William A Pinney); also PP, Misc Vols 7 1783-1794 Notebook).
[1633] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[1634] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f93
[1635] In 1817 three men called Aberdeen lived on Golden Rock: one was a 65-year-old African and two were 30- and 40-year-old Creoles (UKNA, T 71/364).
[1636] Glasgow Wells's purchase was included in the total of N£490 for five males acquired that year. The others were Jemmy Wells, John Wilks, Mulatto Peter and Range's Will (PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1770).
[1637] ECSCRN, CR 1769-1771 ff217-18
[1638] On 15 May 1779 JPP issued a bond for N£35:6:0 to Mary Clarke (PP, Misc Vols 6 List of Deeds and Papers, 1783).
[1639] In 1769 the Legislature passed 'An Act for the Ease and Relief of Mary Clarke widow of William Clarke now an Insolvent Debtor of the Common goal in Nevis' (UKNA, CO 186/6: 7 July 1769 and 23 August 1769). Mary Clarke may have been widowed very

The details are complicated and difficult to unravel but it appears that her financial collapse was central to the transactions which took place in the years 1768 to 1770 between JPP, Mary Clarke, Elizabeth, Penelope and Ann Wells, and William Hyndman. The ship's captain[1640] Hyndman had died in 1768, and in September 1770 JPP bought from Hyndman's estate 'two Negroes named Mary and Lucy … formerly belonging to Ann Wells' for N£150:0:0 and sold them to Mary Clarke on the same day for the same amount.[1641] Although Mary Clarke mortgaged Glasgow Wells, Jemmy Wells and the others, it is likely that their original owner had actually been Mary Clarke's sister (or step-sister) Elizabeth Wells, or the other Wells women, Penelope and Ann. They had separate deals going with JPP: In 1768 and 1769 Elizabeth Wells sold to JPP two people, Violet and George, and in 1770 bought from him another, Nancy Maillard, for whom JPP received money 'in part', while in 1769 Penelope Wells mortgaged to him three (Charlotte, Kitty and her son Cicero).[1642] These three, however, never came into JPP's possession,[1643] and of the nine people mortgaged by Mary Clarke, only Glasgow Wells and Jimmy Wells ended up with JPP. The N£1:4:0 which JPP paid to the Deputy Secretary Alexander Henderson on 9 May 1770 for 'recording two Bills of Sale Ann and Penelope Wells to me' almost certainly was the fee for the official transfer of ownership of these two men.[1644]

Of the rest of the group that Glasgow Wells and Jemmy Wells were mortgaged with, only one woman's fate is known, Lubbo. On 31 July 1781 Mary Clarke freed Lubbo, who then went by the name of Ann Lubbo (and later also Ann or Nanny Lebeau). From her friends Ann Lubbo had managed to raise the necessary N£100 – an interesting case of people cooperating to facilitate one woman's manumission. Originally Magnus Morton had wanted to purchase Lubbo but agreed with Mary Clarke that she could buy her freedom.[1645] Ann Lubbo later purchased the mulatto man Edward Harper from Mary Clarke and freed him immediately. She had paid N£90 for him and it is possible that this was money he had to repay her – thereby creating a chain of enslaved people freeing one another.[1646] Lubbo lived in one of JPP's houses in Charlestown[1647] and, following Mary Clarke's death, became one of the suppliers of sweetmeats for the Pinneys.[1648] The last reference to her was from December 1803, when JPP wrote to his manager about a consignment of refined sugar sent from Bristol. Shipping to Nevis this processed sugar was 'for the purpose of you having proper sugar, like Mrs Tobin's, to make preserves.' Of the twenty loaves of sugar sent, one was to be used 'for Mrs P's guava marmulet [marmalade] … to be made by one of our Negroes', the remaining nineteen the manager was to deliver to 'Nanny Lubbo with what she may want to make the preserves for Mrs P, charging her the current price of the island, and sell what may be left at the same rate.'[1649]

---

recently; it may have been her husband who on 1 June 1769 with Robert McGill witnessed the mortgage of Charlotte, Kitty and the boy Cicero. However, the witness called William Clarke may also have been another relative of the same name (ECSCRN, CR 1767-1769 f510).

[1640] MLD, Mills Papers, Vol 3 2006.178/9

[1641] PP, AB 29 William Hyndman's a/c and Mary Clarke's a/c

[1642] ECSCRN, CR 1767-1769 ff510-11

[1643] Penelope Wells later manumitted Kitty and Cicero. The witnesses were Joseph Batterton and Anthony Hodge (ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 f571).

[1644] PP, AB 20 Alexander Henderson's a/c

[1645] ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 Folio number missing

[1646] ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797 f709

[1647] PP, AB 47 Houses in Town a/c and AB 57 Houses in Town a/c

[1648] When Mary Clarke made her will on 26 May 1798, she was sick (ECSCRN, Nevis Wills Book 1787-1805 f419). Payments to her stopped and between 1798 and 1801 Ann Lebeau made sweetmeats for John Frederick Pinney. The quantities were substantial; at the end of 1800, for instance, he paid Ann Lebeau N£20 and N£17 (PP, AB 47 John Frederick Pinney's a/c).

[1649] PP, LB 18: JPP to Henry Williams, Nevis, 15 December 1803

355 Glasgow, also Glasgow Wells (dob 1741/2), a Creole, came to Mountravers on 1 March 1770. He was a 28-year-old carpenter.

Before JPP officially acquired him, in November 1769 and March 1770 Glasgow Wells received three and five weeks allowance at N3s per week.[1650] He was then hired with the Mountravers men Range and Codando to the carpenter John Cornelius, [1651] and although for most of the time the men worked on JPP's house on Mountravers, he may have been briefly employed in St Kitts: in January 1769 JPP paid him N4s6d for his expenses there.[1652]

Following the building project on Mountravers, from the end of May until August he was hired to his previous owner, Mary Clarke, [1653] but then remained on Mountravers until the beginning of 1776, when he and Harlescombe put up a stable on JPP's Mountain Estate in St John Figtree. Later in the year he and Codando were hired to Robert McGill.[1654] They may have worked on a property that McGill had bought at auction earlier in the year. The house had previously belonged to the cooper James Carroll and his wife Hester - they were now renting one of JPP's houses in town - and it is very likely that Glasgow Wells and Codando were renovating or repairing it after the recent hurricane.[1655] In 1783 he was hired with five other men to the snow *Gustaf Adolph*[1656] and he was engaged in other work.

When two years later JPP and his wife intended to go to Nevis briefly, he asked his manager in a 'PS' to 'Be so kind as to make Glasgow and Mulatto Peter paint the lower rooms.'[1657] But the Pinneys did not visit Mountravers again for another five years and by then, presumably, the rooms would have needed painting again. Both Glasgow and Mulatto Peter received a present of a shirt: '... From the piece of check, give Mulatto Peter, Carpenter Glasgow and the drivers a shirt each, as an encouragement ... The remainder for the little mulatto boys.'[1658]

In the autumn of 1787 Glasgow Wells worked for two months for the carpenter William Arnott - Harlescombe joined him for a month - [1659] and from the beginning of March 1789 until the beginning of January 1790 he and the Creole Jack were hired to the carpenter and millwright Morgan Hearne. Between them they lost 12 days through sickness.[1660] During the ten months he was working out, Glasgow Wells earned nearly a quarter of his appraised value (N£165) in hire income. He was much in demand and almost immediately was hired out again to another carpenter, Patrick Ryan. He may have worked with a man owned by the merchant Webbe Hobson. Certainly a month after he started Jack joined him and together they worked for Ryan for six months, until 10 July. Again, both men lost days through sickness,[1661] even though there was no record of any medical attention they might have had. It is possible that they suffered from some contagious illness; both their temporary employers died and

---

[1650] PP, AB 17: 26 November 1769 and 31 March 1770
[1651] PP, AB 20 f66 John Cornelius' a/c
[1652] PP, AB 17: 23 January 1770
[1653] PP, AB 20 Mary Clarke's a/c
[1654] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c
[1655] On 22 March 1776 the merchant Robert McGill had 'a messuage or tenement' in Charlestown which was commonly called the Lower House. It bordered William Bowrin's land to the north; the alley going up to the Spring Garden estate to the south; John Huggins's property to the east and the Street to the west. Robert McGill had bought the property at a public sale for S£100 (ECSCRN, CR 1776-1777 f90).
[1656] PP, AB 26 Capt Johan Trangberg and the Owners of the snow Gustaf Adolph Sterling a/c; and f208 Negro Hire a/c and DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f117
[1657] PP, LB 6: JPP to Joseph Gill, Nevis, 9 February 1785
[1658] PP, LB 5: JPP to Joseph Gill, 5 January 1784
[1659] PP, AB 30 Negro Hire a/c
[1660] PP, AB 30 Morgan Hearne's a/c; also AB 39
[1661] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f43 Negro Hire a/c; also AB 30, AB39 and AB 43 Patrick Ryan's a/c

Morgan Hearne's death left the Negro Hire account short of N£11.[1662] Patrick Ryan had cleared his account although he did owed Webbe Hobson almost N£6 in hire charges.[1663]

Presumably Glasgow Wells was one of the carpenters paid 'for their Sunday labour ...to expedite the windmill'. This was at the end of January 1792, during crop time,[1664] and in March and again in June the following year he received N4s1 1/2d 'for a Sunday work repairing the windmill points'.[1665] Five people were also paid N1s 8d each for 'forcing out a broken gudgeon on Sunday'; Glasgow's rate, as a tradesman, was two and a half times that of the untrained assistants.[1666] By 1797, when several carpenters repaired damage to the windmill, the skilled rate had increased to N4s4d a day.[1667]

As a skilled man, Glasgow Wells not only earned more money but in later years was also spared fieldwork during crop time. If no carpentry jobs needed doing on the plantation and no one hired him, then he was employed on board the ships - as JPP had requested after his visit in 1794.[1668] That summer, from the beginning of May to the end of July, he had already worked on Captain Maies's ship, the *Nevis*, before the vessel returned to England, with JPP, his son John Frederick and their servant Pero Jones on board. In 1795 Glasgow Wells was employed on the same vessel but this time only for 13 days.[1669] Other men were employed for longer periods; Glasgow Wells may have been ill again.

A skilled man and valued for the money he earned, Glasgow Wells was a man who complied with the system of plantation slavery – outwardly at least. Consequently JPP trusted him to deliver money in the island [1670] and he was engaged as a hunter. For two spells of three and four days in February 1800 he was sent out to look for Violet. On this occasion being a hunter would not have carried any great risk but once in St Kitts, when a man called Assie had been employed to catch a murderer, the murderer killed the hunter and then committed suicide.[1671] Hunters were exposed to the danger of physical reprisal but also to conflict with the community. Men employed as hunters inhabited the same sphere as drivers and watches: they 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.

Glasgow Wells's hire rate in 1797 had been N4s1 1/2d a day,[1672] in 1802 it went up to N6s a day. In April that year he was hired out to Capt Charles Mayes for four days, [1673] which probably was the last time Maies loaded sugar in Nevis before being sacked. This may also have been Glasgow Wells's last job away from the plantation; he died between May 1802 and May 1803. He was in his early sixties.

356 Jemmy Wells (dob 1724/5), a black Creole, came to Mountravers on 27 August 1770, six months after Glasgow Wells. JPP purchased him for N£85 'per agreement'.[1674] Jemmy Wells was 45 years old when JPP acquired him and may have been earmarked to replace Old Johnny as a fisherman

[1662] PP, AB 30 Morgan Hearne dec'd a/c
[1663] PP, AB 39 Webbe Hobson's a/c
[1664] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f99
[1665] PP, AB 39; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f122
[1666] PP, AB 39 f132 Cash a/c
[1667] PP, AB 47 Plantation a/c
[1668] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 29 November 1794
[1669] PP, AB 45 Charles Maies a/c for the *Nevis,* AB 43 Negro Hire a/c, AB 40 f146 and AB 52 Owners of ship *Nevis* a/c; AB 47 f83
[1670] PP, AB 17: 11 November 1777
[1671] UKNA, CO 155/7: 31 January 1728
[1672] PP, AB 52 Owners of ship *Nevis* a/c; also AB 47 f83
[1673] PP, AB 57 Negro Hire a/c
[1674] PP, AB 20 f91 Plantation a/c; also AB 21 Plantation a/c

On the plantation was a fishing boat with oars and a deep-sea line[1675] and in May 1774 JPP either replaced this, or added a canoe. JPP bought the canoe especially for Jemmy Wells's use. About to go on a voyage to England, he placed a lot of trust in this man that he would not use the canoe to escape by sea. Several of Gardner's enslaved people had left the island the previous year and only two weeks before JPP bought the canoe, seven people from Nevis had successfully absconded to Puerto Rico.[1676] The canoe, fitted with a new sail, cost just over N£13.[1677] Although this sum would have bought 1,000 pounds of salt fish,[1678] in the long term the boat was a better investment. Jemmy Wells's catches of fresh fish would have been a vital contribution to everybody's diet, particularly when the usual supply line from North America was interrupted. In addition, when not used for fishing the vessel could also ferry goods and people to and from town.[1679]

Jemmy Wells died, in his late forties to late fifties, some time before July 1783.

◄► ▼◄►

At the beginning of September 1770 JPP purchased two boys, Peter and John Wilks. Peter, a Creole mulatto aged about ten years, cost N£80; John Wilks, black and two years older, was N£20 cheaper.[1680] 13 years later, their values had diverged further: Mulatto Peter's was N£165; John Wilks's N£100.

It is likely that John Wilks was named after a radical British politician who had entered Parliament in 1757 – around the time John Wilks was born. Controversial and unconventional, a rake and a wit, accused of libel, exiled, forever insolvent and several times expelled from Parliament, John Wilkes was a prominent, colourful character, and it may have appealed to his previous owner but one to have given him that man's name.

JPP bought Peter and John Wilks from Dr Jesse Foot but the boys would have belonged to someone else before Foot; the doctor had only been in Nevis for two years.[1681] Peter's surname points towards his previous owner having been a member of the Neale family – perhaps Jeremiah, the merchant and ship owner,[1682] or Mary, the free mulatto woman.[1683]

The boys' last owner, Dr Foot, was known to everyone on Mountravers. He treated them, and Foot and JPP used to play backgammon and gamble together. JPP had trusted him, lent him money on one occasion,[1684] but then they had a terrible falling-out. Their relationship got so bad that JPP ended up arming himself with pistols for fear of an attack on his life. William Coker was involved in their disagreement and only narrowly escaped Foot's challenge to a duel. No doubt, servant gossip would

---

[1675] In 1771 JPP paid N3s2d for a deep-sea line, N5s2d for rope and N12s9d for oars (PP, AB 21 Expense a/c). The sail for the new canoe cost N16s6d (PP, AB 17).
[1676] The enslaved people were still in Puerto Rico at the beginning of September when their owners asked the Legislature to intervene on their behalf. James Tobin, Daniel Ross and James Vanderpool cited a precedent whereby the Danish Governor had successfully applied to the Spanish Governor for the return of abscondees from the Danish colonies of St Croix and St Thomas (UKNA, CO 186/6: 10 May 1774).
[1677] PP, AB 17
[1678] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c
[1679] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary February 1798
[1680] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1770, AB 20 Plantation a/c; also AB 20 Jesse Foot's a/c
[1681] UKNA, CO 186/4: 3 May 1768
[1682] Scott, Julius S 'Criss-crossing Empires' in Robert L Paquette and Stanley L Engerman (eds) *The Lesser Antilles in the age of European Expansion* p133; also PP, AB 48 Estate of John Stanley
[1683] ECSCRN, CR 1776-1778 f456
[1684] PP, AB 20 Jesse Foot's a/c

have kept the two boys informed of the men's quarrels, and one wonders what they made of being purchased by a man so vilified by their master.

JPP bought Peter and John Wilks just as Foot was about to leave Nevis - probably he was divesting himself of some of his possessions. Foot left the island amid much gossip concerning his private life.[1685] After Nevis, he briefly worked in Russia before settling in London. His put his West Indian experiences to use by publishing two pro-slavery tracts. In one he repeated the opinion put forward by others during the enquiry into the abolition of the slave trade – that West Indian planters provided better conditions for their people than those enjoyed by European working-class people - and in the other he attacked William Wilberforce for basing his anti-slavery arguments on out of date data. His vivid *Defence of the Planters in the West Indies* impressed the Society of Planters and Merchants so much that they purchased 500 copies for distribution among members of Parliament.[1686]

357 Peter, also Peter Neale and Mulatto Peter (dob 1759/60) worked in the house. He almost certainly was the father of several children who later bore the surname Neal: Polly (b August 1784), Franky (b 1786), Joe (b October 1788), Kate (b November 1793), and Frances (b April 1796). Joe and Kate were Philley's children, and Polly and Frances may also have been hers. Philley, like Peter, worked in the house. She had at least two black children, Billey Keefe and Hetty, who could not have been his.

Apart from his domestic duties, Peter did odd jobs such as running errands. He delivering money to various people - to the midwife Agnes Adams, [1687] to the planter John Taylor,[1688] and to Samuel Bennett, who worked as overseer on the plantation - [1689] and once he also went to St Kitts to fetch salt and medical supplies: four bottles of 'daffy's elixer and a box Andersons pills'.[1690] He may also have worked as a distiller; after the Pinneys returned to England they wanted him to distil 'a few bottles of orange-flower-water,'[1691] 'a few bottles of bay-rum,'[1692] and 'a dozen bottles of Doctor John, the same he distilled for Mrs Coker, which proved very good.' JPP asked for it to 'be sweetened with the syrup made from watered sugar'.[1693] Mrs P also requested fruit from him: 'some sweet lemons, shaddoes, and sweet oranges'. Peter was given very precise instructions. Leaving a steam of about an inch, he was to cut off the fruit with scissors and not wipe or bruise them. Handling them 'tenderly', they were to be wrapped in newspapers or magazines and once wrapped, the fruit was to be shipped off quickly on the next vessel.[1694]

Mulatto Peter kept goats and pigs and sold to JPP a kid [1695] and pork.[1696] Once Phillip stole a goat from him and JPP reimbursed him for his loss.[1697]

[1685] PP, LB 3: JPP to William Coker, 29 September 1770
[1686] Jesse Foot published *A Defence of the Planters in the West Indies; comprised in four arguments on comparative humanity, on comparative slavery, on the African Slave Trade, and on the condition of Negroes in the West Indies* J Debrett, London 1792 and *Observations Principally upon the Speech of Mr Wilberforce on his Motion in the House of Commons, May 30th 1804, for the Abolition of the Slave Trade* T Becket, London 1805 (http://www.books.ai). His portrait, painted in 1798, is in the National Portrait Gallery, London, but not on display (Ref NPG D12195 Jesse Foote (sic) by William Daniell, after George Dance).
[1687] PP, AB 20: 1776
[1688] PP, AB 26 f63 John Taylor's a/c
[1689] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f44
[1690] PP, AB 30 Plantation a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f182
[1691] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 6 April 1795
[1692] PP, LB 14: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 24 February 1798
[1693] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol to TP Weekes, 12 November 1790
[1694] PP, LB 5: JPP to Joseph Gill, 5 January 1784
[1695] PP, AB 17: 22 May 1779
[1696] PP, AB 27: 1790
[1697] PP, AB 52: 4 October 1795

Peter and Pero were the only enslaved men for whom JPP bought a hat,[1698] and Peter was the only man who regularly received coats and other items of clothing sent by the Pinneys from Bristol. In 13 years he had five coats [1699] but one year, 1787, he missed out because JPP's son Pretor 'has had them all'.[1700] As Pretor was only six years old, the material from the coat must have been re-worked into a smaller one for the boy. Clothes were precious possessions, passed on in people's wills to relatives, friends and servants, and many a worn garment was sent to the West Indies. The planter Mr Mills, for instance, shipped off a trunk with old clothes for three of his people but asked that one of them was to have the first pick and receive the largest share, and that man always got more than the others. [1701] As with everything else a hierarchy existed and the items were not distributed equally, and the same was true on Mountravers. Mulatto Peter received the most. He did well out of JPP who also sent him three old waistcoats and three pairs of breeches[1702] and some new material, too. In the year that he missed out on a coat, he received sufficient check material for two shirts[1703] and he had more shirt fabric at another time.[1704] The clothes were shipped in boxes and parcels and once, when JPP forgot to put a coat in with items sent by his servants Pero and Fanny Coker, he delivered the coat directly to Captain Maies[1705] and Mulatto Peter would have taken delivery straight from the captain. It appears that the Pinneys also sent him other presents; once there was 'a parcel in Mr Richen's box for Mulatto Peter'.[1706]

With Pero gone to England, there was no one on the plantation who could extract teeth. Pero's training had cost N16s6d, and in 1785 six people had their teeth removed. As doctors Archbald & Williamson charged N8s3d to remove one, it clearly paid to train a man from the plantation to do the job. The manager, William Coker, chose Mulatto Peter for this, and in June 1787 he learnt to draw teeth. Mial taught him, the same man who had taught Pero, but for Peter's training Mial received double, N£1:13:0.[1707] Coker then ordered 'one best instrument for drawing teeth' and, ironically, soon after it arrived, one of Peter's teeth needed extracting. In fact Dr Thomas Pym Weekes pulled this tooth and charged the usual rate, N8s3d.[1708] In addition to drawing teeth it is almost certain that Peter also learnt to bleed patients.

Dr Weekes wanted to borrow Mulatto Peter from the estate but JPP refused the request: 'I do not think the Estate can spare him'.[1709] It is surprising that the doctor should ask for Peter in particular - if he wanted domestics, he already had seven people of his own[1710] and he had at his disposal any number of men owned by his aunts. At that time Dr Weekes was not thought of as plantation manager; he had only just arrived in Nevis and was setting up his private practise in town and running a side-line supplying medicines - perhaps he intended Peter as a medical assistant, or as a store keeper? He may have recognised in him an aptitude for this kind of work, or Peter had expressed an interest in it. After all, there was a medical theme running through his life: he had belonged to Dr Foot, he had been chosen to learn to draw teeth, he had been sent to St Kitts to fetch medicines and he knew how to prepare a brew called

[1698] PP, AB 17: 19 April 1774
[1699] PP, LB 6: JPP to Joseph Gill, 20 October 1785; LB 9: JPP to Wm Coker, Nevis, 16 October 1788; LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to TP Weekes, Nevis, 31 October 1790; LB12: JPP to James Williams, 15 November 1796 and LB 14: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 12 November 1798
[1700] PP, LB 6: JPP to William Coker, 16 January 1787
[1701] Thoms, DW *West India Merchants and Planters* p399 Mills to Miss Bridge Rice 30 November 1764
[1702] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to TP Weekes, Nevis, 24 October 1791
[1703] PP, LB 6: JPP to William Coker, 16 January 1787
[1704] PP, LB 5: JPP to Joseph Gill, 5 January 1784
[1705] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to TP Weekes, Nevis, 31 October 1790
[1706] PP, LB 5 JPP, London, to Joseph Gill, 30 October 1783
[1707] PP, AB 30 f119; also AB 36 Plantation a/c
[1708] PP, AB 35 TP Weekes' a/c
[1709] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, 5 April 1788
[1710] PP, AB 36 TP Weekes's a/c

'Dr John', but whatever scheme Thomas Pym Weekes had in mind, it came to nothing and Peter remained employed on the plantation.

It may have been the frustration at having been denied a job with Dr Weekes that drove Mulatto Peter to take refuge in alcohol. He seemed to have started drinking heavily around the time Dr Weekes managed Mountravers, and when JPP visited the plantation in 1794, he picked up the change in Peter's behaviour. JPP appears to have feared that, under the new manager who was due to replace Weekes, Peter would prove difficult, causing him trouble. But James Williams's first report was positive and JPP replied that he was 'pleased to hear that Mulatto Peter behaves well'. However, the situation deteriorated and within only six months JPP was 'sorry to hear of the ill conduct of Mulatto Peter.' He had warned Williams: 'Rum, I am afraid, will be his destruction. You must not place too great a confidence in him', and almost certainly it was drink that made Peter lose his job in the house. JPP suggested that Williams should replace him with a boy and employ Mulatto Peter 'in any way' that was 'most condusive (sic) to the Estate'.[1711] JPP's letter spoke of sadness rather than anger – around this time he was dealing with Pero's drink problem in Bristol - and he sent Peter two more coats. But when his son dispatched another lot of clothing to Nevis (three waistcoats and two pairs of breeches), these were to go to the most deserving and not, as before, to Peter.[1712]

From mid-1797 Peter no longer pulled any teeth and the manager went back to calling in doctors Archbald & Williamson. Although by then unreliable, for a while Mulatto Peter may have been employed as a watchman, and JPP sent in another order for him to 'distil a few bottles of bay rum'. It is likely, though, that this had not been fulfilled because later in the year JPP sent another request for him to distil '6 quarts of orangeflower water and 12 quarts bay rum ...' [1713] Mulatto Peter may have struggled to fulfil this order; by then he was ill. In July 1798 he had been for treatment in Charlestown; he had received 'a purge' and four 'stom. anodyne boluses'. These suggest an intestinal illness, but a few weeks later he had treatment of a different kind: the doctors stitched and dressed a wound on his leg. Mulatto Peter was in such bad state that the doctors had to be called to visit him at night.[1714] He probably never recovered from this operation. Over a year later he died. He was about forty years old. Rather pompously, on 2 January 1800 James Williams recorded in the plantation diary: 'This evening Mulatto Peter paid the great debt of Nature.'[1715] Mulatto Peter was given a Christian burial.

Over a year before he died, the carpenters on Mountravers had made a coffin for a woman called Little Sarah but there is no evidence that this was done for Mulatto Peter. Little Sarah, a field worker, may have belonged to the Methodist congregation while, at some stage in his life, Mulatto Peter must have been baptised in the Anglican Church. Without such baptism he would not have been buried by the parson, Revd George Green. The clergyman for St Paul's and St George's Gingerland,[1716] Revd Green was just on the verge of taking over at St John Figtree from Revd William Jones - Revd Jones died at the end of the following month - [1717] and it was Revd Green who conducted the funeral. It may be significant that both burials, Little Sarah's and Mulatto Peter's, happened during James Williams's managership. He

[1711] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 5 December 1794; 5 May 1795
[1712] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, 15 November 1796
[1713] PP, LB 14 JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 24 February 1798; 12 November 1798
[1714] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[1715] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[1716] PP, Misc Vols 12 Leeward Islands Calendar 1793
[1717] Revd Jones died at the end of February 1800 and was buried on 18 March 1800 in St Paul's (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 3 (Cayon Diary)). According to a list of incumbents, Revd George Green was at St John Figtree from 1800 until he resigned his living on 1 July 1802 (NHCS, RG 16.13 St John Figtree - List of Incumbents).

came from a family of dissenters; in 1801 three of his brothers were among several men who petitioned the local diocese in Wales for a chapel.[1718]

From the records it is not apparent that any clergyman attended Little Sarah's funeral and almost certainly she was buried on the plantation. Although the evidence is not conclusive, it is however very likely that Mulatto Peter's final resting place was in the churchyard either in St Thomas Lowland or in Paul's although, without there being a parish register for that period, there is no way of knowing in which cemetery he was interred. The reason why Mulatto Peter was more likely to have been buried in consecrated ground is that his funeral was attended not only by the parson but also a sexton. The sexton's duties are to ring the church bells, attend to the clergyman and to dig the grave - had Mulatto Peter been buried on the plantation the grave would have been dug by one of the enslaved people. The sexton probably was either Roger Wallwin, or Dominic Alvarez.[1719] Alvarez had lived in one of JPP's houses in Charlestown [1720] and had also worked on Mountravers.[1721] For performing his duties at the funeral the sexton was paid N9s and 'Mr Green his fee for burying Mulatto Peter' came to N£1:13:0'.[1722] The cost for this was borne by the plantation. Mulatto Peter's is the only funeral for which records of such payments exist.

358 John Wilks (dob 1757/8). About a year after he arrived on Mountravers, John Wilks started being hired to William Burt Weekes, who was then only a few months off from becoming JPP's father-in-law. The boy William and the woman Leah Weekes were also at Weekes's.[1723] William Burt Weekes held the offices of Treasurer and Captain Gunner and lived at Fort Charles.

In 1781 he sold his offices but reserved himself an annuity from the premises [1724] and may still have lived at the fort when Nevis surrendered to the French in January 1782. The meeting at which the surrender was decided was held in Fort Charles, and subsequently the occupying troops briefly stationed themselves there.[1725] At the end of March, after more than a decade of working for him, John Wilkes and Leah Weekes left William Burt Weekes's employment. Later in the year Weekes sailed to England and began his retirement.

John Wilks's next employment started promptly. From the beginning of April 1782 he worked with Dick Rayes on a drougher or sloop, the *Needs Must*, at a rate of N3s a day.[1726] Meanwhile Leah Weekes was allowed to hire herself out.

These were very difficult times. Prices for provisions had doubled since the outbreak of the American War of Independence, [1727] and after the capitulation to the French the inhabitants faced starvation. To keep the island supplied with food, the French Commander, Compte de Grasse, graciously allowed British vessels to trade in and out of Nevis without seizing them as prizes.[1728] The man left in charge of the

[1718] http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/wal/Dissent.html
[1719] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f61
[1720] PP, AB 52 Houses in Town a/c
[1721] PP, AB 47 Dominick Alvarez' a/c
[1722] PP, AB 30 f116 Cash a/c and f111 Plantation a/c
[1723] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c and f196 Wm B Weekes' a/c; DM 1773 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f67 Plantation a/c, AB 27 f42 Wm Burt Weekes's a/c and AB 26 f199 Negro Hire a/c
[1724] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to Simon Pretor, 19 September 1782
[1725] Hubbard, Vincent K *Swords, Ships and Sugar* (5th ed) p145
[1726] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f60, f80 and f66; also AB 26 f199 Negro Hire a/c
[1727] Watts, Arthur P *Nevis and St Christopher's 1782-1784 Unpublished Documents* p41
[1728] Hubbard, Vincent K 'Slave Resistance in Nevis' Part II in *NHCS Newsletter* No 40 (February 1996) p9

island with a small detachment of soldiers behaved less nobly; Lieutenant de Port Millon de Villeroy not only treated JPP and Tobin rudely and without due respect, he also upset and offended many other locals. President Herbert complained to the French Governor about Villeroy's behaviour and asked for him to be replaced. Herbert's reasoning could not have been any clearer or more outspoken. On 3 June 1782 he wrote to General de Fresne that

> any little mortifications real or imaginary he may have met with even from the lower class of people have arisen chiefly from his own petulant and suspicious temper as well as the abusive language and violent threats he is continually making use of amongst them; which I assure you, Sir, it would soil my paper to repeat, and as to his treatment of the Negroes and coloured people, it is equally violent and tyrannical, if they smile in his presence they are making game of him, if they look grave, they are plotting against him, and indeed it is rather dangerous for any of them to come within the reach of his cane.[1729]

Three weeks after President Herbert wrote this, John Wilks was hired to this very man, Lieutenant de Port Millon de Villeroy.

At first, though, he was not hired to Villeroy directly but to James Huggins who, in turn, hired him to the Frenchman. This may have been a case of JPP's pride getting the better of him, but it is more likely that John Wilks was already rented to Huggins and that Huggins agreed to give him up to perform this public duty. Huggins held the post of Deputy Provost Marshal then[1730] and may also have been the owner of the *Needs Must* – the drogger on which John Wilks had worked. It probably was no coincidence that two other gentlemen who were also involved in shipping in Nevis, [Butler or Robert] Claxton and [William] Bowrin,[1731] were present when on 25 June 1782 a document regarding John Wilks's employment was drawn up. Hiring an enslaved person to an enemy required proper documentation:

> At Claxton & Brook's store in the presence of President Herbert, Claxton & Bowrin agreed with James Huggins to hire him for Millon de Villerois my negro-man called John Wilks at N2s per day. He has been with him 11 days yesterday evening.

The hire rate was the usual amount for enslaved people performing public works and, given the presence of President Herbert, this probably was an official arrangement as part of the surrender settlement. Questions remain: Had Villeroy spotted John Wilks when he was working for William Burt Weekes and had he demanded that this particular young man be engaged? Had JPP volunteered him for this service, or James Huggins? Was it felt that he was the right person for the job, given Villeroy's reputation? Money could not have been the motive; when he was employed on the *Needs Must* John Wilks brought in more.

For over two months John Wilks's worked for Villeroy and then his contract was extended: from 8 August JPP hired him directly to the Frenchman and settled for a rate of N45s per month, 'to be paid by him from

---

[1729] Watts, Arthur P *Nevis and St Christopher's 1782-1784 Unpublished Documents* pp103-06
[1730] Watts, Arthur P *Nevis and St Christopher's 1782-1784 Unpublished Documents* p52
[1731] Butler Claxton used to work for William Coker as a clerk. After Coker retired to England, JPP employed Claxton for some months afterwards as a clerk but then had let him go (PP, AB 20 Butler Claxton's a/c). Claxton's having been a clerk would fit in with him becoming a merchant and getting involved in shipping. In the 1790s a merchants firm called Claxton & Huggins hired Prince and Tom McGill on their brig and cutter.

The presence of Claxton and Bowrin may be explained in that they were involved in shipping; they may have part-owned the *Needs Must*. William Bowrin, too, had shipping interests. He was owner of the schooner *Jenny*, a plantation-built ship of 300 tons that was registered in Nevis in 1774 (UKNA, T 1/512 f232). At Bowrin's estate was also a kind of pier, known as Bowrin's Landing.

henceforth'.[1732] On 12 September 1782 JPP accounted for one month's hire - [1733] John Wilks's time with Villeroy had come to an end.

Soon he was employed elsewhere. Later in the year until four months into the next he was hired to Modeste Lapula, the free 'French Mulatto Fisherman', again at N45s a month.[1734] Towards the end of 1783 John Wilks briefly worked for John Rayes [1735] and in the following year for Abraham Alvarez, [1736] whom JPP called John Rayes's brother.[1737] (Almost certainly he was John Rayes's brother-in-law.) In 1784 he worked for John Rayes again[1738] and then John Wilks made four cash payments until 19 January 1785,[1739] the last relating to his hire to John Rayes.[1740] In the following January Abraham Alvarez started employing him for a year at a time, at N6s per week,[1741] and it is likely that John Wilks worked on another ship. JPP's 'sailor negro' Tom Norris had died in 1782; he had also brought in N6s a week and Abraham Alvarez appears to have owned a schooner which was engaged in inter-island traffic[1742] but which may also have sailed as far as North America. William Bowrin's schooner *Jenny,* for instance, carried goods from Virginia to Nevis - oats, corn, peas and shingles.[1743] If he was hired to Alvarez's schooner, John Wilks was on board when Azariah Pinney's luggage was freighted to St Kitts and the firestones from Long Point for the windmill that Oronooko and other masons were working on.[1744] Abraham Alvarez had some land in Charlestown, which he sold during the time John Wilks was hired to him, and later briefly rented one of JPP's properties in Charlestown.[1745] Abraham Alvarez and his wife Elizabeth owned at least two people whom they manumitted in the late 1790s,[1746] possibly owing to financial difficulties. Certainly he could not pay the remainder of the last hire charge and for this Abraham Alvarez took out a bond from JPP. Alvarez employed John Wilks until mid-June 1794.[1747]

Having worked for Alvarez almost exclusively and continuously for ten years, JPP informed his manager, James Williams, that John Wilks was one of the men who were to be hired to the ships during crop time,[1748] and in the following year John Wilks worked for short periods on the Pinney ships - 40 days on the *Nevis* (with Prince) and 17 on the *Rachel*.[1749] Possibly dissatisfied with the new arrangement, immediately afterwards John Wilks escaped but was caught. On 2 September 1795 a reward of N4s 1 1/2d was paid, the equivalent of a day's work on a ship.[1750] The money came from JPP's private account, which also received his hire because John Wilks was not considered a 'plantation negro'.[1751] JPP reserved him as one to be kept separate and not to be handed over to his son.

[1732] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f80
[1733] PP, AB 17: 12 September 1782
[1734] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f94
[1735] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f143
[1736] PP, AB 31 f26 Abraham Alvarez' a/c
[1737] PP, LB 6: JPP to William Coker, 16 January 1787
[1738] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790: 7 May 1784
[1739] John Wilks made the following cash payments: On 5 January 1784 N£1:13:0; on 6 March N£3:6:0; on 7 May N£1:13:0 and on 19 January 1785 N£3:6:0 (PP, AB 31 Negro Hire a/c; also AB 30 Negro Hire a/c).
[1740] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f164
[1741] PP, AB 30; AB 36 Negro Hire a/c, AB 43 f9 Abraham Alvarez a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f43 Negro Hire a/c, f68 and f124 Negro Hire a/c
[1742] PP, AB 48 Estate of John Stanley
[1743] PRO T 1/512 f232
[1744] PP, AB 50 Abraham Alvarez' a/c and DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1789-1794 f99
[1745] Terrell, Michelle M *The Jewish Community* p130, citing CR 1789-1790 f230 and PP, AB 50 1794
[1746] ECSCRN, CR 1797-1799 ff144-47
[1747] PP, AB 50 Abraham Alvarez' a/c; also AB 39
[1748] PN 223, citing JPP 1792-96 - B6 f150: Pinney to James Williams, 29 November 1794
[1749] PP, AB 52 Negro Hire a/c; also AB 47 f83
[1750] PP, AB 52 Plantation a/c; AB 47 Cash a/c; also AB 52 JPP's a/c
[1751] JPP wrote that he considered John Wilks 'as unconnected with the estate'. The same was said about Mulatto Polly and her children, Tom Thraske and 'Tom Cook, lately in possession of McGill' (PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, 24 October 1791, and JPP to TP Weekes, Nevis, 16 January 1792).

It appears that by running away John Wilks had tried to recapture the freedom he had enjoyed on his long-term assignment with Alvarez. James Williams may have heeded the warning because in 1796 John Wilks was rented out for almost seven months to the merchants Claxton & Huggins to work on their brig and cutter. For about two months he worked with Tom McGill and Prince, a man JPP had bought from Butler Claxton and John Rayes, a former slave.[1752] John Wilks's six, almost seven, months was a sufficiently long period to have sailed to England and back; Prince and Tom McGill may just have been hired for the period the ship was loading. But this was John Wilks's last seafaring assignment for the coming four years: His next job was a brief 15 days he spent working for the planter John Tobin Crosse,[1753] the following year he had about a month with Thomas Hart [1754] and then worked for almost four months for Butler Claxton.[1755] In 1798 he was hired with Tom McGill for 45 days to Capt William Vernam and then to Capt Sale. That year he was also renting himself out and handing over the money at the end of his employment, N£16:3:7 ½ in total.[1756] In 1799 he appears not to have worked and in 1800 he was only employed from about 9 May until the beginning of July by Edward Frith, the owner of a sloop.[1757] He was hired out at a monthly rate of N66s, suggesting a long-term engagement [1758] that came to a premature end. The following year he was on an extensive and expensive assignment to George Burke, who hired him for five months at N82s6d a month,[1759] and in the year after, Burke & Archbald hired him for over four months at the same rate.[1760] In 1802 he worked for Capt Shilstone whom JPP valued as 'a very careful good kind of man'.[1761] This hire for 29 days was the last reference to John Wilks. Almond was also employed by Shilstone but he carried on working, and it is likely that John Wilks died in 1802 or soon after[1762] but certainly before 1806. He was in his mid-forties.

John Wilks was one among the many enslaved men who worked on the ships. Some were hired in the West Indies to replace crew members who had fallen ill or deserted, such as those taken on by Capt Henry Webbe. His crew lists show that he engaged additional men whose usual place of residence was Nevis: Pompey Carleton - no doubt a 'sailor negro' – and Samuel Philips.[1763] While these two sailed to England, others remained in Caribbean waters. Whatever their destinations, they would have seen and learnt things denied those who forever remained on the plantations. Arriving home from his first voyage, one black sailor was excited because he was full of 'knowledge to impart' to his friends. He had 'many strange tales to tell, because [he] had been in another strange place' and 'with double zeal' he wanted to go back to sea again to increase his 'knowledge of the world'.[1764] This kind of knowledge would have made them popular with their friends but unpopular with their masters.

And there was another side to employing these men aboard ships. By the latter decades of the eighteenth-century enslaved seamen had become so numerous that Governor Parry felt compelled to warn the British government of the threat to jobs of free seafarers.[1765]

[1752] PP, AB 47 Claxton & Huggins and Negro Hire a/c
[1753] PP, AB 47 JT Crosse's a/c
[1754] PP, AB 54 Cash a/c
[1755] PP, AB 47 Butler Claxton's a/c
[1756] PP, AB 47 Cash a/c and f133; AB 47 King David a/c
[1757] PP, AB 53 Estate of John Stanley a/c
[1758] PP, AB 47 Edward Frith's a/c
[1759] PP, AB 52 f28 James Williams's a/c
[1760] PP, AB 47 Negro Hire a/c
[1761] PP, LB 16: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 25 November 1800
[1762] PP, AB 57 f37 Negro Hire a/c and Pinney's a/c
[1763] BRO, Ships' Muster Roll 1780-1781 No 7 and 1781-1782 No 17
[1764] Bolster, W Jeffrey *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* p135
[1765] Scott, Julius S 'Criss-crossing Empires' in Robert L Paquette and Stanley L Engerman (eds) *The Lesser Antilles in the age of European Expansion* p132

◄► ▼◄►

359 Daniel was born on Friday, 5 October 1770, to an entailed woman. He was the first child born since December 1768 that survived until 1783. Aged 12, his value was N£60.

Daniel was a field labourer but in May 1794 he was employed with five other men on the ship *Nevis.* They were all skilled - two masons, a carpenter, a cooper and a cook – and while most worked on the vessel during the whole time it was in Nevis,[1766] Daniel left after only seven days. He suffered from a sore leg.[1767]

One of the men he had worked with, Codando, drowned a few months later and whereas Almond, Glasgow, and Tom McGill were hired to the same ship again the following year, Daniel and William Fisher were not.
On Tuesday, 9 April 1799, Daniel absconded. He may possibly have gone with Tom, a 26-year-old field labourer, who left the plantation on the same day. While Daniel returned voluntarily the following Tuesday, Tom was caught in St Kitts a month later.[1768]

Daniel died between August 1807 and December 1816. He was at least in his mid-thirties, at the most in his mid-forties.

◄► ▼◄►

In 1771 JPP acquired twelve people from several owners. One he bought from a free black woman, three in St Kitts and a boy and a girl he purchased at auction. He accounted for N£804:3:6 for twelve people.[1769] Five more people whom John Williams Sanders mortgaged to JPP did not come into his possession but were instead assigned in trust 'for the natural life' of Sanders's wife Elizabeth, for her use, and after her death to Francis Williams Sanders, their son. These five people who remained with the Sanders family were Picam, Fido, Phibba, George and one other person whose name is illegible.[1770] Betty Scoles and her children appear to have been part of another complex deal.

Of those JPP acquired in 1771, some were sold, a couple died, one woman later bought her freedom. By 1783 only three people of these remained on Mountravers. They were valuable; Caesar Scoles and Little Cudjoe were worth N£100 each and Tom Tross N£150.

360 and 361 Soone and **Lauree** were both bought on 16 February 1771 from Thomas Henry Clarke. Soone (b c 1720) was purchased for N£40 and the 'Negro boy' Lauree (born perhaps 1753-1755) for N£70. He may have been her son.[1771]

[1766] PP, AB 43 and AB 50 Negro Hire a/c
[1767] PP, AB 50 Negro Hire a/c
[1768] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[1769] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1771
[1770] ECSCRN, CR 1769-1771 f442 (Courtesy of WA Pinney); also PP, Misc Vols 7 1783-1794 Notebook No 7
[1771] PP, AB 20 TH Clarke's a/c and Plantation a/c; also AB 21 Plantation a/c.
In 1771 JPP accounted for 12 enslaved people purchased for a total of N£804:3:6 (AB 21 Plantation a/c 1771). Neither do the numbers nor the amounts quite add up; if all known purchase prices are included, the total comes to N£848:2:0. – According to the tax records, there were 164 people on Mountravers in April 1771 and 176 in 1772.

Their previous owner, Thomas Henry Clarke, probably was a mulatto.[1772] In 1772 Clarke sold a girl, Nanny, to the free black woman Sophia Tobin,[1773] from whom JPP later purchased Tom Thraske. Immediately after Soone came to Mountravers, she was hired out. On 26 March she handed over 'four weeks hire at N4s6d',[1774] and by the end of the year she had brought in over N£7.[1775] She regularly worked away from the plantation. As she made her own arrangements for hire and handed over the money herself, it is not known who employed her or what work she did. The hire rate of N4s6d was the same as Leah Weekes's; the women probably were skilled domestics. Over the following seven years Soone made the following payments:

20 June 1772	N£1:16:0
27 October and 25 December 1773	N£3:6:0 and N1:4:9
10 April and July 1774	N£4:19:6, N1s6d and N£3:7:6
2 March, 29 July and 25 December 1775	N£2:8:1 ½, N£3:14:4 ½ and N£4:2:6
27 September and 2 November 1776 . .	N£3:6:0 and N£1:13:0
6 March and 30 June 1777	N£2:11:9 and N6s12d
25 December 1779	N£6:7:10
5 August 1780	N£1:4:9 [1776]

In the summer of 1777 JPP's manservant Pero Jones hired her. This is not the only known instance of one enslaved person employing another. The arrangement was with their master's permission but in one case of unauthorised hiring JPP quickly put a stop to the arrangement.

Soone made some extra money by trading her produce. In April 1774 she sold to JPP four turkeys at N£1:13:0,[1777] which was equal to five times her weekly hire rate. Over the years she acquired enough money to put towards purchasing her freedom. The last entry for her, made in March 1781, was for 14 weeks hire (N£2:12:6) and 'to purchase N£20'.[1778] This was half the amount she had cost to buy but by then she had become 'an old woman' and it is not clear what price JPP had put on her freedom. One way or another, it appears that she did not become officially free; there is no record of her manumission. Soone may well have died before she could complete buying her freedom.

Lauree died in his teens or early twenties, some time between February 1771 and July 1783.

362 Davy (also Davey) and David.[1779] He was born on Tuesday, 26 February 1771, to an entailed woman. Aged 12, his value at N£60 was N£6 lower than that of Daniel, born three months earlier. Both became field hands.

[1772] Thomas Clarke was baptised on 12 February 1764 in St John Figtree. He was the mulatto son of Samuel Clarke dec'd, the property of William Clarke (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 1).Two Samuel Clarkes had been buried by then: A 73-year-old Samuel Clarke in 1762 and Samuel Clarke junior in 1759 (NHCS, St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825; also UKNA, CO 186/6: 9 December 1772).
[1773] ECSCRN, CR 1783-1785 f548
[1774] PP, AB 17 Cash a/c
[1775] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c
[1776] PP, AB 17 Cash a/c
[1777] PP, AB 17: 10 April 1774
[1778] PP, AB 26 and DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 Soone's a/c
[1779] In 1788 Davy (David) was listed as Daniel

Davy was one of the individuals publicly flogged by Huggins in January 1810. Dr Cassin, who examined him, said that 'David was ill afterwards but his indisposition did not arise from his flogging'.[1780] Whatever injuries he may or may not have sustained, Davy died before December 1816. He was in his late thirties to mid-forties.

◄► ▼◄►

363, 364, 365, 366 and 367 On Saturday, 30 March 1771, JPP bought at public auction **Betty Scoles** (b perhaps c 1748-50) and her three children: **an unnamed daughter**, **Billy (or William)** and **Caesar.** They cost N£192.[1781]

John Scoles, their previous owner, had died some time ago,[1782] possibly during the smallpox outbreak. He had held public posts since the late 1740s when he was appointed as Searcher of Customs.[1783] In the 1750s he had been involved in a local scandal when he was accused of contempt of the Assembly - a warrant had been issued for his arrest - [1784] and, more recently, he had acted as 'Searcher, Measurer, Notary Publick, Coroner and Justice of the Peace'.[1785] In that capacity he had applied to the government for some medical supplies with which to equip the smallpox house but the Legislature had rejected his petition.[1786]

In the 1740s John Scoles had owned five people. Most likely, Betty Scoles, a black woman, and her children were domestics who had lived with the family in St Paul's parish.[1787] In the Scoles household they probably had seen much tension between father and teenage son: [1788] in his will John Scoles left to his daughter Martha a valuable woman while John junior had to make do with a mere five shillings. Scoles's wife Elizabeth inherited the rest. Although she, with John Ward, jointly executed her husband's will,[1789] Dr John Boddie actually agreed to the sale of Betty and her children - probably because they were mortgaged to him. Four days later Dr Boddie sold Lissey and her son to Joseph Gill and these transactions may somehow have been linked.[1790]

JPP tried to sell Betty Scoles – without the children – shortly after he had bought her. On 25 July 1771 he accounted for a 'new Negro wench' as sold to a woman called Henrietta Williams. However, this purchaser failed to pay the agreed sum, S£33/N£54:9:0, and was on 19 May 1772 charged N£3:11:2 interest.[1791] As it turned out, the deal fell through altogether: Henrietta Williams died intestate,[1792] and Betty Scoles remained in JPP's possession. Betty Scoles was then hired out for relatively short periods and paid money at irregular intervals:

[1780] PN 194C, citing Dr Cassin's evidence at Edward Huggins's trial May 1810
[1781] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1771 and AB 20 John Boddie's a/c
[1782] PP, LB 3: JPP to Thomas Lucas, 20 April 1771
[1783] UKNA, CO 155/8: 1 November 1749
[1784] UKNA, CO 186/3: 24 March 1753
[1785] UKNA, CO 186/7: 27 October 1768
[1786] UKNA, CO 186/7: 30 April 1770
[1787] In 1746 John Scoles was registered as living in St Paul's parish (ECSCRN, CR 1741-1749 f123) and in the late 1750s he owned land in St Paul's and St John Figtree parish (CR 1757-1762 f69).
[1788] A child of J and Elizabeth Scoles was baptised on 6 July 1758, at St John Figtree (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 1 pp324-28). This may have been Martha but presumably John was of similar age.
[1789] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f277
[1790] PP, AB 20 John Boddie's a/c
[1791] PP, AB 20 Henrietta Williams's a/c
[1792] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 ff323-24

26 December 1772 ……..	N£1:2:6 (5 weeks hire to the 12th)
11 September and 23 October 1773…….	N11s10d and N9s9d
15 January and 20 April 1774…….	N17s3d, N10s and N£1:10:0
18 April and 15 July 1775 ……..	N16s6d and N£1:8:6.[1793]

The last payment was 'for her hire to 18 May', when she was sold to Robert McGill, with her youngest child, William, for N£126:12:0.[1794] The transaction was 'per agreement' which seems to have gone back to when she and the children came into JPP's possession. William, or Billy, was now probably about six years old. Her other children, a girl of perhaps eight years of age, and Caesar, who was aged about ten, appeared to have remained on Mountravers.

Robert McGill had in the past bought several individuals from JPP, and shortly after she came into his possession he bought another, a man called Pembroke. While Betty Scoles and her son Billy were with McGill, she gave birth to another son, **Jack (also John).** A mulatto, he may well have been McGill's child. Nancy, a mulatto girl whom McGill had bought from Coleman Jones, could also have been his daughter. In August 1776 McGill gave these three children - Nancy and Betty Scoles's sons Billy and Jack - as a present to his daughter Elizabeth Rogers McGill. Although the gift was officially documented,[1795] on 8 March 1780 Betty Scoles and her two sons came back into JPP's possession. They were part of a complex part-purchase/mortgage deal between JPP and McGill, involving a group of ten people.[1796]

As soon as JPP had ownership of her, Betty Scoles was hired out again. On 30 June she paid N9s 'in full of her hire' and on 31 July 1780 another N13s6d.[1797] Billy, then about eleven, would have been employed on the plantation. It is likely that by then Betty Scoles's daughter had died already; she certainly was dead by July 1783.

On 12 September 1780 Betty Scoles and her youngest son, Jack, were sold to John Arthurton junior, for N£125,[1798] while her son Billy remained on Mountravers until he was sold in May the following year. His buyer was a man called John Rayes, a black fisherman, who presumably was Billy's father. He bought Billy for N£66 and then manumitted the boy on 30 June 1781. Although John Rayes was able to put up the money to buy the boy from JPP, he was still enslaved and the manumission therefore had to go through JPP. The two men who witnessed this, James Coram and John Kent,[1799] were likely to have been friends of John Rayes. He himself was not freed (by his owner, Butler Claxton) until eight years later, in December 1789.[1800]

[1793] PP, AB 17 Cash a/c

[1794] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1771 and 1772; also AB 20 Robert McGill's a/c

[1795] On 15 August 1776 Robert McGill gave to his daughter Elizabeth Rogers McGill by Deed of Gift the black boy Billy (William), and the mulatto boy John (Jack), 'sons of my negro wench Betty Scoles, also the mulatto girl Nancy, purchased of Coleman Jones and daughter of his wench Charlotte' (ECSCRN, CR 1776-1777 f409).

[1796] PP, Misc Vols 7 1783-1794 Notebook f122, No 23 Bill of Sale; ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 ff321-22
The ten slaves concerned were Dick, Tom (McGill), Hector (McGill), Quaw, Betty Scoles and her two children, William and Jack, Lydia, Clarissa, and Bess. By 1783 JPP only had Hector McGill, Quaw and Tom McGill; the others had been sold: Lydia was sold in May 1780 to Sholte Archbald; Betty Scoles and her son Jack were sold to John Arthurton junior in June 1780; Betty Scoles's son Billy Scoles was manumitted in May 1781, and Bess and Clarissa were sold in January 1781 to Revd Wm Jones 'for the use of' Robert McGills' daughter Ann McGill.

[1797] PP, AB 17

[1798] PP, AB 26 McGill's a/c; also John Arthurton's a/c

[1799] PP, AB 17: 30 May 1781
On 30 June 1781 JPP manumitted '…my negro boy named Billy son of my late negroe woman slave named Betty Scoles' (ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 f562). The only known details about the witnesses are that they owned enslaved people themselves. James Coram was assigned a woman called Catherine by Edward Reynolds of St Vincent (ECSCRN, CR 1799-1801 f277) and John Kent manumitted Nanny and her three children, also the mulatto boy John (CR 1757-1762 f298 and f299) and another boy named John (CR 1778-1783 f320).

[1800] ECSCRN, CR 1789-1790 f372

A couple of months before John Rayes was freed, in October 1789 another transaction had taken place in which 'a free Negro infant under 21' called William was mentioned. It is possible that this was in fact Billy, Betty Scoles's son - born probably about 1769, he would then have been aged 20 – but it is also possible that his father had another son, also called William. Butler Claxton had purchased for this young William Rayes two men, Doctor and Casar, for his 'own use', [1801] but just as JPP had to front William's manumission, Butler Claxton had to front this purchase. He had to do so because John Rayes had in fact bought Doctor and Casar to give to his son. It was not uncommon for enslaved parents to free their children first but equipping them with their own enslaved person, and only then buying their own freedom, was a rare event indeed. It is very likely that James Tobin had John Rayes in mind when in his evidence to the Parliamentary Slave Trade Enquiry he quoted an instance of a father buying his son's freedom, then buying slaves for his son but remaining enslaved himself.[1802] Appearing before the Parliamentary Committee in February 1790,[1803] Tobin would not have yet known that just a little earlier John Rayes had also been freed and so destroyed the nub of Tobin's argument that for some people slavery was preferable to freedom and that they refused freedom for fear of losing their 'friends and protectors'.[1804] John Rayes certainly was on friendly terms with white people on whom he could rely to carry out business on his behalf - JPP and Butler Claxton – but, once freed, he was able to act in his own right. In 1794 the three players came together when John Rayes, with Butler Claxton, jointly sold the man Prince to JPP.

Betty Scoles, meanwhile, was involved in some trading activities on her own account. She sold to JPP a large amount of tallow, 24 pounds.[1805] Tallow had many applications: it was used as a heavy-duty lubricant - for instance for greasing the circular wooden tracks that turned the windmill carriage and roundhouse -[1806] and for making soap and low-grade 'stinking butcher's candles'.[1807]

In 1783 and again in 1784[1808] John Arthurton hired her son Caesar Scoles from JPP, and she may then still have been at Arthurton's. He hired Caesar Scoles together with the masons Oroonoko and the man who had probably trained Caesar, Tom Jones. The year before Caesar and Tom Jones had also worked together for four months.[1809] Caesar Scoles was a promising youth, as demonstrated by his value of N£100. It was the highest among boys his age. In 1785 he was hired out, again with Tom Jones and Oroonoko, for short periods of six, eight and 13 days to three different estates.[1810] The last hire was in August 1785, when he, Oroonoko and Tom Jones were working for James Tobin.[1811]

He fell ill soon after and had treatment for the next the next two months:

[1801] Butler Claxton had purchased Doctor and Caesar from Edward Pemberton (ECSCRN, CR 1789-1790 f325).
[1802] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 71
[1803] Small, David 'James Tobin (1736/7-1817)' in *Oxford DNB*
[1804] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 71
[1805] PP, AB 17: 22 October 1781
[1806] Gjessing, Frederick *The Windmills of Nevis*
[1807] Murray, Venetia *High Society* p143
[1808] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f138 and f163; AB 30 Jn Arthurton's a/c; AB 31 John Arthurton's a/c
[1809] AB 26 Richard Lynch's a/c
[1810] PP, AB 35 Estate of William Smith's a/c, James Tobin's a/c, Roger Bridgwater's a/c
[1811] PP, AB 31 f28 James Tobin's a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f177

18 October 1785	Powder	N£1:16:0
27 October	Visit, bleeding, r. powder	N£3:4:3
29 October	4 stom. bolus	
20 November	A vomit	N£1:6:0
14 December	Phial of pect. drops	N£1:10:0[1812]

Caesar Scoles died between 14 December 1785 and 31 December 1787, most likely very soon after he had taken the last medicines. He probably was about 20 years old.

Betty Scoles had another child with John Rayes, a daughter called Elizabeth. In April 1794 he manumitted the girl,[1813] and later he also freed a couple of women, Susey and Jennet.[1814] Rayes needed money, forcing him to mortgage his house and land in Charlestown. It was fitting that he borrowed the money from another man of the sea, Joseph Clarke,[1815] a ship's captain.[1816]
John Rayes died on 3 March 1810 without having made a will. He was still in debt. He owed the most money to the clergyman William Green, and it was Green who petitioned to have the dead man's assets appraised. As was usual, three men carried out the valuation. In this case they were the merchants Joseph Jones and Francis John Galpine (Thomas Wenham's grandson) and William Burke, the Coroner.[1817] Joseph Jones was an experienced valuer[1818] and, as all three men owned people, they were in a position to assess the worth of John Rayes's belongings: Dick, a 'Negro fisherman', was appraised at N£180 and Fanny, a 'Negro woman', at N£140. These two people constituted three quarters of John Rayes's total wealth of N£434:18:0. The half share of the sloop *Patience*, which, after all, would appear to be a fisherman's main asset, was worth only a tenth, N£45, and a kedge anchor N£3:10:0. John Rayes' furniture did not amount to much - among them were three mahogany tables, a dozen cherry tree chairs and half a dozen smaller sized chairs, a Mahogany 'beaufet' and a hall glass shade – but he possessed a surprisingly large number of pictures, fourteen.[1819]

It is not known whether Betty Scoles and Jack (and possibly William) were still alive when John Rayes died.

368 Amelia, also Sarah Amelia,[1820] was black and born on Saturday, 15 June 1771, to an entailed woman. Her mother may have been the field labourer Little Broom's Sarah (No 205) who died between 1777 and 1783. If Little Broom's Sarah was her mother, her aunt was the field worker Broom's Sarah's Kitty (No 190), her grandmother Broom's Sarah (No 135), and her great-grandmother Old Sarah – a woman left in a will of 1705. She was long dead but Broom's Sarah's Kitty and Broom's Sarah died when Amelia was still a young child.

[1812] PP, AB 31 Archbald & Williamson's a/c
[1813] ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797 f16
[1814] ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797 f658 and CR 1799-1801 f281
[1815] ECSCRN, CR 1801-1803 ff257-61
[1816] PP, LB 38: T & P to Wm Colhoun, 7 September 1792; also ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 f452
[1817] PP, AB 57, and Dom Box Y; UKNA, CO 152/96
[1818] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 f226
[1819] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1805-1818 f153, entered 1 May 1810
[1820] Once, in the Plantation Diary, Amelia was described as Sarah Amelia. This, undoubtedly, should have been 'Sarah's Amelia', i.e. Sarah's daughter - like 'Lucy Cuba'.

Amelia became a field hand and in her early twenties worked in Wiltshire's gang. She was healthy - aged 12, she was worth N£60 – but in June 1798 she had '12 spec. powders, a blister for the stom.', '4 sto. boluses' and at the beginning of July 'a box stom. pills'. The treatment cost N£3:14:0.[1821]

In her late twenties Sarah Amelia was 'with child'. This was recorded in the plantation diary on 15 November 1799. Ten days later it was logged that she had miscarried but only three weeks after that she was said to have been 'with child' again.[1822] Two women continued to be noted as pregnant the day after the miscarriage and either this, or the pregnancy, was a false alarm: there was no mention of her being pregnant when four other women were listed as 'with child' a month later.

Amelia died between 1 January 1831 and 31 December 1833. She was between 59 and 62 years old.

369 and 370 **Jenny** (born between 1750 and 1754) and **Jemmy** (probably born in the early 1760s) were 'purchased at vendue' on Monday, 19 August 1771, from Richard Stanley. Jenny cost N£72, Jemmy N£46.

Given that they were sold again after ten days, JPP might have been bought them on behalf of their new owner, Daniel Ross. Jemmy possibly came back into JPP's possession some months later, at a lower value: on 26 December 1771 JPP bought from Daniel Ross a boy called Jemmy Dasent for N£40.[1823] This purchase occurred on the same day JPP bought from Ross a woman called Judy. Jemmy Dasent was not on Mountravers in 1783 and it must be assumed that he died.

It is not known how many people the merchant Daniel Ross owned in the 1770s; he had 41 when he died in 1785. Jenny was not among them.[1824]

371 **Tom Tross alias Tom Thraske; also Tom Thraske alias Tom Tross.** He was black and, most likely, born between 1740 and 1750. He was purchased on Monday, 14 October 1771, and cost N£150. Twelve years on, in 1783, this was also his appraised value.

His last owner was Sophia Tobin,[1825] a free black woman and the live-in mistress of James Tobin the Elder - the father of the man who later became JPP's business partner. Tobin the Elder had freed her in 1755, and not long before she sold Tom Tross to JPP, Tobin had died, leaving several people and an annuity for her and their daughters. Among the people he bequeathed to one of her daughters was Tom Tross.[1826] When and how Tom Thraske came into Tobin's possession is not known; his previous owner may well have been the planter Thomas Thraske,[1827] or that man's widow, Elizabeth Thraske. In the mid-1750s, when Tom Thraske was a boy, Elizabeth Thraske had lived in the parish of St James Windward.

[1821] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[1822] PP, DM 1773/4 Plantation Diary 1798/9
[1823] PP, AB 20 f104 Plantation a/c; also Daniel Ross's a/c and Richard Stanley's a/c
The two bills of sale for Jenny and Jemmy came to N56s.
[1824] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f627, ff650-51
[1825] PP, AB 17: 14 October 1771 and AB 20; also AB 31 1785
JPP headed an account for him as 'Thomas Thraske alias Tom Tross' but while in the lists he continued to be recorded as Tom Tross, in hire accounts and correspondence he was regularly referred to as Tom Thraske.
[1826] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 ff258-59 and CR 1757-1762 f297
In 1771 James Tobin willed Sophia Tobin an annuity of £50 a year for herself and her daughters Ann Tobin and Lydia Tobin (ECSCRN, CR 1769-1771 f315 and UKNA, CO 186/6: 9 December 1772).
[1827] Almost certainly Tom Thraske was named after the planter Thomas Thraske, the son and heir of the gentleman John Thraske of St Paul's (ECSCRN, CR 1763-1764 ff477-89).

She had owned one person but had in her care another eight who belonged to Revd Thomas Powell. They were all 'written off',[1828] which means they either were too old, too young, or too ill to work, or that she was too poor to pay the tax that the Legislature levied on them. Later Elizabeth Thraske mortgaged one individual to James Chapman,[1829] and she may well have been forced to sell Tom Thraske owing to financial problems. He was by 'trade a taylor',[1830] and, judging by the number of gowns she had in her possession, Sophia Tobin may have been a seamstress.[1831] Within a few years of being freed Sophia Tobin had already been sufficiently well off to have bought at least six enslaved people.[1832]

Three weeks before JPP acquired Tom Thraske, he sent Black Polly to deliver to him N8s3d,[1833] most likely for some tailoring work he had done. JPP was then engaged to Jane Weekes and had earlier ordered from England a large selection of garments, including some rather swanky outfits: 'a super fine scarlet cloth waistcoat, laced with two gold laces', two silk waistcoats and an 'embroidered coat faced with silk lining & a tambour waistcoat'. These he wanted 'very well made' because 'some how (sic) or other' his clothes did not fit him 'as usual'.[1834] Tom Thraske may well have been employed to carry out some skilful alterations, handiwork the young seamstresses on Mountravers, who were undergoing training around that time, could not yet muster. He probably was predominantly employed to work on men's clothing: once JPP sent five yards of cloth from England 'for the Boatswain's watch coat' and advised to 'let Tom Thraske make it for him'.[1835]

In 1773 Tom Thraske was lent to John Hay Richens, and it appears that he made some mistake which JPP then had to rectify at a cost of over N£5 [1836] and that from the mid-1770s onwards JPP hired him out. First he worked for Mary Clarke for a month, then for a man called George Scott. Tom Thraske was with Scott for just over five months,[1837] and in 1776/7 George Scott employed him again for a period of over eight months and the following year for another four.[1838] From then on Tom Thraske hired himself out and brought in the same amount JPP had charged: either N£2 per month, or N10s per week. In 1780 Tom Thraske worked for just over 18 weeks, in 1781 for the whole year. A postscript in Mary Weekes's account suggests that at this time Tom Thraske was trying to buy his son, or, at least, that he was paying the interest on part of the loan that JPP had given to William Burt Weekes and his mother, Mary Weekes.[1839] Tom Thraske's son, Tom Tross, then about six or seven years old, was mortgaged to JPP; the boy's mother belonged to the Weekeses.[1840] However, JPP had 'reserved' Tom Tross for William Burt Weekes's son Thomas Pym Weekes and Tom Thraske never managed to purchase his son.

In late June 1783, just before the Pinneys were leaving for England, JPP made an agreement with Tom Thraske that he could hire another man from Mountravers, Tom Punch (No 217). JPP thereby encouraged industry among his people but also allowed them to make decisions and to be independent.

[1828] PP, Dom Box P: General's Tax Notebook 1755
[1829] UKNA, CO 186/6: 9 December 1772
[1830] PP, AB 17: 14 October 1771; also AB 20
[1831] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1805-1818 f148
[1832] On 25 March 1763 Sophia Tobin bought negro woman Amelia from Thomas Smith for N£78:6:8 (ECSCRN, CR 1763-1764 ff33-5); on 22 March 1764 she bought from Thomas Wharton the black woman Pereen and her children Maria, Lukey and Charles for N£220 (CR 1763-1764 f109), and on 4 June 1764 she bought Penny, for N£45, from Plassey Carlo. The witnesses were James Tobin senior and Charles Hutton (CR 1763-1764 ff444-45).
[1833] PP, AB 17: 21 September 1771
[1834] PP, LB 3: JPP to Wm Greene, June 1771, added to 24 July 1771
[1835] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 10 November 1797
[1836] PP, AB 21 Expense a/c
[1837] PP, AB 20, AB 21 Plantation a/c and AB 17: 23 March 1775, 19 July 1775, 21 September 1775 and 27 December 1775
[1838] PP, AB 26 f199 Negro Hire a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 Plantation a/c
[1839] PP, AB 27 f46 Mary Weekes's a/c
[1840] Tom was one of seventeen slaves mortgaged by William Burt Weekes and Mary Weekes to JPP in 1777. He was among WB Weekes' people listed in his marriage settlement with Mary Browne.

At the same time Tom Thraske benefited from having a capable assistant and Tom Punch from having a meaningful occupation. Since childhood he had been 'ruined by lameness' but proved himself fit enough to work as a tailor's assistant.

In a typically complicated arrangement Mrs Pinney's aunt Jenny Weekes was 'to pay all taxes' and receive the hire for Tom Thraske while Tom Punch's was to go to JPP's account. (Later part of Jenny Weekes's income went to another aunt, Elizabeth Weekes.) For himself, Tom Thraske was 'to pay 10s per week clear without allowance for loss days,' and for Tom Punch about a third, N3s9d. The ratio roughly reflected their respective appraised values but when Tom Thraske hired Tom Punch, he actually paid N5s per week. He employed the other man until the beginning of May 1786. At some stage Joseph Gill hired Tom Thraske and during this time he was permitted an absence of 22 weeks.[1841]

Although it has been said that enslaved men were 'excluded from sewing',[1842] in this case not only did Tom Thraske and Tom Punch sew, Tom Thraske also passed on his skills to his son: in 1785 young Tom Tross was with him 'to learn to be a taylor' (sic).

As a skilled craftsman Tom Thraske was sufficiently well off to order some supplies from JPP in England. He imported some dry goods and boxes of candles,[1843] but he then failed to hand over the money to the person designated to receive it, one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees, Ann Weekes. Illness may have prevented or delayed payment - in September 1785 Tom Thraske had a 'course of specific medicines' - [1844] but a year later he was still in arrears and JPP advised Ann Weekes: 'If Tom Thraske do not pay you immediately for the goods I sent him complain to Mr Coker and request he will oblige him to do it.'[1845] Coker, no doubt, employed more forceful methods than The Ladies at the Cedar Trees, but if Ann Weekes did indeed choose to involve the manager at Mountravers, it still took about another year for Tom Thraske to pay up.[1846] However, by 1789 his account 'for fish etc' stood in credit by N£13:6:7.[1847] Selling fish appears to have been a side-line of his; he sold N15s3d worth to Mrs Pinney [1848] when she visited Nevis in 1790. He was also hired to her at the usual rate of N10s per week. The fact that she was the owner's wife made no difference to the amount she had to pay or how the money was accounted; the cash was accounted for like any other income.[1849] By then Tom Thraske and some others were 'not considered as plantation Negroes'; they were 'unconnected with the estate'.[1850] Income from their hire was to go to JPP's private account [1851] rather than the plantation account but successive managers were not always diligent in separating the money out[1852] and Tom Thraske was not always diligent in handing over his pay.[1853] JPP asked his manager to get to grips with the situation because 'If you do not oblige the Negroes that work out to be regular in their payments every week I shall certainly lose by them. Tom

[1841] PP, Misc Vols 7 1783-1794 Notebook; LB 6: JPP to Joseph Gill, 24 June 1784; Memo in AB 30 Negro Hire a/c; AB 31 Thomas Thraske alias Tom Tross a/c; AB 35 Loose page Tom Tross' a/c; AB 30 Negro Hire a/c
[1842] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p189
[1843] PP, LB 6: JPP to Ann Weekes, 1 October 1785
[1844] PP, AB 31 Archbald & Williamson a/c
[1845] PP, LB 6: JPP to Ann Weekes, 22 September 1786
[1846] PP, LB 6: JPP to Ann Weekes, 27 October 1787
[1847] PP, AB 27: 31 July 1789
[1848] PP, AB 43 f39 JPP's a/c
[1849] PP, AB 30 14 March 1790; also AB 35 Tom Tross a/c loose page
[1850] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, 24 October 1791, and 16 January 1792
[1851] PP, AB 52 Negro Hire a/c and AB 50 Negro Hire a/c. See also Nancy Jones, Tom McGill, Prince, Billey Jones, John Wilks, and Frank Sanders (AB 57 Negro Hire a/c and Pinney's a/c)
[1852] PP, LB 9: JPP to Wm Coker, 8 February 1789, and AB 26 f208 Negro Hire a/c
[1853] PP, AB 30 Negro Hire a/c and AB 43 f32

Thraske is much in arrear, oblig (sic) him to pay it up.'[1854] Two years later he had to ask for the money to be chased again.[1855]

Although Tom Thraske was behind with his payments, he tried to buy his freedom and JPP was willing to grant his wish - but under certain conditions. It is interesting to note that Tom Thraske, who was not literate, did not pass on his request through Dr Thomas Pym Weekes, who was then managing the estate, but that he got someone else to write a letter for him so that he could approach JPP directly. JPP replied to Dr Weekes:

> I have received a letter from Tom Thraske mentioning that Capt Maies would become his security for payment of his purchase money: but upon application I find he has no inclination to do it. However, as the fellow wishes to purchase himself if he can procure such a security as you approve of, for the payment of £100 Currency … you may take it, and I will engage instantly to send out his manumission.

JPP was prepared to lose N£50 on this deal - 'I gave N£150 for him, and to any other person I would not sell him for a less sum' – and he allowed payment over three years but charged interest.[1856] However, six years on Tom Thraske still was not free. In the meantime JPP had been to Nevis again and had handed over the plantation to his son. Now it was John Frederick Pinney's responsibility to grant the manumission. During the visit JPP had discussed the situation with Tom Thraske and they had apparently settled on a new amount, but JPP appears to have forgotten the exact sum they had agreed on. Very trustingly he wanted Tom Thraske to tell him the amount on which they had settled, and JPP wrote to his manager that 'I will get my son to grant him his freedom for the sum I mentioned to him which he will tell you and inform me of it ...' Apparently Tom Thraske had offered a down-payment of 20 Joes but needed security for the remainder, which, it had been agreed, he was going to pay the following year. As he was not literate, JPP asked the manager to 'send for him and read to him what I have written.'[1857] In spite of the lengthy negotiations, his endeavours proved fruitless. He failed to make the first payment and only continued to pay the money for his hire.[1858] Tom Thraske's son Tom, meanwhile, had liberated himself. He had run away.

Tom Thraske was sold with Mountravers and the other people to Huggins.

It is likely, though, that despite being unable to buy his freedom, Tom Thraske alias Tom Tross had been allowed to live in Charlestown. In 1811 JPP referred to him in a letter regarding Mulatto Polly's wish to acquire a building plot. She wanted to rent 'the land where Tom Tross lived or near it to build her house upon.'[1859]

372 **Peggy** was born on Monday, 4 November 1771, to an entailed woman. When she was eleven and a half years old, her value was N£55. In her early twenties, she was a field labourer in Wiltshire's gang and later worked in the great gang.

[1854] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, Nevis, 22 September 1790
[1855] PP, LB 11: JPP to TP Weekes, 10 March 1793
[1856] PP, LB 9: JPP to Dr TP Weekes, 24 October 1791
[1857] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 10 November 1797
[1858] PP, AB 47 f133, AB 59 f24 Negro Hire a/c and AB 57 f37
[1859] PP, LB 22: JPP to JC Mills, 10 October 1811

It is likely that she had three children: one in the early to mid-1790s (on 6 August 1795, Peggy's child was treated with 'a phil. liniment'),[1860] one in 1802, who may have been William Douglas, and the boy Job in December 1805. Both William Douglas and Job were yellow cast.

Peggy had to have two teeth extracted, one on 21 July 1797, which also necessitated a doctor's visit and another a month later.[1861] By about May 1803 she probably was ill already.[1862] Peggy died shortly after giving birth to Job, between 27 December 1805 and August 1806. She was 34 years old.

373 Little Cudjoe. Born in the late 1740s to early 1760s,[1863] he was bought in St Kitts. Joseph Gill, while working in the neighbouring island, may have heard of Little Cudjoe and two others who were for sale and recommended them to JPP, and on Saturday, 14 December 1771, JPP paid for Gill's passage of N£1:11:6 to sail across and purchase them. Joseph Gill hired a vessel from William Bowrin,[1864] and it is likely that this was Bowrin's sloop *Irish Gimblet,* which, some months later, perished with its crew at Nevis during the terrible hurricane of August 1772.[1865]

At St Kitts, Gill purchased three people for a total of N£188:2:0 but it is not known who the other two were.[1866] Little Cudjoe was in 1783 valued at N£100 and may have worked in the house; in the early 1790s he was not listed as a member of a field gang.

Little Cudjoe died between May 1795 and December 1797. He was in his thirties to late forties.[1867]

374 Judy, also Judy Ross and Judith Ross (dob 1737/8), was black and purchased from Daniel Ross for N£90 on 26 December 1771.[1868] On the same day JPP bought from Ross the boy Jemmy Dasent – her son?

In the following year Judy Ross was sold to Robert McGill for S£90.[1869] It appears that McGill then sold her to James Carroll, who in turn sold her to a free mulatto woman, Jilliant Browne. This woman, Jilliant Browne, was one of the nine people William Burt Weekes's wife Mary Browne had brought into their marriage.[1870] Mary Weekes had earlier freed Jilliant Browne's son Elijah and, unusually for that time,

---

[1860] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[1861] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[1862] On the 1795 list there was a cross next to her name
[1863] Little Cudjoe's 1783 value suggests that he was healthy field slave, perhaps in his twenties to perhaps about 35.
[1864] PP, AB 20 William Bowrin's a/c
[1865] http://www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/sections/hp/colonial/newspapers/Subjects/Shipwrecks.htm
[1866] Cudjoe's purchase price was also included in the total of N£804:3:6 for eleven people (PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1771, AB 20 Plantation a/c
[1867] PP, Dom Box K1
Little Cudjoe was last listed in 1794. He was, however, listed in the 1795 mortgage document, in which Mountravers was transferred from JPP to his son. Like Myrtilla, who was last listed in December 1794, next to Little Cudjoe's name was a cross. Other slaves with known death dates also had crosses next to their names.
[1868] PP, AB 20 Daniel Ross' a/c
Daniel Ross left in his will a woman called Judy. Most likely this was a woman he bought on 29 March 1775 for N£470 from James and Elizabeth Nolan with several others: Judy came to him with her three children John, Tom and Jibby; the men George and Cudjoe and the woman Jenny. The witnesses were Joseph Stanley and Benjamin Laming (ECSCRN, CR 1773-1775 f247). That woman may later have been known as Judy Nolan.
[1869] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c; also AB 21 Plantation a/c 1771 (according to a note Judy was sold in 1772 although the account was for 1771)
[1870] In various documents Jilliant Browne's name was also spelt Jillian, Jallan, Jellant and Gillante

Jilliant Browne had been baptised while enslaved.[1871] She herself had gained her own freedom on Mary Weekes's death in 1780. In the late 1790s, Jilliant Browne lived in one of JPP's properties in Charlestown.[1872] The last reference to her is from April 1802 when the merchant firm of Claxton & Son made her a payment.[1873]

On 17 January 1791 Jilliant Browne manumitted Judy Ross 'for the love and affection' she bore her. Two men with naval connections witnessed the documentation: George Abbott, who became Deputy Naval Officer of Nevis, and the 'gentleman' and 'mariner of Nevis', William Phillips.[1874] Jilliant Browne had bought Judy for N£66, and that transaction, too, was witnessed by William Phillips.[1875] These people all did business with each other; William Phillips later bought one or more individuals from George Abbott.[1876]

Soon after being freed, Judy Ross moved to St Thomas Lowland, and having been freed herself, she started freeing others: first the girl Elizabeth,[1877] then in April 1799 the woman Kitty and her daughters Martha and Mary;[1878] and in February 1803 the woman Betty.[1879] She was following in the footsteps of her former owner, Daniel Ross. He had manumitted at least 14 people - [1880] some of them almost certainly his children - but when he made his will, he left nothing to either a wife or any of his children. He made bequests to his sisters in Glasgow, his brothers in Germany, Virginia and London, and also left the annual interest on N£1,000 for the 'Support and Encouragement' of a schoolmaster in Charlestown.[1881] However, when he died, his property in Nevis was worth only just over N£4,000 (although he also had three plantations on St Vincent) and there probably was not sufficient money to pay for the school. As to his mistresses and children, it is possible that he had settled land and people on them during his lifetime. Thirty years after his death, an illegitimate son of his, who was also called Daniel Ross, sold land in St John Figtree that had belonged to his father. Whether it was Daniel Ross junior's to sell is questionable because it appears that, after Daniel Ross senior died, the land had been purchased at a Marshal's Sale by a man called William Critchton who had then lived in Nevis but had since moved to London. When Daniel Ross junior sold the land in question, his witnesses were Thomas Stanley, who probably was also a mixed-heritage man and later worked as overseer on Symonds Estate, and Joseph Alvarez. He was white and worked with Daniel Ross as a matrosse at Fort Charles.[1882] The land was near Fort Charles

---

[1871] On 13 November 1770 Mary Browne, spinster, manumitted the Negro boy Elijah son of Na…e of Jilliant. The witnesses were Daniel Martin and Joseph Batterton (ECSCRN, CR 1769-1771 f215, and UKNA, CO 186/6: 9 December 1772). Gillante Browne, 'a mulatto woman belonging to Miss Polly Brown', was baptised on 3 July 1766 in St John Figtree (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 1).
[1872] PP, AB 47 and AB 57 Houses in Town a/c
[1873] PP, AB 57 Claxton & Son Merchants a/c
[1874] ECSCRN, CR 1790-1792 f62
[1875] ECSCRN, CR 1790-1792 f61
There had been a William Philips in the 1770s: in 1775 William Pelham Philips replaced James Broadbelt after his death as a member of the Assembly for St Paul's parish (UKNA, CO 186/6) and on 3 June 1777 William Pelham Phillips sold for S£120 George, Grace and her child Toney to William Sanders (ECSCRN, CR 1777-1778 f89)
[1876] ECSCRN, CR 1797-1799 f164
[1877] ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797 f706
[1878] ECSCRN, CR 1799-1801 f49
[1879] ECSCRN, CR 1801-1803 ff523-24
[1880] Many of the people Daniel Ross manumitted can be traced through the records. He freed Joseph Herbert (ECSCRN, CR 1771-1773 f228 and UKNA, CO 186/6: 9 December 1772); Lizette (CR 1778-1783 f115-166); Andrew, Beauclair, Justine and Bailaira (CR 1777-1778 ff454-56); on 14 March 1784 the mulatto girl Elizabeth, daughter of his negro woman Peggy, also George - either Peggy or George had been in service of Dr John Williamson in Dominica (CR 1783-1785 f471); and on 17 May 1784 Minah (aged 27), rented to John Auld, and her nine-year-old mulatto boy George Auld (CR 1783-1785 f389-90). Later in the year Daniel Ross also set free the mulatto boy called George and another boy called John (CR 1783-1785 f472) and on 26 July 1784, just before he left Nevis, Daniel and his mother Molly. Although then described as a mulatto boy, his mother was also said to have been a mulatto (CR 1783-1785 f653).
[1881] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f627, ff650-51
[1882] UKNA, CO 186/10

and the Worlds End Pond, and this is where Judy Ross moved to. For many years she lived on this property with Daniel Ross's mother, the free woman Mary Ross.[1883]

Although she had freed several people and kept on freeing others, she also owned four black Creoles: Bob (aged 21), Jeffers (aged 15), James (aged 4) and Kitty (aged 22).[1884] She did not register a man called John Kingston because she was about to free him. This she did later in the year, a week before Christmas. Her witness was the free man John Frederick Bertrand,[1885] then a Clerk of Customs who lived at the Cedar Trees.[1886] In May 1825 Judy Ross also manumitted Kitty under the name of Catharine Huggins.[1887]

Following the 1819 hurricane, 27 people were considered to be in the 'lowest state of pauperism' and in February 1820 were granted tax relief by the Legislature. Judy Ross was among them.[1888] Given her poverty and that many enslaved people perished in the years after the hurricane, she seemed to have done well in maintaining hers throughout those tough years. However, it appears that she fell ill or became too frail to attend the slave registration; both her returns for the years 1822 and 1825 were signed by others: first by the Goal Sergeant and writing clerk Robert Prescott Browne[1889] and then by a 60-year-old free mulatto woman, Catherine Murphy. As owner of 17 enslaved people Catherine Murphy appears to have been well off. She had inherited N£100 and furniture from one of the doctors in the island, Dr John Williamson, and her six children had inherited money and people from him. Having practised with Dr Archbald for many years (doctors Archbald and Williamson attended patients on Mountravers), in the 1790s he had also been the Post Master for Nevis.[1890] Dr Williamson had died in Scotland in 1804.[1891] However, despite her and her children owning a large number of people, Catherine Murphy, too, found herself in the 'lowest state of pauperism' and was granted tax relief, as was the 'Estate of John Williamson dec'd'. Catherine Murphy died not long after confirming Judy Ross's slave register and was buried in June 1825,[1892] and in the following year Judy Ross also died. Aged 88, she was buried on 22 November 1826 in Charlestown.[1893]

On her death she still owned three males: Bob, Jeffers and James. It is not known what happened to them. Kitty, or Catherine (Catharine) Huggins, whom she had freed, had a daughter, Catherine Jane Eliza, who was baptised on 5 March 1829. The baptism took place in St Paul's church[1894] but she probably moved to Cotton Ground where she died; Catherine Huggins was buried in the church of St Thomas Lowland on 19 March 1865, aged 70.[1895]

[1883] ECSCRN, CR 1817-1819 Vol 2 f46
[1884] UKNA, T 71/364
[1885] ECSCRN, CR 1814-1817 ff700-01
[1886] PP, LB 24: JPP to Samuel Laurence 6 December 1816
[1887] ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 vol 2 f290
[1888] UKNA, CO 186/12
[1889] ECSCRN, CR 1829-1830 Vol 2 f278
[1890] *Aaron Thomas's Journal* p92
[1891] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 f465
[1892] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 80
While Catherine Murphy's death was noted by Samuel Sturge in his diary, that of Judy Ross went unrecorded (RHL, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b)), suggesting that she had a lesser status in the community.
[1893] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837
[1894] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 410
[1895] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 928

The three daughters of the woman who had signed Judy Ross's slave register, Catherine Murphy's daughters Sophia, Mary and Sarah Williamson, shared about £275 compensation for their 14 remaining people.[1896]

When the free man Daniel Ross sold the land said to have belonged to his father, he had made his mark by way of signature (as Judy Ross had done in 1817 when she lodged her return with the Registrar of Slaves) but it seems that by 1828 he had learnt to write: when he witnessed a marriage, he shakily signed the parish register.[1897] He then lived in Charlestown.[1898] Daniel Ross had also acquired a small sloop, the *Alicé,* of which he was the master.[1899] He was following his father's example; Daniel Ross senior had also owned vessels. Among them was a schooner which was lost in the 'gale of wind', that dreadful hurricane of August 1772. Some people perished with the *Nancy*.[1900] Ross had a second vessel or replaced it with another. In that he had transported to America a young woman from Mountravers, Grace (No 375).

375 Grace (born perhaps c 1752-1757), a black 'wench', was purchased for N£50:2:0 on 21 April 1772. Her former owner, Butler Claxton, also sold Philley to JPP.[1901] In his early twenties and recently married, it is possible that Claxton was selling off his former mistresses.

It appears that Grace was meant to be sold in the same year for N£46:18:0 – this would have represented a loss – but that the buyers, the company of Gill & McGill, did not pay for her [1902] and that, instead, two years later she was dispatched to America. The merchant and ship-owner Daniel Ross was charged with taking Grace to America where she was to be sold on JPP's behalf. On 11 July 1774 JPP gave Daniel Ross N£2:14:2 for 'Grace's passage in August' and '1 barrel bread for negro Grace's use'.[1903] This is the only known case where an enslaved person was sent into exile with a food supply although - unless she was meant to set herself up in business. But was her being sent to Virginia connected to another, earlier Grace (No 200) having been sold to Georgia?

Daniel Ross was trading with America; he sold to Mountravers American commodities such as boards and staves, as well as corn.[1904] He may have been in partnership with his brother David who lived in Virginia.[1905]

The early settlers had started growing tobacco in Virginia in 1612, and before the decade was out, the first Africans had been imported into the colony. Grace would have followed a route that many Africans

---

[1896] HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 pp107-08 Claims Numbers 169, 170 and 171
[1897] Daniel Ross witnessed the marriage of a free black man, William Prescott, to Henrietta Scarborough, a woman belonging to Mrs Ann Stanley. The other witness was James Herbert (NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842: 4 December 1828).
[1898] ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 vol 2 f23
[1899] Built in Nevis in 1822, the *Alicé* was originally an open boat but was later decked (UKNA, BT 107/484). Daniel Ross put the vessel in trust to two boys – presumably his sons, William and Thomas Ross – but in 1825 it was seized by the Instance Court of Vice Admiralty 'for a breach of the laws of trade' (i.e. smuggling). At different times, two other men, WP Jesup and Robert Reap, were employed as masters. In 1827 the *Alicé* was lost at sea (BT 107/486).
[1900] *An Account of the Late Dreadful Hurricane, which Happened on the 31st of August, 1772*
The *Nancy* was under command of Capt Walton and, in ballast, was lost at Salt Ponds. Another source states that Daniel Russ (sic) lost an unnamed schooner under command of Capt Smittan at Pym's Land. That vessel, too, was in ballast (http://www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/sections/hp/colonial/newspapers/Subjects/Shipwrecks.htm)
[1901] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c and Butler Claxton's a/c
[1902] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1772
[1903] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1774
[1904] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c
[1905] In 1784 Daniel Ross mentioned, among others, his brother David Ross of Virginia (ECSCRN, Book of Wills1763-1787 f627, ff650-51). It is likely that this brother was trading as David Ross & Co (PP, LB 37: Pinney & Tobin to David Ross, Portsmouth, Virginia, 19 February 1785).

had been forced to take in the C17th; a large number of enslaved people came to Virginia via the West Indies. Between 1700 and 1740, 54,000 blacks had been imported into Virginia and Maryland, the majority of whom were Africans,[1906] and in an attempt to discourage further imports, a few years before Grace came to the colony the Virginian House of Burgesses had voted to impose a 25 per cent tax on enslaved people. Legislation passed by the House was subject to approval by the Privy Council but British slave traders objected to this colonial duty and managed to sway British political opinion. The Privy Council withheld their consent.[1907]

Not only did the climate and the processes involved in the production of tobacco create a more benign working environment, but plantations in Virginia were also of a different scale to those in the Caribbean. They were mostly smaller – in the 1770s about two thirds of the slaveholders owned five individuals or fewer – and planters and their families lived on their properties. Unlike West Indian sugar planters, they did not retreat to Britain which meant that planters ran their own affairs and that the communities were more stable than in the West Indies.[1908]

It is certainly possible, even likely, that Grace ended up on the plantation owned by Daniel Ross's brother David. A Scotsman, David Ross had arrived in Virginia around 1750 and had owned land in Goochland from as early as 1767. He had become rich from purchasing large tracts of land, farming and then selling them at a profit. By the 1770s, when Grace arrived in Virginia, he had become one of the wealthiest men in the colony and had moved to a plantation at Point of Fork near Columbia. Although the Virginian tobacco regime was less brutal than the sugar regime in the Caribbean, people also resisted their enslavement, and an advert exists for the capture of one of Ross's women who had run away. It appeared in the *Virginia Gazette.* Ross appealed for the return of a female called Fortune, last seen in Williamsburg. He promised a reward of twenty shillings 'for taking her up, and fourpence per mile for carrying her home', or for delivering her to a certain gentleman in Williamsburg.[1909] From St Kitts comes evidence that travel costs at nine pence currency a mile was also being paid [1910] but in a small island such as Nevis, this was an unheard-of expense and would never have been offered.

David Ross was a most enterprising businessman. At some stage he came to own the Haxall Flour Mill and, before 1775, the Oxford Furnace in Campbell County. It was operated by 220 enslaved people as an integrated iron works with its own supply of charcoal, a forge and mills. It produced iron bar, shot, shell and nail rods. Ross played an important part in the struggle for American Independence. His company was one of the major suppliers of arms and munitions for the colonial forces, he was an elected delegate on the revolutionary Continental Congress, representing Fluvanna County, and he was said to have been the single largest financial backer of the War of Independence. In the 1780s David Ross owned 400 people but it is not known whether any of them followed the King's call for enslaved men 'able and willing to bear arms' to join the British in their fight against the rebel colonists. They were promised their freedom, but women, children, the aged and infirm did not have such opportunity, and Grace certainly would have remained enslaved. It is not known when Grace died.

David Ross's fortunes changed. He died in Richmond in 1817, 'old, alone, deaf and broke'.[1911]

[1906] Walvin, James *Black Ivory* pp70-1
[1907] Craton, Michael *Sinews of Empire* pp241-42
[1908] Walvin, James *Black Ivory* p86
[1909] http://etext.lib.Virginia.edu/etcbin/costa-browse Advert 12 May 1768 'Run away from the subscriber'
[1910] BROR, D/EX292 E1 Provost Marshal's a/c
[1911] During the American War of Independence troops were stationed at David Ross's plantation at Point of Fork. They 'destroyed everything in their power' and Ross 'suffered greatly'. Details as to their relationship with the slaves on the plantation might emerge from Ross's letter to Patrick Henry (18 June 1781) and from the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* Vol 2 (Richmond, 1875) p172

376 Philley was black and probably born between about 1752 and 1757. She was purchased on 21 or 30 April 1772 for N£62:8:0. JPP bought her from Butler Claxton[1912] around the time he bought Grace.

Philley had five, possibly seven, children: Billy Keefe (b February 1782), Joe Neal (b October 1788), Mickey (b March 1791), Kate Neal (b November 1793), and Hetty Nelson (b December 1798). Joe was black of a yellow cast; Mickey and Kate were yellow cast and Hetty black. Almost certainly the children with the surname Neal were Mulatto Peter's (No 357), and Polly Neal (b August 1784) and Franky Neal (b February 1786) – or Frances Neal (b April 1796) - may therefore have been hers as well. They, too, were yellow cast. Philley's first child, Billy Keefe, however, almost certainly had a different father, who was also called Billey Keefe. He probably was black. The father of Philley's last child, Hetty, was black, too. Having a first and a last black child would have been an unusual pattern. More common were relationships described by Dr Thomas Cochrane, a surgeon who ran the town hospital in St Kitts. He had found that young women who 'unfortunately' had 'at first been subject to the intercourse of the white inhabitants' tended to have three or four children with white men and are 'then cast off to some of the domestics' with whom they 'may perhaps have a black child or two after.'[1913] Certainly this applied to Black Polly and Sarah Fisher who first had children with white and then black or mixed-heritage men.

In 1783 Philley, and also Mulatto Peter, worked in the house. She was then valued at N£100. As soon as the Pinneys left for England, Philley and her son Billy Keefe were hired to James Carroll, from whom JPP had acquired Billey Keefe in 1777. Carroll had in the previous year bought several mortgaged individuals from JPP (Ned, Dick Rayes, Sabella and her daughter Fanny), some of whom may still have been with him, and while Philley was working for him, he also bought the man Cato. James Carroll then seemed to have worked only as a cooper, while later he branched out and also became a vintner and tavern keeper. Although it had been agreed that Carroll was to hire her at N£10 a year,[1914] after employing Philley for two years he paid only N£16.[1915] JPP was not informed that the arrangement with Carroll had come to an end in 1785, and he charged Coker's account with a further year's hire of N£8 hire from 1 July 1785, noting: 'Enquire to whom hire is to be charged.'[1916]

Philley's next assignment, in August 1785, was to work for a month for the newly arrived overseer, James Williams. He had to find himself servants and employed Philley and Leah at N16s6d a month.[1917] After that, until April 1787, Philley hired herself out, brought in N£3:4:9 in 1786 and N£2:0:1 ½ during the next

---

(Richard C Bush 'History of the Battalion: The End of Colonel Gaskin's War' on http://www.wscottsmith.com/virginiacampaign/gaskins/timeline.html).

From his plantation Point of Fork David Ross was said to have operated the state arsenal and its shops on Mount Independence. After the War of Independence, he branched out again and was elected a director of the James River-Kanawha Canal Company.

One of his houses has survived. A wooden building, which overlooks Haxall's mills, stands 'on the summit of a cliff overhanging the river'. Also survived has a schedule of David Ross's slaves, which was attached to deeds of 1815 concerning 1,500 acres of land in Fluvenna County, and the Virginia Historical Society holds a David Ross Letterbook for the years 1812-1813. It concerns the Oxford Iron Works and the enslaved families in Cambell County and contains a range of information on slavery-related topics (Gammon, Melinda 'Man who financially backed the revolution died broke and alone' in *Richmond Suburban Newspapers* (Vol 44 No 21 – 3 June 2000); Samuel Mordecai 'Old Residences' Part 2 Chapter 2 in *Virginia, especially Richmond, in bygone days*, and Wilma A Dunaway 'Slavery and Emancipation in the Mountain South: Archival Manuscripts'; also http://www.lexisnexis.com/academic/guides/southern_hist/plantations/plantm4.asp)

[1912] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c and AB 21 Plantation a/c
[1913] Cochrane, Thomas MD 'Answers to the Fifth Table of Queries' pp141-76
[1914] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f132
[1915] PP, AB 31 1785 James Carroll's a/c
[1916] PP, AB 36 Negro Hire a/c
[1917] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f178 and f181

four months [1918] but was put to work in the field in late 1787. What motivated Coker to ask JPP's permission to employ her as a field hand is not known. Usually this downgrading was a punishment and on Mountravers used as such in several instances. Other than being sold into exile, it was one of the worst fates domestic servants living on plantations faced, and domestics in towns lived in fear that if they stepped out of line, they would end up on a plantation, planting and cutting cane. One owner, wishing to safeguard the future of the wife of his favoured slave, even felt obliged to stipulate in his will that the executors were 'not to allow my Negro Margarite … to work in the field.[1919] In the army this fear of demotion was also employed 'as the most effective method of making the black soldier do his duty'. Roger Norman Buckley recounted how General Hugh Carmichael, a Lieutenant Colonel with long service in the Second West India Regiment, had 'found that an effective deterrent was to reduce a black offender to a position resembling that of a common field slave. The soldier was deprived of his weapons and appointments and employed only on fatigue duties, which closely resembled slave work.' [1920] The black soldiers lost not only their normal duties but also their status; in the case of domestics this was compounded by the hard physical labour they had to endure in the fields.

Whether Coker wanted Philley punished, or whether her income from hire was just too low and she was more useful as a field labourer, in October 1787 JPP gave his consent that Coker had 'full liberty to employ Philley in the field'.[1921] Philley worked in the field until she fell ill. In April and May 1790, during the time the Pinneys visited Nevis, she was twice treated with two ounces of 'anodyne balsam'.[1922] She appears to have recovered and afterwards Philley hired herself out again for five months. She brought in N3s3d per week and handed over the money in several instalments.[1923] The two Joes she owed a Mrs Abbott may have been linked to her being employed by that woman.[1924]

In 1793 Philley worked in Jack's gang (the second gang) but was not hired out again and may have gone back to her life as a domestic during the managership of the Williams brothers.[1925] Her son Mickey later worked in the house for Joseph Webbe Stanley. As one of the domestics who had worked for the Pinneys, she qualified for one of the white cotton wrappers Mrs P sent from Bristol.[1926]

Having given birth to several mixed-heritage children, she then had her last child, Hetty Nelson, a black girl. Her relationship with Mulatto Peter may by then have ended already. He died in January 1800, aged about 40. Philley suffered a further loss when her son Billy Keefe died some time between 1807 and 1816. He had been ill as a young boy and may have suffered from ill health all his life.

Philley died between 4 December 1816 and 15 July 1817. She was in her late fifties to mid-sixties.

377 Ben or Ben Weekes. He was black and probably born between about 1765 and 1767.[1927] Listed as purchased from one of Mrs P's aunts, Elizabeth Weekes, on 14 June 1772, the Pinneys' wedding day,

---

[1918] PP, AB 31, AB 36 and AB 30 Negro Hire a/c
[1919] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 6 pp159-60
[1920] Buckley, RN *The British Army in the West Indies* p227, citing CO 137/123 Carmichael to Castlereagh, 10 September 1808
[1921] PP, LB 6: JPP to Wm Coker, Nevis, 10 October 1787
[1922] PP, AB 43 1790 Thomas Pym Weekes a/c; also AB 30 TP Weekes' a/c
[1923] PP, AB 43 f32 Negro Hire a/c
[1924] PP, Misc Vols 12 Leeward Islands Calendar 1793
[1925] Unless Philley was listed in the hole in the Plantation Diary, in which some members of the second gang were recorded, she worked in the house.
[1926] PP, LB 15: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, 29 October 1799
[1927] In 1788 Ben Weekes was first listed as a 'man'; this suggests that he was probably between five to seven years old when Pinney bought him. Also, Little Robin and Hazard, aged 6 ½, were valued at N£40 in 1783.

it is more likely that he was a wedding present from Miss Weekes. His value of ?£40 suggests that he was a young child.[1928]

Ben was a field worker but in 1793 not in any of the gangs. He may not have been well enough to labour in the field (later he was one of the people listed as sick),[1929] and he may have done other jobs, such as running errands. Once Dr Thomas Pym Weekes reminded himself 'To send Ben [with] the water dish carrots and cheese to Jones on Monday.'[1930] The only occasion Ben Weekes was hired out was when Dr Weekes was the manager. (Ben Weekes would have known him from when he lived at the Cedar Trees with Elizabeth Weekes; she was also Thomas Pym Weekes's aunt.) When Dr Weekes hired him out, Ben and Nero worked away for a week and brought in N16s6d in total.[1931] The two men's work was equal to the value of a pig - when he sold JPP a pig, Ben had charged the same amount.[1932]

Illnesses and accidents seemed to have troubled him throughout his life. In 1783, when he was worth N£80, he had a tooth extracted; four years later he broke his arm and Doctors Archbald & Williamson were paid N£6:12:0 for 'reducing a fracture of the arm'. Ten years on, and he was ill again:

24 April 1797	a box of stom[ach] pills
3 May	12 alt[ernative] pills
19 June	1 doz. diaph[eretic] alt. pills
24 August	a box carob. [corroborant, strengthening] pills.[1933]

Then, in January 1799, Ben 'near lost the use of his limbs and had every appearance of a dropsy.' The doctor visited and was paid N£3:12:0 'in part for curing Ben', a month later another N£1:7:0.[1934]

This illness certainly put an end to Ben Weekes working in the field. In February 1800 he caught Violet in the negro houses - she had run away a month earlier and had hidden herself there - and he may have been employed as a watch. By 1805 he was on kitchen duties. He was still not well. Dr Mills treated him, gave him medicine but for three months Ben was unable to work and no one knew what was wrong with him. The manager wrote that he 'still complains of a burning all over & particularly in his stomach'. He was, therefore, obliged to replace Ben and keep Pompey in the kitchen instead.[1935]

Ben Weekes died between August 1807 and December 1816. He was, roughly, aged between 40 and 50 years. He may have been among those people who died soon after Huggins took over.

378 Mulatto Polly alias Mary Pinney, also Mary or Polly Weekes, Polly Scarborough, Mrs Scarborough, Mulatta Polly and Polly Pinney. (Throughout her life she was known by several names but, to avoid confusion, she will be called by her earliest name, Mulatto Polly, throughout.)

[1928] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1773; also AB 20 Plantation a/c and Elizabeth Weekes' a/c
According to AB 21 only two women were bought in 1772.
[1929] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation
[1930] PP, Misc Vols 12 Leeward Islands Calendar 1793
[1931] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f124 Negro Hire a/c
[1932] PP, AB 27
[1933] PP, AB 30 and AB 36 Archbald & Williamson's a/c, and AB 47 Archbald & Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[1934] PP, AB 47 f108 Plantation a/c and Cash a/c
[1935] PP, Dom Box P: JW Stanley to John Frederick Pinney, 27 December 1805

Born in about 1764, Mulatto Polly was acquired on 14 June 1772, the Pinneys' wedding day. She probably was a present from JPP to his new wife. He bought Mulatto Polly from James Smith and the purchase may have been part of another deal because he accounted for N£25:3:3 as 'the balance due'.[1936] JPP had done business with James Smith before; some years earlier he had bought a consignment of Africans from him.

Presumably so that she could have an outfit befitting a domestic, JPP bought several yards of cloth for Mulatto Polly - just as he had done for Black Polly upon her arrival -[1937] but it was not until three years later that Mulatto Polly started her 'schooling'. She would have been taught sewing and a variety of other domestic duties.[1938] Fanny Coker was being trained at the same time by Mary Frances, Frances Vaughan and Mary Keep(e), and, as in Fanny's case, for some reason part of the fees were paid through Ann Weekes (one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees). Having begun her training in the summer of 1775, in the spring of 1779 Mulatto Polly's completed her schooling, and as if to underline her new status as an educated girl, that summer she bought a pair of shoes.[1939] She and Fanny Coker were the only females known to have bought shoes but they may also have worn Mrs P's cast-offs.

Mulatto Polly was still a teenager when she had her first child. Her daughter, Christianna Jacques, was born in June 1780. The girl was a mestize - the child of a white man – and almost certainly the offspring of a man called Gwyn Vaughan Jacques. His fore- and middle names suggest he was a Welshman. He first appeared in the records in 1773 but may have been in Nevis for longer.[1940] He certainly was in Nevis while Mulatto Polly was pregnant. Shortly after Christianna Jacques had been conceived, he had attended a meeting at which he was supposed to have been appointed as Clerk of the Assembly. The meeting was adjourned.[1941] A month later he was on Saba and involved in recovering Mr Budgeon's runaway,[1942] but no more mention was made of him until he turned up in London early in 1784. He bumped into a Mr Blagrove who listened to his story: Gwynn Vaughan Jacques had been 'taken by the French from the island', had been freed, and, in search of employment, was on his way 'to the Admiralty with a recommendatory letter'. By testing his knowledge about certain people in Nevis Mr Blagrove made sure that the man was not an imposter and then took him in and assisted him.[1943] Presumably Gwyn Vaughan Jacques followed a naval career.

Six months after Christianna Jacques was born, Mrs P was delivered of her fifth child, Pretor. His birth had been difficult,[1944] and he was very vulnerable. Having lost their daughter Alicia to illness, the Pinneys put their trust into Mulatto Polly and she became Pretor's 'nurse' – presumably meaning wet-nurse.[1945] Holding such a responsible job would explain her appraised value, which, at N£120, was the highest of all the women on the plantation and N£10 more than Black Polly's and Stanley Ritta's.

[1936] PP, AB 17: 14 March 1772
[1937] PP, AB 20 Ann Weekes' a/c
JPP bought seven yards of cloth at N3s a yard for Mulatto Polly and 6 ½ yards of check for Black Polly. This would have been sufficient for a petticoat or a dress (PP, AB 17: 13 December 1765). Both times the material was purchased from Ann Weekes, one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees.
[1938] PP, AB 17: 26 July 1775 and 29 December 1775; also AB 20 Expense a/c; also DM 1173/4 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f47 Expense a/c; also AB 26 f53 Ann Weekes' a/c and AB 26 f81 Mary Keep's a/c
[1939] Mulatto Polly paid JPP N16s6d for a pair of shoes. In 1782 he gave Fanny Coker N12s for shoes (PP, AB 17: 8 July 1779).
[1940] ECSCRN, CR 1773-1774 f14
[1941] UKNA, CO 186/7: 13 October 1779
[1942] PP, AB 26 John Smith Budgeon's a/c
[1943] PP, LB 5: JPP, Bath, to John Patterson, 12 February 1784
[1944] The midwife Agnes Adams attended Pretor's birth and was paid N£15:4:0, while she had been paid N£9:18:0 for attending Betsey and Alicia's birth (PP, AB 26 Expense a/c, AB 20 Agnes Adams' a/c and AB 21 Alicia's a/c).
[1945] PP, AB 17: 31 January 1783

Pretor was the last Pinney child born in Nevis, and in 1783 the family went to England. They took with them as servants Pero Jones and Frances Coker, Black Polly's daughter. As a reward, from then on Mulatto Polly was allowed to work for her own benefit and only had to re-imburse the plantation with her and her daughter's parish and public taxes. JPP, however, did not sanction Mulatto Polly employ someone else from the plantation yet somehow she managed to get the manager, Joseph Gill, to allow her to hire an African woman, Congo Flora. Gill informed JPP and this arrangement lasted only until, almost by return of ship, JPP put a stop to it. Mulatto Polly had shown that she was ambitious and enterprising, and it is very likely that from then on she hired another person from a more obliging slaveholder.

Mulatto Polly soon became the mistress of a neighbouring planter, John Latoysonere Scarborough.[1946] About thirty years her senior and a carpenter by trade, he had in the early 1760s been one of JPP's tenants in town.[1947] He then appears to have acquired the plantation south of Mountravers, but after he had just built a 'commodious dwelling house'[1948] he had lost several buildings in the 1772 hurricane: 'A new work, kitchen, &c'.[1949] Undeterred, Scarborough had re-built, and in the following year the house had been ready to receive a chest of drawers and 'a looking glass' which he had imported from Bristol.[1950]

John Latoysonere Scarborough already had seven children: two mulatto sons, Edward and James, whom he freed in 1781, and five children with his wife Elizabeth: Judith, Elizabeth, Hester, Ann and William.[1951] His son and heir, William, went to school in England and during his holidays was looked after by the Pinneys. It is likely that John Latoysonere Scarborough's wife had died by the time Mulatto Polly gave birth to his first child, Jenetta. She was born in June 1785 and was followed in January 1787 by Paul and in January 1789 by another girl, Betsey. Paul was named after an earlier Scarborough relative,[1952] and Betsey may have been given the name of Scarborough's wife or of one of his daughters.

In 1790 the Pinneys, with their servants Pero Jones and Fanny Coker, visited Nevis and during their stay Scarborough arranged to buy his and Mulatto Polly's three children. He began straightaway and made a payment of S£60 [1953] but gave a bond for the remainder, ?£45. This was due in March 1793. As a further concession, and rather unusually, JPP did not charge interest on the outstanding money.[1954] Witnessed by William Vernam, a ship's captain, a manumission document was drawn up a week before the Pinneys were due to leave the island. The same day Scarborough handed over the first instalment but, as the

---

[1946] John Latoysonere Scarborough almost certainly was the son and grandson of men called William Scarborough. William Scarborough was in Nevis as early as 1719 when he sold Azariah Pinney 14,000 lbs of 'merchantable muscovado sugar' (PP, WI Box B). In 1745 either father or son William Scarborough was an overseer on the Stapleton estate, Russells' Rest (Stapleton Cotton MSS 3(i) Nevis 1745 account), and in 1755 both senior and junior registered slaves: senior paid tax on three and junior pad tax on one person (PP, Dom Box P: General's Tax Notebook 1755).

John Latoysonere Scarborough's middle name suggests that his mother was called Latoysonere. The earliest reference to that name is from the 1720s when Hester Latoysonier lived in the parish of St James Windward (UKNA, CO 155/6 1722-1726). She would have been related to Dr John Latoysonere, who first appeared in the records in 1732 when he treated slaves on Mary Pinney's estate (WI Box C). The French origin of the name is apparent in the record of the burial of his daughter: Margaret, the daughter of Dr Le Toisonnier, was buried in November 1733, St Thomas (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 1 p234).

[1947] PP, AB 15 William Coker's a/c

[1948] UKNA, CO 186/6: 29 May 1770

[1949] *An Account of the Late Dreadful Hurricane, which happened on the 31st of August, 1772* p49

[1950] BRO, 39654 (2): *Nevis Planter*

[1951] ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 f569, and DALSS, 337 add 3B/1/8/1 2 of 2 (Box 25)
Judith and Elizabeth were born before 1772 (ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f312, f414 and ff630-31) and Hester and Ann before 1783 (Book of Wills 1787-1805 f121).

[1952] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 3 p74 and Transcript of St John Figtree Parish Register

[1953] PP, AB 30 f158; also AB 43 John L Scarborough's a/c

[1954] PP, AB 39 J Latoysonere Scarborough's a/c

remainder was owed, the manumission was not yet recorded in the Court House.[1955] Mulatto Polly had also fallen behind with her taxes. It turned out that ever since she had been allowed to work for herself she had not paid them, and Scarborough had to hand over almost N£10 to clear the arrears for her and her children.[1956]

As early as 1778 Mulatto Polly had kept domestic animals. She had sold a very large pig to JPP for his son's voyage to England,[1957] and during their visit she sold the Pinneys more foodstuffs than any other person: 6 pounds of butter (N11s3d), 11 ½ pounds of flour (N8s7 ½d), and ten turkeys (N£4:2:6).[1958] She, in turn, purchased a barrel of pork and a keg of butter.[1959] The quantities she bought and sold suggest that she was running a business - she had set herself up as a trader.

When the Pinneys and their servants left Nevis again, Mulatto Polly's oldest daughter sailed with them. Scarborough had bought his three children but he had not bought Christianna Jacques – after all, she was not his child – and this may have been the reason why the Pinneys removed the girl from Nevis. It is equally possible that Mulatto Polly was ambitious for her daughter and perhaps even somewhat jealous of the opportunities open to Black Polly's oldest daughter, Fanny Coker. Christianna's going to England certainly was at Mulatto Polly's initiative rather than the Pinneys'. But Christianna did not take to living in Bristol, and soon Mulatto Polly heard that the Pinneys were thinking of sending her daughter back to Nevis.[1960] The girl, however, remained in Bristol, and Mulatto Polly sent some money for her upkeep. On 16 April 1792 she paid N£14:14:0 'towards defraying Christiana's expenses in England',[1961] and another N£4:2:6 which were to go to Mrs P. Presumably Mulatto Polly was re-imbursing Mrs P for items she had sent from Bristol - either for trading or Mulatto Polly's personal use.[1962]

When JPP visited Nevis again in 1794, Mulatto Polly did business with him once more. She sold him a turtle[1963] and bought half a barrel of pork from him (paying almost a pound more than Black Polly)[1964] and over 50 gallons of rum from the plantation.[1965] She also conducted various money transactions with him. She paid him N£33, of which just over S£13 was for goods that had already been shipped in the *Nevis*,[1966] gave him another N£6:6:0 – presumably for goods he had brought with him from England -[1967] and gave him money intended for Mrs P: ten Joes that were tied up with S£20 that Scarborough owed,[1968] as well as two Guineas for a pair of earrings. Almost certainly JPP had brought these from England.[1969] This was not the first jewellery she had received. After the Pinneys had returned to England in 1783, either Mrs P or Fanny Coker had sent her a pair of hand lockets and a 'locket buckle'.[1970] These lockets were finely worked pieces of jewellery which encased tiny mementos, such as the hair of a loved one, or

[1955] ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797 ff620-22
[1956] PP, AB 30 f158; also AB 39 Plantation a/c and AB 43 John L Scarborough's a/c
[1957] PP, AB 17: 30 June 1778
[1958] PP, AB 27
[1959] PP, AB 33: 29 July 1790
[1960] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to TP Weekes, Nevis, 5 March 1791
[1961] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f106
[1962] PP, AB 39 Cash a/c
[1963] PP, AB 50 Mary Pinney alias Mulatto Polly's a/c; also AB 39 Mul Polly a mulatto woman's a/c
[1964] Mulatto Polly paid N£4:10:0 for her half barrel of pork but Black Polly only N£3:18:4 ½ (PP, AB 50 Pinney's 1794 a/c).
[1965] PP, AB 50 Rum a/c; also AB 45 Balance a/c
[1966] PP, AB 41 Caribbee Islands A/c
[1967] PP, AB 45 Balance a/c
[1968] PP, AB 34: 29 July 1794 and LB 11: JPP, at Sea, to James Williams, 9 August 1794
[1969] PP, AB 34: 29 July 1794; also AB 41 f8 Cash a/c and AB 45 Mrs P's a/c
[1970] PP, LB 5: JPP, London, to Joseph Gill, 30 October 1783
It is likely that the 17s Sterling JPP accounted for in the same month ('To Mrs P recd cash del'd her by Mulatto Polly') was in fact to reimburse her for buying the lockets (PP, AB 34: 15 October 1783). Although JPP wrote of a 'locket buckle' (a buckle without a pin for fastening belts), it is more likely that he referred to a buckle locket, an item of jewellery decorated with buckle motives that was hung around the neck, suspended on a ribbon.

a painted miniature portrait. She may have imported these adornments for sale but, equally, Mulatto Polly may have worn them herself. Contemporary drawings show black women wearing necklaces and bracelets.[1971] Owning a European-made piece of jewellery probably set Mulatto Polly apart and earned her cachet as someone who had close links with Britain.

More intriguing is the fact that jewellery also went from Nevis to England. In 1791 Mulatto Polly sent a ring for one of the Pinney daughters (This present probably was for the Nevis-born Betsey, rather than for Mary who was born in Bristol).[1972] Rings, sometimes engraved with the name and date of death of a deceased person, were often given in memory of that person but, as far as is known, there was no occasion for such a mourning ring. The ring Mulatto Polly sent appears to have been simply a present. This was the only documented gift from an enslaved person to a member of the Pinney family, and while it highlights Mulatto Polly's close relationship with the family, this gift also put her on a more equal footing with them. At the same time it shows that she was sufficiently well off to buy luxury items such as jewellery.

Two days before JPP left Nevis on his last visit to the island, Mulatto Polly gave birth to another daughter, Peggy, and almost as soon as Peggy was born, Mulatto Polly hired one of the plantation workers, Nancy Jones. Mulatto Polly may have engaged her to look after the baby, or to help with her trading. This time hiring one of the Mountravers workers was done with JPP's agreement, and it was an arrangement that suited both. But it was a purely commercial transaction because Mulatto Polly paid the going rate of N5s a week. She kept Nancy Jones with her until the end of 1795.[1973] Mulatto Polly was not responsible for Nancy's taxes - they were still being paid by the plantation - but, once again, her own taxes were in arrears, and it is likely that James Williams, the new manager appointed during last JPP's visit, made it his business to collect the money. She settled her taxes for the years 1791 to 1794[1974] but failed to pay for the 54 gallons of rum she had bought during JPP's visit.[1975]

Soon after JPP had returned to Bristol from his first visit to Nevis, Mulatto Polly had received an order for guava 'marmulet'. This came with precise packing instructions[1976] and, satisfied with her work, after his second visit she was asked to make 'herself complete mistress' of preparing all the sweetmeats for the family. These were to be made not with the local, unrefined sugar but Captain Maies was going to deliver white sugar for her – sugar that had been refined in Bristol. After his second visit JPP also ordered a large selection of other foodstuffs: guava marmulet 'in cake with some of my best muscavado sugar', a barrel of cassava, tamarinds, 'to be put up with my very best muscavado sugar, dried in the sun', 'pots of preserved pines to be sliced round and not long ways', 'bottles of pickled mountain cabbage without peppers', 'yellow guht plums' (these are a yellow fruit, smaller than mangoes which grow mostly in the ghuts), a 'barrel of yams', sweet oranges and lemons 'to be carefully gathered and packed, wraped (sic) up separately in dry banana leaves, preserved ginger, guava jelly, orange chips, pines, pickled peppers, etc'.[1977] On one occasion the sweetmeats were not the right sort and James Williams passed on a message from Bristol that JPP was 'displeased with the potter for sending such.'[1978] Later, however, more

[1971] For instance, in Agostino Brunias's painting 'Dance Among Negroes' women can be seen wearing several items of jewellery. For other examples see http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery/.
[1972] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to Dr TP Weekes, Nevis, 24 October 1791
[1973] On 31 July 1795 Mulatto Polly paid N£7:11:8, and in December 1795 another N£4:15:0, which was for 19 weeks hire income (PP, AB 50 1794 and AB 47 Mary Pinney a free Mulatto in the Island of Nevis a/c).
[1974] PP, AB 50 Plantation a/c
[1975] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, 29 November 1794
[1976] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol to TP Weekes, 12 November 1790
[1977] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, 5 December 1794
[1978] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 5 November 1796

orders followed, among them an appeal for pumpkins.[1979] These requests give some idea of the variety of trees and plants grown on Mountravers and show that JPP believed that sufficient food was produced for part of it to be exported to England. The orders also show the Pinneys' desire to satisfy their longing for exotic produce.

In mid-October 1795 the former manager on Mountravers, Dr Thomas Pym Weekes, arrived from Martinique - ill, almost dead. Mulatto Polly was pregnant then (her daughter Nancy Seymour was born in January 1796), and for five weeks Dr Weekes stayed at Scarborough's before moving to John Taylor's Tower Hill plantation. He may have chosen to seek shelter at Scarborough's because he was friends with one of old Scarborough's mulatto sons, James. It was James who stood surety for the doctor when he was arrested for debt.[1980] Dr Weekes died, and later in the year his, and Mrs P's, father died in Bristol. Within weeks of his death JPP wrote to his manager in Nevis about freeing Mulatto Polly and her two youngest children. Apparently it was Mrs P who had asked for this to be done. The timing may have been coincidental but it raises the prospect that William Burt Weekes may have been Mulatto Polly's father (and that she was, therefore, Mrs P's and Thomas Pym Weekes's half-sister). Perhaps freeing her was Weekes's deathbed wish, or Mrs P finally wanted to do the decent thing and free her half-sister - her father having resisted during his lifetime. Whatever the background, Mrs P had persuaded her husband to go ahead with the manumission, and JPP sent the necessary document to James Williams, the manager, who was to deliver it to Mulatto Polly. As to getting the manumission made official in Nevis, JPP advised: 'You will put her in the way of having it provided and recorded; the expense of which she, of course, will pay.'[1981] Having yielded to his wife's wishes, this was as far as he was going to go.

Perhaps the most telling pointer towards William Burt Weekes having been her father is the fact that the manumission document stated that she was 'called and known by the name of Mary Weekes alias Mulatto Polly', although, by then, JPP had also addressed her as Mary Pinney.[1982] Along with Mulatto Polly, her two youngest children, Peggy and Nancy, were freed, and since they had been made over to JPP's son John Frederick, it was he who officially manumitted them. The document was back-dated to 3 January 1797 – about a fortnight after William Burt Weekes's funeral. At the same time as these manumissions were entered in the records at the Nevis Court House, finally the manumissions for her three older children were recorded. Mr Scarborough had been slow in completing the purchase of his children Jenett, John Paul and Elizabeth.[1983]

The manumissions were linked to resolving the future of Mulatto Polly's oldest daughter, Christianna Jacques. She was to be apprenticed for three years. To furnish Christianna with clothes and washing, Mulatto Polly gave a bond for S£31:10:0 which was payable to JPP at ten Guineas a year. By suggesting that she paid this money JPP would have assessed that she was sufficiently well off to bear this expense for the duration of her daughter's apprenticeship. However, before this arrangement could commence, once more Mulatto Polly was to clear any arrears 'for taxes for herself and children'.[1984]

Although she had been responsible for paying her taxes since 1783,[1985] as long as she and her children had been enslaved their medical treatment had been the responsibility of the plantation. In October 1785

[1979] PP, LB 14: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 8 March 1798
[1980] PP, Dom Box S4: Mary Smith, Nevis, to Mrs Pinney, 14 February 1796
[1981] PN 233, quoting Pinney Family Letterbooks, Box D-6 f258: JPP to James Williams, 17 January 1797
[1982] During his visit he accounted for money received from 'Mary Pinney alias Mulatto Polly' (PP, AB 43 Balance a/c).
[1983] ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797 ff620-22
[1984] PN 233, quoting Pinney Family Letterbooks, Box D-6 f258: JPP to James Williams, 17 January 1797
[1985] PP, AB 47 Mary Pinney a free Mulatto in the Island of Nevis a/c; AB 50 Plantation a/c, AB 54 Plantation a/c and AB 57 Plantation a/c

Mulatto Polly and her child had received medical care,[1986] and shortly before she was freed, she had benefited from the plantation paying for expensive treatment for one of her children. A course of fever-reducing pills and two doctor's visits had come to N£6.[1987]

Mulatto Polly had only been free for just over a year when John Latoysonere Scarborough died. Aged 68, he died on 6 May 1798.[1988] He had been ill for some time; 'sick and weak' he had made his will three years earlier. He had left an annuity of N£20 a year for 'Polly Weekes and her four children Jennet, John Paul, Elizabeth and Peggy'. John Latoysonere Scarborough also provided for two other women: Martha Mitchell, who was to get the use of two people, Jenny and Patty, for life,[1989] and Ann Frost, to whom he left a one-off payment of N£50. There were several women called Ann Frost in Nevis, and it possible that one of them was the mother of his free mulatto sons James Scarborough and Edward Scarborough. To these sons he left N£100 and N£50 each. To his four daughters from his marriage - Judith, Ann, Hester and Elizabeth - he bequeathed N£1,000 each. This became payable on their wedding day, and for some strange reason was conditional on them not marrying for at least five years after his death. Stranger still was that his daughter Ann may have been married already; according to one source she had married the 23-year-old Walter Maynard in June the previous year.[1990] The rest of old Scarborough's Estate went to his son William. As witnesses Scarborough had called a lawyer and two doctors: William Higgins,[1991] Dr Sholto Archbald and John Hope. The latter was a doctor in the partnership Williamson & Hope who tended to patients on Mountravers.[1992]

While she was still grieving for the father of her children, Mulatto Polly also lost her four-year-old daughter Peggy. The child died on 11 September 1798. But, having suffered the loss of one daughter, Mulatto Polly soon gave birth to another - Mulatto Polly's first free-born child. Called Poll (Mary), this girl later bore the surname Scarborough, and it can be assumed that John Latoysonere was the child's father. When he made his will, he did not include any provisions for the unborn child; Mulatto Polly probably had then not known that she was pregnant. As executors John Latoysonere Scarborough had appointed his son and his four legitimate daughters. They would have struggled to comply with his bequest to pay Mulatto Polly's annuity. After all, the plantation was in debt.

Following the death of her partner, Mulatto Polly then either needed a new home or she sought to establish a new business, and she and the gentleman[1993] John King Fyfield sought to rent from JPP one of his houses in Charlestown. Perhaps she intended to run a tavern with Mr Fyfield because they wanted to occupy the house in which Mr Carroll used to live.[1994] A cooper who had diversified and become a vintner and a tavern keeper, James Carroll had died a couple of years earlier,[1995] but his widow was still living in the house and continuing the business. Mulatto Polly's enquiry prompted JPP to ask James Williams to evict Mrs Carroll for rent arrears, but Mrs Carroll stayed put for some years and by the time

[1986] PP, AB 31 Archbald & Williamson's a/c 18 October 1785
[1987] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[1988] ECSCRN, CR 1801-1803 f54
[1989] Martha Mitchel was the mother of Scarborough's 'confidential friend' William Weekes, who had died in the early 1780s. John Latoysonere Scarborough had been one of the executors, together with James Carroll and Martha Mitchel. In his will, William Weekes had left most of his property to his mother but in case of her death, it was to descend to two mulattoes, Penelope Osterman and Thomas Osterman, and two of Scarborough's daughters, Ester and Ann. The two mulattoes were to get a third each and the sisters were to share the other third (ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff120-21).
[1990] NHCS, GE/MI Typed family tree
[1991] PP, AB 50 and AB 57
[1992] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff282-83
[1993] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 f366
[1994] PP, LB 15: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 16 July 1799
[1995] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 f226

she left, Mulatto Polly seems to have lost interest in the property. Instead, the house 'late rented to Mrs Carroll' was let to a carpenter and cabinetmaker, John Handcock.[1996]

After Scarborough died, his daughters disappeared from view for some years and his mulatto son Edward disappeared from view altogether.[1997] His mulatto son James was known to have become a father, even a grandfather. James's daughter was also called Christiana and his grandson (Christiana's son) James Huggins. Both had been born enslaved, and he had manumitted both.[1998] He had also acquired from Dr Thomas Pym Weekes a mulatto woman, Sally Brooks, and her children James Herbert and Judith, and had manumitted all three of them, as well as another boy, Edward Jones.[1999] Some of these people he may have been taken as security when Thomas Pym Weekes was arrested for debt, possibly not knowing that they might have been mortgaged to a trans-Atlantic partnership consisting of Revd William Jones, the planter John Taylor and John Frederick Pinney.[2000] It was probably Scarborough's quick freeing of these people that led to JPP's exasperated outburst: 'The conduct of James S. astonishes me. I really thought him an honest good kind of man.' He wanted him 'arrested in St Kitts',[2001] but this falling-out did not stop him from later hiring James Scarborough's sloop, the *Mary.*[2002] It appears that, probably only temporarily, the mulatto man had gone into the shipping business.[2003]

John Latoysonere Scarborough's white son, William, meanwhile had married a woman from Bristol, in Bristol. For his marriage settlement William Scarborough had to raise a mortgage on the family plantation and a year later he took out a second mortgage.[2004] After marrying Mary Shepherd in 1800,[2005] some time

---

[1996] PP, AB 57 Houses in Town a/c
Mr John Fyfield also rented property from JPP but this was not Mrs Carroll's (AB 47 and AB 57).
[1997] It is possible that it was John Latoysonere Scarborough's mulatto son Edward Scarborough joined others in renting land to work as a sugar estate. A man called 'Dick Fish alias Edward Scarborough' was one of 24 tenants who leased land from Sir Thomas Neave: Town Plantation/Ramsbury, Rossington, Mountain Plantation and Bath Plantation (ECSCRN, CR 1838-1847 f491).
[1998] Although James Scarborough was a mulatto, when he manumitted his daughter Christiana she was also described as a 'mulatto' (ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797 f289).

Christina Scarborough had a daughter, Sally Jones, for whom she bought the negro woman Juggy from Joseph Jones (CR 1797-1799 Unnumbered page: 17 August 1798). In 1817 Christina Scarborough registered three black slaves: an African woman, Sally (22 years old), and two Creole children, Edward (3 years) and Frederick (9 months). Christiane Scarborough died before the next slave registration in 1822, and her three slaves were registered by Jenkin Powell 'by administration to the effects of Christianna Scarborough dec'd'. The baby Frederick had also died (UKNA, T 71/365).

Christiana Scarborough's son James Huggins - James Scarborough's grandson - witnessed the marriage of William Prescott, a free black man, and Henrietta Scarborough, who belonged to Mrs Ann Stanley, in December 1828 (NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842). James Huggins of Lowland claimed compensation for 13 enslaved people (PP, Dom Box R-6: Compensation file) but it is not known to whom it was paid.
[1999] The volume that contains the manumission is too fragile to handle but from the index it is apparent that James Scarborough first manumitted Sally Brooks and her daughter (ECSCRN, CR 1792-1794 ff465-66), and then James Herbert. Described as a mestee, James Herbert was manumitted by the name of James George. The other boy James Scarborough manumitted was Edward Jones. He, too, was a mestee (CR 1803-1805 f5).

Given the boys' names it is more likely that Sarah Brookes was James Scarborough's sister, rather than his partner. Her biography and that of Edward Jones is among Dr Thomas Pym Weekes's slaves.
[2000] ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797 f431
[2001] PP, LB 14: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 10 January 1798
[2002] PP, AB 59 J Pinney's a/c
[2003] The sloops, or droughers, which ferried people and goods between the islands, appear to have been commonly manned by enslaved men. In 1822 Joseph Jones, for instance, registered four Africans as purchased from the owners of the sloop *Active*: Calcutta (aged 35), 'Castile or Pocera', Jack Parsons (aged 35) and Sampson (aged 60). The owners of the sloop were the St Kitts planter Henry Rawlins and the Nevis planters Finlay Nicholson, Joseph Jones (UKNA, T 71/365). On John Colhoun Mills's drougher, or sloop, the *Prospect*, he also had three sailor negroes. They became subject of a case in the Vice Admiralty Court (See, for instance, PP, LB 58: R Claxton to Richard Hart Davis MP, 20 October 1824, and LB 59: JC Mills, Nevis, to PA & Co, 7 September 1824).
[2004] According to the marriage settlement, William Scarborough conveyed the estate, estimated at 60 acres, with sugar works and an unspecified number of slaves, onto John Hendrickson. Throughout William Scarborough's life, the plantation remained for his use, and after his death it was for the use of his father-in-law, William Shepherd, and of John Dasent Smith (DALSS, 337 add 3/1/8/2

before 1804 he and his wife returned to Nevis. They may well have gone to the West Indies with a view to settle but Mrs Scarborough suffered from ill health, and in 1806 they left again for England. As their servant they took with them Mulatto Polly. She attended to them but would also have looked after their two sons: William Shepherd,[2006] who was five and the two-year-old John Latoysonere.[2007] The Scarboroughs went to Lyme Regis on the south coast where, it was hoped, the mild climate would restore Mrs Scarborough's health.[2008]

This possibly was Mulatto Polly's second trip across the Atlantic. In the early 1790s John Latoysonere Scarborough had planned to come to England and to travel for two years,[2009] but it is not known whether his scheme ever came to fruition. If it did, Mulatto Polly may well have accompanied him - after all, the Nevis planter Edward Brazier had travelled with his son's nurse, an African woman. For Mulatto Polly this trip with William and Mary Scarborough represented an opportunity to see her daughter Christianna Jacques again. In the intervening years Christianna had finished her apprenticeship, and she had got married. Going to England also meant that Mulatto Polly could bring back some goods for trading. She needed money; Francis John Galpine was taking her and her daughter Jane (Jenetta) to Court for a debt of N£264. The two women were not the only ones who owed money; the estate of John Latoysonere Scarborough was being sued for a debt of £300 and his surviving executors were taken to Court: Walter Maynard's wife Ann and her spinster sisters Judith and Hester Scarborough.[2010]

On 1 November 1806 Mulatto Polly arrived in Bristol with her trunk, penniless. The Scarboroughs had not paid her, leaving her stranded in England. The House took up her case with her employer:

> Your servant Mary Weekes came here this day and intends to go out in one of the ships lying in Kingroad but cannot go unless she has a sufficient sum to pay her passage. She has desired us to write to you for a remittance and to inform you that the ships will sail for Cork.

Scarborough was to send twenty Guineas to Cork.[2011]

Mulatto Polly had with her proof of William Scarborough's promise to pay her £32:13:3 – presumably her wages. When JPP saw the memorandum, he advanced her fare on Scarborough's account and some money so that she could pay 'the carriage of her trunk'. It then turned out that William Scarborough had not paid her the balance of the annuity left to her by old Scarborough but that that money had been included in a bill. When the bill was not accepted, Mulatto Polly became 'extremely distressed'. Her distress may have lessened when her daughter came to see her in Bristol. But there was no progress on getting Scarborough to pay her the £32:13:3 she was owed.[2012] In deep financial trouble, William

---

(Box 25). In December 1801 William Scarborough took out a second mortgage for £4,500 from the London merchants Thomas Latham senior and junior (DALSS, 337 add 3B/1/8/1 (Box 25); also ECSCRN, CR 1801-1803 ff522-23, ff403-07, and ff215-26).

[2005] Mary Shepherd was the daughter of William Shepherd of Clifton, who may have been a 'provision merchant' (BRO, 1828-1863 6098 (2) f, t; also copy of will of W Yeoman Shepherd 22 September 1828 (6098 (2) f; and ECSCRN, CR 1801-1803 ff44-53).

[2006] DALSS, 337 add 3B/1/8/1 (Box 25)

[2007] Pers. comm., John Cochrane, 22 Mach 2002, citing Roy Chapple, unpublished manuscript for forthcoming book on Colyford, Devon.

According to Chapple, there were three sons: JL Scarborough, the eldest, who trained as a surgeon; Revd William Scarborough was the second and there was a third son whose name was not known. According to John Cochrane, the third son was called Shephard and born in 1809. However, another source has William as the eldest and as the heir. He was born on 11 November 1801 (DALSS, 337 add 3B/1/8/1 and 2, Box 25). There are other inconsistencies in the article and the family tree.

[2008] PP, LB 45: JPP & JF Pinney to William Scarborough, Lyme Regis, 4 November 1806

[2009] PP, Dom Box S2-5: Azariah Pinney, Nevis, to JPP 8 October 1792

[2010] ECSCRN, King's Bench and Common Pleas Cause List 1805-1813

[2011] PP, LB 45: JPP & JF Pinney to William Scarborough, Lyme Regis, 1 November 1806

[2012] PP, LB 45: JPP & JF Pinney to William Scarborough, Lyme Regis, 8, 12 November 1806, and 17 November 1806

Scarborough was trying to raise another mortgage on his estate. But sugar growers were facing bleak prospects. Napoleon had just pronounced his edict to stop the export of British sugar to Europe[2013] and Britain was about to withdraw from the Transatlantic Slave Trade. The uncertainty over the supply of new workers, coupled with Napoleon's attempt to exclude British goods from Europe, depressed the sugar market;[2014] it was not an advantageous time to raise money on a West India enterprise. Mulatto Polly, holding out for what was her due, was still in Bristol in spring the following year. Once again, the House wrote to Scarborough, informing him that the ships were due to sail and that her only chance of obtaining passage was to go to Cork where the fleet assembled. As to her travelling on her own, the House sought Scarborough's advice: '... you are the best judge whether you think proper to risque her going to Cork to meet the fleet and whether you think her capable of acting for herself when there.' [2015]

That was in March 1807. Still without money from Scarborough, she spent the summer in England and may have gone with Mrs P to Somerton Erleigh. There she would have had the company of people from Nevis: Mrs P's maid Fanny Coker and Dr Weekes's son Thomas Pym Weekes junior. He was visiting the Pinneys' country house before returning to Aberdeen.[2016] While Mrs P spent a quiet summer at Somerton, JPP was busy in Bristol. He was setting in motion the sale of Mountravers and also had a house built and furnished on a farm in Dorset for Pretor, the Pinneys' son who suffered from ill health.[2017] Mrs P returned to Bristol for the winter, and on 31 October 1807 - almost a year to the day Mulatto Polly had arrived in Bristol - the House wrote one more letter to Scarborough regarding her return journey: they had 'made an application to the captain of the *Edward* for a passage to Nevis' and the captain had no objection to taking her – as long as she paid the fare of twenty Guineas.[2018] It is not clear whether she finally did return in that ship; further correspondence between the House and William Scarborough were only about his dire state of finances. If she did sail home in the *Edward*,[2019] Capt Powell's ship left Cork some time after the end of December[2020] and arrived in Nevis at the end of February 1808. Mulatto Polly certainly had returned by March the following year when Scarborough finally paid up the long-awaited £32:13:3.[2021]

A few months later, in October 1809, William Scarborough died at Lyme Regis.[2022] He was in his thirties. As a child, he had suffered from ill health, once voiding 'a great quantity of worms from his stomach' and complaining 'with symptoms of rather a hectic kind'.[2023] Worms were a common complaint among people living in the tropics (JPP also had them and fought them with worm grass from Nevis),[2024] but 'symptoms of rather a hectic kind' suggest a mental, rather than a physical, illness. Scarborough's widow was left to

---

[2013] Napoleon's edict, the *Kontinentalsperre,* encouraged the production of beet sugar but in the short term had less effect than anticipated because, until that trade was prohibited by the Peace of Schönbrunn of 1809, sugar continued to reach continental Europe via the Adriatic ports. In an effort to support beet sugar, Napoleon set out two decrees, and by 1812 there were over 150 sugar manufacturers in France. Meanwhile, with the re-export obstructed, sugar was stocking up in England but after 1813, with French power weakening, British sugar began to reach the Continent again. After Napoleon's fall, it flooded the European market. Beet sugar - too expensive to grow and to process - could not compete with slave-produced sugar, and factories closed one after the other (http://www.geschichte.uni-hannover.de/…ete/afrika/aeg/zucker/entwicklung.htm; also JR Ward *British West Indian Slavery* p43 and R Pares *A West India Fortune* p198).
[2014] PP, LB 20: JPP to JJ Cottle, Bath, 1 February 1807, and BW Higman *Montpelier, Jamaica* p45
[2015] PP, LB 45: JPP & JF Pinney to Wm Scarborough at Mrs Forrests, Lyme Regis, 10 March 1807
[2016] PP, LB 22: JPP to WB Weekes, Princess Charlotte/Capt Tobin, Cork, 15 October 1807
[2017] PP, AB Pretor Pinney's a/c
[2018] PP, LB 45: JPP & JF Pinney to William Scarborough at Mrs Forrests, Lyme Regis, 17 June 1807, 16 July 1807, 28 July 1807, and 31 October 1807
[2019] It is possible that it was thought that Mulatto Polly ought to travel to Cork in the company of other people from Nevis, or that she held out long enough to get a job as a servant on her return journey. If Mulatto Polly did, indeed, return on the *Edward*, on board were also the planters John Henry Clarke and Finlay Nicholson (PP, LB 46: JPP & JF Pinney to Thomas Cottle, Nevis, 1 May 1809).
[2020] PP, LB 46: JPP & JF Pinney to James Tobin, Nevis, 28 December 1807
[2021] PP, LB 23: JPP to Thomas Arthurton, Nevis, 1 March 1809
[2022] Pers. comm., John Cochrane, Chair of the Colyton Parish History Society, 22 March 2002
[2023] PP, LB 37: JPP, Bristol, to JL Scarborough, Nevis, 8 July 1785
[2024] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to Wm Coker, Nevis, 8 February 1789

sort out the plantation. Mulatto Polly and her children may have continued to live on Scarborough's land but, following William Scarborough's death, may well have been asked to leave. John Hendrickson, one of the mortgagors, had died,[2025] and it is not known who inherited Hendrickson's stake in Scarborough's plantation, but the estate went from William Scarborough to John Dasent Smith, who then occupied it.[2026] Subsequently John Dasent Smith gave up the plantation to Walter Maynard,[2027] who not only was a creditor but also the widowed Mrs Scarborough's brother-in-law and attorney. Presumably it was Walter Maynard who appointed as the plantation manager James, old Scarborough's illegitimate mulatto son. Said to have been 'a good distiller', hope was vested in James Scarborough's ability to increase rum production so that at least part of the plantation's debts could be paid off. By 1813 one creditor alone was owed over £7,000.[2028]

Probably after his half-brother William Scarborough had died in England and before the end of 1813, James Scarborough set up a swindle in which he tried to get hold of some land in Gingerland for himself, for Edward Scarborough, (the mulatto with whom he had been manumitted) and for two of Mulatto Polly's daughters. Before a Justice of the Peace he swore a declaration to the effect that he had heard his father, John Latoysonere Scarborough, say to his four white daughters that he was going to settle N£1,000 on each of them provided they did not challenge a deed concerning some land and enslaved people that he and his wife had held in Gingerland parish. If the daughters did ever make a claim on that property, they would forfeit their legacies.[2029] James Scarborough stated that 'some little time' before Scarborough died, the old man had told him that he would make a codicil to his will in which he would set out the rightful heirs to that land but, before he could do so, he had died, very suddenly. As supporting evidence James Scarborough produced a very neatly and fluently written draft will, said to have been in the handwriting of Scarborough's 'confidential friend' William Weekes. Some lines, supposedly in John Latoysonere Scarborough's own handwriting, had been added to the text. Fragments of the document reveal a clumsily written paragraph:

> I give unto my malatoa son James Scarbrough: Quarter Parte of all Houses and Land formerly belonging to B. ?Leeger Also one Quarter to Edward Scarborough also one Quarter to Polley Peneys Daughter called Gennett also one Quarter to her other Child called Poll.

Supposedly dated 26 September 1779,[2030] this document would have been written many years before Mulatto Polly's (Polley Peney) daughters Jenetta (Gennett) and Poll (Mary) had been born. The draft will may well have been genuine; the added text certainly was not. While James Scarborough's challenge to old Scarborough's will was inept, this clumsy forgery highlights one of the underlying problems illegitimate offspring faced. Whereas his half-brother had inherited their father's estate and his half-sisters were drawing allowances from the proceeds of the crops he was producing, he and Mulatto Polly's children had been left only a small, token share.

[2025] PP, LB 46: PA & Co to Samuel Laurence, Nevis, 8 October 1807
[2026] ECSCRN, CR 1805-1808 ff514-20 (Courtesy of Prof David Hancock)
[2027] DALSS, 337 add 3B/1/8/1 2 of 2 (Box 25): Walter Maynard to Mary Scarborough, 20 October 1918
[2028] DALSS, 337 add 3B/1/8/1 2 of 2 (Box 25): Thomas Latham to Mary Scarborough, 18 October 1813
[2029] James Scarborough swore the declaration in front of the Justice of the Peace, John Dasent Smith, who for some years was in occupation of the Scarborough plantation. Dasent died in January 1814 (NHCS, St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825 f40) and James Scarborough, must therefore, have thought up the swindle with the will and the handwritten addition some time before then. One person who could have shed some light on the affair, old Scarborough's 'confidential friend' William Weekes, was long dead; his will was proven in 1791 (ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff120-21). He could therefore not be called as a witness. Weekes was the son of Martha Mitchell (Book of Wills 1763-1787 f312), who had benefited from Scarborough's will.
[2030] DALSS, 337 add 3B/1/8/1 2 of 2 (Box 25)

In the autumn of 1810 Mulatto Polly was back in Bristol.[2031] She spent Christmas in England - from the Pinneys she received a present of a Christmas box, worth 7 shillings - [2032] and although in January she spoke of returning in the *Edward*, [2033] she appears to have remained until the autumn. She was on a mission, and during her stay she petitioned Mrs P to let her rent 'the land where Tom Tross lived or near it to build her house upon'. JPP had a buyer for the land in Charlestown, but, pressed by Mrs P, he did not sell it and he allowed Mulatto Polly to erect a house 'upon paying proper ground rent'. On her return, however, Mulatto Polly appears to have changed her mind and moved to land at the Cedar Trees.[2034] This property consisted of two acres on which several people had built their houses. It was also home to Mrs P's aunts, The Ladies at the Cedar Trees.

The Cedar Trees property had belonged to Mrs P's father who had willed it to his grandsons, on condition that it could not be sold until the last of the old Ladies had died. This was Aunt Jenny. She made her will in May 1810, and it may have been at that point that Mulatto Polly saw the possibility of renting the main Weekes house at the Cedar Trees. In the meantime, however, she asked JPP to increase the size of the spot she was renting. He approved.[2035] Aunt Jenny died two years later, in June 1812, and in October 1812 JPP bought the Cedar Trees from the Weekes grandsons.[2036] Shortly afterwards JPP wrote to his attorney in Nevis that 'Mulatto Polly, now called Mrs Scarborough, is desirous of living in the house and to keep it in repair', and that any furniture should be left in the house for her. She had offered to pay 'a proportionable part of ten Joes per annum', which she was to share with other tenants who had houses on the land.[2037] Mulatto Polly negotiated this deal with JPP in person because she was back in Bristol – on her third known visit.

While in Bristol, JPP paid her S£6 for Mrs P's sweetmeats because his attorney in Nevis, Mr Mills, had failed to pay her. JPP partly blamed Mulatto Polly for this - 'she ought to have applied … for payment before she left the island' - but asked that in future she should be paid promptly for the sweetmeats, out of the rents which the attorney collected.[2038] The sweetmeats were part of the two-way traffic that existed had between Mulatto Polly and the Pinneys ever since they had returned to England.[2039] In 1818, after JPP's death, Mulatto Polly appears to have taken the initiative by sending produce unasked. In 1819 a delivery worth just over £47 arrived in Bristol:

[2031] PP, LB 23: JPP to Peter Huggins, 13 October 1810
[2032] PP, AB 65 f2 Cash a/c; also f17 Expense a/c
[2033] PP, LB 23: JPP to John Colhoun Mills, 10 January 1811
[2034] PP, LB 5:0: P & A to James Parry, Nevis, 10 October 1811; also LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 10 October 1811
It is possible that Tom Tross had lived on land that was part of the Cedar Trees. With regard to Billey Jones's land, JPP appears to have been unclear whether he or the Weekes grandsons owned it: 'I understand there is a piece of land belonging to me or the estate of Mr (?W) Weekes, where the Jews Synagogue was formerly …' Almost certainly he referred to the Cedar Trees which was mortgaged to him by the Weekes grandsons (PP, LB 23: JPP to Thomas Arthurton, 28 August 1809).
[2035] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 24 June 1812
[2036] PP, LB 54: PA & Co to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 11 March 1820; also WI Box 1801-1836: Mortgage WB Weekes to JPP 5 October 1812 and ECSCRN, CR 1810-1814 ff587-88
The property known as "Cedar Trees" was on the east side of the main road at the very southern edge of Charlestown. Today it is occupied by a supermarket, Super Foods, and a shop called the 'Sandbox Tree'. Properties across the road are also known as 'Cedar Trees'.
[2037] PP, LB 23: JPP to John Colhoun Mills, 16 October 1812
[2038] PP, LB 23: JPP to John Colhoun Mills, 16 October 1812; also WI Box 1801-1836: JPP to JC Mills, 12 January 1813
[2039] PP, AB 47 JF Pinney's a/c and Cash a/c

3 pots of ginger	£8:12:1 1/2
4 pots of sweetmeats	£11:9:6
3 pots of sliced pine	£8:12:1 ½
4 pots of guava jelly	£11:9:6
2 bottles of pickles	£2:0:6
3 phials cayenne pepper	£0:13:6
4 bottles cherry nuts	£1:16:0
6 bottles of arrow root	£2:14:0[2040]

The sums were considerable. In 1820 'Mary Weekes's account for preserves' stood at £28:17:4,[2041] and when Charles Pinney visited Nevis, she prepared for him dressed fruits worth over £17.[2042] By the time Charles settled his bill, Mulatto Polly was back in Bristol, on her fourth known visit. Mrs P was not in Bristol then but had gone to Swanage, a resort on the Dorset coast. Writing to her son Charles, who was still in Nevis, Mrs P certainly remembered Pretor's old nurse with fondness, saying that she was sorry to have missed Mulatto Polly when she was in Bristol and expressing her hope that Charles would render her whatever service she required.[2043] But she did ask Charles to tell Mulatto Polly not to send any more sweetmeats the following year as she still had 'a great many'. Mrs P only ordered one more bottle of very fine castor oil[2044] and, as far as is known, this was Mrs P's last request for produce from Nevis. One of Mulatto Polly's sources of income had dried up.

Mulatto Polly's trip to England in 1820 probably was her last. Her frequent travels abroad would have set her apart from her neighbours in Charlestown - of one Jamaican woman it was said on her second sailing to England that this trip '"no doubt made her *quite* the English-woman"'.[2045] The phrasing suggests elements of envy as well as mockery. In Nevis Mulatto Polly may have been a trendsetter, a woman who had moved in polite English society and whose opinion was sought when it came to matters of fashion and manners.

When Mulatto Polly returned to Nevis she had with her 'all the newspapers and also the Queen's trial'.[2046] Mrs P sent these for Charles Pinney who was still in Nevis. Undoubtedly Mulatto Polly also brought with her goods that she had bought in Bristol because not long after she was back in Nevis she received from the House an invoice for N£5.[2047] In the following year she consigned ten barrels of sugar to the House but the proceeds, S£20, were not sufficient to cover another bill for £50. The House warned her that 'there will be a considerable balance against you which must be remitted previous to our sending you more goods according to the agreement. We are yours ...' [2048] Stung by this rebuke, Mulatto Polly got someone to write a letter on her behalf, and, addressed to Charles Pinney, who was back in Bristol, enclosed some money that she could ill afford to spare. Part of her problem was down to Peter Thomas

---

[2040] PP, LB 48 Mrs Jane Pinney's a/c
[2041] PP, LB 54: PA & Co to Mills & Galpine, Nevis, 1 May 1820 and LB 5:6: Mills & Galpine, Nevis, to PA & Co, 29 June 1822
[2042] PP, Cat 1 Box 1820-1822 Unnumbered item: Receipt by Mr Galpine for Mary Weekes for £17:11:0, dated 17 July 1820:

To 1 Dress Pine 144/	£7:4:0
To 1 Dress Coconut 72/	£3:12:0
To 1 Ditto Orange 54/	£2:14:0
To 1 pair of Dressed Lamonds (sic)	£2:14:0
[added] To 1 Glass for Orange	£1:7:0

[2043] PP, Dom Box C1-7: Mrs Jane Pinney, Bath to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 21 February 1821
[2044] PP, Dom Box C1-6: Jane Pinney, Swanage, to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 25 October 1820
[2045] Brathwaite, EK *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica 1770-1820* p159, quoting Geraldine Mozley (ed) [Mrs Brodbelt's] *Letters to Jane from Jamaica, 1788-1796* London nd
[2046] PP, Dom Box C1-7: Mrs Jane Pinney, Bath to Charles Pinney, Nevis, 21 February 1821
[2047] PP, G Ledger (Misc): Charles Pinney's account current with estate of JPP dec'd
[2048] PP, LB 57: P & A to Mrs M Weekes, Nevis, 11 December 1821

Huggins. He had paid her in produce instead of cash – most likely the ten barrels she had sent to Bristol had been produced on Mountravers:

> I was much disappointed when I received your letter stating that nothing would be sent out until the first account were payed of as according to agreament I never agreaed to pay of all my account in the same year that I should have out the things for I full know it would be in[illegible] out of my power I did intend sending a bill of 100 [yearly?] besides produce I applied to your house when I stood in nead as I feel an interest there and I hope you will not spurn the [tho?] poor an old and faithfull servant of your Mothers I have now sent enclose a small bill the labour of My hands which I could not spare but having an honest disposition I would not like to contract a debt which I had no means to pay but being disappointed of a bill which I expected to have received from Mr P T Huggins he would give me nothing but produce and faring I would loose by the sum compelled me to part with this I remain your Hble Sert. Mary Weekes.[2049]

Her letter was dated 30 July 1822. News that Mrs P had died in March had not yet reached her.

A year later Mulatto Polly received from Charles Pinney one last request for produce from Nevis. He had asked his attorneys to order 'from Mulatto Polly the following: 6 bottles castor oil, 6 bottles cayenne pepper, 6 pots of preserved ginger and 2 pots guava jelly'. Payment, as usual, would be through the attorneys, Mills & Galpine. On 4 December 1823 Mulatto Polly signed the receipt for the money as 'Mary Weekes'. The account was headed 'Charles Pinney to Mary Scarborough'[2050] – throughout her life she was known by several names which were being used quite indiscriminately.

It is very likely that the preserves and sweetmeats were in fact prepared by the people Mulatto Polly had acquired. It is not known when she first began owning people but in 1817 she registered seven: a 32-year-old African woman called Mary and six Creole children.[2051] Four of them were black: Present (also Presence, 15 years old), Christiana (13 years old), Charles (11 years old), and Jacob (6 years old). The other two were three-year-old sambos called Wellington and John. It is possible that all the children were Mary's. Charles may have been named after Charles Pinney and Christiana after Mulatto Polly's daughter in England. She last appeared in the records in 1810. In 1817 none of Mulatto Polly's children registered any people. Her youngest daughter, Mary, was then in her late teens, Nancy was in her early and Betsey in her late twenties, while John Paul and Jenetta had reached their early thirties.[2052] Nancy's name had,

---

[2049] PP, Dom Box C2-8: Mary Weekes, Nevis, to Charles Pinney, 30 July 1822

[2050] PP, LB 44: P & A to Mills & Galpine, 2 June 1823, and copy of receipt

[2051] There were other women who went by the name of Mary Weekes. One was a 32-year-old black Creole who lived on Joseph Jones' Estate (UKNA, T 71/364), another a laundress resident in Charlestown. Her 14-year-old son Henry was baptised in November 1835 (NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835). One of the women was buried in September 1836 at the age of 49 (St Paul's Burials 1827-1837 No 719).

Equally, two enslaved people buried in St John Figtree who were said to have belonged to 'Mrs Weekes' did not belong to Mulatto Polly but to Ann, the wife of James Weekes: in May 1821 William, a negro boy was buried and in October 1821 a negro woman called Sue (St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825 f45 and f45a and T 71/364).

[2052] Various members of the Scarborough family owned and registered slaves. In 1817 Hester and Judith Scarborough, John Latoysonere Scarborough's white daughters, registered two and five slaves respectively. Judith Scarborough's 1828 register was signed by John Paul Scarborough, Mulatto Polly's son. In 1834 Judith Scarbrough freed Anne Eliza, and Maria became automatically free when Judith Scarborough went to England, taking Maria with her. She may have stayed with her sister-in-law Mary and her nephews who were doing well in the professions as vicar, surgeon and solicitor. - The woman Maria, whom Judith took with her, may have returned to Nevis: Maria Scarborough was in June 1836 granted judgment against John Fisher and against John Bennett for the payment of four doubloons each (worth N£21:16:8) (ECSCRN, Nevis Court Records 1836-1843 f59). A couple of months later, in October 1836, the spinster Maria Scarborough married the bachelor Thomas Henry Jefferys from St George. Francis Bridgwater, a free black woman who had registered slaves in 1817, was their witness (St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842).

by then, changed to Margaret Ann Scarborough: Ann was the formal version of Nancy, and Margaret was added following the early death of Mulatto Polly's daughter Peggy (formally Margaret).

While Mulatto Polly registered seven enslaved people at the first island-wide registration in 1817, the mulatto James Scarborough had twelve people in his possession. But his prospects were not good. At a time when Thomas Latham, one of the plantation's creditors, was keen to dispose of the property, James Scarbrough 'grossly insulted' one of Latham's attorneys and was dismissed from his post. After much hope had been vested in him increasing the rum production, his performance had in fact been very poor. He may have just let things slip after his swindle concerning old Scarborough's will had been discovered. He just was not sending enough sugar. Mrs Scarborough's attorney, Walter Maynard, had estimated that in a year the estate should have been shipping to England 50 to 60, or even 60 to 70 hogsheads of sugar, but James Scarborough persistently sent less. Thomas Latham was selling the sugar in London and in 1813 Scarborough sent him 47 hogsheads. It was hoped that James Scarborough's 'exertions in the next crop' would prove successful, and in January 1815 he duly increased the remittance to 54 hogsheads. Sugar prices were then still at their wartime high but soon collapsed. The depressed British economy caused people to cut down on their sugar consumption. Latham advised that before long the sale of the estate would become 'absolutely necessary'. The following year James Scarborough shipped a mere 30 hogsheads, and with so little sugar being produced there was 'no prospect of this estate ever paying the debts against it.'[2053] Then the incident with Latham's attorney happened, he lost his job and over the coming years had to sell several of his people. James Scarborough died in September 1823.[2054]

At first Mulatto Polly did relatively well in keeping her people alive. Between 1817 and 1822 she lost only one of the children, Wellington, but between 1822 and 1825 two more died, the youngest, John and Jacob. These boys' deaths would have followed a typical pattern during the terrible 1820s when the island suffered from famine and sickness, and droughts and hurricanes. The first to die tended to be the most vulnerable: the very old and the very young. But while two children had died, another two had been born, and in 1825 Mulatto Polly registered Kitty, who was then two years old, and the four-week-old Thomas. He was Present's son. At the same time Mulatto Polly had it recorded that she had sold three of her people to her children: Thomas's mother Present she had sold to her daughter 'Jane' (Jenetta) Scarborough; Christiana to her daughter Betsey, and Charles to her daughter Margaret Ann.[2055]

Mulatto Polly's children, meanwhile, had acquired their own people. Her son John Paul had successfully bid for two at a Marshal's Sale, an African woman and a Creole boy,[2056] and Betsey had bought a black woman, Harriett. Betsey's woman straightaway gave birth to a sambo boy called William and then to a

---

The mulatto James Scarborough, as well as his daughter Christiana Scarbrough, registered 12 and three slaves respectively, while William Scarborough, who was either the son of the white William Scarborough who died in Lyme Regis in 1809, or, more likely, a son of the mulatto James Scarborough, also registered two slaves.

The other Judith Scarbrough – the daughter of Sarah Brookes, who had been bought and then freed by the mulatto James Scarborough in the 1790s – registered two people and subsequently acquired more from James Scarborough. All her people became the property of her husband, John [Williamson] Huggins, whom she married in June 1832 (NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842). He acquired six individuals: Adelaide (aged 2 ½, a Sambo); Angelica (7, black), Joseph (8, Sambo); Cinderella (19, black); Margaret (25, Sambo), and Grace (48, black) (T 71/369). However, although he had registered six people, he received compensation for only four (PP, Dom Box R-6: Compensation file). John Williamson Huggins died young, aged 29, in November 1841; Judith Huggins was buried in February 1862, aged 68 (St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 Numbers 251 and 1248).

[2053] DALSS, 337 add 3B/1/8/1 2 of 2 (Box 25): Thomas Latham to Mary Scarborough, 5 April 1817, 5 July 1815 and 4 July 1816

[2054] RHL, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b): 17 September 1823

[2055] UKNA, T 71/366

Although officially she had sold Present to her daughter Jenetta, it was Mulatto Polly who, as Mary Weekes, freed 'Presant' in June 1833 (ECSCRN, CR 1831-1835 ff304-05

[2056] UKNA, T 71/365 and T 71/366

black girl, Beatrice (also called Attrice and Attrace). Another black girl, Henrietta, may also have been her daughter.

In the 1820s Mulatto Polly became a grandmother twice over: Betsey had a daughter called Jane Maria and Mary had a daughter called Mary Elizabeth. Mary, Mulatto Polly's youngest daughter, appears to have been the only daughter to get married. Her husband was the free mixed-heritage mariner William Trimingham. He was from St Thomas Lowland,[2057] but the couple's wedding took place in St Paul's church in Charlestown, where all of Mulatto Polly's family events happened. Although a few free coloureds had held church weddings even in the previous century (just a couple of entries below that of Horatio Nelson and Fanny Nisbet was the record in the parish register of a marriage of two free mulattoes), Mulatto Polly's daughter belonged to the new generation of young free people who had church weddings in large numbers. They witnessed each other's marriages as well as those of their own and other people's slaves.

Mary Trimingham's daughter, Mary Elizabeth, was baptised in March 1826, followed two years later by Betsey's daughter, Jane Maria. But not only Mulatto Polly's grandchildren were baptised; the children of her, and her children's, slaves also underwent baptism in the same church, St Paul's. There was Beatrice, the daughter of Betsey's woman Harriett (baptised in January 1826), Isaac, another son of Mulatto Polly's African woman, Mary (baptised in November 1826), and a few months later, Thomas, the son of Mulatto Polly's slave Present (baptised in March 1827).[2058] The boy Isaac survived his baptism by only two days. He was buried, as Isaac Weekes, on 14 November 1826. He was just 14 weeks old. Again, the service was held in St Paul's church.[2059] The little boy called Thomas may have died, too, because in her slave inventory for 1828 Mulatto Polly listed only one woman: Mary, the African woman. Confusingly, this woman was also known as Mary Weekes.
The new decade, the 1830s, started terrible for Mulatto Polly. Her only son, John Paul, died in 1831. A few years later, in 1834 or 1835, her daughter Betsey also died. Both were in their forties. The house at the Cedar Trees was emptying when two other children of Mulatto Polly's went to America. Jenetta was the first to go, in 1833; Margaret Ann followed her soon after. Only Mary Trimingham was left in Nevis but she may have lived in St Thomas Lowland, her husband's parish. Mary Trimingham was the legal guardian for Jane Maria, Betsey's daughter.

Mulatto Polly had in 1831 made her mark against Jane Maria's slave registration and because Jenetta was in America, in 1834 Mulatto Polly also made her mark underneath 'Miss Jennet Scarborough's' register. Mulatto Polly herself registered the two individuals her son had bought: a 50-year-old African woman, Badger, and her 12-year-old son, Job. Owing to her son having been in debt, they were auctioned and Mulatto Polly bought them for N£143 (S£71:10:0). [2060] Her African woman, Mary, whom she had last registered in 1831, was neither recorded as having died nor as having been manumitted, but it appears that Mulatto Polly had given the woman to one of her granddaughters, Betsey's daughter Jane Maria.[2061] There was another discrepancy in the slave registers submitted by Mulatto Polly and the

[2057] NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842
[2058] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 Unnumbered, and numbers 323, 142, 214 and 221
[2059] Isaac was never registered by Mulatto Polly because his birth, and his death, fell between the 1825 and the 1828 slave register (NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 157).
[2060] Hathitrust *Slave Population: papers and returns pursuant to address of the House of Commons, dated 6 June 1825* Enclosure No 8 Debts in the Island of Nevis (1 January 1821 to 11 January 1826) Maxwell's Despatch No 7
[2061] In 1828 Jane Maria Scarborough registered two female slaves whom she had been given by her mother, Elizabeth Scarborough: Harriett, the black woman, and her daughter Attrice (Beatrice). The child died, 'aged about 3 years' and was buried on 30 June 1828 as 'Attrace'. Although Beatrice's mother had belonged to Elizabeth Scarborough and then to her daughter, it is interesting to note that when Beatrice was buried, she was said to have belonged to Polly Pinney (NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1828-

Scarboroughs. An eight-and-a-half-year-old girl called Ann Scarborough, who was said to have belonged to a 'Miss Scarborough' from Charlestown, did not appear in any of the Scarborough registers. The only record for this girl was in the St Paul's parish register. She was buried in December 1831.[2062]

When it came to the slave compensation pay-outs, Mulatto Polly received S£39:17:9 for her two individuals, Badger and Job. Her daughters Jenetta and Margaret Ann and her granddaughter Jane Maria between them were paid about S£100 for their five people.[2063]

In 1823 Peter Thomas Huggins acquired Scarborough's plantation.[2064] It is not known where the unmarried Scarborough daughters lived at that time but there certainly continued to be connections between Mulatto Polly's family and the white Scarboroughs, and it is possible that they, too, may have made the Cedar Trees their home. Certainly Mulatto Polly had her stores there.[2065] Throughout the 1820s she and all the other tenants at the Cedar Trees would have faced an uncertain future; when Charles Pinney visited Nevis in 1820, he sold the property, along with some other unprofitable lands, to Francis John Galpine.[2066] A partner in the company of Mills & Galpine, Francis John Galpine acquired the Cedar Trees for S£300 by way of a mortgage. The transfer was not achieved until two years later[2067] but Galpine, as well as his company, had debts with the House and to reduce these, he offered to hand back the house and the land at the Cedar Trees.[2068] The valuation of S£1,700 proffered was refused as too high,[2069] and, to pay off the debts, Galpine proposed to include several people and other property.[2070] For over a decade Galpine did not pay any interest on the Cedar Trees [2071] but during his second visit to Nevis Charles Pinney reached some deal with him that involved Galpine eventually buying the Cedar Trees.[2072] However, Galpine was struggling to pay off the money and just before slavery was abolished, he sought to resign the property back into the Pinneys' possession.[2073] In 1842 the Cedar Trees was sold to Edward Huggins, including the 'houses and stores occupied by Mrs Weeks'.[2074] It is likely that Mulatto Polly was still running her business which might explain why she was owed money. In 1840 she went to

---

1837 No 242). This suggests that Elizabeth and her daughter were living with Mulatto Polly at the Cedar Trees and also that in this family the actual ownership of slaves might not have been that important.

In 1831 the death of Beatrice was not noted in Jane Maria's slave register, just as Mulatto Polly did not register what had happened to her African woman, Mary. Equally, after 1825 Mulatto Polly had not recorded what had happened to the child Kitty, who had been born in 1823, and to the boy Thomas, who had been first registered in 1825. The last record of him exists in the baptismal records while Kitty was later forfeited to the Crown - possibly by way of penalty (UKNA, T 71/1039). Mulatto Polly and her family were not alone in producing unreliable records; similar inconsistencies are detectable if one tracks through the registers of slaves held by another coloured family, the Arthurtons. The incomplete and confusing records demonstrate that certainly among the free coloureds the slave registers were not completed very diligently and that, therefore, any statistics for Nevis cannot be entirely reliable.

[2062] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 440

[2063] HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 pp107-08 Claims Numbers 207, 208, 209, and 210

[2064] ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 ff557-72

[2065] PP, LB 67: Pinney & Case to Shearman & Evans, 5 January 1842

[2066] PP, WI Box O Misc: Charles Pinney, Nevis, to John Frederick Pinney, Bristol, 17 January 1820 and LB 27: Charles Pinney, Nevis, to J Ames, 17 January 1820

[2067] PP, LB 57: PA & Co to Thomas Evans, London, 13 June 1822

[2068] PP, LB 59: PA & Co to GC Forbes, Nevis, nd June 1826. See also MLD, Mills Papers, 2006.178/14: P & A to P Mills, Clay Hill, Enfield, Middlesex, 13 December 1828

[2069] PP, LB 62: PA & Co to JC Mills, 9 March 1827

[2070] PP, LB 60: FJ Galpine, Nevis, to PA & Co, 30 May 1827
Included in the deal were the sailor negroes Pallas and Flame (at half their value of S£50 each); Peggy (58 years old) S£50; and Peggy's children, who were all house servants: John (aged 14 years valued at S£50, Charles (aged 10 valued at S£40, and Sarah (aged 8 valued at S£30). See also ECSCRN CR 1823-1829 vol 2 ff674-75

[2071] PP, LB 66: Pinney & Case to PT Huggins, Nevis, 1 December 1837

[2072] ECSCRN, CR 1829-1830 f273

[2073] PP, LB 63: Copy of a letter from FJ Galpine to Pinney & Case (1833)

[2074] PP, LB 67: Pinney & Case to PT Huggins, Nevis, 15 February 1840, and LB 67: Pinney & Case to Shearman & Evans, 5 January 1842
In the early 1890s the 'registered proprietor' of the Cedar Trees was Walter Henry Bucke, the planter who owned Bush Hill (ECSCRN, CR Register of Titles Book 1 f22).

Court to recover nearly N£5 but her complaint against a man called Wellington Troys was struck off.[2075] If she still traded, since the abolition of slavery she, or the people who sold her wares, would have been subject to a new regulation which the Legislature had put in place: hawkers and peddlers had to have licences. While this was meant to control the small-scale trade the Treasury welcomed the additional fees.[2076]

After Edward Huggins bought the property, Mulatto Polly presumably remained living at the Cedar Trees. Jenetta stayed in America until at least 1837,[2077] and it is not known whether she, or Margaret Ann, ever returned. While her daughter Mary Trimingham may have lived in St Thomas Lowland, her granddaughters, including Mary Trimingham's daughter Mary Elizabeth, may have lived at the Cedar Trees. Mary Elizabeth certainly lived in Charlestown, worked as a seamstress and had a son called William Frederick Trimingham - Mulatto Polly's great-grandson. The child was baptised in March 1844.[2078]

The late 1840s saw three successive years of dry weather. The land was parched; cattle died from want of water and food.[2079] A hurricane caused much damage, and it was against this background that on 12 May 1849 Mulatto Polly got someone to write another letter to Charles Pinney. Not only was the spelling much better; it was very different in tone from the one she had written in the 1820s. She had become old and frail and in her appeal to him a strong Christian belief shines through. The letter was a sad, honest, emotional plea for help:

> May 12th Nevis My Dear Mr Charls I wrote you a few lines some time ago soliciting a little assistance from you and receiving no answer. I think my letter must have miscarried I now beg of you some help for I can assure you I have heard of distresses of various kinds but in all my life time I have never experienced such hard times especely now in my last days I have not common necessarys much more conveniences I am not ashame to tell I sincerely have no cloths I make no doubt you have hear of the general [calamity crossed out] calammity of the Island from the Hurricane in August last 21st I was not exempt or could I expect to receive good from the hands of the Lord and not evil alltho my losses has not been as great as others and I feel it more as I have no one to help me to mitigate my suffering. I am constrain'd to beg my daily Bread and through the spirit of a kind and Heavenly Father that will give those a will to give when I ask my houses suffered very much in the Gale The Door windows part of the Roof and the Capboard so that when it rains my children are obliged to remove my bed from one part of the house to the other I have no one to ask to repair it for me the Gentlemen of the Country saiys that the Country are soo poor that they can render me no assistance at all for my part I can do nothing for my support for I have had Rheumatic pains and almost bedridden for two years I can truly say that the God whom I have allway's trusted unto has not forsaken me in his name I implore you, and ask of you some little relief if its ever soo trifling I know you will never loose it (for he hath said that cannot lie) who so giveth a Cup of cold water in my Name shall not loose their reward if my Old Mistress was alive I would never been soo badly of in many respects but I must not murmer but patiently suffer on until my deliverer comes who will wipe away his Servants tears and take his exile (underlined) home I hope you will excuse the Liberty I have taken and impute it to the indulgence of and affectionate and kind parent
> I remain with Due respect and kind regard your obedient Servant Mary Weekes.'

[2075] ECSCRN, Complaint Court Book 1830-1846
[2076] UKNA, CO 187/9 Blue Book Nevis 1835
[2077] ECSCRN, CR 1838-1847 f106-11
[2078] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1835-1873 No 359
[2079] PP, Dom Box E3-20: PT Huggins to Charles Pinney, 27 May 1850

The letter arrived in Bristol on 27 June 1849.[2080] It set in motion a lively correspondence between Charles Pinney and Peter Thomas Huggins.

Having possibly ignored her previous request for 'a little assistance', Charles reacted very swiftly and three days after receiving this 'distressing letter from old Mary Weekes' he wrote to Huggins, asking him to give Mulatto Polly S£10 on his behalf (worth almost S£1,200 in 2016).[2081] On the same day he wrote to her:

> I was sorry to hear so deplorable an account of your situation, but I hope things will improve and that you and your family will be able to do better in future. [His wife] Mrs C Pinney will [?send] a box for you per *Idas*, which will sail immediately, marked Mary Weekes, Charles Town, Nevis and which I hope will arrive safe. I have also written today to Mr Peter Thomas Huggins to give you ten pounds sterling.
> I remain yours faithfully Cha.s Pinney.[2082]

Peter Thomas Huggins duly gave her the money, and in his acknowledgement to Charles Pinney told him that she was 'very much obliged, it is a great charity in you, her distress is extreme'.[2083] Charles Pinney did not leave it there but asked Huggins to inform him how she was and whether she was 'still in distress in her circumstances'.[2084] He offered 'to render her some further assistance should she require it',[2085] and when he did not hear from Huggins, asked him to give her another S£10, 'should she be in want of it'.[2086] Again, Huggins was slow in replying, and with some vigour Charles Pinney took the matter up again: 'You will oblige me by informing me how Polly Pinney is and giving her the ten pounds sterling I instructed, in my last letter if you have not already done so.'[2087] In March 1850 Peter Thomas Huggins replied that he had given Polly Pinney £5 and that he would give her the remainder when she needed it. In effect he was saying that she might die before she could make use of the money – 'she is very old' – but, even more worryingly, he alleged that 'if you give it all at once her family take it from her.'[2088] Charles Pinney thanked Peter Thomas Huggins for his 'attention to Polly Pinney' and again enquired about her wellbeing.[2089] Huggins replied immediately that Polly Pinney was 'very infirm in her 86th year and I should think not long for this world'. He added that he 'gave her a little sugar last week' and paid her S£10 on Pinney's behalf 'for which she was very thankful'.[2090] A receipt for the money paid to Mrs Mary Weekes was included.[2091]

A year had passed since she had asked for help, and her condition deteriorated until, some time between Christmas 1850 and before the end of March 1851, Mulatto Polly died. Peter Thomas Huggins informed Charles Pinney:

[2080] PP, Dom Box E3-19: Mary Weekes, Nevis, to Charles Pinney, 12 May 1849
[2081] PP, LB 69: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 30 June 1849
[2082] PP, LB 33: Charles Pinney to Mrs Mary Weekes, 30 June 1849
[2083] PP, Dom Box I ii: PT Huggins to Charles Pinney, 11 September 1849
[2084] PP, LB 69: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 1 October 1849
[2085] PP, LB 69: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 1 November 1849
[2086] PP, LB 33: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 31 December 1849
[2087] PP, LB 33: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 10 February 1850
[2088] PP, Dom Box E3-20: 12 March 1850
[2089] PP, LB 33: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 15 April 1850
[2090] PP, Dom Box E3-20: PT Huggins to Charles Pinney, 27 May 1850
[2091] PP, LB 33: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 31 July 1830, and 10 December 1850; also AB 75 f50

> I am sorry to inform you of the death of Old Polly Pinney. I believe she was near a hundred years old. I sent some sugar and a little money at Xmas and I gave her daughter a doubloon on your account to have her decently buried.[2092]

Charles Pinney was 'very much obliged' for Huggins's kindness 'to poor Polly Pinney' and after expressing some kind, Christian thoughts – 'I trust she departed from this life with a simple Faith in her Redeemer and that she is now enjoying that rest which [remaineth?] for the people of God' – he asked Huggins to let him know how much he owed for what Huggins had 'advanced on her account, at Christmas last, and for the funeral.'[2093] Huggins's reply came by return of ship: 'I am glad you approved of what I did for poor Old Polly'. Charles Pinney owed him S£4 for the four dollars Huggins had given her at Christmas and the 16 dollars he had advanced for her funeral.[2094] On 15 September 1851 Charles Pinney closed 'poor Polly Pinney's' account.[2095]

379 **Mary** was born on Saturday, 8 August 1772, to an entailed woman. She was born while the Pinneys were in Philadelphia on their honeymoon and just a few weeks before the terrible hurricane of 31 August.

Aged almost eleven, she was worth N£60.

Mary died between 1 January 1789 and December 1790. She was at least 16 and at the most 18 years old.

380 **Jill, later Jill alias Judy, then Judy.** She was born on Monday, 12 October 1772, to an entailed woman. She was 'yellow cast'.

Aged ten, she was worth N£55

She was a field labourer but did not work in 1793; she may have had a child.

Judy died, in her mid- to late forties, between July 1817 and February 1822.

381 **Range** was black and born on Thursday, 31 December 1772, to an entailed woman. The carpenter Range, perhaps an uncle of his, had died a couple of years earlier from the smallpox. Range may also have been known as 'Mule Boy'.[2096]

Aged ten, Range was valued at N£50.

In his mid-twenties, he was one of five stock keepers [2097] and in 1796 responsible for 24 mules and three horses: an Irish horse named Bill and an American mare and her colt. These animals only survived their

[2092] PP, Dom Box I ii: PT Huggins, Nevis, to Charles Pinney, 30 March 1851
[2093] PP, LB 33: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 1 May 1851
[2094] PP, Dom Box I ii: PT Huggins, Nevis, to Charles Pinney, 19 July 1851
[2095] PP, LB 33: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 15 September 1851
[2096] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[2097] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover

hard labour for a few years [2098] and within five years, the mules had decreased to eighteen. The horses, however, had increased to five. Under Range's care the Creole horses Poppet and Sqirrel (sic) 'foled upon the estate'.[2099] These horses were used to pull what JPP called a light wagon. He appears to have seen these in Philadelphia and he asked for 'a light waggon compleat' to be shipped from there. In his order he explained in a PS: 'The waggon I mean is one they drive with two horses and carries two hhds [hogsheads] of rum.'[2100] Horses also worked the horse mill at Sharloes. On Woodland, the upper part of the estate, which in the early 1770s had been worked with 14 mules, 10 horses and 16 horned cattle,[2101] there was another animal mill and three carpenters built 'a horse house' there.[2102] Generally, though, animals appear to have been kept on the lower reaches of the plantation.

Among the stock keeper's duties was the seasoning of newly-arrived animals. They often landed in the island in a very poor condition. Sometimes the captains were at fault; they did not take sufficient water on board for them, or failed to inspect the animals during the voyage.[2103] If ships sailed in stormy weather, some creatures sustained such bad bruises that they died soon after landing.[2104] Many perished *en route*. 21 mules and horses carried by the *Nevis* were washed overboard[2105] and eight horses drowned in the *Mariner* when the vessel was thrown on her beam ends in very heavy seas.[2106] Crossing the Atlantic in the winter was particularly hazardous and Edward Jesup recommended feeding mules prior to shipment with 'dry meat for a month, part to enable them the better to bear the fatigue of a winter passage.'[2107] Once the ships arrived in the West Indies, some captains did not land the weakened animals in boats but made them swim ashore – a practise frowned upon by planters.[2108]

In 1796, ten out of 24 mules on Mountravers were American. Others came from North Africa - the coast of Barbary - [2109] although generally JPP preferred buying them in the island rather than have them shipped out.[2110] Planters in Nevis also bought their mules and cattle from Puerto Rico.[2111] On arrival, mules were given twelve months of light work before they were fully occupied [2112] - they underwent a seasoning period similar to that of humans. Once animals were set to work, they wore out quickly and after the hard toil of the cane harvest, wasted away. Fattening them up again with corn, or corn mixed with oats, was one of Range's tasks.[2113] Another was to attend to ticks that bred in the ears of horses, 'which if not frequently pulled out, will strangely emaciate, or render them lean.'[2114]

[2098] Ward, JR *British West Indian Slavery* p99
[2099] PP, AB 59 1801 list
[2100] PP, LB 3: JPP to Joshua Fisher 2 July 1774
Undoubtedly it was the waggon from Philadelphia which was later borrowed by another estate for their carpenter to use as a model for making one. This serves as an excellent example of how innovations spread from one colony to another, and then from one plantation to another. At the same time it highlights the skills the plantation carpenters possessed in copying items by sight (MLD, Mills Papers, Vol 4 2006.178/10 (28 October 1776)).
[2101] ECSCRN, CR 1771-1773 ff157-73
[2102] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary: 14 August 1798
[2103] PP, WI Cat 3 Index III.ii Domestic: Edward Jesup to John Frederick Pinney, 29 July 1761
[2104] PP, LB 57: PA & Co to JC Mills, Nevis, 19 November 1823
[2105] PP, LB 6: JPP to John Patterson, Nevis, 9 February 1787
[2106] On 23 December 1798 the *Venus* came across the ship *Mariner* of London off Start Point. The *Triton* escorted her into Plymouth (http://www.cronab.demon.co.uk/V.HTM).
[2107] PP, WI Cat 3 Index III.ii Domestic: Edward Jesup, Writtle Park, to JPP, 2 November 1764
[2108] MLD, Mills Papers, 2006.178/7, Vol 1, Letterbooks 1752-1771: Thomas Mills to John Richardson Herbert, 15 November 1765
[2109] For instance, master Thomas Kennedy with the brig *General Conroy* brought 71 mules and master Tristram Coffin with the brig *Diana* brought 51 mules from the Barbary coast (UKNA, T 1/512 f208).
[2110] PP, LB 3: JPP, England, to Wm Coker, Nevis, 14 October 1767
[2111] PP, LB 57: PA & Co to JC Mills, 1 July 1823
[2112] PP, LB 3: JPP to Edward Jessup, Writtle Park, 10 January 1765
[2113] PP, AB 43
[2114] Smith, Revd William *A Natural History of Nevis* p222

As a stock keeper, Range enjoyed some freedom of movement. His work required skills and gave him some autonomy, no doubt keeping alive, or fostering, a spirit of independence. Perhaps he was a man who stood up for his rights and that of others, and this may have been the reason why Edward Huggins singled him out: Range was one who was particularly severely flogged in the market place in January 1810.[2115]

Range died on 21 January 1829, aged 56.

382 Billey (also William) Jones, a mulatto, was born on Tuesday, 5 January 1773. His mother, Black Polly (No 261), claimed – undoubtedly with good reason - that JPP was his father. If Billey was indeed JPP's son, he was conceived two months before JPP got married. Billey (Billy) Jones had an elder sister, Fanny Coker, also a mulatto and, no doubt, fathered by William Coker, and three younger siblings who were black: Hetty (b 1781), Cubbenna (b 1784) and Little Molly (b 1787).

When he was just over ten years old, JPP valued Billey Jones at N£75. This was relatively high, even for a mulatto child.[2116] The mulatto James Peaden, ten months younger than Billey, was valued at only N£60.

As elsewhere, the mulattoes on the estate were favoured in many ways. After the Pinneys left Nevis, mulatto boys were not only allowed to sleep in the dwelling house to provide added security,[2117] they also received left-over check material that JPP sent as presents for the drivers.[2118] They were apprenticed to learn trades, which opened up the possibility of hiring themselves out, earning extra money, having better working environments and enjoying more varied work. Aged 15, Billey Jones was apprenticed to John French, a 'negro cooper', who at that time was not one of Pinney's people (he later became one). The first payment to John French was made in December 1788, and Billey Jones's training cost about N£10. His apprenticeship lasted for three years.[2119]

Almost as soon as he had finished his apprenticeship, Billey Jones was hired out. His first assignment was on the ship *Nevis*, for 13 days.[2120] The following year he was not employed elsewhere but when JPP visited in 1794, Billey Jones trimmed water casks for the *Nevis.* The money for this, N£1:9:3, he was allowed to keep for himself and it went to his own 'Cooperage Account' rather than to JPP's 'Negrohire Account'.[2121]

From early on Billey Jones would have had a sense of being special. He played with the Pinney children, his sister Fanny Coker was taken by the Pinneys to England, and he, his mother and his siblings were among those people JPP reserved for himself, along with a few other individuals. This may have made him into a very confident young man and may have led him to take greater liberties than would have been deemed appropriate. Certainly he took to doing something in Charlestown that JPP would have

---

[2115] UKNA, CO 152/96

[2116] JPP valued mulattos higher than black slaves: The mulatto boy James Peaden (born October 1773) was valued at £60, while the older boys Little Phillip (born March 1773) and Tom (born February 1773) were valued at £55 each. Both Little Phillip and Tom were born around the same time as Billey Jones.
The same was true for mulatto girls: Sally Peaden (born June 1776) was valued at £50, the same amount as two girls nine months (Lena, born October 1775) and over one year older (Friday, born March 1775).
Girls were, usually valued lower than boys; in the case of the mulatto Patty Fisher (born February 1783) this meant that she was, at £10, of the same value as Little Peter (born January 1783).

[2117] PP, P19 Private LB f17: JPP to Joseph Gill, undated but 1783

[2118] PP, LB 5: JPP to Joseph Gill, 5 January 1784

[2119] PP, AB 35 Cash a/c: 24 December 1788; also AB 30 Plantation a/c and AB 39 Cash a/c

[2120] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f124 Negro Hire a/c

[2121] PP, AB 45 Charles Maies for the *Nevis* a/c; AB 39 Ship *Nevis* a/c and AB 50 Owners of Ship *Nevis* a/c

disapproved of – whatever it was, it was enough to make the manager report it to JPP: fighting or gambling perhaps, or spending money beyond his means. JPP replied:

> I am sorry to hear that Billey Jones behaves so much amiss - he has not a sufficient degree of understanding to do much mischief but you must insist upon his not going to town - I have desired Fanny to write to her mother about him.[2122]

It is interesting to note that JPP appealed to his servant Fanny Coker to intercede and that he expected Billey Jones's mother, Black Polly, to have sufficient influence over her son to correct his ways. After all, when this happened Billey Jones was 23 years old. In the same letter JPP went on to say that his son was sending some clothes for Mulatto Peter and 'the most deserving' people but this time would not send any particular items for Billey. Withholding the present was a way of punishing him. Two years on, and Billey Jones had redeemed himself and JPP considered that he deserved another coat. Presumably these garments were all cast-offs from JPP's own stock of clothing, as well as that of his sons John Frederick and Azariah, who were in their early twenties, and of Pretor, who was then in his late teens. When sending the coat, JPP made a point of referring to Billey Jones's previous behaviour: '… I hope [he] has seen his error and conducts himself properly to your satisfaction. Mr Taylor speaks of his amendments which induces me to send him this mark of my good opinion.'[2123] The coat was a reward for having changed his ways but added to this, JPP may also have heard that Billey Jones had been ill the year before and needed a warm garment. In September 1797 the doctors had treated him with four anodyne and eight febrifugal boluses, suggesting that he had suffered pain and was sick with fever. The treatment was completed with 'a phial lotion' and came to N£3:16:0.[2124]

The phrase JPP used - that Billey Jones had 'not a sufficient degree of understanding to do much mischief' - may imply that he might have been of slow intellect. Another phrase ('so as not to oppress him') suggests that Billey Jones might perhaps been of a nervous disposition. JPP's judgment of him certainly show that he was prepared to allow Billey considerable leeway. JPP used the phrase in a letter in which he claimed that Robert Jones, and not he, was Billey Jones's father – something Billey Jones had been claiming. His mother had supported him in this. JPP reminded his manager that Billey Jones had played with his children and asked him to treat the young man 'with kindness in his situation'. He went on to advise:

> … but you must not suffer him to act with impropriety and oblige him to do his duty on the estate - and if no work on the estate is his business let him work out and bring you in weekly a moderate hire, so as not to oppress him.[2125]

This was written after Robert Jones's brother, Revd William Jones, had died (his death might have raked up some old memories), and the clergyman's widow had returned to England. Robert Jones was also in England and JPP was quite free to put the blame on him. Another ingredient in Billey Jones claiming that JPP was his father may have been the manager's request to buy his children from JPP; James Williams may have stoked the notion that JPP was Billey Jones's father. The argument as to who Billey Jones's father was may also have surfaced when Billey Jones became a father himself.

[2122] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, 15 November 1796
[2123] PP, LB 14: JPP to James Williams, 12 November 1798
[2124] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2125] PP, LB 16: JPP to James Williams, 26 August 1801

Billey Jones's wife was a mulatto woman ten years younger than him, Patty Fisher. She and her family were also reserved by JPP: her mother Sarah Fisher, her brothers, the mulattoes Tom and Frank Fisher, and Domingo, Josiah, Mary and James. The two families were further united when Billey Jones's sister Hetty became the long-standing wife of Frank Fisher, but first Hetty had two sons with a white overseer – Billey Jones's first nephews. Billey Jones's own first child was a boy called William. He was born in January 1801. No doubt the parents chose the name themselves because around this time Billey Jones and his wife left Mountravers and moved to Charlestown.

While working independently, the deal was that he would pay JPP as if he was hired out, and in 1802 and 1803 Billey Jones handed over close to N£20 in cash.[2126] Some of the material he used for his coopering trade, '20 bundles of ironhoops', he imported from England through his sister Fanny Coker. At a cost of S£17:10:9/N£35:1:6 they represented a substantial investment,[2127] particularly as the exchange rate at that time was very high. When the opportunity arose, he gave the money, in Sterling, to the manager, James Williams, who was leaving for England, but Williams died and the cash never reached Billey's sister. In addition to buying iron hoops, Billey Jones would have had to purchase the wooden staves.

Billey Jones did well in his business and was able to buy a horse. A horse was not only a means of transport and a burden bearer but also a prestige object. It was said that 'no white man worth his colour walked' and that those who could not afford a carriage, even '"the poorest free Negro, will not be without a saddle-horse or two"'.[2128] A horse was a symbol that defined the power relationship between white and black people - [2129] the white man who surveys his field workers from his saddled mount is an image synonymous with plantation slavery.

However, to purchase his horse Billey Jones may have used some of the cash he should have handed over to JPP's Negro Hire Account. JPP took up the matter with the new manager. While allowing Billey Jones to keep a quarter of the money for himself, JPP nevertheless insisted on prompt payment of his share:

> The conduct of Billey Jones is so very reprehensible that it cannot be submitted to - he must either pay his hire regular (sic) or be obliged to return to the estate and make to work there - you may receive, as a matter of favour, one forth less per month than the hire of another Negroe of the same trade, tight cooper. - If he does not instantly comply with this reasonable proposition, as I know it is in his power to do, you must take him up to the estate. It is highly improper to suffer him to keep a horse - it is a bad example and will keep him poor. He has written to his sister Fanny and told her that he paid your brother, the day before he went on board S£17:10:9 for ironhoops she sent him last year. Let me know what sum he paid on the account, and how he behaved on the delivery of my message. - You will tell him from me, if I have any further complaint of his misbehaviour that I shall treat him in a way he little expects. I wish for him to be happy, but insist on his doing what is right.[2130]

JPP's threat to 'treat him in a way he little expects' could only mean one thing: that he would sell Billey Jones, or, worse still, one of his children. By then his wife had given birth to their second child. Named Fanny after his sister, the girl was born in 1803.

[2126] PP, AB 57 Negro Hire a/c and Pinney's a/c
[2127] PP, AB 57 Billy Jones a Mulatto a/c
[2128] Brathwaite, EK *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica* p143, quoting Long *History* Vol 2 p33
[2129] Higman, BW *Montpelier Jamaica* p201
[2130] PP, LB 18: JPP to Henry Williams, Nevis, 15 December 1803

Late in 1805 Billey Jones and his wife were embroiled in an alleged theft of material from Mrs Lucy Stanley, the wife of the then manager on Mountravers. Billey Jones's sister Hetty and her husband, Frank Fisher, and some others were also involved, as well as a girl who belonged to the Stanleys. In his letter to JPP informing him of the goings-on, Joe Stanley recounted Billey Jones's evidence that he did not want to be involved and that the girl belonging to the Stanleys 'would ruin her master & mistress but that it was no business of theirs'. However, it was Billey Jones's evidence that the girl had taken the material from Mrs Stanley that led her to be punished with 39 lashes. Billey Jones and his family had stuck together but at the expense of another person.

Possibly linked to this incident may have been a fight that took place between Billey Jones and another young mulatto man, William Fisher. The manager Joe Stanley told JPP about this in the same letter, and that he had reprimanded Billey Jones and that JPP's attorney, Mr Laurence, 'has also done the same and told him he should inform you of it.'[2131] JPP replied immediately:

> You will inform Billey Jones that his late conduct in beating Wm Fisher appears to me in so reprehensible a light that I am only sorry he was not severely corrected if I had been on the spot he should not have escaped with impunity: and if he ever presume to lift his hand against him again or attempts to do him any other injury, it is my request that he might be publickly corrected - In future, when he is not employed in his trade on the estate, let him work out, but not on his former terms - let him pay what other Negroes of his trade do and which I shall insist upon until he is brought to a due sense of his duty.[2132]

From then on Billey Jones was no longer allowed to keep a quarter of the hire money he earned, and one way of ensuring that he could not pocket any for himself was for him to work for Mountravers rather than for another employer. JPP reminded manager Stanley: 'If you want a cooper employ Billey Jones.'[2133]

After Mountravers was sold, JPP could no longer correspond with his plantation managers about Billey Jones - this role went to his attorneys – and in 1809 JPP wrote to Thomas Arthurton about a piece of land by the Cedar Trees, where the Jewish Synagogue had stood. Billey Jones was to build a house there for his mother, himself and his family. At the same time Arthurton was to look for some poor land near or above the 'town brooks' (presumably near the Bath springs) which he wanted set aside for Black Polly. In the same letter JPP questioned Thomas Arthurton about a mattress that he had sent to Billey 'who says he never received it'.[2134] The only other person to whom JPP sent a mattress was Mulatto Polly. She had been freed and also occupied a piece of land at the Cedar Trees. At their request, within a couple of years of moving to the Cedar Trees JPP asked for both Mulatto Polly's and Billey Jones's plot to be enlarged, but while it was his 'wish to have them accommodated', he also wanted them to pay 'a proper consideration'. The exact charge was to be decided by his man on the spot, his attorney John Colhoun Mills.[2135] Once again, for JPP this was a straightforward transaction: if they occupied his land, then they became responsible for paying rent. Billey Jones and his wife had asked for their house plot to be enlarged because by then, 1812, they had had another three children: Charles (b 1806), Frederick (b 1808/9), and Betsey (b 1811/2).

[2131] PP, Dom Box P: JW Stanley to JF Pinney, 27 December 1805
[2132] PP, LB 20: JPP to JW Stanley 8 February 1806
[2133] PP, LB 20: JPP to JW Stanley, Nevis, 18 October 1806
[2134] PP, LB 23: JPP to Thomas Arthurton, 28 August 1809
[2135] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 24 June 1812

Probably as recompense for hire money owed, in 1811 JPP rented Billey Jones's oldest son, William, to Clarke's Estate.[2136] To begin with, this arrangement was for two years but William remained hired out, and in 1814 Billey Jones's oldest daughter, Fanny Jones, joined her brother on Clarke's.[2137] Around the time Fanny was hired to Clarke's, Billey Jones's wife Patty Fisher gave birth to another daughter whom they called Mary. It was a name that ran in the family. It was Black Polly's official name, and also that of Billey's youngest sister, Little Molly, but Mary was also the name of one of JPP's daughters. No documentary evidence has been found that explains whether mulatto children felt any bond towards their father's white offspring, but it is worth noting that the last four children had names of the Pinney children whom Billey Jones may well have considered his siblings: Charles, Frederick, Betsey and Mary. One Pinney girl, Alicia, had died very young - Billey Jones was then but a small child himself – and he had passed over Azariah who had died in 1803 and also Pretor who ended up in a 'lunatic asylum'. As to Billey Jones, from 1814 onwards JPP began to call him William Jones.

While earlier his sister had sent ironhoops for him, later the House supplied Billey Jones with goods from Bristol. The company must have considered him worthy of substantial credit because by 1814 he owed just over £80. JPP set him a deadline in which to pay, otherwise he threatened to sell him. In the same letter JPP confirmed the hiring out of Billey Jones's two oldest children, the 13-year-old William and the 11-year-old Fanny.[2138] A letter then reached JPP from Nevis in which Billey Jones applied to buy his children. This coincided with Black Polly trying to clarify her status (was she officially free?) and with JPP trying to find new long-term renters for all his reserved people. JPP refused Billey Jones's request outright. He advised his attorney: 'You will please not to regard anything William Jones may say about purchasing his children', and he repeated his request to 'rent out his two eldest children with my other slaves if you can.'[2139] Shortly afterwards JPP thought of selling all of Billey Jones's children:

> The African trade being now completely at an end and from the temper of the time no prospect of its ever being renewed [,] gangs of Negroes are now considered at a moderate valuation S£75 on average... and if I should sell mine I shall expect that price and to include the family of William Jones but that I have not determined upon only at present to rent them and the two eldest children of William Jones.[2140]

While he may well have intended to sell his reserved people, selling Billey Jones's children may just have been an idle threat, destined for Billey Jones's consumption. In the end JPP did not sell any of his reserved group; instead he assigned them all to his youngest son, Charles. These were the 28 Pinney people hired to Clarke's Estate 'and also a mulatto man called…William Jones and a woman called … Patty Fisher and some of her children not let with the other slaves to the said John Henry Clarke'.[2141] Black Polly was not mentioned.

In 1815 Billey Jones did nothing to clear his debts and the following year received a threatening letter from the House:

[2136] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 4 November 1811
[2137] Fanny worked at first for Mr Mills. On 5 February 1814 JPP wrote to JC Mills that he had added William, in his 13th year, and Fanny, in her 10th, to make the terms easier' for him (PP, LB 24: JPP to JC Mills, Nevis). On 18 July 1814 he added, that now that the African trade was at an end and slaves were valued at £75 per head on average, he still wished to rent 'the two oldest children of Wm Jones to go with those Mr Clarke had' (LB 24: JPP to JC Mills).
[2138] PP, LB 24: JPP to JC Mills, 8 March 1814
[2139] PP, LB 24: JPP to JC Mills, 4 April 1814
[2140] PP, LB 24: JPP to JC Mills, 18 July 1814
[2141] PP, Dom Box P: Instructions from John Pinney to James Parsons regarding the disposal of his property, dated August 1815; also DM792/12 and DM792/13: Release and Assignment JF Pinney to Charles Pinney, 22 August 1823

> We were much surprised at not receiving a remittance from you last year, if you do not discharge the balance of your account in the course of the present crop your master will be exceedingly displeased, underneath he has written to you. We remain yours etc. etc.'

This was accompanied by a second letter, written on the same day by JPP:

> William, I was surprised to hear from Messrs Pinneys & Ames that you had not remitted the balance of their account if you do not send it by the *King David* you shall no longer remain in Town and I will hire you to Mr Clarke or some other planter. The hire you owe me is more than sufficient to pay this demand. I will no longer be trifled with.
> Jno. Pinney[2142]

This is the only letter JPP addressed directly to any of his enslaved people. JPP was then well into his seventies, and it was as if the old man was trying to get in touch with his son – even if it was over such an unpleasant task as reprimanding him about outstanding money.

In response Billey Jones sent a puncheon of molasses. The molasses came onto the market just as there was a general economic depression, following the end of the war with France, and the House was unable to sell the produce. By the autumn of 1816 his account with the House stood at N£61:3:3. He received an up-to-date account with a request for signature and a warning that, even if the molasses was sold, this would 'not liquidate the debt'. Signed politely by the House's 'humble serv.ts',[2143] this was not the last communication. In the spring of 1817 he received further correspondence from the House:

> Above is a copy of our last letter and we must now inform you that if in the course of the present year you do not discharge the balance remaining due to us, measures very unpleasant to you must be adopted - your Master states he never has called on you for any hire which he is justly entitled to, which by this time would amount to considerably more than the balance of your acc.t, you have therefore had full means to pay us. We remain your friends...[2144]

This was the last letter Billey Jones received asking for payment. JPP died in January 1818, and in Bristol everyone became preoccupied with other issues.

Billey Jones and his wife had one more daughter, Jeanett, who was born in 1817 or 1818.

It appears that in September 1819 Billey Jones's property was hit by a mighty hurricane that struck Nevis, and along with nearly thirty other people he applied for rate relief. Before their requests could be considered, a report of the victims had to be compiled and by the time this was done (on 27 February 1820), Billey Jones had died. Early in March the Legislature granted rate relief to 'William Jones dec'd' owing to his 'state of lowest pauperism'.[2145]

[2142] PP, LB 53: P & A and JPP to William Jones, 28 February 1816; also LB 24: JPP to William Jones, Nevis, 28 February 1816
[2143] PP, LB 53: P & A to Wm Jones, Nevis, 30 October 1816
[2144] PP, LB 53: P & A to William Jones, Cooper, Nevis, 6 March 1817
[2145] UKNA, CO 186/12: 9 March 1820
William Jones was a common name and Nevis and three men of that name appear to have died within two years of each other. One of them died within a few months of Billey Jones (NHCS, St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825 f44: 20 July 1820; also RHL, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b)). That man probably was the father of two children: a daughter called Elizabeth, who was baptised in March 1805, and a son called Joseph, who was baptised in December 1809. Their mothers were women who belonged to Mrs Martha Williams Hamilton (St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825).

His funeral expenses were paid out of the S£20 his sister Fanny Coker had left him. The rest was divided between his children. On his death, he owed S£10:7:9 to the owners of the ship *Frederick*, for empty puncheons.[2146]

Billey Jones was 47 years old when he died. The average age at death of JPP's seven children with his wife Jane was about 56 years.

383 Tom, later Tom Penny. He was black and born on Monday, 8 February 1773, to an entailed woman. As a ten-year-old, his value of N£55 was the same as that of another black boy his age.

By the age of twenty, Tom had become the driver of the weeding gang. He held a very responsible position in which he was expected to exercise leadership and authority. Under his direction twenty workers did the lighter tasks around the plantation. They represented about ten per cent of the total plantation population which was very much in line with the number of people known to have been in a weeding gang on another plantation in Nevis.[2147] The Jamaican planter Thomas Roughley recommended that the third, or weeding, gang should consist of healthy children between five to twelve years of age, [2148] while a medical man, Dr Robert Thomas, put the starting age at six years.[2149] According to a list of field workers which exists for 1793, the youngest member in Tom's team was an 11-year-old boy, Billey Keefe; the oldest males were two 17-year-old youths, Quashee and George Vaughan. Altogether Tom's gang then consisted of nine males and eleven females – mostly teenagers but also a pregnant woman in her twenties and three women in their thirties and forties who suffered from poor health.

In March 1797 Tom was ill. First he was given '6 diaphoretic boluses' and at the end of the month two more of these and then '6 pectoral pills'.[2150] While the other two drivers, Wiltshire and Jack Will, remained in their posts, Pompey replaced Tom, and he became an ordinary freehand.[2151] This demotion may have prompted his escape. He left the plantation on 9 April 1799. On the same day Daniel, a field worker, also disappeared, but he returned voluntarily a week later. Either Daniel or someone else told the manager that Tom had made it to St Kitts, and on 21 April James Williams and a hunter went in search of him there. Two weeks later they went again. They did not find him. While in St Kitts Williams arranged with the printers Seaton to print handbills which advertised a reward for his return. On 13 May, after a month in hiding, Tom was caught and put in jail. Williams and an enslaved man from the plantation came to fetch him.[2152] Williams hired a horse at Basseterre and rode out to Sandy Point where he paid Mr Maillard N£6:12:0, 'the reward advertised for taking Tom', and re-imbursed the constable at Sandy Point with

---

An inquest into that man's death was held on 12 August. According to a typed manuscript it was held in 1821 but this probably was a typing error and, more likely, the inquest was held in 1820 (RHL, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b)). However, that inquest may also have related to another William Jones, who appears to have died 'some few days since' 22 July 1822. On that date the writing clerk Jenkin Powell applied for the administration of his effects. That William Jones, a 'free man of colour', was said to have died intestate. He was unmarried but had minor children. Jenkin Powell, a free coloured man himself (UKNA, CO 152/100), stated that he had supported William Jones since childhood. The application was witnessed by Frederick Huggins, Joseph Webbe Stanley and Francis John Galpine. However, no effects or chattels were found (ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1819-1830 f131).

[2146] PP, LB 55: PA & Co to JC Mills, 10 September 1821

[2147] In 1823 Henry Ransford employed just over ten per cent of people (25 out of 211) in the weeding gang on Stoney Grove (PP, WI Box 1829-1836: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate Memo from Ransford).

[2148] Roughley, Thomas *The Jamaican Planter's Guide* p188

[2149] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 71 pp252-66

[2150] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c

[2151] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover

[2152] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary

N1:16:0, 'his fees and expenses'.[2153] He settled the bill with the printers, N10s6d,[2154] and took Tom back to Nevis. The manager's expeditions came to nearly N£20. This included Williams's own expenses and N16s10 ½ d for the 'canoe hire and victuals' for the man he took with him.[2155]

Tom's escape to St Kitts suggests that he was a determined man, and his previous position as driver may have given him the confidence to question authority. Having been in a leadership role, it would, therefore, not be surprising that he became one of the ringleaders when, after Mountravers was sold, the Hugginses were attempting to assert their authority over their workers. Along with others, Tom (then called Tom Penny) was flogged in the market place in Charlestown.

Huggins's son-in-law, Thomas John Cottle, published a pamphlet in Huggins's defence and used Tom Penny as an example for the 'ascertained fact that Negroes both from nature and from habit, are not so sensibly affected as the whites'. He supported his claim by stating that Tom Penny attended a dance eleven days after the whipping.[2156] On the anti-slavery side the facts looked very different. According to James Webbe Tobin,

> The Negro named Tom Penny (one of those so cruelly flogged in the market place) … was an intelligent Negro and had been the favourite of his former master, the same who came from his hiding place to throw himself at the feet of the Governor but who shrank back again on hearing the part he had taken'.

Tobin could have added that the dance Tom attended may have been a cover for people to assemble legitimately; they may well have held a meeting to decide their collective response. Going to the dance may also have been an act of defiance to show the Hugginses that no one would succumb to their bullying. Whatever the details, the outcome was that, after Tom Penny had his plea for leniency rejected by the Governor, he suffered 'a long confinement' and in the summer of 1811 was '"sent from his children and family to be sold at Trinidad, consigned to one Wayne (sic) of that island"'.[2157] Probably at the same time another man from Mountravers was also sold into exile, George Vaughan (No 525). They both had to leave family and friends and start new lives in a foreign land.

Tom Penny probably passed through the hands of William Wane & Co, a company that traded in Port-of-Spain, and from there was sold either to James Johnstone or to John Young. By April 1813 Tom Penny worked on Young's sugar plantation in the district of South Naparima in the south of Trinidad. Previously this estate had belonged to James Johnstone. With only 17 enslaved people John Young's Bachelors Hall was among the very small sugar estates.[2158] Tom Penny, then identified as a 35-year-old black Creole of Nevis, was back in his old job of driver.[2159]

[2153] 'Mr Maillard of Sandy Point' may have been John Walwyn Maillard, a St Kitts planter with Nevis connections. He was an executor for his friend Joseph Powell (ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff295-97), jointly appraised Revd Jones's estate (Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff357-66) and partly owned Cades Land in St Thomas Lowland (CR 1819-1823 f9).
[2154] PP, AB 47 Cash a/c
[2155] PP, AB 47 Cash a/c and AB 47 f108 Plantation a/c
[2156] Cottle, TJ *A Plain Statement*; also PN 194L
[2157] PN 194H, quoting CO 152/98 James Webbe Tobin to Zachary Macaulay, 28 July 1811
In his letter to Macaulay Tobin alluded to James Chapman of Trinidad who, as a foreman of a Grand Jury, 'once presented Edward Huggins for the murder of a negro boy named Ben'. Ben was not one of Pinney's slaves.
[2158] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p434 Table S2.3 Distribution of Slaves by Slave-holding Size-group and Crop-types: Trinidad, 1813

In 1813 the firm of William Wane & Co owned five personal slaves while Daniel Wane registered an additional man, a labourer called Nevis Huggins. A black man in his early forties, this man, too, came from Nevis, and two years later, in 1815, Daniel Wane registered another two labourers imported from Nevis and from St Kitts: the 65-year-old Will Huggins and the 42-year-old Joseph

Trinidadian slaveholders were required to provide several details in their Triennial Slave Registers and from these more information can be gleaned about Tom Penny: he was 5'8" (1.73m) tall and did not have any distinguishing marks. It was also recorded that he had acquired a new wife, an African woman. At 5'4" (1.63m), Maria Rose Penny was smaller than him and she was also five years his junior. Described as an 'Ibo', she may well have come from present-day Nigeria.

In 1813 only two island-born children lived on Bachelors Hall. They belonged to one of the five couples who were considered 'families'. In addition to these couples, four single males and one single female worked on the plantation. Most of the adults were Africans: eight were identified as 'Ibo', three as 'Congo' and one as 'Fullah' (from today's Sierra Leone). One Creole from St Eustatia and Tom Penny's old gang member from Mountravers, George Vaughan, completed the workforce. The Creoles held the skilled or more varied jobs: George Vaughan worked as a carter and the mulatto man from St Eustatia as a cooper. One of the Africans was also a carter; the others were all labourers.

The large proportion of Africans on Bachelors Hall reflected the fact that Trinidad was a recently settled colony but on Bachelors Hall the ratio of Africans to Creoles (including those imported from British sugar colonies) was higher than the island-wide distribution of Africans: out of Trinidad's slave population of 25,700 more than half (14,000) were Africans.[2160]

An island 55 times bigger than Nevis, Trinidad was much more sparsely populated than Nevis (13 enslaved people per square mile compared to 267; or 5 per square km, compared to 103). Roughly three quarters of Trinidad's enslaved people worked in the countryside and of these the majority on sugar plantations. A smaller number were employed on coffee, cocoa or cotton-producing estates.[2161] Properties lay further apart and contact between them was more difficult than in Nevis, and while in Nevis females outnumbered males, in Trinidad this ratio was reversed. For Tom Penny this would have meant greater competition for a mate. Statistically it is unsurprising that his partner was an African woman; in his age group (20-40 years) there were about two and a-half-times as many African as Creole women. In rural Trinidad African women even outnumbered Creole women by three to one.[2162]

Organised settlement of the island had begun in 1783 when the Spanish had encouraged Roman Catholics to migrate there. After the revolution in France many French royalists fled to Trinidad, while others came from French colonies: from Dominica and St Lucia when these islands were temporarily ceded to Britain and from Saint-Domingue (Haiti) at the end of its War of Independence. In 1797 the British captured Trinidad and in 1802 made it a British crown colony. Because of its settlement history, many of the landowners were of French origin, and by 1819 the plantation on which Tom Penny worked had come into the possession of a man called André (also Andrew) Bonifaye. An illiterate man, Bonifaye had previously owned a small provisions plantation called Bordeaux in the same district [2163] but he had

---

Stapleton. The company appears to have specialised in importing slaves from these two islands. Daniel Wane may have been the merchant of Nevis who had a seat in the Legislature and in May 1815 gave a statement in the John Peterson powder tax affair (NA, CO 186/12: 26 February 1821 and CO 186/13: March 1826, 19 October 1826, and PP, Dom Box Y).

[2159] Ancestry.com edition T 71/501 and T 71/503

[2160] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p448 Table S3.3 Birthplaces: Trinidad, 1813

[2161] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p434 Table S2.3 Distribution of Slaves by Slave-holding Size-group and Crop-types: Trinidad, 1813
Another plantation by the name of Bachelors Hall was a cocoa-producing estate.

[2162] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p415 Table S1.1 Registered Populations, 1813-34; p441 Table S2.11 Slave Sex Ratios by Slave-holding Size-group: Twelve Colonies, 1813-32 and p504 Table S4.13 Age Structure of Slaves by Sex and Birthplace, Rural and Urban: Trinidad, 1813

[2163] Ancestry.com edition T 71/501 and T 71/508

transferred his people to Bachelors Hall which thereby grew to 33. For Tom Penny this meant that by 1822 the number of labourers whose work he had to oversee had increased from 14 to 25.

The inhabitants of Bachelors Hall were generally in good physical condition - except for two men who suffered lameness in their legs and an African woman with a squint – and over a period of almost a decade Tom Penny lost only one of the women labourers who had originally worked with him. But between 1822 and 1825 five peoples died in quick succession and one man deserted and, although more children were born on the plantation and an additional man, a Creole from Guadeloupe, was purchased, by 1828 the number of people on Bachelors Hall had dropped to 30. In 1828 the plantation register was completed by André Bonifaye's attorney, Alexander Johnstone,[2164] and three years on, in 1831, Bachelors Hall was out of Bonifaye's hands altogether. It had passed into the possession of Vincent Patrice and André Espinet.

A few details are known about Patrice and Espinet. They owned another property, Hermitage, a large sugar plantation with over one hundred enslaved people in the same district, South Naparima, and, like Bonifaye, both men were of French extraction. One of the owners, Vincent Patrice, was born in Martinique and a pharmacist by profession. Then in his early seventies, he was a very active freemason and hailed by his peers as the '"Grand Old Man of Masonry in Trinidad"'.[2165] He lived in the Laventille part of Port-of-Spain and appears to have been single; his joint owner, André Espinet, was married with at least one daughter. The family also lived in Port-of-Spain. Espinet and his wife Lise could call on a large number of personal slaves – domestics as well as labourers and tradesmen.

By 1834, 19 people were left on Bachelors Hall, and although Tom Penny, his wife and also George Vaughan could only be traced with certainty to 1828, it appears that they were among those who survived. At least a dozen people had died but one woman who had once belonged to André Bonifaye's Bordeaux plantation had been transferred to him and worked as Bonifaye's personal servant in Port-of-Spain. She had a young son; another son of hers had been manumitted.[2166] Tom Penny and his wife were still childless.

When Vincent Patrice and André Espinet received their compensation payment for Bachelors Hall from the British government, they assigned the money to five females with the surname Bonifaye – presumably André Bonifaye's daughters: Andrinette, Sophie, Eliza, Marguerite and Charlotte. The last three girls were under age. They each received an equal share of the compensation for Bachelors Hall, £923 in total.[2167]

384 Little Phillip, later Phillip was black and born on Monday, 8 March 1773, to an entailed woman. Aged ten, he was worth N£55.

When he was 16 years old, Coker must have considered him worthy of training and he was apprenticed to the mason John Keepe with another young man, Almond. However, Keepe complained that 'Phillip is a

[2164] In the early 1830s Alexander Johnstone managed Dumfries, a small plantation in South Naparima.

Confusingly, there were two plantations called Bachelors Hall. The second was situated in Carinage and variously described as a coffee and a cocoa plantation. Previously owned by John Faltine, by the late 1820s it was in possession of the Port-of-Spain merchants Christian and Anselm Gerold.

[2165] Seamungal, Lionel Augustine 'The Beginnings of Freemasonry in Trinidad' on http://www.grandlodgescotland.com/

[2166] UKNA, T 71/515

[2167] UKNA, T 71/515, T 71/517, T 71/519 and T 71/894; NDO 4/12 Claim No 1810 A, B and C

runaway'[2168] and returned him to the estate. Almond completed his apprenticeship; Phillip became a field labourer.

At the beginning of September 1795 Phillip stole goats from Mulatto Peter and from William Fisher. Nevis law required the owner to compensate the injured party, and the plantation reimbursed the two mulatto men with N£1:13:0[2169] but it was just as well the animals were not more valuable, or this theft could have ended with Phillip being executed. While the law stipulated that enslaved people were not to 'suffer death for stealing goats, sheep, hogs under the value of N£5', it also stated that they could be publicly whipped.[2170] It is not known whether Phillip was subjected to this. One punishment he definitely did receive was being loaded down with two clogs. The blacksmith Frederick Huggins carried out the task of fitting them on Phillip, 'a sheep stealer'.[2171]

Although described as a 'runaway' when he was in his teens, it was not until he was in his mid-twenties that there is documented evidence for this: on 14 February 1798 he was listed as a runaway (the first entry in the plantation diary). Three others were also absent (Hector McGill, George Vaughan and Jack Will), and a couple of men were sent out 'looking out for the runaways'. Phillip came back on 12 March but two months later, in July, he was on the run again. While at first James Williams calmly noted that he was 'much given to thieve poultry and everything', by the end of the month he lost his temper: Philip 'stole my cock, a Damn Rascal'.[2172] However, hunters were not sent out until the beginning of November and the search was called off at the end of December. Phillip returned on his own accord on 9 January 1799: 'Philip came home that have runaway for long time.'[2173] This was his last recorded absence (the plantation diary continued until March 1803).

Phillip died on 16 April 1829, aged 56.

385 **Juggy** was born on Tuesday, 13 April 1773. She was the second surviving child born to any of the women JPP had purchased but the name of her mother is not known.

Aged ten, Juggy was worth N£50. She was a field worker and, aged 20, in Tom's gang. It did the lightest work on the plantation. On one particular day during Thomas Pym Weekes's managership she was listed as 'absent'.

Juggy died between May 1803 and December 1806, aged from 30 and 33.

386 **Bess Powell**, **later Elizabeth Powell**, was black and perhaps born around 1760. She had previously been owned by the carpenter and millwright Job Powell and almost certainly fell due in a

[2168] PP, AB 43 John Keepe's a/c; AB 30; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f49
[2169] PP, AB 52 4 October 1795
[2170] '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)
[2171] PP, AB 52 Frederick Huggins' a/c; AB 47 Frederick Huggins Blacksmith & Merchant a/c
Putting two clogs on cost N9s. Huggins was more expensive than Joseph Powell, who in 1788 had charged N10s for putting five clogs on.
[2172] PP, DM 1773/4 Plantation Diary
[2173] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary

mortgage. She was acquired on Monday, 5 July 1773,[2174] but over the next 15 years only spent about a year on Mountravers. First she spent some time with Frances De Lima, a 'Negro woman' freed in the 1760s,[2175] and then, within months, her 'old Master' hired her. He paid N3s per week. From December 1774 this increased by half to 'N£12 per annum clear of all deductions', and on this relatively high rate she remained with Job Powell until March 1783.[2176] In 1780 she was treated by a doctor for an unspecified illness and JPP paid N£7:9:5 to Powell to cover the expense but reminded himself that 'in future no allowance to be made'.[2177] Usually the hirer had to cover such costs but perhaps JPP did not feel inclined to argue; his daughter Alicia had died early that year and Job Powell had made her coffin.[2178]

After Powell 'sent her home', for three years from about June 1783 Bess Powell was hired with the African man Othello to John Hay Richens, again at N£12 a year, but soon after the interlude with Richens she was back with Powell. In mid-1787 Bess Powell fell ill; Coker reduced the hire charge [2179] and Powell began to enquire about buying her. In October 1787 JPP gave Coker his 'consent to sell Bess Powell to her old Master Job Powell for the sum you mention'[2180] - her sickness must have eased his decision – but it was not until 23 July 1788 that Powell purchased her. Five years earlier she had been appraised at N£90 but her ill health had reduced her value and she was sold for N£80.[2181]

Members of the Powell family had been in Nevis as early as the 1670s, and several Powells continued to live in the island. Job Powell probably was the son of Thomas Powell, and his siblings were Francis, Joseph and Frances. They had been baptised in the early 1740s.[2182] Both Job and Joseph, a blacksmith[2183] and planter, at times worked on Mountravers; Job had trained Primus and repaired the windmill and Joseph mostly fitted clogs. The men probably were in their fifties and although Joseph had been or was married to a white woman, he was at the centre of a family of free people of coloured: he owned adult females and had mulatto children whom he freed:[2184] James, William, Jenkin and Elizabeth. Elizabeth's mother was the 'Negro woman' Polly Powell, whom Joseph Powell manumitted in February 1789,[2185] and five months later and exactly a year after he had purchased her, on 8 July 1789 Job Powell freed Bess Powell. The mulatto Thomas Herbert, President John Richardson Herbert's illegitimate son, witnessed the event.[2186]

Job appears to have done less well than Joseph, who owned property, had a few enslaved people of his own and a small plantation in the parish of St James Windward. Although Joseph Powell bequeathed the

---

[2174] Bess Powell, with Ben Weekes and Permolia, cost a total of S£170 but they were not purchased together. Permolia cost N£80 and Ben Weekes N£40. The entry for a Bess on 1 March 1774 costing N£60 may have applied to Bess Powell but N£180 did not equal S£170 (PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1773 and AB 20 Plantation a/c).
[2175] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol vi p159, quoting PCC Will 446, Tyndall and PP, AB 17: 29 November 1773
[2176] PP, AB 17: 26 January 1774 , 15 April 1774, 10 June 1774, 15 July 1774 and DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f107 and f132; AB 26 Job Powell's a/c and Negro Hire a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f74 Job Powell's a/c
[2177] PP, AB 26 Plantation a/c and Job Powell's a/c
[2178] PP, AB 26 Job Powell's a/c
[2179] PP, AB 30 Negro Hire a/c and AB 35 Negro Hire a/c
[2180] PP, LB 6: JPP to Wm Coker, Nevis, 10 October 1787
[2181] PP, AB 30 f119 Job Powell's a/c and Negro Hire a/c; also AB 35 f3 Job Powell's a/c
Given that JPP's entry was for 'Negroes' rather than 'Negro', Bess may have been sold with a child or children.
[2182] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 3 p74 List of Nevis Inhabitants and Vol 1 p235
[2183] PP, AB 39 1789-1795 Joseph Powell Blacksmith a/c
[2184] In March 1775 Joseph Powell manumitted his mulatto boys James and Billy (ECSCRN, CR 1773-1775 f242 and f243) and in August 1776 a mulatto girl called Betsey, 'for the Naturell Love and Affection I have and bear' (CR 1776-1777). However, either their manumission was, for some reason, not valid, or Powell had more children who bore the same names: in April 1779 he freed his mulatto children James, William and Elizabeth, together with another mulatto boy, Jenkin (CR 1778-1783 f169).

Joseph Powell had a house and land in Charlestown which he sold (CR 1790-1792 f238) and slaves which he sold to his mistress and his daughter (CR 1797-1799 ff238-39 and CR 1797-1799 ff14-6).
[2185] ECSCRN, CR 1788-1789 f534
[2186] ECSCRN, CR 1789-1790 ff283-84; see also VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 5 p223

plantation to his (probably white) nephew Thomas, he provided for his mistress and their children: Polly Powell was left a 'Negro man' and a legacy of N£400, and his children James, William, Jenkin and Elizabeth (by then the wife of the free mulatto John Hendrickson) were to get N£500 each and his houses and land in Charlestown.[2187]

Not long after Joseph had made his will, Job made his. He was ill. As executors he appointed the carpenter and cabinetmaker John Handcock,[2188] and John King Fyfield, one of JPP's tenants in Charlestown,[2189] and left all his 'goods and chattels' to Bess Powell. After her death the possessions were to go to his nephew James Powell junior of Monmouthshire in Wales. Job Powell died in 1799.[2190]

There was no further record of Bess Powell.

387 Permolia (dob c 1753-8)[2191] was black and purchased on 5 or 10 July 1773 for N£80 from the auctioneer Richard Stanley.[2192] She was probably bought at auction.

In 1774 JPP acquired Pembroke and it appears that they absconded together: on 23 July 1775 JPP paid N6s for catching Permolia and Pembroke.[2193] Pembroke absented himself once more and was then quickly sold.

It is likely that Permolia died before July 1783, in her late teens to early twenties.

388 James Peaden, or Peadon and Peden, a mulatto, was born on Friday, 8 October 1773. His mother was Bridget (No 225), a domestic, and his father Tom Peaden, the white servant JPP brought from England in the 1760s. James Peaden was six years old when his father fell ill and died on his way back to England. At the age of nine, James Peaden was valued at a relatively high N£60.
His sister Sally Peaden (b 1776) became a seamstress and James a carpenter. JPP had asked Coker to get the mulatto boys trained in skills,[2194] and as a 14-year-old, he was apprenticed to the carpenter and cabinetmaker John Handcock.[2195] Primus had been rented to Handcock in the mid-1780s.

James Peaden became a father when he was only 17 years old. His son, like his father, was called Tom.

James Peaden's mother and sister received wrappers sent by Mrs P from Bristol and in December 1794 JPP sent an old coat for James.[2196] His mother was ill in 1795 - the year his niece Mary died - and in the following year his son fell ill, had treatment over a seven-week period but also died. Three months later James Peaden was ill, too, and required a doctor's visit.[2197]

[2187] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff295-97
[2188] PP, AB 50 and AB 39
[2189] PP, AB 47
[2190] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff313-14
[2191] Described as a 'negro wench', Permolia was probably in her mid to late teens when she was acquired.
[2192] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1773; also AB 20 Plantation a/c and Richard Stanley's a/c
[2193] PP, AB 17
[2194] PN 220B, quoting LB 6: JPP to Wm Coker, 16 January 1787
[2195] PP, AB 35 f26; also AB 30 Plantation a/c f135
[2196] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, 5 December 1794
[2197] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c

As a carpenter James Peaden was able to earn and spend money and the then manager, Dr Thomas Pym Weekes, noted in June 1793 that 'J Peaden owes Mrs Burke 3 dollars 8 bitts and a half.'[2198] Working on a Sunday brought in extra cash, and it is likely he was one of the carpenters paid 'for their Sunday labour ... to expedite the windmill'[2199] and to repair damage to the windmill.[2200] Certainly once he earned N4s 1/2d for 'coging the spindle' on a Sunday.[2201] Although there were other carpenters on the plantation, Mrs P's aunt Ann Weekes wanted him to build her a sofa and she requested permission for him to do so. JPP sent out the materials: the hair for the stuffing and the webbing and the nails. These were packed in a mattress he sent to Mulatto Polly, who was then living at Mr Scarborough's - it was safer to send the items there as JPP feared they would be stolen if they were kept in the 'negro houses'. The Mahogany pieces for the legs he packed in a bundle and directed this to Ann Weekes.[2202] Presumably some time in late 1796 or in 1797 James Peaden built the sofa although when Ann Weekes made her will, it was not among the possessions she left.[2203] It may have been with the furniture her sister Jane bequeathed to their nephews.[2204]

After making the sofa, twice James Peaden was employed elsewhere: in 1798 he worked for doctors Archbald, Williamson & Hope[2205] and in the following year, when he also briefly hired himself out,[2206] to Job Powell.[2207]

Two more children, the twins Charles and James Peaden, almost certainly were also his sons with Johntong (No 226), a woman twenty years his senior. She already had a daughter, Hetty. This girl, a yellow cast child, may also have been his child. The twins were born in June 1800. Then some incident took place between James Peaden and the manager, James Williams, and five months after the twins were born, on 3 November 1800 'James Peadon ran off the island'. He left behind his children, his mother and sister.

During July to December the following year search parties were sent to neighbouring islands. First a Mr Browne scoured St Martins, came back empty-handed and was paid his expenses, N£3:6:0. The search continued and someone else was paid N£9:15:0 for his 'passages and expenses to, at, and from St Kitts and St Bartholomews in quest of James Peaden'.[2208] By 1806 he had not returned but someone must have spotted him; JPP wrote to his manager, Joe Stanley:

> I understand that James Peaden is in one of the Islands to Leeward: if you should have an opportunity by any person going down, get it published in all the islands that if he will return to his duty he will be forgiven, but if not a considerable reward will be offered for apprehending him.[2209]

A year later he was still on the run and JPP, who was then in the process of giving up Mountravers, was still interested in his return. However, by then it had emerged that he had escaped because he had been badly treated by a previous manager, James Williams

---

[2198] PP, Misc Vols 12 Leeward Islands Calendar
[2199] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f99
[2200] PP, AB 47 Plantation a/c
[2201] PP, AB 47 Cash a/c and Plantation a/c
[2202] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, 15 November 1796
[2203] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff368-74
[2204] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1805-1818 f233
[2205] PP, AB 47 f133 Negro Hire a/c
[2206] PP, AB 47 Negro Hire a/c
[2207] PP, AB 47 Job Powell's a/c
[2208] PP, AB 59 1798 Plantation a/c; also AB 47 Cash a/c and Plantation a/c. In all three sources the dates differ: 18 June, 18 July, and 18 August 1801
[2209] PP, LB 20: JPP to JW Stanley, Nevis, 18 October 1806

> Endeavour to inform James Peaden that if he will return he shall be forgiven which I desire. If he should return, you will scrupulously attend to, as I am persuaded ill treatment from Williams has been the cause - for he is naturally a mild well disposed person.

JPP was prepared to pardon him and, although not willing to offer him his freedom, he wanted him at least to be compensated: 'Show him a spot of ground he likes, to build his house upon and use every means to settle and fix him on the estate.'[2210]

It is likely that he did not return although in 1810 a mulatto boy called William Peaden was born on Mountravers. However, he could have been James's nephew, his sister Sally Peaden's son.

◄► ▼◄►

In 1774, JPP accounted for 17 people whom he acquired for a total of S£1889[2211] but nine years later only nine were listed. Most had been sold again.

Some people were bought at auction, while others probably fell due in mortgages. The way JPP kept his accounts makes it difficult to distinguish what was a proper, straightforward purchase, and what was in fact a mortgage. Although accounted for as bought and sold, some of the mortgaged people may never have had to leave their original owners and may not have spent any time on Mountravers.

389 **Mingo** was black and probably born in or before about 1753. He was sold in the same year for N£157:10:0 to William Pemberton,[2212] who owned the Terrace Ghut estate in St John Figtree.[2213] In the mid-1750s he and Samuel Pemberton had paid tax on 72 enslaved people.[2214]

It is likely that Mingo was sent to work on Terrace Ghut estate, which by 1817 had passed to William Pemberton's son of the same name. On the plantation were then 94 people but Mingo was not among them.[2215]

390 **Dick** was sold in the same year he was bought. He was sold to Robert McGill for S£90/N£157:10:0.[2216] McGill had already bought Judy Ross and in 1775 acquired Pembroke and Betty Scoles with her son William. It is possible that, like Betty and William Scoles, Dick remained with his new owner who was experiencing financial difficulties. McGill later borrowed money from JPP and gave ten individuals as security, and it is very likely that Dick was among those ten.

[2210] PP, LB 22: JPP to JW Stanley, 15 August 1807
[2211] PP, AB 21 1774 Plantation a/c
[2212] PP, AB 21 1774 Plantation a/c
[2213] Terrell, Michelle M *The Historical Archaeology …* p224
[2214] PP, Dom Box P: General's Tax Notebook 1755
[2215] It is just possible that a man called ?'Mango', said to have been ten years younger (54 years old), was in fact Mingo. This man's place of birth was 'uncertain'. In 1817 he was registered by Francis and Mary Pemberton (UKNA, T 71/364).
[2216] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1774; also AB 20 f166 Robert McGill's a/c

391 Cuba (b c 1750-60). Described as a 'negro wench', in 1775 she was sold with Susanna to Thomas Sherritt for N£35.[2217] Her rather low price suggests she might have been ill. Somehow her sale was linked to the sale of a pony in the same year, from Thomas Sherritt to Revd William Jones. It cost only N£2 less than Cuba.[2218]

392 Pembroke, also Pemberton, ran away, possibly with Permolia, a woman in her mid-to late teens whom JPP had bought at auction the year before. On 23 July 1775 JPP paid N6s for catching both, a month later another N3s for catching Pembroke.[2219]

Within a month of being caught and undoubtedly as a punishment for his absences, JPP sold Pembroke, now erroneously called Pemberton, to Robert McGill for N£80.[2220]

393 Tom, also Tom Vaughan, a 'Negro man', appears to have been sold on 13 August 1781 to Robert McGill, for N£90.[2221] Given his surname, it is likely that his previous owner had been a member of the Vaughan family: perhaps George, an overseer,[2222] John, a shoemaker, or John's sister Bridget.[2223]

394 and 395 Nanny and Cudjoe died between 1774 and July 1783; their ages are not known.

396 Nero was black and born at least around, but probably well before, 1760. He was purchased on 14 January 1774. He started off as a cook and a watch but later became a field hand.

It is very likely that he was the father of Little Nero, a boy born in May 1777. The child's mother was an entailed woman, the field worker Little Broom's Sarah (No 205). She may also have had an older daughter called Amelia. Little Broom's Sarah may have died in childbed; she certainly was dead by 1783. Nero established himself on Mountravers and by May 1780 he owned at least one pig, or, judging by the weight, a piglet: he sold one weighing 11 lbs to JPP [2224] and received from him the going rate of N9d per pound.

Not long after Nevis had capitulated to the French, on 12 March 1782 Nero was hired for one day 'to help drag up the flag staff to Saddle Hill'[2225] and a year later for two days, this time with Abraham, 'to help ship off the cannon at Long-point'.[2226] On both occasions the pay amounted to N2s per day per man, the usual rate for public works employment. Nero and Abraham could be spared; they were 'standing watches' in the yard and JPP did not think much of them. He said that they were 'very apt to neglect' their duties.[2227]

[2217] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1774 and 1775; also AB 20 Thomas Sherritt's a/c and Plantation a/c
[2218] PP, AB 20 Thomas Sherritt's a/c
[2219] PP, AB 17: 26 August 1775
[2220] PP, AB 21 1775 Plantation a/c; also AB 20 Robert McGill's a/c
[2221] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f38 and f4 Robert McGill's account to Gill and MacGill
[2222] PP, WI Box E
[2223] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f549
[2224] PP, AB 17: 22 May 1780
[2225] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f52 and f53 Publick of Nevis a/c
[2226] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f105: 26 February 1783
[2227] PP, P19 Private LB f17: JPP to Joseph Gill, undated but 1783

In 1783 when he was valued at N£100, Nero was still a cook but his time in the kitchen may have ended when the Pinneys left the island. Perhaps losing his relatively easy job caused him to rebel. When William Coker was manager, Nero was punished by having a clog fitted which may have stayed on for as long as five months. In May 1788 the blacksmith came and removed the clog.[2228] The following year he ran away and on 6 September 1789 a reward of N4s3d was paid for 'catching Nero'.[2229] If he had not been demoted to fieldwork before, certainly at this point Coker put him into field; by 1793 Nero was a field labourer in Jack Wilks's and in Wiltshire's gang. Having been hired out with Ben (No 377) for a week in 1792,[2230] in May 1794 he briefly worked for Capt Thomas Crosse on the *Perseverance*. The captain left the island without paying the money that was due for his hire (N£1:17:1 ½) [2231] and three years later this sum still remained unpaid. By then Nero was dead; he died on 1 November 1796. He was at least in his thirties but probably was older.

397 Tom Norris (b c 1756-1759) was black and bought on 14 April 1774 'at vendue' for N£77. [2232] He had been auctioned after his previous owner, the tailor George Norris, had died intestate and with debts. One of his creditors, the barber Daniel Martin, had applied for the administration of Norris's effects which were valued by three appraisers. In their inventory they listed all of Norris's possessions, among them 'several parcels of thread, silk, thimbles, buttons, garters', '10 old pictures', tea chest, saddle, desk and rum cask, and two women, Lucretia and Moll, valued at N96:13:4 and £40 respectively, and the boy Tom, valued at N£60. These three people accounted for a large proportion of George Norris's 'goods & chattels' which amounted to almost N£260.[2233]

Tom Norris was involved in shipping although at first he was not necessarily employed as a sailor. In 1780 he was hired to Charles Tarrell for 25 days at N2s a day.[2234] As master of the *Exchange* Captain Tarrell shipped sugar for the Stapleton plantation in 1780 and 1781,[2235] but Tom Norris was not hired out to him long enough to have sailed to England.

His next assignment, however, was of longer duration. From June 1781 he was hired to Capt William Reap, at first at N£15 a year, then at N£18 a year. William Reap, described as a 'mariner at Nevis',[2236] had been the master and part-owner of a sloop, the *Fanny*, which was lost at the Salt Ponds off St Kitts in the 1772 hurricane.[2237] Much later, William Reepe (sic) and two other men chartered a ship, the *Speculator*, which was damaged on a voyage to Oporto in Portugal,[2238] but it is not known on which routes Tom Norris was employed. One thing is certain, though: life aboard ship would have been tough and dangerous. Alcoholism combined with scant safety considerations made for a high death rate among seafarers. Nothing demonstrates this more graphically than the sick list which one surgeon wrote on a

[2228] PP, AB 35 f22 Joseph Powell's a/c, AB 30 J Powells' a/c and AB 36 Smith & Dasent a/c
[2229] PP, Misc Vols 4 1 May 1789-31 October 1793; also AB 30 Nevis Cash a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f48; also AB 39 Cash a/c
[2230] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f124 Negro Hire a/c
[2231] PP, AB 39 and AB 50 Negro Hire a/c
[2232] PP, AB 20 Estate of George Norris a/c
[2233] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 ff352-54
[2234] PP, AB 26 f199 Negro Hire a/c
[2235] Stapleton Cotton MSS 16 (iv) and 15 (v)
[2236] PP, AB 39 Mariner at Nevis a/c
[2237] http://www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/sections/hp/colonial/newspapers/Subjects/Shipwrecks.htm
[2238] UKNA, C 104/269 Bundle No 49: 1818 and 1820: Charter Party of Edward Thomson Sinclair, master of the *Speculator*, to William Reepe, William Runan and James New concerning a voyage from Charlestown, West Indies, to Oporto, Portugal, with a memorandum, and a deposition of Walter Maynard Pemberton, Notary Public of the Island of Nevis, West Indies concerning damage to the ship.'

piece of paper which he had cut in the shape of a gravestone. The captain kept this list in a coffin-shaped box.[2239]

After working for Reap for less than two years, Tom Norris died on 2 February 1782.[2240] Whether he had an accident or suffered an illness is not known. Said to have been a boy in 1774, he was, at the most in his early twenties.

◄► ▼◄►

On 18 May 1774, JPP bought five people at a Marshall's sale.[2241] The auction was conducted by the Deputy Provost Marshall Richard Stanley. He was the brother-in-law of these people's previous owner, the gentleman James Nolan.

In the hurricane of 1772 Nolan had lost his boiling house and other buildings,[2242] and it appears that he was not doing well. In 1775 he and his wife sold another seven people, some of whom may have been relatives of the five people JPP acquired. They were bought by the merchant Daniel Ross: the men George and Cudjoe, the woman Jenny, and Judy with her three children John, Tom and Jibby.[2243] James Nolan died soon after.[2244]

Of the five people JPP bought at auction, only three survived until July 1783. The appraisal at that time shows that he had lost money on this group. Having been bought for N£300, they were worth a total of N£230: both Sarah and Nanny Nolan were valued at N£70 [2245] and Mulatto Charles, still a boy, at N£90.

398 Sarah Nolan was black and a field worker. There was no indication as to her age, except that she was older than Mulatto Charles and Nanny Nolan. It is unlikely that Mulatto Charles and Nanny Nolan were her children. She probably had two sons, Quashee Nolan (b October 1780) and Peter Nolan (b January 1783) - unless these were children of the person who died before July 1783 – and then a daughter, Honeyfield. Quashee Nolan was already 18 years old when Honeyfield was born in December 1788. The children were black.

Already not up to the most strenuous work, in 1793 Sarah Nolan was in the second, Jack Will's gang. Her poor state of health continued and five years later she required a doctor's visit. He gave medication, six 'alt[ernative] boluses' for which he charged N£1:18:3.[2246] Around that time her son Quashee also received extensive medical attention. Sarah Nolan lived for another couple of months but died on 6 January 1799.[2247]

[2239] *Aaron Thomas's Journal* p123
[2240] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f33 and f48; AB 20 f138 Plantation a/c; also AB 17 Cash a/c; AB 26 Captain William Reap's a/c and f199 Negro Hire a/c
[2241] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c and Richard Stanley's a/c
[2242] Anon *An Account of the Late Dreadful Hurricane*
[2243] ECSCRN, CR 1773-1775 f247
[2244] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 3 p365
[2245] This was also the value for women aged 16, 18, 19, and - exceptionally - 49.
[2246] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2247] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary

399 Mulatto Charles was probably born in the mid-1760s. He never adjusted to life on the plantation. The first record of him absenting himself was from 19 November 1778, four years after he came to Mountravers, when Cole's Plantation was paid N3s 'for catching Charles N3s'.[2248] Cole's, later called Woodland, was above Mountravers, up the mountain, which is where Mulatto Charles may have hidden. The next time, three years later, he probably left Nevis some time after Polydore had fled on the *Hornet.* Like Polydore, who disappeared in April, he went further afield and in November 1781 was caught in St Eustacia. It is not known whether it was before or after the 26th, the day the French retook the island from the British.[2249]

St Eustacia (also St Eustatius, Stacia or Statia) had been a major trading centre in the northern Leeward Islands since the C17th and was a neutral Dutch colony until Admiral Rodney had taken it earlier that year. The island with its population of about 1,400 [2250] had become rich from supplying the American and French colonies with stores and arms; [2251] Rodney was outraged by this treachery and outraged by the plentiful booty he found in the warehouses - valued at between two and three million Pound Sterling. Some of the owners of these warehouses were not Dutch but British, among them Jews and residents of St Kitts. Rodney sold their goods at auction and banished them all to St Kitts where they were 'well received'.[2252] As far as these merchants were concerned, supplying the enemy was just another day's work and many colonists wholeheartedly supported the American fight for independence from Britain.

Mulatto Charles may have headed to Stacia because of its long-held reputation for sheltering runaways of all kinds; decades earlier the Leeward Islands Governor had protested that the inhabitants protected 'Negroes, deserters from the regiment and malefactors who fly thither from justice.'[2253] But Stacia, which had been described as 'a barren spot', had also served as a major slave trading post from which the Dutch West India Company supplied the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. Two to three thousand enslaved people a year passed through Stacia.[2254] After Rodney's invasion the island was in much turmoil, and Mulatto Charles may have hoped to slip away to North America. A year earlier a mason on one of the Stapleton estates, Billy Carlton, had escaped to Stacia and the manager had spent six days looking for him, 'proclaiming it by beat of drum, and searching North American vessels.'[2255] While ships anchored off Stacia could provide the means of escape, there was no guarantee of success. In the 1820s two people from St Kitts who had taken refuge in the island were caught and exchanged for two runaways from Stacia.[2256] Whatever Mulatto Charles's plans were, he was apprehended and brought back by a man from Nevis, the carpenter[2257] Robert Huggins.[2258]

These absences occurred during JPP's management. When Gill was running the estate, there were no records of rewards or punishments. Perhaps Mulatto Charles was not trying to escape, or he could not because he was too ill; in 1786 he was one of the five people the French doctor cured of crabobas,[2259]

[2248] PP, AB 17: 19 November 1778
[2249] Burns, Sir Alan *History of the British West Indies* P 527
[2250] Watts, David *The West Indies* p141 and p279
According to another source, at the end of the eighteenth century there were 2,400 whites and 5,000 slaves on St Eustatius (Cornelius Ch Goslinga *A Short History of the Netherland Antilles* p109).
[2251] Watts, David *The West Indies* p252
[2252] Burns, Sir Alan *History of the British West Indies* pp524-25
[2253] CSP 1711-1712 No 194: Governor Douglas, St Kitts, to the Council of Trade and Plantations, 28 November 1711
[2254] CSP 1724-1725 No 260 viii: Governor Hart, St Kitts, to the Council of Trade and Plantations, 12 July 1724
[2255] On 28 April 1780 Charles Hutton accounted for the cost of his stay at St Eustatius, N£16:10:0 (Stapleton-Cotton Manuscripts, Box 2/16 iv 1779/80 Accounts).
[2256] PP, LB 44: John Martins, St Eustacia, to HK Semprer, 27 April 1827 (Misc. copies of documents)
[2257] ECSCRN, King's Bench and Common Pleas Cause List 1776-1779
[2258] PP, AB 17: 29 December 1781
[2259] PP, AB 30 Plantation a/c

(also called cocobays, a skin disease akin to leprosy,[2260] or Hansen's Disease). Then, from 1787 onwards, under William Coker, he suffered severe punishment for an unspecified misdemeanour: on 2 February 1787 he was fitted with two clogs.[2261] Coker also bought three negro neck locks in October [2262] and in December another clog, which was attached and then repaired.[2263] Perhaps one of these was for Mulatto Charles. However, around that time Coker was also struggling to keep Nero and Hannibal under control, and then Violet, and some of these contraptions may have been intended for them. But in 1789 Mulatto Charles was punished again, and on 25 September Coker paid the blacksmiths Scarborough & Jones N£1:4:9 for '2 clogs, with 2 loop rivets & splicing a chain to them and putting it on Mulatto Charles'[2264] and almost a year later, on 6 August 1790, another blacksmith, Joseph Powell, was charged with 'taking off 2 coggs (sic) from Charles'.[2265] It would not have been unusual for someone to be restrained for so long. Lady Nugent, for instance, wrote that 'While we were in the garden this morning, two poor negroes, who had been in chains nearly a year, came to General N., to ask him to intercede for them, and they were accordingly released this evening'.[2266] Mrs P and JPP were in Nevis in 1790 and if anyone had tried to plead on Mulatto Charles's behalf, his fetters were not removed until the end of the Pinneys' stay in the island, or after they had left. Soon Dr Thomas Pym Weekes, who had taken over from Coker, could report that the young man's conduct had improved. When informed of this, JPP's response was down-beat: 'You tell me, even Mulatto Charles behaves well, I hope he will give you no cause to alter your sentiments, but I cannot help doubting him.'[2267] For two years Mulatto Charles appears to have buckled under but then he disappeared again for a fortnight. Thomas Pym Weekes tried a new tactic. Instead of weighing him down with iron chains and other hardware, he charged Mulatto Charles N16s 'for two weeks runaway'.[2268] At N8s a week this was quite a steep fine but not impossible to pay. This is the only record of a manager using this form of punishment.

By then JPP's patience was wearing thin and he wrote that 'if TP Weekes & Taylor [the attorney] think it advisable to get rid of Mulatto Charles, you have my consent to send him to Jamaica under the care of Capt Withenburg, to be disposed of by him on my account on the best terms he can.'[2269] Jamaica was a popular destination for selling rebellious people; in fact in 1798 a man from another estate in Nevis, Mount Sion, was sold to Jamaica by way of punishment [2270] just when another uprising there was being suppressed. In choosing Jamaica rather than one of the Leeward or Windward Islands the banishment was more final. Jamaica was much further away and the opportunities for escaping back to Nevis were that much slimmer. The busy inter-island-traffic that existed in the Eastern Caribbean did not extend to Jamaica.

However, it appears that Mulatto Charles took matters into his own hands and fled before he could be sold; no money was accounted for his sale and he was not recorded on the next slave list, that of December 1794. He was included, though, in the document in which JPP transferred ownership of the plantation to his eldest son. He was included because there was still a chance that he might have returned. But he did not.

[2260] Sheridan, RB *Doctors and Slaves* p82
[2261] PP, AB 36 Smith & Dasent's a/c
[2262] PP, AB 30 Plantation a/c; AB 35 Richard Nisbet's a/c and AB 36 Plantation a/c
[2263] PP, AB 36 Smith & Dasent's a/c
[2264] PP, AB 30 f136 and AB 39 Scarborough & Jones, Blacksmith's a/c
[2265] PP, AB 43 Joseph Powell Blacksmith's a/c
[2266] Cundall, Frank (ed) *Lady Nugent's Journal* p100
[2267] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to TP Weekes, 24 January 1791
[2268] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f124 Negro Hire a/c 1792
[2269] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, 13 February 1792
[2270] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f335

400 Mulatto Nanny, also Nanny Nolan (b c 1767). In her early years, she may not have spent much time on Mountravers but may have lived in Charlestown with Mrs Pinney's three spinster aunts Ann, Elizabeth and Jane Weekes - 'The Ladies at the Cedar Trees', as JPP called them. Almost certainly Nanny Nolan was with them from 1778 when she delivered money for Ann Weekes;[2271] by 1783 she was officially lent to Jane Weekes who then became responsible for paying the taxes on her.

The elderly sisters lived at the Cedar Trees at the southern end of Charlestown. The property consisted of about two acres to the east off the Main Street and bordered James Tobin's Stoney Grove plantation. Cedar Trees had been in the Weekes family since the 1760s[2272] and belonged to the women's brother, William Burt Weekes, who also owned different lots of land opposite. The free mulatto woman Mary Neale lived there, and Jeremiah Neale, and a free black carpenter, John Cornelius.[2273]

The Weekes sisters (affectionally known as Nancy, Betsey and Jenny) were, most likely, in their fifties and sixties although the youngest may have been in her late forties. Their mother was in her nineties and probably lived with them. Nanny Nolan could have been employed to care for her. The sisters may have earned their living from dressmaking,[2274] from hiring out, as well as buying and selling, enslaved people. Jane Weekes's Frank, for instance, was hired with Little Primus and Harlescombe to the *Gustav Adolph* [2275] and Ann Weekes's man Rigby stole salt fish and sugar with some Mountravers people. At the Cedar Trees was at least one other mulatto girl, Elley, whom Jane Weekes later freed,[2276] and several other children: Cuffee, whom Nanny Nolan would have known from her days with her previous owner, James Nolan, and Little Dick, Grace and Celia, as well as the adults Cudjoe and Old Sarah. Old Sarah died some time soon after 1781. All these individuals were mortgaged to JPP but belonged to old Mrs Mary Weekes. She died, aged 96, in 1784 when Nanny Nolan was still at the Cedar Trees. Nanny Nolan remained with the Weekes sisters for at least another four years [2277] and may have been at the Cedar Trees in March 1790 when the first of the Ladies died, Betsey Weekes.[2278] In December that year Nanny Nolan was back on Mountravers but was then hired out for nine weeks until 11 October 1794 to a free mulatto woman. Her hire rate was N4s6d a week.[2279] This was equivalent to the price of three chickens, or a reward that might have been paid for capturing a deserter.

The free mulatto woman Amelia Brodbelt by then lived in Charlestown, probably with her sisters Hetty and Eve who had bought a property, as well as her daughters Hester, Christiana, Amelia and Jane and her son Francis. All her children had the surname Smith; their father Francis Smith, a ships carpenter,

---

[2271] PP, AB 21 Expense a/c
[2272] Pers. comm., Michelle Terrell, Boston University, 24 June 1999, quoting ECSCRN, CR 1810-1814 ff587-88
[2273] In the 1780s Jeremiah Neale had a house in the free mulatto woman Mary Neale's yard in St Paul's (ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f557). – The free mulatto Mary Neale was left by Rowland Gideon Deverede in his 1771 will his 'Front House exclusive of the shop and situate and being in Charles Town' (Michelle M Terrell *The Historical Archaeology of a Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Jewish Community* pp328-29, quoting Book of Wills 1763-1787 f285). William Burt Weekes described where the land was situated: 'To the North and South abutted and abounded with the foundations of houses of the father of the late Rowland Guidion Deverade (sic) dec'd, to the East with the Main Street, to the West with the Tobin's Boggy Grounds on which he has planted canes'. Weekes's property included 'All the different lots of land from opposite to my Cedar Trees, where John Cornelius, a free negro carp.r formerly built a house and resided down opposite to where Duporto the Jew resided while he lived' (PP, Dom Box S1: William Burt Weekes to ?Miss Weekes, 16 November 1794; also CR 1810-1814 ff587-88 and LB 23: JPP to Joseph Roberts, 47 Lambs Conduit Street, London 9 October 1812).
[2274] Ann Weekes may have been seamstress; she was paid for making several gowns (PP, AB 26).
[2275] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f111
[2276] On 1 February 1773 the mulatto girl Elley had been granted by the widow Mary Weekes to her daughter Jane Weekes. The witnesses were JPP and JH Richens (ECSCRN, CR 1773-1774 f445). Almost exactly thirty years later, on 14 February 1803, Elley was manumitted by Jane Weekes, together with the man William (CR 1801-1803 f518-20).
[2277] Nanny Nolan was not listed until 1788
[2278] PP, AB 39
[2279] PP, AB 50 Negro Hire a/c; also AB 50 Amelia Brodbelt a free Mulatto in Charlestown a/c

provided for them in his will.[2280] Amelia Brodbelt appears to have had her own people; she had gifted one each to Christiana and Hester.[2281] Pointers as to how Amelia Brodbelt may have made a living come from payments she received from Morning Star/Pembroke plantation and the accounts of the island's Legislature: in 1797 she received over N£8 'for what she provided for Mrs Sarah Lynch's funeral',[2282] and she and her daughters Hester and Christiana Smith were paid for the 'entertainment' they provided during a Governor's visit to the island.[2283] These payments may have been for organising 'a mulatto ball'[2284] and for providing food and drinks. It is likely that she ran some kind of eatery, or a catering establishment – a tavern perhaps. A sailor recorded in his diary how in December 1798 and in March and May 1799 he 'sloped for about two hours at Mrs Broadbelts', then called at 'the Miss Broadbelts' and 'dined at Mrs Broadbelt'.[2285] After her sister Hetty's death in 1800 Amelia Brodbelt inherited her share of the property on the road leading to Black Rock Fort, near Mountravers.[2286] Amelia Brodbelt, her sisters and her daughters were among the early entrepreneurial, well-established free women in Nevis.

It is not known what work Nanny Nolan did for Amelia Brodbelt in 1794, or in the following year when she was hired out again. She may have worked for the woman for another six months.[2287] In 1796 Nanny Nolan was not hired out but in October gave birth to a son, George. Nanny Nolan's second child, Christianna, was born in April 1800, and it may be no coincidence that one of Amelia Brodbelt's daughters was called Christiana.

In 1801 the plantation midwife Patty was ill and it was time to cast around for a successor. Although Patty had wanted her niece Nelly to succeed her, JPP was not convinced that she was the right person. He had Nanny Nolan in mind. However, she did not want the job and, in a very brave display of independence, refused to take it. JPP threatened her with demotion to fieldwork: '... if Nanny Nolan does not choose to make herself useful to the estate and serviceable to herself by making herself mistress of Patty's business, put her into the field for she is a strong able person and she will then earn her living and become valuable.'[2288] Neither Nelly nor Nanny Nolan succeeded Patty; soon after her death a midwife from outside the plantation was employed. Despite her enslavement, Nanny Nolan had asserted her will and was able to make a choice as to what kind of work she would do. Given the Williams brothers' lax management, it is unlikely that they ever demoted Nanny Nolan and she probably remained a domestic, keeping house for successive managers. She certainly served as a domestic under Joe Stanley. A few months after he took over, Stanley accused her of being involved in a theft with Sally Peaden, Billey Jones and his wife Patty, and Hetty and her husband Frank Fisher. Stanley accused Nanny of stealing dowlas from his wife, but she was acquitted through lack of evidence. Nanny Nolan was a strong-minded woman and Stanley complained to his employer: 'Nanny & Frank I find very unwilling to wait on me, and have to oblige to threaten them, but I shall avoid any kind of severity.'[2289]

[2280] NCH, Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff82-85 and f91
[2281] On 4 July 1777 the free mulatto woman Amelia Brodbelt granted her daughter Hetty Smith the 'negro girl' Mary, her daughter Christiana Smith the 'negro girl' Ritta (ECSCRN, CR 1777-1778 ff128-9).
[2282] PP, WI Box O-1: 3 March 1797
[2283] The payment to Amelia Brodbelt and her daughters was made on 12 June 1811 and related to a visit by Governor Hugh Elliot. On 28 February 1811 he came to the Council and produced his Commission as Commander Captain General and Governor in Chief (UKNA, CO 186/9: 28 February 1811).
[2284] Prince William, while visiting Antigua, enjoyed a busy entertainment schedule which included 'a mulatto ball'. It took place in St John's on a Wednesday evening, after a dinner he gave for the regiment (Naish, GPB *Nelson's letters to his wife* pp40-1 Nelson to Mrs Nisbet 1 January 1787). These balls were attended by white, as well as free coloured, people.
[2285] *Aaron Thomas's Journal* p195, p264, and p309
[2286] The property bordered to the north: PT Huggins; to the south: Jeremiah Griffin and Mrs Maria Huggins; to the east: the Street or high road; to the west: Lower Street or the road leading to Black Rock Fort (ECSCRN, CR 1838-1847 ff329-32)
[2287] PP, AB 52 Negro Hire a/c; also AB 47 f83 JPP's a/c
[2288] PP, LB 16: JPP to James Williams, 26 August 1801
[2289] PP, Dom Box P: JW Stanley to John Frederick Pinney, 27 December 1805

Earlier JPP had reserved Nanny Nolan and her children but it may have been these reports from Stanley that made him decide in July 1807 to sell them with the plantation. Nanny Nolan, George Smith and Christianna were then living on the upper part, Woodland,[2290] which is where her daughter died some time before February 1808.[2291] Samuel Laurence, JPP's attorney, then wanted to either rent or buy her and her son, but Laurence's offer came too late: '... Nanny and her little boy are included in the sale to Huggins, or we should have been happy to have let you have them.'[2292] Until Peter Thomas Huggins took over Woodland and added the plantation and its people to Mountravers, he rented Nanny Nolan, George and five others with the Woodland estate to his father, Edward Huggins.[2293]

In 1830 Nanny Nolan became a grandmother, and in the following year George married the child's mother, Kitsey Greathead. The couple had another son but George died in March 1834 at the age of 37. Nanny Nolan was alive on 1 August 1834, probably in her mid- to late sixties.

The man who almost certainly was the father of her children, Francis Smith, was in 1842 in Sydney, New South Wales.[2294] Some years earlier the Legislature had followed the British government's lead and chosen New South Wales as destination for 'persons sentenced to transportation',[2295] and Smith's presence in Australia may well have been involuntary.

401 **Cuffee,** most likely, was the fourth person JPP acquired at auction from James Nolan. He was sold on 9 August 1781 for N£60 to Jane Weekes, one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees.[2296] It is not known what happened to him after that.

402 Another person in this group died before July 1783.

◄► ▼◄►

Just four days before he sailed to England for his second visit, on Friday, 22 July 1774, JPP attended an auction. He bought another nine people.[2297]

Their previous owner, Edward Herbert, had to sell them because he was deeply in debt, so deeply in fact that a month after the sale he was jailed as an insolvent debtor. For a white gentleman debtor life in prison was not as hard as might be imagined. As in British jails, if they had the money, inmates could buy privileges and services, or their friends could purchase them on their behalf, but in the West Indies

---

[2290] PP, LB 22: JPP to JT, Nevis, 7 September 1807
[2291] By February 1808, when the next list of 10 slaves to be given up for sale was made, Christianna was not listed.
[2292] PP, LB 46: JPP & JF Pinney to Samuel Laurence, 20 January 1809
It seems strange that a 12-year-old would have been described as a 'little boy' but in a letter to John Frederick Pinney Joe Stanley also described the 14-year-old Mick as a 'little boy'.
[2293] ECSCRN, CR 1814-1814 ff761-74
[2294] ECSCRN, CR 1838-1847 ff329-32
[2295] UKNA, CO 187/9 Blue Book Nevis 1835
[2296] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f37; also AB 26 Jane Weekes's a/c
[2297] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1774
Herbert's slaves were included in the total of S£1,889. On 25 July 1774 Richard Stanley received N£8:8:0 'Bill of Sale for nine negroes of Edward Herberts' (AB 20). Herbert's slaves cost at least S£215:4:4, which was the sum he proposed paying directly to Coker to recover money Herbert owed Coker and to lighten Herbert's debt burden (LB 3: JPP to William Coker, 23 July 1774).

creditors appear to have done better than in Britain. Luffman found it worth commenting that in the prison in Antigua they lived in 'luxurious style'.[2298]

Herbert owed several people money, and he turned to the Legislature for help.[2299] His relationship with his fellow Assemblymen was fragile: when elected for the St Paul's and St James's parishes, he had chosen to sit for St James and four years later, when duly elected, refused to sit altogether[2300] yet he approached the Assembly humbly and asked to be bailed out. In his petition Edward Herbert made no mention of a woman called Frankey and her children, whose story Herbert's former slaves undoubtedly got to hear about over the next few months. Frankey, whom Edward Herbert had bought from Mr Nisbet with her children, had been manumitted by Herbert some years ago.[2301] She had lived as a free woman and had acquired her own people. Then either all of Herbert's creditors or just Mr Nisbet not only claimed her, but also her children, as well as her own enslaved people, as their property. It was claimed that the manumissions were not valid, either because Frankey had used as collateral against unpaid loans, or because the transfer of her and her children had not been properly documented. She, her children and her people were sent to prison but when a jury considered the case, they set Frankey free. The story caught up with JPP in London: 'No particular news from our little island - only that Ned [Edward] Herbert's Frankey and her children and Negroes have been levied upon and sent to jail & that a writ of enquiry hath been issued in consequence thereof and the Jury empanelled to try the matter hath acquitted her and declared her to be a free woman. - I am told that poor man is now in jail and his friends purpose to procure an Act of insolvency for his enlargement.' [2302] JPP somehow got involved in the affair and delivered a copy of Frankey's manumission to John Stanley, the agent for Nevis.[2303] However, while Frankey was officially declared free, her children were not. It was said that, by law, they had remained Nisbet's property, Nisbet having neither freed them nor conveyed them to Herbert. The story ended with Frankey having to buy her children from Mr Nisbet 'in order to obtain from him their freedom.'[2304]

By the time this was happening, Edward Herbert's former slaves had long settled on Mountravers. Six years on, by 1783, four of the nine had died and another one was to die in the same year. Polly Herbert was then worth N£75, Billy Herbert N£80, Almond N£70, Pereen and Constant N£60 each.

403 Constant, a black man, was born at least around 1762 but quite possibly earlier. His low appraisal at N£60 suggests he was ill already. Constant died on 27 September 1783.

He was the first man who passed away after JPP left Nevis, under Gill's management. According to JPP's instructions, Gill probably tried to treat Constant himself but either help came too late, or the treatment was unsuccessful. When informed of his death, JPP reassured his cousin: 'My negro man, Constant, who is lately dead, was of very little value to the estate. - I am not so unreasonable as to expect you to be free from the general calamities West India estates are subject to, and am fully satisfied of your best endeavours to preserve my interests ...'[2305] Gill had learnt his lesson. For the next patient, Ritta Maillard, he did call in the doctors.

[2298] Luffman, John Letter V 1 August 1786 and Letter IX 6 December 1786 in VL Oliver *Antigua* Vol 1
[2299] UKNA, CO 186/6: 1 September 1774
[2300] UKNA, CO 186/6: 15 October 1768 and 8 April 1772
[2301] ECSCRN, CR 1767-1769 ff377-78
[2302] PP, LB 3: JPP, London to Wm Maynard & Son, 24 November 1774
[2303] UKNA, CO 186/7: 10 July 1777
[2304] PP, LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to Mill's & Swanston, 3 May 1777
[2305] PP, LB 5: JPP to Joseph Gill, 5 January 1784

404 Polly Herbert was black. She may have been the mother of the children with whom she was bought, Billy Herbert, Almond and Pereen, and on Mountravers she may have had another child: Frances, who was born in July 1776. The birth was attended by the midwife Agnes Adams.[2306]

Both Frances and Polly Herbert died between January 1791 and the end of July 1794. Polly Herbert may have been in her forties or fifties.

405 Billy Herbert (b c.1765-1767) was a field hand in Wiltshire's gang and later he worked as 'boatswain', or gang leader.[2307]
In September 1789 Billy Herbert was treated by Dr Thomas Pym Weekes for an unspecified illness.[2308]

During JPP's visit to Nevis, twice Billy Herbert sold him lamb worth N12s9d and N4s.[2309] Out of the profits of selling his animals he could have afforded to buy some extra items but in 1795 he robbed a white man of his hat on the highway. Although there is no evidence of Billy Herbert defying his enslavement in other ways, stealing such a symbol of status and authority has to be seen as an act of resistance and, no doubt, numerous - but unrecorded - incidents such as this must have occurred. Billy Herbert's action would have remained undisclosed had it not been for the fact that the manager was obliged to make good the white man's loss and re-imburse him with the cost of the hat, N£1:18:0. James Williams entered this detail in the accounts.[2310] The compensation seems rather high: a black trimmed hat for Fanny Coker cost N£1:1:0, Tom Peaden's hat about N6s6d and Pero's and Mulatto Peter's were only N2s3d each. These two house servants were the only enslaved men for whom hats were bought; on Mountravers, no hats were issued although very occasionally field workers were issued with Dutch caps.[2311] According to James Tobin, not all estates issued hats for their people.[2312] When Charles Pinney later, in the 1820s, ordered 'two dozen cheap negro hats', he intended these as presents.[2313] Hats, therefore, were special and a white man's hat as opposed a negro hat, more special still.

Billy Herbert died between December 1816 and July 1817. He was perhaps in his early fifties.[2314]

406 Almond, later also Ormond (b c 1772), a black Creole, was in 1789 apprenticed to the mason John Keepe with Phillip, a plantation-born boy. Because of Phillip's tendency to run away, his training was

---

[2306] PP, AB 20 Agnes Adam's a/c
[2307] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
According to Michael Craton, Edward Long identified 25 words in general use on plantations that had maritime origins. Taking the common name Boatswain as an example, Craton wrote that it 'usually betokened not a slave mariner, but a trusted slave gang leader' (*Empire Enslavement and Freedom in the Caribbean* pp53-4). This use of the term is confirmed by the St Kitts planter Clement Caines who talked of a boatswain superintending the work of boys at the grinding mill (*Letters on the Cultivation of the Otaheite Cane* p279), and on Clarke's Estate in the 1820s were drivers and a 'boatswain and watchman'.

From the slave lists available it appears that the term became used in its own right as a name. On Stapleton Plantation were two boys called Boatswain and Bosawn. 12 years later, then aged 30, one of these, listed as Bosson, was a field hand; the drivers were identified separately.
[2308] PP, AB 30 TP Weekes a/c; also DM 1173 1789-1794 Nevis Ledger f34
[2309] PP, AB 27
[2310] PP, AB 52; also AB 47 f27 Cash a/c
[2311] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, 31 October 1790
[2312] Tobin, James *Cursory Remarks* pp61-3
[2313] PP, WI Box O-3: Charles Pinney, Nevis, to RE Case, Bristol, undated but c March 1828
[2314] It is possible but not very likely that Billy Herbert had been sold by Huggins to the free coloured woman Anne Herbert; in 1825 she manumitted three negro men, one of whom was called William Herbert. The others were John Dasent and Jim Herbert (ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 vol 2 f271, f272 and f292).

cut short and he had to return to the plantation but Almond remained with John Keepe.[2315] He presumably worked on the boiling house and chimney at Woodland and the windmill at Sharloes.[2316] The masons Oroonoko, Bettiscombe and Tom Jones were at the same time employed by Keepe.

In May and June 1794 Almond and another mason, the mulatto William Fisher, were for 38 days hired out to the ship *Nevis*, at N4s 1 1/2d a day,[2317] and in 1795 he and other men worked on the same vessel at the same rate. Almond did 25 days, Glasgow Wells fewer, others more.[2318] Two years later, Peter Butler briefly employed him, together with the masons William Fisher and Oronooko.[2319]

James Williams was looking to make improvements, and on 7 November 1799 he 'Agreed with John Walters to hang the great sett (Coppers) for 43 curr. and to let him have a bushel flour at prime cost, likewise, to hire Almond and Oronooko at £4 pm'.[2320] Four days later 'Almond and Oronooko began facing stones for Mr Walters' ,[2321] and on 12 December 'Allmond (a mason) and Oroonoko were discharged'.[2322] Diligently Williams accounted for their hire income on the same day.[2323]

The masons did many jobs around the plantation without being supervised or employed by white contractors. The work they completed in 1800 would have been quite typical. With the 'second teach burnt through', William Fisher, Almond and Oroonoko put in the copper next day and finished the job the day after.[2324] Other tasks around the estate included 'hewing and sorting stone in order for a new wall to support the entrance to the mule mill'; making a new wall against the great house yard (with three people attending the masons) and repairing the gaps in the old wall near the windmill; sorting a furnace at Woodland and walling a furnace in; making up a garden wall and building a wall to support the Sharloes mule mill ground. The structures, once erected, needed to be maintained, and there was always work to do. When not employed on the plantation masons were hired out. In January 1800 Almond worked on James Tobin's Stoney Grove Estate. Originally supposed to work for a month, he only remained for just over a week.[2325] In 1800 and also in 1801 he was back to working on a ship. This time Capt Shilstone engaged him for 18 and 15 days. The daily hire rate had increased by almost a half from N4s 1 ½d to N6s.[2326] Almond also earned some money for himself; in November 1802 the overseer John Coker paid him N10s6d for unspecified goods or services.[2327]

Aged about 50, Almond died on 12 June 1822.

407 Pereen (also Pareen) was black and probably born about 1767/68.[2328] Whereas Polly Herbert and Billy Herbert were always listed with their surname, Pereen and Almond did not need one as no one else on the plantation had their first names.

[2315] PP, AB 30; AB 39 Plantation a/c; AB 43 f29 John Keepe's a/c; DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f49
[2316] PP, AB 39 f144 John Keepe the Mason a/c
[2317] PP, AB 43 Negro Hire a/c; AB 40 f146; AB 45 f29 Charles Maies for the *Nevis* a/c and AB 50 Negro Hire a/c
[2318] PP, AB 52 Owners of ship *Nevis* a/c and AB 47 f83
[2319] PP, AB 47 JPP's Nevis a/c 1792-1802
[2320] PP, DM 1773/4 Plantation Diary
[2321] PP, DM 1773/4 Plantation Diary
[2322] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[2323] PP, AB 47 Negro Hire a/c
[2324] PP, DM 1773/4 Plantation Diary
[2325] PP, DM 1773/4 Plantation Diary
[2326] PP, AB 47 f117 Cash a/c and Cash a/c 1801
[2327] PP, AB 57 John Coker Overseer a/c
[2328] In 1817 'Pareen' was said to have been 'about 40' (dob 1777); this was clearly wrong. Her 1783 value was the same as that for entailed girls born between 1767 to 1772, and she was listed as a girl in 1785 and a woman in 1788.

Pereen was a field labourer. In May 1793 Dr Weekes noted her as one of the women 'supposed to be with child' and entered on 29 August 1793: 'Pereen delivered child girl called Polly Herbert.'[2329] By November, when her daughter was only about two to three months old, she was back in the field and working in Jack's gang. This was the second gang that did the lighter work.

In her early thirties, over a four-month-period, she underwent expensive treatment, suggesting an intestinal disorder:

12 June 1798	3 emet. pills N9s and a box of lax[ative] pills ….	N30s
22 June	4 specific boluses …….	N20s
30 June	a box stom[ach] lax[ative] pills and a visit …….	N£2:10:0
11 August	3 emet. pills N9s, a box stom. lax[ative] pills …	N30s
13 October	a box alt[ernative] pills ……..	N30s.[2330]

On 23 January 1800 Pereen was again as noted as 'With child'[2331] and in July 1800 probably gave birth to a boy, Jemmy.[2332] Two years later she was delivered of another child, most likely Phoebe (b April 1802),[2333] and in April 1806 her daughter Sally was born. All the children were black.

Her daughter Polly Herbert probably had a daughter called Susanna (b 1815) and a son called Samuel (b 1824). But Pereen did not live to see her grandson being born; she died between 1817 and 1822. She was at the least in her late forties, at the most in her mid-fifties.

408, 409, 410 and 411 These are four unknown individuals who had previously belonged to Edward Herbert and who died between being acquired at auction and the next slave inventory.

◄► ▼◄►

412 **Mary Path** was born on Tuesday, 15 March 1774, to a purchased woman. Most likely, her mother was the 'Creole Negro' woman Fanny Frederick (No 342), acquired in 1768.[2334] Fanny Frederick died when Mary Path was nine years old.

Aged nine, the girl was valued at N£50.

Although in the late 1780s Dr Thomas Pym Weekes attended to her for an unspecified illness,[2335] Mary Path must have been strong. She was one of 14 women in Wiltshire's gang, the great gang that did the hardest work.

Mary Path was pregnant with her first son - she was 'big with child' - when she had an accident that could have cost her life. She 'suffocated by going to sleep with fire in the night'. It was mid-November and she

[2329] PP, Misc Vols 12 Leeward Islands Calendar
[2330] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2331] PP, DM 1773/4 Plantation Diary
[2332] Four women pregnant at that time (five from March until May) were Johntong, Pereen, Mary Path and Richens Quasheba (PP, DM 1773/4 Plantation Diary).
[2333] PP, AB 57 Plantation a/c
[2334] A midwife was paid for delivering Fanny Frederick I in May 1774.
[2335] PP, AB 35 Thomas Pym Weekes' a/c; also AB 30 TP Weekes' a/c

may have kept the fire going against the chill, but it is more likely that she suffocated because she had been burning water-soaked corncobs or pieces of wood. Enslaved people used these to ward off mosquitos,[2336] and she may well have been overcome by the smoke. The doctor was called to attend to Mary Path and administered a 'nervous mixture'.[2337] She and the unborn child survived the accident, and her son Martin was born exactly a month later. However, when he was six months old, Martin had to undergo an expensive course of treatment. He was given laxative and strengthening powders but these did not save him, and it is likely that her son died soon after being treated and certainly before he was four years old. Possibly after Martin's death she left the plantation for three days, from Monday 1 July 1799, and while 'with child' again, later in the year she also absented herself for a week from Tuesday, 13 August. Mary Path was 'delivered a baby boy' on 6 February 1800[2338] and after the birth was lying in and nursing for a period of 14 weeks. Having had two boys, she then gave birth to two girls: Her daughter Fanny Frederick was born before November 1802[2339] and her daughter Violet in October 1805.

Mary Path, Richard and Violet were sold to Huggins but for some unexplained reason, in 1807 her daughter Fanny Frederick was neither recorded as sold or as reserved, and in 1810 the girl was rented Clarke's with those people JPP had reserved for himself. She may have been the child of a favoured and reserved man – one of Sarah Fisher's sons.

Between August 1807 and December 1816 both her daughter Violet and Mary Path died. Mary Path may have been one of the nine people said to have died during the first six months after Huggins took over Mountravers. Given that she had given birth to four children within a period of eight years, she may well have died in childbed. Mary Path was between 33 and 42 years old.

413 **Mickey** was born on Sunday, 4 December 1774. Almost ten years after JPP had started buying girls, this boy was only the sixth surviving plantation-born child of one of these purchased females.[2340] It is not known who Mickey's mother was.

As an eight-year-old, his value of N£50 was in line with other children his age but, in his late teens, he did not work in the field. Although he could have been a domestic, he probably was ill already and not fit enough to work in the field. Over a five months period in 1797 he had extensive medical attention:

3 February 1797	2 purges, a box alternative pills, 12 diuretic powders	N£3:8:0[2341]
3 May	4 purges	
3 June	12 corr[oborant] 6 diuretic powders ……..	N£3
19 June	Scarifying the scrotum for Mickey (jn a dropsy) ….	N8s3d
23 June	diuretic powders ……..….	N£1:10:0
28 June	a visit and 12 diuretic powders …..……..	N£2.[2342]

Mickey died on 10 July 1797 from 'a dropsy'. He was 22 years old.

[2336] When excavating slaves' living quarters on a North American plantation, archaeologists have found a number of small features which they interpreted 'as smudge pits containing carbonized corncobs and wood' (http://www.southalabama.edu/archaeology/dog-river-platation-slavery.html).
[2337] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2338] PP, DM 1773/4 Plantation Diary
[2339] PP, LB 19 f2
[2340] Children born to purchased mothers before Mickey were Molly, Fanny Coker, Billey Jones, Juggy and Mary Path.
[2341] PP, AB 53 Archbald & Williamson's a/c
[2342] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c

414 Friday was a black girl and born on Friday, 3 March 1775, to an entailed woman, Little Molly (No 227). Earlier an African male named Friday had lived on Mountravers but he was long dead.

Friday's elder brother may have been Acree (b 1767). She certainly had two younger brothers and a sister: Quashee (b 1776), Jibba (b 1780) and John-Peter (b 1794). The youngest died as an infant.

As an eight-year-old, Friday was worth N£50. She became a field hand, like her mother and siblings, and as an 18-year-old already worked in Wiltshire's great gang.

In September 1796 Friday had her first child, Diana, and probably between 9 June and 6 November 1802, she was delivered of another child.[2343] She may, possibly, have called her first son after her dead brother, and this might have been John Pedero - his name having been mis-heard for John Peter. Her son could also have been a boy called James.

Probably in her seventies, Friday's mother died in February 1827 but by then there was a new generation in her family – Fridays three grandchildren, Diana's children Priscilla (b 1818), Angelica (b 1820) and Rasburn (b 1826). Friday lived to see these children being baptised but she died six months later, on 9 October 1829. She was 54 years old.

415 James Arthurton, a mulatto born on Tuesday, 18 April 1775, was (according to JPP) the son of Phibba and Thomas Arthurton. His sister was the mulatto Betsey Arthurton. Having been listed 'for conditional sale', their father bought both children in 1783:[2344] James, aged eight years, for N£60, and Betsey, six years older and already trained as a seamstress, for double the amount.

James and Betsey started a new life with their father, who had at least four more children with at least two more women. It is not known where Thomas Arthurton lived at the time; he may have worked with his brother but for some time probably was employed on a plantation.

Over the next 15 years or so James's sister gave birth to three children – Ann, Robert and John – but Betsey, still enslaved, died before 1803. On 21 February that year James was freed by his father,[2345] and on the following day also James's niece and nephews, Betsey's children. Soon after this James's father also manumitted a couple of women, no doubt his mistresses, and his four children – James's step-brothers and step-sister: John (later John Fraser) Arthurton, William Arthurton, Thomas Arthurton and Martha Reid. One of James's cousins also became free that year, John Arthurton senior's mulatto son John. He had worked on Jesup's and almost certainly was the father of Betsey's daughter Ann and perhaps also of her sons Robert and John. He was a stonemason by trade and had been left a small sum of money by his father, which may well have gone towards purchasing his freedom. James's uncle John Arthurton senior also willed money for the education and training in England of James's mustee cousins Charles and Elizabeth.

James Arthurton and a cousin of his, the mustee Charles, lived in one of JPP's properties in Charlestown.[2346] At one time James owed rent of N£3:4:0 - a small sum compared to some other tenants'

[2343] PP, LB 19 f2
[2344] PP, AB 26 Plantation a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f138
[2345] ECSCRN, CR 1803-1805 ff3-4
[2346] In May 1817 the writing clerk Charles Arthurton appeared as a witness to verify William Burke's handwriting. He knew Burke well, having lived with him for many years (ECSCRN, CR 1835-1838 f12).

rent arrears. William Burke, for instance, had more than N£100 outstanding.[2347] The same year James was behind with his rent, 1812, his father bought the house in which James and his cousin lived. It is possible that James's family lived with him because by then he had three children. Eliza, Amelia and George were born between about 1808 and 1811. With an enslaved woman James may have had another daughter, a girl called Fanny. He registered her in 1817 as his only slave. A mustee, she was born about 1812.[2348]

James Arthurton died some time before November 1820. He was at least 42, at the most 45 years old.

Before he died, James Arthurton had appointed a guardian for his children, the millwright Francis Branch. The fact that James Arthurton chose this man may, possibly, suggest that James had also been a millwright or a carpenter, although Branch and his wife Elizabeth may just have been in-laws, or trusted friends or neighbours – possibly even the parents of the woman with whom James had children.

After a long life of working for others, his father had bought a plantation, Richmond Lodge in the parish of St John Figtree. His father died in 1824 and although he left the property to the children's uncle, John Fraser Arthurton, and to a friend, Samuel Sturge, in his will old Thomas Arthurton had provided for James's children. To the two girls, Eliza and Amelia, he left land in Charlestown which he had contracted to buy for S£50 from John Frederick Pinney. His executors were to complete the purchase. Thomas Arthurton also left females from his estate for all three children (as well as their cousins): Eliza, who probably was the older of the two girls, got a 13-year-old called Betty; Amelia an 11-year-old called Friday and George an old black woman called Sarah. She may have been the boy's nurse.[2349] She died and George never registered her.[2350]

Eliza's and Amelia's slave registers were in 1825 signed by their guardian but in October 1827 Francis Branch died [2351] and the girls' next register was completed by his widow Elizabeth. By 1831, though, the girls had come of age and both completed slave registers in their own right. Eliza Arthurton's mark underneath hers is the last reference to her. It is not known what happened to her after 1831.

James Arthurtons' daughter Amelia, who also signed with a mark, completed another register in 1834. Her girl Friday had, in the meantime, given birth to a boy called Samuel[2352] and in the following year had a daughter called Eliza – no doubt named so in remembrance of Amelia's sister. The child was baptised in August 1835[2353] but was born too late for her owner to qualify for slave compensation. Amelia Arthurton received S£24 for Friday and her son Samuel.[2354]

On 1 March 1838 Amelia Arthurton married a free man, Thomas Webbe, and on the same day another couple got married: Frances Arthurton and John Benders. It looks as if this was planned as a double wedding, because, although Amelia and her husband both lived in the parish of St Paul's, they chose to get married in the church at St Thomas Lowland, and both couples chose the same witnesses: William Browne and Robert Reap junior - [2355] the husband of Amelia's cousin Joan Arthurton (a daughter of John

[2347] PP, WI Box 1801-1836
[2348] UKNA, T 71/364
[2349] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1819-1830 f218
[2350] UKNA, T 71/367
[2351] RHL, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b)
[2352] UKNA, T 71/369
[2353] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 785
[2354] HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 pp107-08
[2355] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965

Fraser Arthurton). Almost certainly the Frances Arthurton who got married that same day was the mustee who in 1817 had been registered by James Arthurton.

It is likely that this Frances Arthurton was the same woman who in the 1830s sold property in Charlestown. Her neighbour was Frances Chizzers, a mulatto woman, who had appointed another member of the Arthurton family, John, as one of her executors. Frances Arthurton sold the house and land to a couple of men, one of whom also rented premises, a shop or a warehouse, adjoining John Arthurton's.[2356] This man may well have been a cousin (the son of the Mountravers slave Betsey Arthurton, the brother of Ann and Robert), who earned a living as a 'retailer'.

James Arthurton's son George Arthurton became a merchant's clerk. He lived in Charlestown.[2357] He was well-established in the island; in 1832 he was among 74 people who signed a petition in support of Edward Huggins junior being allowed a seat on the Council,[2358] and later he served as a juror.[2359] George Arthurton, too, got married. His wife, a free woman called Mary Laurence, owned three people, and because the couple married in April 1834 before slavery was abolished,[2360] he became entitled to her slave compensation. The money, S£44, was welcome because their family was growing quickly. They already had two children, Elizabeth Bradley and Charles James, while a third child, Laurence George, was on its way. For some reason their son Charles James was in April 1836 baptised 'privately',[2361] followed in July 1837 by Laurence George's public baptism.[2362] Later in the year, in November, the couple lost their first-born child - Elizabeth Bradley died when she was not yet three years old - but the Arthurtons had another daughter: Mary was baptised in June 1839.[2363]

Like his father before him, George Arthurton died young. Aged 35, he was buried on 4 May 1846.[2364]

416 William Fisher, a mulatto, was born on Wednesday, 26 April 1775, to a purchased woman. His mother was Nancy Jones (No 266), whom JPP had bought ten years earlier. William Fisher's father may have been John Fisher, the manager on Woodland, and his first name chosen in honour of his uncle Pero, whose alias was William Jones (No 265). William Fisher's maternal grandfather lived elsewhere in Nevis, and he had at least two aunts, Eve and Sheba (No 267), but only his aunt Sheba lived on Mountravers. His uncle, Pero, left Nevis with the Pinneys in July 1783, returned twice for short visits with JPP and died in England.

[2356] In 1839 the spinster Frances Arthurton sold the property in Charlestown to the merchant John Thompson and to William McCoombe. It consisted of a house and two lots of land and measured 57'x 30' and 75'x 77' and bordered to the east the land of Frances Chizzers. On the northern end, Frances Arthurton's premises backed onto the Parsonage House, glebe land and Elizabeth Adams's home, and on the southern end a road led from her house, past Frances Chizzers's property, to the Common Road. The land to the west of Frances Arthurton's had once belonged to Frances Chizzers but was then in possession of the heirs of William Slater's (ECSCRN, CR 1838-1847 f183).
[2357] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1835-1873 No 69
[2358] UKNA, CO 239/29
[2359] ECSCRN, Nevis Court Records 1836-1843 f170 and Kings/Queen's Bench and Common Pleas 1831-1844
[2360] The marriage of George Arthurton and Mary Laurence was witnessed by three people: James Laurence junior, E Ottley (undoubtedly Elizabeth Ottley, the mother of several young Arthurtons) and E [Elizabeth] Bradley (NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842).
[2361] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1835-1873 No 17
[2362] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1835-1873 No 69
[2363] Elizabeth Bradley was baptised on 6 May 1835, on 30 April 1836 Charles James, on 17 July 1837 Laurence George and on 3 June 1839 Mary (NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1835-1873 Numbers 766, 17, 69 and 193). Elizabeth Bradley Arthurton from Charlestown was buried on 26 November 1837, aged two years and nine months (NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1837-1841 No 9).
[2364] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 464

When William was eight years old, JPP valued him at N£50, the same as Mickey who was six months older.

As a mulatto, William enjoyed privileges, such as sleeping in the house,[2365] and he received presents from the Pinneys, like left-over material. JPP had asked to give from a piece of check a shirt each to Mulatto Peter, Carpenter Glasgow and the drivers, 'as an encouragement ... The remainder for the little mulatto boys.'[2366] As an adult, he received two old coats from JPP, as did other mulatto men.[2367] Presumably these coats were cast-offs from the Pinney sons John Frederick and Azariah who were then in their early twenties and Pretor, then in his teens.

At the age of 15, William Fisher was apprenticed to learn a trade. His master was Joe or John Moore, Mr Herbert's 'Negro mason'.[2368] The man was paid N£15 by way of apprenticeship fee.[2369] After his training was complete, William Fisher was once hired out to work on the ship *Nevis.* He was employed for 38 days at the usual daily rate of N4s 1 ½d and worked with Almond, another mason. Their income went to the Negro Hire account.[2370] However, as early as 1796 William Fisher was reserved by JPP for his own use and, together with several others, he was from then on hired out for JPP's benefit.[2371] In the summer of 1797 Peter Butler employed him for 27 days. He was probably hired together with Almond but Almond left after eight days to be replaced by the African mason, Oroonoko, for the remaining 19 days. Their hire rates varied greatly: William Fisher's at N66s a month was the highest; Almond's at N17s7d the lowest and Oroonoko's at N49s a month lay in between.[2372]

After having been hired to Peter Butler William Fisher had no more outside assignments although the other masons, Almond and Oroonoko, did get hired out again. They were employed away from the plantation on one particular day, the 18 November 1799, when William Fisher was known to have reported sick. Seven others were ill, too: Bridget, Scandall, Warrington, Ben, Quashee, Caroline, and Patty. The manager, James Williams, recorded in the plantation diary the work everyone else was doing (except for the two women who were 'with child'). The other two masons, Tom Fisher and Jack, were busy carting stones to the yard to pave the counting house. They had seven people to assist them. Several people were busy cleaning out the ashes from the copper holes which seven people then carted with mules to the Old Potatoe Piece. There the small gang spread the ashes as fertiliser. Meanwhile, 40 people in the great gang cleared 'woura off the Pond Piece'. Woura (also worra and voura), the dried cane leaves, were useful for fuel, trashing the animal pens and for thatching enslaved people's houses. Williams also noted that four coopers and three carpenters were employed 'as before' - presumably they were out 'jobbing', while 14 people were doing their jobs as 'watches etc'. That day Williams also noted the death of a mule called Coker.[2373]

On another day, 17 April 1800, William Fisher was mentioned again. The previous day the 'second teach burnt through', and William Fisher, together with Almond and Oroonoko, put in another copper. They worked on this job for two days [2374] and appear not to have received any particular remuneration but in July 1802, when William Fisher hung coppers at Sharloes, he was rewarded with seven yards of 'check'.

[2365] PP, P19 Private LB f17
[2366] PP, LB 5: JPP to Joseph Gill, 5 January 1784
[2367] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, 5 December 1794, and LB 14: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, 12 November 1798
[2368] PP, AB 43 f35 Cash a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f59
[2369] PP, AB 39 Cash a/c and 1790 Plantation a/c
[2370] PP, AB 43 and AB 40 f146; also AB 1790 f29 Charles Maies for the Nevis a/c; also AB 50 Negro Hire a/c
[2371] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 15 November 1796
[2372] PP, AB 47, JPP's Nevis a/c 1792-1802
[2373] PP, DM 1773/4 Plantation Diary
[2374] PP, DM 1773/4 Plantation Diary

At N£1:6:3 this was a cheap deal; [2375] some years later the free mason James Powell was paid N£45 for hanging a set of coppers at Stoney Grove plantation.[2376] William Fisher was also promised a reward of a 'check shirt' if he proved 'equal to the job' of repairing the bridge at Sharloes [2377] but had to forego the present because the repair was not satisfactory and the whole bridge had to be rebuilt. JPP was not pleased: 'If the bridge at Sharloe had been repaired in the manner I pointed out, you would have had no occasion to have rebuilt it.'[2378]

William Fisher was trusted with building a hiding place for JPP's documents. When in the 1790s it looked as if the French were going to invade the island, he and Oroonoko were employed by the manager, James Williams, to find a way of concealing the papers in and under the newly-constructed counting house. In 1811, after he had sold Mountravers to the Hugginses, JPP remembered the documents and wanted them retrieved. He charged his attorney with doing so:

> Polly Weekes informs me that my papers are deposited in two places in the wall under the counting house and one place in the wall in the cellar and that William Fisher and Oroonoko were employed about it so they are now easily found and Mr Peter Huggins, I dare say, will permit the same persons to take them out, which you will be so good as to have carried to your house sending me a list at your leisure of those you find.[2379]

His attorney wrote back for clarification and JPP responded by saying that Mulatto Polly had assured him that 'there were three places opened ... in the cellar ... and the compting house ...'[2380] Either William Fisher and Oroonoko refused to divulge the hiding place, or the documents had been removed already, for it appears that the subsequent search proved unsuccessful and JPP found it necessary to get Peter Thomas Huggins involved. He repeated the claim by 'Mulatto Polly alias Polly Scarborough' that the two masons had been employed by James Williams in making the place for the papers in the counting house.[2381] Apparently some papers had been hidden in a jar. Huggins then managed to elicit the information from William Fisher that the documents had been retrieved when the French were seen off Nevis. JPP promised to pass on the information to his son:

> When I see Frederick ... I tell him what William Fisher says respecting the removal of all things out of the Counting House when the Rochfort Squadron paid you a visit - if a jar had been amongst then, I think, he would have mentioned it.[2382]

That was the last time the documents were talked about. Although the whole incident was of no particular consequence, it shows how enslaved people had an intimate knowledge of all manner of activities on the plantation and how they could use this knowledge to their advantage. It gave them power over their masters and mistresses.

As a three-year-old child, William had been cured by John Springett of 'negro worms',[2383] and as a 20-year-old he needed treatment for one of his toes. He may have had an accident but could also have

---

[2375] PP, AB 52 f34 Plantation a/c; also AB 57
[2376] PP, WI Box 1829-1836: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate
[2377] PP, LB 18: JPP to Henry Williams, Nevis, 15 December 1803
[2378] PN 172, quoting DVIII 1803-1804 f69: JPP to Henry Williams, 15 December 1803
[2379] PP, LB 23: JPP to John Colhoun Mills, 10 January 1811
[2380] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 18 July 1811
[2381] PP, LB 23: JPP to Peter Thomas Huggins, 7 October 1811
[2382] PP, LB 23: JPP to Peter Thomas Huggins, 12 December 1812
[2383] PP, AB 26 John Springett's a/c

suffered from parasites that burrow into the folds of skin, chiggers. Typically, the Jamaican plantation owner Gregory Lewis blamed the lameness caused by chiggers on the plantation workers themselves – it was all down to their laziness that they did not remove them.[2384] William Fisher had the first treatment on 8 June 1795 ('opening & dressing' his toe, applying ointment) which was followed three days later by the toe being dressed again. However, this did not work and at the end of November he needed to have surgery on his toe. In all, the treatment came to N£1:13:0.[2385] Two years later he suffered more pain when he needed to have a tooth extracted.[2386]

At the age of twenty William Fisher already owned at least one goat. This was stolen by another young man, the 22-year-old Phillip. A known thief, Phillip had also stolen a goat from Mulatto Peter, and both men were reimbursed for their losses from the plantation account.[2387] Given that the then manager, James Williams, was not allowed to keep hogs, sheep or goats himself, it must have been somewhat galling to him that enslaved people were allowed to keep these animals. It appears that it was the elite who owned goats – people like Cudjoe Stanley, Mulatto Peter, Black Polly, Dorinda, Glasgow, Pero Jones and Santee. The animals would have been tethered and their stakes moved by young children and old people.

One historian has stated that the privileged jobs the mulattoes enjoyed must have been resented by the blacks and that the most serious recorded fights among people on one particular Jamaican plantation, Mesopotamia, occurred among mulattoes and blacks.[2388] There are no obvious records of fights on Mountravers, except for one, and that took place between two mulattoes: William Fisher and Billey Jones. These two were involved in a major dispute and a fight in which Billey Jones beat and injured William Fisher. The manager reprimanded Billey Jones and reported the incident to JPP:

> There seems to be a great misunderstanding between Billy Jones and William Fisher. He a few days since beat W. Fisher very much indeed so much that I was obliged to have him blead and to give him a horse to ride to his house, he has done no work since.[2389]

JPP responded immediately by curtailing Billey Jones's privileges. Presumably William Fisher recovered; certainly he was still employed as a mason in 1816. He was then working for the Hugginses because, although he and his mother had originally been reserved by JPP, as part of the negotiations over the transfer of Mountravers JPP had been prepared to give them up for sale.[2390]

It is possible that in 1813/4 William Fisher had a daughter called Mary Fisher with a woman at Clarke's. The girl was baptised in October 1828 in the Methodist Chapel.[2391]

At the beginning of December 1824 William Fisher's mother Nancy Jones was sold by Peter Thomas Huggins to the wife of a blacksmith and plantation owner, Mrs Frederick Huggins. In the following month William Fisher died. He was buried on 27 January 1825, the day he died. His burial was recorded in the

---

[2384] Lewis, Matthew Gregory *Journal of a Residence* p109
[2385] PP, AB 47 Archbald & Williamson's a/c
[2386] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2387] PP, AB 52; also AB 47 Cash a/c
[2388] Dunn, Richard S '"Dreadful Idlers" in the Cane Fields' p808
[2389] PP, Dom Box P: JW Stanley to JF Pinney, 27 December 1805
[2390] PP, LB 47: JPP to James Tobin, Nevis 5 February 1807; also Misc Vols 17-19 Case of Clarke and Huggins: JPP to James Tobin, 1 February 1808
[2391] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 No 366

register for St Paul's church in Charlestown. His place of abode was given as 'Lowland'. He was 49 years old.[2392]

His was the first burial of someone from Mountravers in the church of St Paul's and, no doubt, it would have been a big event for everyone on the plantation. Enslaved people were beginning to claim the white man's institution as theirs, and the elite – the mulattoes and the skilled people – were at the forefront. It is possible that it was not his but his mother's decision to have him buried in St Paul's; a few years later she was laid to rest there as well.

◄► ▼◄►

On Monday, 10 July 1775, JPP purchased from John Henry Clarke a woman, Sacharissa, for N£90. A week later he bought from him Cudjoe Stanley for N£125 and Joan for N£20.[2393] Joan's price suggests she was a young child. Perhaps she was related to either or both the other two individuals.

A couple of months later, on 25 September 1775, JPP also purchased from Mr Clarke a young woman, Susanna.[2394] The purchases were recorded in bills of sale, adding another N£2:16:0 to JPP's cost.[2395]

Although by 1783 he had lost one of these four, at a total value of N£315 the remaining three proved a good investment.

417 Sacharissa, later Old Sacharissa (b c 1747),[2396] was African and may originally have come from Ghana; in Twi 'Sacirifa' is a personal name.[2397]

She was a strong woman. As a field labourer she worked in Wiltshire's gang into her early fifties. Of the Africans acquired by JPP, she was one of ten who survived on Mountravers until 1817 but Sacharissa died between 1817 and 1822. She was between 70 and 75 years old.

418 Cudjoe Stanley was born perhaps about 1750.

Although in 1783 only one man was listed as a distiller, Cudjoe Stanley, then valued at N£165, may have been a distiller already. There certainly would have been a need for someone to make rum: Thomas Arthurton had left, Old Harry had died and Cato was 'useless'.

Cudjoe Stanley was one of the people who kept goats, and during his 1790 visit he sold to JPP a kid worth N£1.[2398] He certainly had ways of earning money because as soon as JPP was off the island, Cudjoe Stanley bought 1,250 cypress shingles from the plantation to shingle his house.[2399] The fact that he did not buy any boards (which Black Polly and Wiltshire did) suggests that Cudjoe may have had a

[2392] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 61
[2393] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1775; also AB 20 f139 Plantation a/c
[2394] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c
[2395] PP, AB 20 John Henry Clarke's a/c
[2396] UKNA, T 71/364
[2397] Muñoz, SR *The Afro-American Griot Speaks* p104
[2398] PP, AB 27
[2399] PP, AB 43 1790-1791 Cash a/c

house already that just needed shingling, or that he had access to other supplies. He was a valued man; through the manager JPP sent him an old coat of his which he wanted passed on 'as a mark of [his] good opinion of him.'[2400]

Towards the end of the 1790s Cudjoe Stanley's health was in decline and although he still worked as a distiller, at other times he was also a watchman.[2401] Apart from having a tooth extracted in 1783,[2402] he had no other medical attention until the doctor paid him a visit on 8 December 1798.[2403] But it was too late, Cudjoe Stanley died on the same day.[2404] He was probably in his late forties.

Doctors normally charged N£1 per visit but on this occasion made do with N8 shillings less. This was probably because Cudjoe Stanley received no treatment. He may have suffered an accident and died before medical help arrived but it is more likely that the doctor was only called to certify his death. A new law had come into force which stated that the death of anyone over the age of six years who died without having been seen by a doctor in the preceding 48 hours had to be reported to a coroner. Williams may have sought to comply with the new law while at the same time avoiding the necessity of informing the coroner.

As a distiller Cudjoe Stanley had held an important job, and James Williams passed on news of his death to JPP. He replied:

The death of poor Cudjoe Stanley concerns me much as he was a good and faithful servant as well as valuable in his situation - I hope and flatter myself you took care to bring up one under him that the estate may not be at a loss for a proper successor.[2405]

Williams had to hurry: a year later the other distiller, Jacob, also died, leaving Bacchus, an African who also worked in the field, as the only man with experience in the still house.

419 **Joan** was probably born between the summer of 1772 and March 1773. She died between July 1775 and July 1783. She was, at the most, eleven years old.

420 **Susanna** (b c 1755-60). Having purchased her for N£45, she was sold two month later, in December, to Thomas Sherritt for N£60.[2406] Sherritt also bought another young woman, Cuba, and in the previous year had sold JPP a sail for a canoe[2407] but nothing else is known about him.

◄► ▼◄►

421 **Læna, Lenah or Leena,** was born on Thursday, 19 October 1775, to an entailed woman. The sheep keeper Lena (No 208) may have been her mother or aunt; she died before July 1783. Her father

[2400] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 10 November 1797
[2401] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary front cover
[2402] PP, AB 30 Archbald & Williamson's a/c
[2403] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2404] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[2405] PP, LB 14: November 1797-February 1799 ff210-12 JPP to James Williams, 13 February 1799
[2406] PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c
[2407] PP, AB 17

may have been among the favoured men; her value in 1783 was relatively high at N£50. Losing her mother early on in life and having to look after herself may explain why JPP bought a hen from her when he visited Nevis in 1790. Aged 15, she was the youngest female who sold poultry and he may have paid over the odds as a gesture of support: her hen was at N2s7d the most expensive fowl he bought.[2408]

In her early twenties she worked in the second gang when others her age were in the great gang.[2409]

Læna she died between December 1816 and July 1817. She was 41 years old.

422 Sally Peaden, a mulatto, was born on Tuesday, 11 June 1776. Her mother was Bridget (No 225) and her father Tom Peaden, Pinney's white servant. He died when Sally was three years old. When appraised at the age of seven years, her parent's status as household servants (and her being a mulatto) was reflected in her relatively high value of N£50. Three years older, her brother James Peaden was worth N£10 more. He became a carpenter and Sally Peaden was trained as a seamstress. She replaced another mulatto seamstress, Betsey Arthurton, who was sold in 1783. Aged nearly ten, Sally was apprenticed to Ann Keepe. The mason's wife Mary Keepe had earlier taught Fanny Coker and Mulatto Polly but nothing is known about Ann Keepe. Sally Peaden's training lasted for 66 weeks and cost N1s6d a week.[2410]

At the age of 16, Sally Peaden probably had her first child, George Scarborough (b September 1792). In 1794 she hired herself out [2411] and in December that year gave birth to a girl, Mary. But her daughter died before she was a year old. Her mother was ill then – she suffered from a fever – and it is likely that in November the following year Sally Peaden suffered a breakdown, or a nervous disorder. She was so poorly that the doctor visited her at night. He gave her four 'nerv. boluses', followed by another six the next day.[2412] Her young nephew Tom Peaden died around the same time.

In November 1797 Sally Peaden had a tooth extracted, which may have become infected. A month after the tooth had been pulled she suffered from a fever and was given six febrifuge boluses.[2413] She was then pregnant with her third child; Betsey Sanders was born in February 1798. Her first two children were mestees and, as Betsey was described as 'of a yellow cast', her daughter may have been the child of Frank Sanders (No 482), a sambo. Sally Peaden was delivered of her next child before November 1802[2414] but the baby died soon after birth and she quickly had another, some time before October 1803.[2415] It is very likely that this was Mary Scarborough, named after her dead daughter.

As domestics, she and her mother were among the women who received a present of white cotton material for a wrapper from Mrs P, [2416] and when Joe Stanley took over as manager, she worked for him and his family. As housekeeper she held a confidential position and was responsible for keeping safe the keys but apparently she lent one of them to Hetty (No 453), who then used the key, with Nanny Nolan, to

[2408] PP, AB 27
[2409] It appears that Laena was listed in the 1798/9 field list, just above some holes in the paper, and therefore worked in the second gang (PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary). (The Plantation Diary has since been repaired.)
[2410] PP, AB 30 f107 Plantation a/c
[2411] PP, AB 50 Negro Hire a/c
[2412] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2413] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2414] PP, LB 19 f2 6 November 1802
[2415] PP, AB 57 Plantation a/c
[2416] PP, LB 15: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, 29 October 1799

gain access to Mrs Stanley's stores. When asked about it, Sally Peaden safeguarded her own position and 'immediately' told Stanley that Hetty had borrowed the key from her.[2417]

In December 1806 she gave birth to Alfred, one of the last children born during the Pinneys' ownership of Mountravers. By the time her plantation was sold, her brother James was still in hiding on another island. Following mis-treatment by the manager, he had escaped from Nevis in 1800, soon after his twins Charles and James had been born. Her brother may have returned; in November 1810 a boy called William Peaden was born but the boy may also have been her – probably last – child. In her thirties, Sally Peadon died between August 1807 and December 1816, as did her young son Alfred and the girl Mary Scarborough.

423 Frances was born on Wednesday, 17 July 1776, to a purchased woman. Almost certainly her mother was Polly Herbert (No 404), whom JPP had bought in 1774. Polly Herbert had been bought with three black children, Billy Herbert (b c1765-7), Pereen (b c 1767/8) and Almond (b c 1768). They may have been Frances's siblings.

In 1783, Frances's value was N£45.

Frances died between January 1791 and the end of July 1794, aged between 14 and 18. Polly Herbert also died during this time.

424 Quashee, also Yellow Quashey. 'Yellow cast' and born on Sunday, 25 August 1776, he was Little Molly's (No 227) son. Acree (b 1767) may have been his elder brother; he certainly had an elder sister, Friday (b 1775). His younger siblings, Jibba (b 1780) and John Peter (b 1794), were born many years apart when he was four and 18 years old. John Peter died as a baby. Quashee became an uncle when Friday had a daughter called Diana.

In July 1783, when he was almost seven years old, he was worth N£45, the same as two girls, Little Omah and Little Violet. Aged 17, he worked in Tom's gang which did the lightest work. Except for one other 17-year-old, the rest of the group consisted of smaller children and weak or pregnant women. His mother and sisters were field hands, too.[2418]

On 18 November 1799, he was one of the eight sick people that day [2419] but he had no recorded medical treatment.

Quashee was one of the people known to have been publicly flogged by Edward Huggins. This took place in January 1810 when Quashee was in his early thirties. His beating was particularly brutal. Huggins was tried in Court and one of the witnesses, George Abbott, the Deputy Naval Officer of Nevis, gave evidence and said that he saw a 'yellow negro' in the Market place 'appeared severely whipped'. William Pemberton, who attended the Huggins hearing as a Magistrate, also singled him out, as well as his sister Jibba, or Juba. Pemberton said that they were among those who 'were severely flogged'. Another observer, John Burke, in his statement, said that he 'walked up street and saw Def.t standing by with two

[2417] PP, Dom Box P: JW Stanley to John Frederick Pinney, 27 December 1805
[2418] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[2419] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary

drivers who were flogging a Negro man named, witness believes, Yellow Quashey. Witness went and sat down in Dr Crosse's gallery - says that two drivers continued flogging said negro man for about 15 minutes.'[2420] Years later, John Burke, then Deputy Registrar of the Court of Vice Admiralty,[2421] in his role as Magistrate had to deal with another case of brutality - that of Thomas Hodson's maltreatment of the woman Bitchey on Ward's Estate.[2422]

Although listed in December 1816 as among those transferred from Edward Huggins to his son Peter Thomas and also recorded in the first Nevis slave register of July 1817, Quashee's name was crossed out. He may have died just when each plantation submitted its records but, equally, he may have run away and had been, at first, included but was, on second thought, deleted because his return seemed unlikely.

425 and 426 Frankey Vaughan and her son Fido. Frankey Vaughan was black and probably born around 1770.[2423] She was purchased on 31 October 1776 from William Vaughan. She cost N£30.[2424]

In the 1760s her previous owner had been a distiller and overseer on Mountravers, and it is likely that Frankey was sold after he died. By 1778 Mrs Vaughan had also died. The possessions she left reveal a poor household with tatty furniture and few personal belongings. The most valuable items were two individuals, Kitty and her child Fanny.[2425] They may, possibly, have been Frankey Vaughan's relatives. Frankey and also Kitty's daughter Fanny had been named after William Vaughan's wife Frances.

From the beginning of May to July 1780 Frankey Vaughan was hired to Penny Weekes. She was a recently freed woman who, until just a year earlier, had belonged to one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees, Jane Weekes.[2426] Frankey's hire rate of N6s a month was low[2427] but she was only a young girl. During the time she worked for Penny Weekes she may have been able to acquire some money herself; six years after arriving on Mountravers, Frankey Vaughan possessed enough fowls to sell some. She sold nine to JPP for a total of N16s6d.[2428] At N1s10d apiece hers were much cheaper than others; a couple of years earlier JPP had re-imbursed Dorinda with N6s for a fowl stolen by Foe.

In February 1795 Frankey Vaughan gave birth to her first child, a mulatto girl called Ritta. As the conception of this girl coincided with JPP's and John Frederick Pinney's second visit to Nevis, and as JPP immediately and surprisingly reserved the girl but not the mother or the rest of her family, it is likely that Ritta was in fact a daughter of either JPP, or, more probable, of his son John Frederick Pinney. Having come off age, he and his father, with their servant Pero, were on a men-only trip to Nevis, and, with the plantation having just been made over to him, it is easily imagined that he wanted to assert his authority by raping one or more enslaved women while at the same time increasing the number of people on his plantation.

[2420] UKNA, CO 152/96
[2421] UKNA, CO 187/3 Nevis Blue Book 1821
[2422] NHCS, RG 12.10 Indictment of Manager on Stapleton p316
[2423] In 1817, Frankey Vaughan was estimated to have been 48 years old (i.e. dob 1768/9), in 1828 her 'reputed age' was only 50 (i.e. dob 1777/8) when clearly she had been bought several years earlier. Her price, however, suggests that of a three to four-year-old girl. Her date of birth is roughly confirmed by the listing (until 1785) as a 'girl' and as a 'woman' from 1788 onwards.
[2424] PP, AB 21 Plantation a/c 1776; also AB 20 Plantation a/c
[2425] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f459
[2426] ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 f136
[2427] PP, AB 17: 9 July 1780
[2428] PP, AB 17: 31 May 1782

In June 1798 Frankey Vaughan's second child was born, Guy, who was followed by Patty in April 1801. The girl died of consumption when she was four months old. Having lost her young daughter, two years later, in October 1803, Frankey Vaughan's daughter Juno was born and, before December 1806, she had another daughter, Miah. This little girl died about the same time, between September 1807 and April 1808, when her second son, **Fido** was born. She had another child 'on or before the 7th March 1811' [2429] but that child died young, too.

While originally neither she nor any of her children - except for her mulatto daughter Ritta – had been reserved, from 7 March 1808 Frankey Vaughan and her three children Guy, Juno and baby Fido were rented to Clarke's while her eldest child, Ritta, was given up for sale to Huggins.

Frankey Vaughan was 'a good field Negro'. Earlier she had worked in the great gang and in 1808, when she was in her late thirties, she was still worth S£70. By May 1810 this rose to S£90, representing more than a three-fold increase on her original purchase price of N£30. Seven years after she had been bought, her appraised value had already doubled to N£60.

Presumably she and her family worked on Mr Mills' estate between September 1813 and June 1814 and then returned to Clarke's Estate, where she worked in the Number 1 Gang alongside her son Guy and her daughter Juno.

Between 1822 and 1825 Frankey Vaughan had to bury her fourth child: Fido, who as a young child had developed well, died in his mid to late teens.[2430] Having buried three of her children as infants and a son in his teens, and having worked in the No 1 field gang all her life, Frankey Vaughan must have been a very resilient woman; in 1828 her reputed age was fifty when in fact she was nearing sixty. However, possibly following Fido's death, she suddenly deteriorated. She had become 'old & lame' and minded the plantation's sixteen mules with Prince, a boy in his late teens. As an adult, she was entitled to six pints piled and three herrings, as well as the women's allowance of five yards of bamboo and five yards of brown cloth.

Even for a woman as strong as Frankey Vaughan, the death of yet another child must have been unbearably painful: In her thirties, her daughter Ritta died some time between 1831 and 1833. Of Frankey Vaughan seven children, two had survived, Juno and Guy. She had a grandson, Guy's son Joseph, although a girl born in 1826, Cinderella, may possibly have been another grandchild. Her daughter Juno married in April 1832, and on 10 November 1833, a year before Guy underwent baptism in the Methodist Chapel, 'Frankey' was baptised.[2431] She was the oldest of the woman on Clarke's and Mountravers to undergo the ceremony but not the first in her family; Juno had been baptised a few years earlier.

Frankey Vaughan was alive on 1 August 1834.

[2429] JPP mentioned that Frankey Vaughan was 'supposed to be delivered' on or before the 7th March 1811 (PP, LB 24: JPP to JH Clarke, 11 July 1814).

As JPP mentioned two additional children, Hetty's Sally and Domingo's Azariah, it appears that this child (and one other supposed to have been delivered to Richens Quasheba) was in addition to Frankey's children Guy, Juno and Fido who were reserved in 1811. Whereas JPP asked for the extra half-year's hire for Azariah and Sally (these two were valued, too), he did not do so for Frankey's and Quasheba's children, which must mean that they had died by 1814.

[2430] Not long after Fido was born, he had been appraised at £18; two years later this had risen to £25. Hetty's son Edward, who was about Fido's age, was of the same value but while Fido's had risen by £5 between May 1810 and February 1811, Edward's remained the same. This suggests that Fido was developing well for his age.

[2431] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 1003

427 Pænda, Penda, Pendar, or Pender. She was black and born on Sunday, 9 February 1777, to an entailed woman. Aged six, she was appraised at N£40.

She was a field worker and as a sixteen-year-old worked in the second gang, Jack's gang, and in her early twenties was promoted to Wiltshire's first gang.

She was delivered of a child on 3 May 1796. It was a difficult birth and the doctor attended but her child did not survive.[2432] A couple of years later, while she was working in the great gang, Pænda had treatment: six 'diap. boluses' on 13 October 1798 and six 'diap. lax. boluses' a month later.[2433]

It is likely that she was buried on 4 January 1840 as Ann Pendar Clarke. She was resident in St Thomas Lowland. Aged almost 63, she was said to have been 65 years old.[2434]

428 Hazard was born on Friday, 21 February 1777, to an entailed woman and probably worked in the house.

Aged six, his value of N£40 did not suggest any illness but when he was nine years old, he was among the five patients the 'French doctor' treated for crabobas.[2435] Hazard suffered from a disease akin to leprosy.

In his mid-twenties, Hazard died between January 1802 and May 1803.

He was named after a popular card game.[2436]

429 Little Nero, later Nero. He was born on Tuesday, 6 May 1777, to an entailed woman. His mother was Little Broom's Sarah (No 205) and it is likely that his father was a purchased man, the cook Nero (No 396). In later life he became a field hand and died in 1796.

Little Nero lost his mother before he was six years old, and also his aunt, Broom's Sarah's Kitty (No 190). His maternal grandmother, Broom's Sarah (No 135), had died not long before he was born. Little Nero was a fourth-generation Nevis slave; his maternal great-grandmother, Old Sarah, had been left in the will of the Royal Africa Company Agent Phillip Brome (Broom).

In 1783, when he was six years old, Little Nero was valued at N£38. As a 16-year-old he worked in the third, in Tom's, gang and in his early twenties progressed to the great gang. However, by about May 1803 he may have fallen ill or become useless.[2437]

Nero was in his thirties when he died between August 1807 and December 1816.

[2432] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2433] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2434] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1837-1840/1 No 213
[2435] PP, AB 30 Plantation a/c
[2436] Judge John Baker was a keen hazzard player. He mentioned playing it in Antigua, where he also attended cock fights (Philip Chesney Yorke (ed) *The Diary of John Baker* p81, p87 and p2).
[2437] On the 1795 list there was a cross next to Nero's name, suggesting that by May 1803 he was ill or 'useless' when it appears that, following James Williams's death, the list was updated.

430 Little Robin was born on Tuesday, 6 May 1777, to a purchased woman. It is very likely that his father was the driver Robin. His father's status would also explain why Little Robin was appraised N£2 higher than Little Nero, who was born on the same day.

Little Robin died between January 1791 and July 1794. He was at least 13 years old, at the most 17.

431 Quakey was black and born on Monday, 8 September 1777. Almost certainly he was the field labourer Peter's Flora's (No oldest child and had four brothers and a sister: Flora's Peter (b 1784), John Frederick (b 1787), Phibba (b 1793), Azariah (b 1798) and Charles (b 1801). He had a nephew, Joe Edwards, Phibba's son.

Aged nearly six, Quakey was worth N£35 - the same as Little Patty, a girl born in the same month. However, while, aged 13, she worked in Jack's field gang, Quakey did not. He may then have looked after animals but five years later he also worked in the field.[2438]

Quakey's mother and his brother Charles died in the early 1800s. Quakey died some time between 1817 and 1822. He was in his late thirties to mid-forties.

432 Little Patty, later Patty, was black and born on Monday, 29 September 1777. Her mother, Monimia, was an Ebbo whom JPP had bought in the 1760s. She worked as a field hand, and so did Little Patty. Aged almost six years, the girl was valued at N£35.

Aged 15, she was pregnant.[2439] Her child may have been Nanno, a black girl born in November 1793, but Nanno may also have been Myrtilla's or Leah's daughter.

For over a year from about May 1800 Patty suffered from yaws, and the effects of this would have left her disfigured and disabled.

Her mother died between 1817 and 1822. Aged 56, Patty was alive on 1 August 1834.

433 Billey Socco alias Kooff, also Billey Keefe [2440] was purchased on 22 or 24 December 1777 for N£82:10:0. The description of him as a 'negro man' suggests he was black and born perhaps in the mid-1750s. His previous owner was James Carroll. Billey Keefe had probably been mortgaged because JPP also noted his acquisition in the 'Gill & Nisbets' account.[2441]

James Carroll had acquired Billey from the estate of the widow Ann Keefe (or Keeffe). Like her husband Cornelius Keefe before her, she had died intestate and as her greatest creditor he had petitioned for the administration of her estate. At the time of her husband's death in 1766 Billy was one of nine people

[2438] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[2439] PP, Misc Vols 12 Leeward Islands Calendar 1793
[2440] A man called Will Kief was buried on 10 December 1776, perhaps a relation of Cornelius Keefe (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 3).
[2441] PP, AB 26 Plantation a/c and Gill & Nisbet a/c; also AB 21 Plantation a/c 1777; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f67 Plantation a/c

owned by Mr Keefe and was then said to have been worth N£90 but when Mrs Keefe died in 1774, his value had sunk to N£60; he was 'at present very sick'.[2442]

In less than a year after arriving on Mountravers, Billey Keefe was able to sell meat to JPP. He sold him a pig and then also mutton worth N10s6d -[2443] the largest amount JPP bought from those few people who dealt in mutton. He was a man JPP could trust; when Billey Keefe was ill, it was recorded that he was to give N16s6d to the doctor who had treated him.[2444] At the end of August 1780, soon after he was treated, JPP also gave him N11s3d 'to go to St Kitts'.[2445] This may have been to fetch supplies; Mulatto Peter and Pero were also dispatched there.

It is very likely that Billey Keefe was the father of Philley's (No 376) first child, who was also called Billey Keefe. The boy was born in February 1782. He may not have lived to see his son's birth; Billey Keefe probably died before July 1783.[2446] His previous owner, James Carroll, then hired Philley with her young son for an extended period. She was a domestic.

434 Little Bridget, later Bridget, was 'yellow cast' and born on Friday, 13 March 1778. Her mother was a black, entailed woman, Lucy (No 123). Little Bridget had three older sisters: Cuba (b 1763) and the twins Sue and Omah (b 1765). They were all field workers.

Aged five, Little Bridget was appraised at N£33 and, at the age of 15, she worked in the second gang. By the time she was 20 years old she was promoted to the great gang. She was the youngest woman in this team. She was generally a healthy woman; in November 1799 she was recorded as sick but did not receive any treatment.[2447]

While Little Bridget and her sisters Omah and Cuba remained on Mountravers with their mother, the other twin, Sue, was hired to Clarke's Estate. Sue died there between 1817 and 1822. During the same period Omah died, and then in late 1822 also their mother.

Bridget was an aunt to her sister Omah's son Goliah (b 1788) and her sister Cuba's children, Peggy (b 1797), Felix (b 1801) and Lucy (b 1806). Peggy died young but Goliah, Felix, and Lucy were alive on 1 August 1834, as was Bridget, her sister Cuba and her great-niece, the baby Bridget (her niece Lucy's daughter).

435 Jemmy Oliver was born on Tuesday, 17 March 1778, to an entailed woman. It is likely that his father was Jemmy, an enslaved man on Richard Oliver's neighbouring estate who in 1790 was moved to Clarke's Estate.[2448] He died some time before 1815.[2449] JPP certainly had contact with that man: he bought a very large amount of pork from him.[2450] Either there was a shortage, or the season had pushed

[2442] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 ff105-08 and ff357-59
[2443] PP, AB 17 30 October 1778
[2444] PP, AB 26 Plantation a/c
[2445] PP, AB 17
[2446] Although in 1782 Carroll had enough money to purchase several slaves from JPP (Ned, Dick Rayes, Sabella and her daughter Fanny), it is unlikely that Billey Keefe was returned to Carroll: JPP would have accounted for this as a credit.
[2447] PP, 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[2448] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 ff618-29 (Richard Oliver's Will ff613-14) and CR 1790-1792 ff69--81
[2449] Jemmy was not on the slave list of Oliver's Estate, 1815
[2450] PP, AB 17

up the price (JPP bought the meat on Boxing Day 1780); at N1s6d JPP paid double what he had given Great Essex and Nero just a few months earlier for their pork.

Aged five, Jemmy Oliver seemed a healthy child – he was valued at a N£33 – but three years later he suffered from a fever and was administered '6 stom[ach] feb[rifugal] boluses'.[2451] Jemmy Oliver died on the same day, 10 February 1787. He was not yet nine years old.

This may well have been a case of the manager, William Coker, calling in the doctor too late.

436 Little Yanneky, also Young Yanneky and later Yanneky Pinney (alternative spelling: Yannikie). She was black and born on Sunday, 28 February 1779, to an entailed woman. Yanneky (No 189) may have been her mother, or an aunt. She died in 1816/17.

Aged almost four and a half, Yanneky was worth N£30, the same as the mestize Christianna Jacques who was eighteen months younger. Being black meant that she was less valuable.

When she was 14 years old, Little Yanneky was a field worker in the weeding gang. Four years on, she was already listed among the woman, the youngest of all. She probably had given birth by then, and it is likely that her second child was Miah who was born in October 1798. Exactly three years later her son Dinny (Dinney) was born and in September 1806 her son Billy. His father may have been a 'sailor negro' called Pallas.[2452] She may well have had other children in between but the next record of a child is from May 1820 when she gave birth to a daughter called Nancy Jackson.

Then in her mid-forties, and when her oldest child was already 25 years old, in June 1824 she had another daughter, Eliza. The girls were 'yellow cast' and 'black of a yellow cast', while her other children were black. Nancy and Eliza's father was the field labourer Peter Cooper (No 507), a man five years younger than Yanneky. Nancy Jackson's surname appears to have served as a middle name.

The girls were baptised in April 1829, and a few months later Yanneky suffered two deaths in her family. Both Peter Cooper and her son Billy died in November within a week of each other.

Her son Dinny married a mulatto woman 14 years his senior, and in the following year, on 13 July 1834, just a couple of weeks before the beginning of the apprenticeship period, Yanneky was baptised.[2453] At the age of 55, she was among the few older adults who underwent baptism. Her grandchild, Dinny's daughter Fitzlarenee, was baptised a few months later.

At the age of 55, Yanneky was alive on 1 August 1834, as were her daughters Miah, Eliza and Nancy.

◄► ▼◄►

[2451] PP, AB 36 Archbald & Williamson's a/c
[2452] When he died in 1829, Billey was listed, for the first time, as Billey Pallas. That year Pallas and Flame (also Fame) had been bought from Mills & Galpine for Clarke's. He possibly 'claimed' the child as his.
[2453] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 Unnumbered

Throughout the 1770s JPP and Robert McGill had extensive business dealings. McGill hired some of JPP's people, rented a property in Charlestown from him[2454] and sold him merchandise, such as a hat and shoes.

In the early 1770s Robert McGill had gone into business with Joseph Gill who later managed Mountravers. McGill had then bought five people from JPP on his own account and another three in partnership with Joseph Gill.[2455] However, some of these purchases were by way of mortgages and by early 1780 McGill owed JPP ?£500. With JPP's friend John Patterson witnessing the transaction,[2456] on 8 March 1780 JPP took into his possession ten of McGill's people. Betty Scoles and her son William he had previously sold to McGill while her son Jack had been born in the meantime (Numbers 363, 365 and 367). The other seven were Dick, Tom (McGill), Hector (McGill), Quaw, Lydia, Clarissa, and Bess'.[2457] Dick may have been the same man (No 390) sold by JPP to McGill in 1774.

JPP accounted for Quaw's and Hector McGill's acquisition separately, a total of N£139.[2458] He appears to have purchased them on his own account, rather than the plantation's, and three years later, only these two and Tom McGill remained in his possession. Together they were worth N£235 (Hector N£80, Little Quaw N£55 and Tom N£100). The others were sold for a total of N£571. Some people may not have actually moved to Mountravers but may have remained with McGill until JPP agreed the sales with their new owners.

437 Dick, later Nevis Dick (dob c 1755/6).

Although JPP had received the purchase price of N£120 from Claxton & Saunders in 1779, Dick was not sold to this St Kitts firm until September 1780.[2459]

Two years later, around Christmas time, Dick was a hunted man. A reward was offered for his capture. On 21 December 1782 an item appeared in the *St Christopher Gazette*:

> Whereas, the stores of George and Dromgolle having at different times been broken open and robbed of a considerable amount; and a Negro man named Nevis Dick, about 6 feet high, 26 years of age, the property of Messrs Claxton and Saunders, was detected in conveying away part of the said goods, but has since absconded; a reward of three Johannes will be given for apprehending the said Negro, and the like reward will be given to any person who shall make a discovery who are his accomplices, so that they may be brought to justice.
>
> NB All masters of vessels are forbid (sic) taking him off the island, and managers of estates are desired to make this known to their hunters.
>
> Signed George and Dromgoole (sic).[2460]

[2454] PP, AB 26
[2455] Robert McGill bought on his account Betty Scoles and her son William (Numbers 364 and 366), Judy Ross (No 374), Tom (No 393), Pembroke (No 392) and Dick (No 390), and, together with Joseph Gill, Billey Coker (No 298), Prince (No 314), Grace (No 375). He sold to JPP William (No 451).
[2456] ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 f321
[2457] PP, Misc Vols 7 1783-1794 List of Deeds and Papers at Nevis f122: 'No 23 Bill of Sale of the ten slaves (those in the mortgage No 22 are included) Robert McGill to JPP with a confirmation of the sale by Joseph Gill'
[2458] PP, AB 26 Robert McGill's a/c
[2459] PP, AB 26 Robert McGill's a/c and Claxton & Saunders at St Kitts a/c

It is likely that Dick was caught and sold again. He remained in St Kitts where in 1817 John Patterson's attorney registered ten people, among them a Creole man called Dick Claxton. He was said to have been 51 years old and a 'sailor Negro', one of seven. By 1825 he had absconded.[2461]

One of the partners in the firm of Claxton & Saunders was, most likely, the 26-year-old merchant Robert Claxton. Not long after the advertisement appeared, he married Rachel Mardenborough in Basseterre and during the 1780s moved to Bristol, where he attended at least one of the anti-abolitionist meetings of merchants dealing with Africa and the West Indies.[2462] He became Justice of the Peace and Mayor of Bristol[2463] and died in 1812 at Almondsbury near Bristol.

Claxton's partner Saunders may have been related to the Saunders/ Sanders family of Nevis but nothing is known about him.[2464]

438 Tom McGill, also Tom Cook and McGill's Tom[2465] was born some time around or before 1760. Along with John Wilks, Tom Thraske and Leah Weekes, he was not considered a plantation worker but JPP's, with the income from their hire going to his rather than the plantation account.[2466]

Tom McGill actually remained with his previous owner and was on long-term hire to him, at N£8 a year[2467] but, when valued in 1783 at N£100, it was noted that he was 'to be sold'. His old master obviously wanted to buy him back and JPP pressed for a decision: 'Mr McGill must find security to pay N£100 for this Negro or take him home to the estate.'[2468]

In the McGill household were four children: Ann Gerald, Elizabeth Rogers, Robert junior and Thomas Hart. These children had their own enslaved people who would have been in the house at the same time as Tom McGill, although two who belonged to Elizabeth Rogers (Betty Scoles's sons Billy and Jack) had gone back into JPP's possession. Presumably Elizabeth Rogers still had the mulatto girl Nancy, given to her by her father in 1776.[2469] Elizabeth Rogers also owned a mustee girl, Mary Elizabeth, whom her father sold in May 1783.[2470]

[2460] PP, Cat 4 Misc Vols and Item, Bound Vol of Misc Mss 1672-1806
According to Watts, a Johanner or Johannes was a Portuguese dobra de quarte escudo or peca of Joannes V. In the West Indies it was also known as a Jo or a Joe. It was worth about 36 shillings (Arthur P Watts *Nevis and St Christopher's 1782-1784 Unpublished Documents* p65 fn67). Pares set its value at about 35 shillings (R Pares *A West India Fortune* p100 and p351 fn44).
[2461] UKNA, T71/253 and T71/255
[2462] Dresser, M *Slavery Obscured* p48 Table 8
[2463] BRO, Quarter Sessions Transcripts 1795-1799
[2464] In Bristol were also men who may have been related to the West Indian families: Edmund Saunders captained two slaving voyages, was a leading slaving merchant and agent for 32 Bristol slaving voyages between 1723 and 1739. Fittingly, he lived in Guinea Street. Hollis Saunders was a Bristol merchant with some slaving interests (M Dresser *Slavery Obscured* p27, p34, p107 and p104).
[2465] 'Tom Cook', as he was later also referred to, was also Tom McGill, listed as purchased in 1790, probably on Pinney's own account: Tom McGill was mentioned in the same context as John Wilks and Tom Thraske (and Leah Weekes), with income from their hire going to Pinney rather than the plantation. John Wilks and Tom McGill were reserved by Pinney in 1801. - A further piece of evidence to suggest that Tom Cook was also Tom McGill was that he fell due in mortgages twice, in 1780 and 1790, like Hector McGill, who was in 1780 and 1790 'bought' in similar circumstances.
[2466] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, 24 October 1791; also AB 39
[2467] PP, AB 26 Robert McGill's a/c; AB 30 Negro Hire a/c; and AB 26 f199 and f208 Negro Hire a/c
[2468] PP, Misc Vols 7 1783-1794 List of Deeds and Papers at Nevis
[2469] ECSCRN, CR 1776-1777 f409
[2470] ECSCRN, CR 1783-1785 ff253-55

Ann Gerald McGill, the eldest daughter, owned Clarissa and Bess, bought for her by the Revd William Jones in early 1781. The two boys, Robert junior and Thomas Hart, then a minor, owned one person each, both purchased for them by Dr Sholto Archbald: the boy Rodney and the woman Bessy Gould.

Tom McGill's old owner never did find the money to buy him back and he was not returned to Mountravers but remained hired to Robert McGill. He worked for him for eleven years until Robert McGill 'died insolvent'[2471] on 9 April 1791.[2472] As he was unable to pay the last year's fee, JPP picked up the debt and, as the books had to be balanced, charged it to his own account.[2473]

After McGill's death, Tom McGill hired himself out on short-term assignments. He paid N8s3d per week until the end of 1791 but then made no deposits until September 1792 when he started handing over regular lump sums: N£2:12:0, N£1:13:0, N£4:4:9, N£6:3:9, etc.[2474] JPP told his new manager, Thomas Pym Weekes, that the money was to go to his own, rather than the plantation Negro Hire account [2475] and reminded him of this again a few months later.[2476]

On JPPs' second visit to Nevis, in 1794, Tom McGill was for the first time employed on a ship and JPP asked for him to be hired with John Wilks, Prince and Glasgow Wells 'on board the ships during crop, taking care to oblige the captains to pay their hire before they go.' [2477] Over the next eight years Tom McGill worked on these vessels:

Year	Captain/vessel	Days	Pay per day	Hired with	Source
1794	Maies/ *Nevis*	65	N4s 1 1/2d	Codando, Daniel, Almond and Wm Fisher	[2478]
1795	Maies/ *Nevis*	77			[2479]
1796	Claxton & Huggins's brig and cutter	66		John Wilks and Prince	[2480]
1797	Maies/ *Nevis*	20	N4s 6d		[2481]
1798	Vernam (*Rachel*?) and Sale (*Colin*?)	54	N4s 1 1/2d	John Wilks	[2482]

[2471] PP, AB 39
[2472] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 3 (Cayon Diary)
[2473] PP, AB 30 Negro Hire a/c; AB 43 Rob.t Mc Gill's a/c; also AB 39 Rob.t McGill Waiter late Merchant at Nevis a/c
[2474] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f85 and 124 Negro Hire a/c
[2475] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, 24 October 1791; also AB 39
[2476] PP, LB 9: JPP to TP Weekes, Nevis, 16 January 1792
[2477] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 29 November 1794
[2478] PP, AB 43 Negro Hire a/c, AB 40 f146; also AB 45 Charles Maies for the *Nevis* a/c; also AB 39, AB 50 and LB 11: JPP, at Sea, to James Williams, 9 August 1794
[2479] PP, AB 52 Negro Hire a/c
[2480] PP, AB 47 Claxton & Huggins and Negro Hire a/c
[2481] PP, AB 47 Ship *Nevis* a/c
[2482] PP, AB 47 f114 Cash a/c

Year	Captain/vessel	Days	Pay per day	Hired with	Source
1799	King David	56		John Wilks	2483
1800	Shilstone (*King David*?)	15	N6s		2484
1801	Shilstone (*King David*?) and Maies (*Nevis*?)	15 and 60 (11 days lost due to sickness)			2485

In April 1797 Tom McGill was ill and treated with a 'blister'[2486] - which accounts for the relatively short hire period of twenty days that year – and the following year he had more medication, a 'box of alt[ernative] pills'.[2487] His health was not good, and in 1801 he missed 11 days of work due to sickness.[2488] Perhaps because of failing health, in 1802 and 1803 he was not employed on the ships any more but hired himself out, both years earning relatively large sums of around N£20.[2489] In 1805 JPP wrote to his son, who was then in Nevis, that he had only received N£37 from Prince and Tom McGill '(two very punctual negroes)' when in the preceding year they had brought in N£47. JPP felt this was too big a drop and urged John Frederick to investigate the manager's hire account.[2490]

Originally, Tom McGill was reserved as one of JPP's own people but, with nine others, was given up for sale to Huggins.[2491] It appears that Tom McGill claimed to have still belonged to JPP, or that he petitioned Huggins to let him remain as one of JPP's. After all, he had been one of his 'special slaves' and had been very prompt in handing over the cash. He had not tried to abscond, he was obedient, and it is likely that he felt betrayed and could not believe that JPP had handed him over to Huggins. Huggins then seemed to have asked for clarification because JPP wrote in a note appended to a list of his 24 reserved individuals that 'The ten slaves sold to Mr Huggins by Mr Pinney are specifically named and described in the contract one of which is Tom Gill who, of course, belongs to Mr Huggins.'

Tom McGill died between 1807 and 1816. He was at least in his late forties but may well have been older.

439 Hector, also Hector McGill, was born some time around or before 1760.[2492] Not long after he came to Mountravers, he hired himself out briefly and paid N11s3d in cash, [2493] but unlike Tom McGill,

[2483] PP, AB 47 *King David* a/c
[2484] PP, AB 47 Cash a/c
[2485] PP, AB 59 f24 Negro Hire a/c
[2486] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2487] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2488] PP, AB 59 f24 Negro Hire a/c
[2489] PP, AB 57 f37 Negro Hire a/c and Pinney's a/c. See also Nancy Jones, Prince, Billey Jones, John Wilks, Frank Sanders, Tom Thraske (In 1795 only Nancy Jones, John Wilks, Nanny Nolan and Prince, as well as Tom).
[2490] PP, LB 19: JPP to John Frederick Pinney, 13 February 1805
[2491] PP, Misc Vols 17-19 Case of Clarke and Huggins: JPP to James Tobin, 1 February 1808
[2492] Hector McGill did not appear on the 1783 general list, so there was no indication as to his age. He was not on the 1785 and 1787 lists, either. Although Hector McGill was on the general 1788 list as a 'man', his name appeared right at the end, almost like an

Hector was a field hand and remained working on Mountravers. Valued at N£80, in 1793 he was in Jack's gang.

In 1798 he absented himself for a short period. This was at a time when several men were gone. He, George Vaughan and Jack Will went away on 15 February; Philip had left the day before. Jack Will returned on the 26th, Hector McGill on 2 March, Philip on 11 March and George Vaughan the following day. They probably remained in Nevis. From the day they were gone until the beginning of March one hunter had been 'looking out for the runaways' and, again, on 9 March one of the five carpenters was sent out to bring back the two remaining men, Philip and George Vaughan.[2494]

For some reason Hector McGill was not always listed in the slave inventories but he certainly was sold to Huggins.

Hector McGill died between August 1807 and December 1816. He was at least in his late forties but may well have been older.

440 Little Quaw was born between 1768 and about 1773. Although valued in July 1783 at N£55, like Hector McGill he was not listed regularly. He did not appear on the general 1783 list, nor the 1785 and 1787 lists but a boy Quaw was at the very end of the 1788 general list and then did not appear again. Presumably Little Quaw died some time after January 1789 and before August 1807.

441 Lydia, later Lydia Murray, a mulatto, was possibly born about 1760. On 8 May 1780 she was sold to Dr Sholto Archbald. The doctor had practised in Nevis for over a decade and she would have known him well.[2495] Dr Archbald paid N£160 for her,[2496] which was an unusually high price for a woman and may have been due to her having been mixed-heritage and a skilled domestic. It is likely that he was prepared to pay more because she was his mistress; in 1775 he had already freed a daughter of hers, Elizabeth, who had belonged to the merchant Robert McGill,[2497] as had Lydia.[2498] A month after he bought her, Dr Archbald also freed her son Robert,[2499] and two years later he freed Lydia, together with two more of her children, the mustees Joseph and Nancy.[2500]

It is not clear when and why she acquired the surname Murray. She may have been owned by a Mr or Mrs Murray before she came into Robert McGill's possession, or she was somehow connected with Sarah Murray, who, until January 1780, had taught some of the Pinney children.[2501] It may, therefore, be no coincidence that one of her daughters was called Sarah. All of Lydia Murray's surviving seven children had the surname Archbald: Mary, Martha, Sarah, Polly, Robert McGill, Josiah Webbe and William Augustus. Her children Elizabeth, Joseph and Nancy probably died young; certainly by 1802 when Lydia

---

afterthought. Similar circumstances applied to Quaw. From 1794 onwards Hector McGill appeared as having been bought in '1790', without an exact date as would have been given for others. Although not listed in 1795, he was one of the 100 slaves included in the mortgage John Frederick Pinney to JPP, dated 31 October 1795 (PP, Dom Box K1). See also Billy Stuart for similar circumstances.

[2493] PP, AB 17: 27 August 1780
[2494] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[2495] PP, Dom Box C1-7: JC Mills to Charles Pinney, 12 August 1823
[2496] PP, AB 26 McGill a/c and Sholto Archbald's a/c
[2497] ECSCRN, CR 1775-1776 f266
[2498] ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 ff641-42
[2499] NCH, CR 1778-1783 ff384-85
[2500] ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 ff642-43
[2501] PP, AB 26 Sarah Murray's a/c

Murray bought from Sholto Archbald two acres of land in the parish of St John Figtree she did so with her daughters Mary, Martha, Sarah and Polly Archbald. They paid for N£120.[2502] Around the same time she purchased from Dr Archbald three females: Desdemona, Big Nolly's daughter Bess and Saray Johnson's mulatto daughter Kitsey.[2503]

Although a medical man, Dr Sholto Archbald was also a planter. In 1784 his premises were on fire,[2504] and in 1802 his works were ablaze - possibly through arson.[2505] In 1817 he owned Shetland plantation in St George's Gingerland. With nearly a hundred enslaved people it was of middling size. Lydia Murray and her daughters also registered people, mostly females, who almost certainly were their personal domestic servants. Lydia Murray had four (among them Bess whom she had bought from Dr Archbald), Mary three, Sarah two, Polly one, and Martha had one female and one male. Whereas Lydia Murray made her mark, her daughters were able to sign their registers. In addition to the two people her daughter Martha had in Nevis, in 1817 her son Josiah Webbe Archbald also registered another five for Martha in St Kitts. One of these was a St Kitts-born child, a one-year-old boy called Edward; the others were four females of whom three had been born in Nevis. Aged between 12 and 32, these four were engaged in 'selling goods'.[2506]

Between 1817 and 1825 Lydia Murray and her daughters freed four of their people: the man George, two women called Betsey Jones and Fibba and a new-born mulatto child, James.[2507] Another child that had belonged to Sarah Archbald had died (Mary), as had two of Lydia Murray's: Lucy, a St Kitts Creole, and Mary, an African. Both were young women in their early twenties.

The man who undoubtedly was the father of Lydia Murray's children, Dr Sholto Archbald, died in January 1821.[2508] Having practised in Nevis for 56 years,[2509] he was at least in his late seventies.
Dr Archbald had been of the old school of medicine and, as someone who lived in the island and had to rub along with his planter friends, appears to have found it easier not to challenge the status quo.[2510]
During his time in Nevis he had acquired modest wealth; he left a house and land to Lydia Murray's seven children, some of whom were then still under age. But Dr Archbald was in debt to a London merchant house, the Lathams, and in 1822 his estate, Shetland, was in possession of George Latham. As Latham's attorney, Peter Thomas Huggins signed the slave register.[2511]

It is very likely that several of the people in the possession of Lydia Murray and her children had originally come from his Shetland plantation and that after Dr Archbald's death they had to be returned. While Lydia Murray probably retained her 40-year-old African woman, Jennett, she transferred to Sholto Archbald's estate the 25-year-old Bess, and over the next few years her daughters, too, transferred several of their people to Shetland: Martha Archbald the 25-year-old Kitsey and a two-year-old girl, Mary; Polly Archbald

---

[2502] ECSCRN, CR 1801-1803 ff253-56
[2503] ECSCRN, CR 1803-1805 ff26-27
[2504] PP, AB 31 Cash received for Negro Hire a/c
[2505] RHL, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (a) Diary of WL Bucke: 22 May 1802
[2506] Anvestry.com edition T 71/253
[2507] On 13 November 1818 Lydia Murray, described as a free woman of colour, manumitted the man George. One of her daughters, Martha Archbald, and a man called Anthony More witnessed the transaction. Two years later, on 1 March 1820, Martha Archbald freed Betsey Jones who was said to have been purchased from Revd Samuel Lyons (ECSCRN, CR 1817-1819 Vol 2 f259 and CR 1819-1823 f32-3). James, registered by Sarah Archbald as a three-year-old, was manumitted by 1822 (UKNA, T 71/365). Between 1822 and 1825 Martha Archbald also freed Fibba, a woman she had registered in St Kitts.

The manumissions of the adults do not tally with the slave registers. Neither George or Betsey Jones had been registered in 1817 by Lydia Murray or any other member of her family.
[2508] RHL, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b)
[2509] PP, Dom Box C1-7: JC Mills to Charles Pinney, 12 August 1823
[2510] HoCPP 1818 Vol xvii pp1-91 'Papers Relating to the Treatment of Slaves in the Colonies' Chadwyck-Healey mf 19.86
[2511] UKNA, T 71/365

the 10-year-old Jane; Mary Archbald the 18-year-old Angelic and Emily, who was in her twenties, while Sarah Archbald handed over Catherine who was also in her twenties. Sukey was another young woman who ended up at Shetland (which by then was in possession of Edward Thomas Wolfe and re-named Zetland). Born in Nevis but moved to St Kitts where she was registered as one of Martha Archbald's five people, as a 12-year-old Sukey had been among the females engaged in 'selling goods'. By the time she was moved back to Nevis she had become a house servant.

There is no way of knowing whether any of the people were moved at their own request, or whether the decisions lay entirely with Lydia Murray's daughters, but all these transfers demonstrate that for many enslaved people their lives were not static. They had to be mobile, able to adjust to new situations, learn quickly and adapt. For the Archbald people more changes lay ahead. Elena (Elina), born in St Kitts, moved to Nevis (where she was registered by Lydia Murray's daughter Mary Archbald) was transferred back to St Kitts. No more than 13 years old, Elena was sent to Johnson's Estate in Capisterre parish. By 1817 Lydia Murray's son Josiah Webbe Archbald had been in possession of that estate and, as its proprietor, had registered 68 people. Five years on, however, Johnson's belonged to another free mixed-heritage man from Nevis, Charles Arthurton, and Elena was handed over to him. Two more of Martha Archbald's people ended up with Arthurton on Johnson's Estate: Eve, a 29-year-old St Kitts Creole, and a 10-months-old sambo boy called William Freeman. Another two of Martha Archbald's people – both very young children - died between 1817 and 1822: Maria and Edward.

Among the Archbald people it is noticeable that many of their infants died. This may point towards them having endured great poverty. Another indication of Martha Archbald's poverty may be that she (had to?) let go of a skilled tradesman, Thomas, a Nevis-born sambo. Between 1817 and 1822 she moved him to St Kitts where he learnt to be a mason but then she sold him some time before 1825.[2512] Once trained, he could have brought in a good, regular income. Equally, she manumitted a woman called Fibba, who had been 'selling goods' and later was 'working out'. When Martha Archbald freed Fibba, this woman, who was variously described as born in Nevis or Antigua, was in her early thirties. Although over time Martha Archbald had in her possession nine individuals, by 1825 she had only one woman left. Judy was noted as a 'runaway', which may have been another indication of deprivation among the Archbald people. However, when the next registration came round, Judy had returned and was again 'selling goods'. She was in her early forties.[2513]

Of the 23 people Lydia Murray and her daughters are known to have owned, they manumitted four, sold one and transferred ten to Shetland and Johnson's plantation. Six are known to have died. Two women who remained in Lydia Murray's and Martha Archbald's possession may also have died, or they were allowed to go free without being properly manumitted. No one in her family received any slave compensation in Nevis, nor in St Kitts where Lydia and her daughters were living.

In Nevis Lydia Murray and her daughters managed to hold on to the two acres they had bought from Sholto Archbald, despite the London merchants Anne and Charles Latham wanting to lay claim to it. In the late 1830s a loan Dr Archbald had taken out with the Lathams still remained unpaid. Martha Archbald then acted as an attorney for her sister Mary who was living abroad.[2514] The last known reference to Lydia Murray is from June 1839 when she was living in St Kitts.

[2512] Ancestry.com edition T 71/256
[2513] Martha Archbald's registers were completed in 1817 by her brother Josiah Webbe Archbald, in 1822 by Susanna Berkeley, and in 1825 and 1828 by CA Berkeley (probably Charles Augustus Berkeley) (UKNA, T 71/253, T 71/255, T 71/256, and T 71/258).
[2514] ECSCRN, CR 1835-1838 ff124-34

Lydia Murray's children were very mobile and branched out not just to North America but also to Europe. Her daughter Mary Archbald appears to have emigrated to New York where Lydia's son Robert McGill Archbald died in 1833.[2515] Before Robert had left Nevis, he may have been the mestee Robert Archbald who had a daughter, Elizabeth, 'with a black woman called Kitsey ?Warryful'. Their child was baptised in September 1817.[2516]

In the early 1800s Robert and a man called George Burke had been in business together. They had bought from Sholto Archbald a number of enslaved men who, no doubt, were the crew of the schooner *Wheel of Fortune* which they also purchased, together with its sails, sail yards, anchors, cables, gunpowder ammunition and small arms. Robert then bought out his partner and sold one half of the crew and the schooner to his brother Josiah for almost N£1,000. Robert was the master of the vessel [2517] and in that role may have discovered that the Spanish colony of Puerto Rico offered opportunities in the sugar industry, and possibly also in illegal slave-trading. Although in 1817 the British government had signed a treaty with Spain 'for preventing their subjects from engaging in any illicit traffic in slaves', after it came into effect in 1820 the profitable illegal trade continued for several more decades.[2518]

Robert McGill Archbald and his brother Josiah Webbe Archbald left Nevis in 1818 and moved to Puerto Rico[2519] where they acquired one of the biggest sugar plantations in the south of the island, in Ponce. Their move came at a time when in the British colonies the mood was changing; the abolition movement, combined with uprisings in Barbados and elsewhere, foreshadowed the ending of plantation slavery, and the brothers may well have considered the fact that in the Spanish colonies slavery still continued unhindered. It is not known how many enslaved people worked on their hacienda when they acquired Cintrona Segundo; 78 enslaved people lived on it in 1872. The brothers are credited with having introduced the first steam engine to Puerto Rico in 1823 which was used to power not just the sugar mill but also a sawmill and a corn mill. [2520] Although they were pioneers in Puerto Rico, they were seven years behind the introduction of steam engines to Nevis.[2521]

The brothers' entrepreneurial spirit and willingness to take risks paid off; by the time Robert made his will in 1833 their enterprise was worth $100,000; half of which Robert had sold to Josiah. In his will Robert provided annuities not just for his mother and his four unmarried sisters but also a number of other individuals who may well have been his children. Robert McGill Archbald died unmarried and is buried in Trinidad Cemetery in New York.[2522]

Josiah Webbe Archbald had sold his St Kitts estate some time after 1817 and then set himself up in Puerto Rico as a merchant. In that capacity he travelled to New York in 1823 - [2523] the first of seven trips

---

[2515] Ancestry.co.uk, New York Wills Vol 071, 1830-1834; New York, US, Wills and Probate Records, 1659-1999, Proceedings (1834)
[2516] NHCS, St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825
[2517] ECSCRN, CR 1799-1801 ff368-69; ff370-71; ff371-73, ff373-76
[2518] For the growth of the sugar industry in Puerto Rico see Sidney W Mintz, 'The Culture History of a Puerto Rican Sugar Cane Plantation: 1876-1969', The Hispanic American Historical Review, Vol 33, No. 2 (May, 1953), pp224-251 Duke University Press
[2519] Ancestry.co.uk, Puerto Rico Records of Foreigners, 1815-1845
[2520] Garcia, Miki *The Irish Invasion of the World: The Irish Diaspora in a Nutshell* (Ireland: The History Press, 2015) Chapter 5
[2521] Small, David *Stationary Steam Engines in the Caribbean: Nevis 1816-1846* January 2021 https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/steam.pdf
[2522] Ancestry.co.uk, New York, US, Wills Vol 071, 1830-1834; New York, US, Wills and Probate Records, 1659-1999, Proceedings (1834)
I am indebted to Christien Luis Dimas, an independent researcher from East Harlem, Manhattan, NYC, for bringing to my attention the Archbald brothers' enterprise in Puerto Rico, as well as their connection with New York. I am also grateful for him contributing useful information about his family's links to the Archbalds' hacienda in Ponce.
[2523] Ancestry.co.uk, US Department of State, Passengers Who Arrived in the United States, September 1821 - December 1823. (Baltimore: Magna Carta Book Co, 1969)

he is known to have made to that city during the following 25 years. When he next went from Puerto Rico to New York, he was a husband and a father; in October 1825 he married Fanny, the youngest daughter of Dr Andrew Berry of Edinburgh. Their wedding took place in the La Tour Protestant church in Piedmont, Italy, near the border with France.[2524] The couple probably stayed in Europe; in January 1827 their son Sholto Robert, born in October 1826, was baptised in Paris four months later.[2525] When they returned to New York in August 1828 from Puerto Rico, the couple had with them their one-year-old son, a nurse, Mary Rabot, and a servant, Joseph Jones.[2526] Their sons Andrew and Josiah were born in 1828 and 1830.

In June 1834 Josiah Webbe Archbald travelled again from Puerto Rico to New York, this time on his own. Following his brother Robert's death, he had to tend to his role as his executor. On arriving at New York, for the first time he gave his occupation as planter rather than merchant. He and his family made two more trips from Puerto Rico to New York; travelling in July 1839 with their servant Joseph Jones, and in May 1841 without him. The Archbalds next journey took them to London. On that trip they were accompanied by a 38-year-old 'Miss Archbald', most likely Mary, the sister who was living in New York when their brother Robert had died. Almost certainly they visited their brother William Augustus Archbald who had settled in London. Mary accompanied the Archbalds on another trip to London with their young sons Andrew and Josiah and their servant (John) Joseph Jones, arriving back in New York in October 1848.[2527] By then the Archbalds' first-born, Sholto Robert, was dead. Aged 18 he was buried in October 1844 in New York. [2528] Their son Andrew went on to study medicine and natural science in Paris, lived in Tuscany for many years where he studied the flora of the Lucca Appenine region. He died in Florence in 1881 and is buried in the English Cemetery in Bagni di Lucca, Tuscany.[2529]

All that is known about Josiah's sisters is that he, with Sarah (24) and Mary (22) and the servant Joseph Jones, in June 1825 travelled from Puerto Rico to Philadelphia[2530] and that Polly and probably also Martha in August 1832 sailed from St Kitts to Philadelphia. Polly was then aged 33 and Martha 35.[2531]

Josiah's brother William Augustus Archbald ended up living in London. In July 1808 he had entered the Royal Navy in the West Indies as an Ordinary and, after serving on several vessels, in 1814 passed his Lieutenant exam. However, with the ending of the Napoleonic Wars he became unemployed[2532] and, instead, entered the sugar industry. No doubt with assistance from his brothers Robert and Josiah he set up the refining company of William Augustus Archbald & Co in New York,[2533] and in March 1828 gave power of attorney to a New Yorker[2534] to act on his behalf. That year William Archbald had three patents

---

[2524] UCL, Slavery Lagacy database, quoting *Blackwoods*, Vol 1 (1825) p779; also Ancestry.co.uk, US Directory of Scottish Settlers in North America, 1625-1825
La Tour is the old pre-Italian name for Torre Pellice, a municipality in the region of Piedmont. I am grateful to Alistair Morris, Erica Scroppo, and Gabriella Ballesio of the Waldensian Church Archive in Torre Pellice for their help in finding the marriage of Josiah Webbe Archbald and Fanny Berry in the 1825 Register. The marriage was recorded by the plenipotentiary for HM Government in Turin.
[2525] Ancestry.co.uk, UK, Foreign and Overseas Registers of British Subjects, 1628-1969; RG 33: Foreign Registers and Returns, 1627-1960, Piece 062 Paris: Baptisms, 1816-1844
[2526] Ancestry.co.uk, Elizabeth P Bentley *Passenger Arrivals at the Port of New York, 1820-1829* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co, 1999) pp1-655 (A-Jo).
[2527] Ancestry.co.uk, New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists, 1820-1957
[2528] Ancestry.co.uk, New York, Death Newspaper Extracts, 1801-1890 (Barber Collection), New York Evening Post, 1844
[2529] https://androom.home.xs4all.nl/biography/p077918.htm and https://cimiteroinglese.weebly.com/andrew-berry-archbald.html [accessed 4 March 2024]
[2530]Ancestry.co.uk, Pennsylvania, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists, 1798-1962; M425- Philadelphia 1800-1882, 36
[2531] Ancestry.co.uk, Pennsylvania, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists, 1798-1962; M425-Philadelphia 1800-1882, 47
[2532] Threedecksorg, 'a web resource for researching naval history during the age of sail' [accessed 2 December 2023]
[2533] Ancestry.co.uk, Manhattan New York City Directory, 1829-1830 p63
[2534] Online catalogue of The Winterthur Library, The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Box 4, Folder 26, item 597

approved in America: an oil burner for use in refining sugar, a double boiler and other apparatus for refining sugar, and a filtering apparatus used in sugar refining and for clarifying other liquids.[2535] His patents were in 1830 the basis for the state of Louisiana approving a company for refining sugar in its borders on condition it produced five million pounds of sugar in four years, had a capital stock of $100,000 and was under the superintendence of William Archbald and five other gentlemen.[2536] In 1830 his 'improvement in the preparing or making of certain sugars' was also published in England [2537] where he had set up the Phoenix Sugar Refinery. It is not clear what happened to the company in Louisiana but his London operation failed; by March 1835 he was unable to pay his creditors and was declared bankrupt.[2538] As a former officer of the Royal Navy he received half of his Lieutenant's pay, a lifetime benefit.

In December 1834 William Augustus Archbald joined the Freemasons - the same lodge, Nine Muses, to which the St Kitts merchant Ralph Brush Cleghorn also belonged. Archbald then lived at the Tavistock Hotel [2539] but in the following years he and his family moved several times, probably as a result of his financial situation. He had to support a growing family; his sons Josiah Phillips, Sholto Augustus and Sholto Robert were born in 1827, 1830 and 1836[2540] but he did not marry their mother, the French-born Irma (Erma) Pochon, until 1846.[2541]
In 1851 Archbald was still receiving his Lieutenant's half pay from the Royal Navy and, despite his earlier bankruptcy, the couple could afford a young live-in woman servant.[2542]

The Victorian era saw many inventions in all fields of life, and William Augustus Archbald registered one more patent which the British *Journal of the Society of Arts* published as 'Archbald's Improvements in the Manufacture of Concrete Cane Juice & Sugar'.[2543] He died two years later, in November 1856 aged 60 and was buried in London.[2544]

His and Irma's oldest son Josiah Philips Archbald was about 39 years old when he died in January 1866. He was buried in the British Garrison cemetery at Kandy in Sri Lanka, the former Ceylon.[2545] Since the cemetery was for use by all British nationals it does not follow that he had joined the army; he may have been engaged in the road and railway building programmes, or been at the forefront of tea planting in that region of central Ceylon.

The only other detail that is known about William and Irma Archbald's sons is that in Paris in June 1872 their youngest son, Sholto Robert Archbald, married a French woman, Louise Salomée Verdereau/

[2535] 'The London Journal of Arts and Sciences', vol 2 (London: Sherwood & Co, W Newton, 1829) American Patents p353; also A Century of Lawmaking for the Nation: US Congressional Documents and Debates: Bills and Resolutions House of Representatives, 20th Congress, 1st Session https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/browse/llhb_020_001_keyw.html
[2536] *Acts passed at the Second Session of the Ninth Legislature of the State of Louisiana* (Donaldsville: CW Duhy, 1830) pp98-103
[2537] Woodcroft, Bennett *Chronological index of patentees and applicants for patents of invention, 1617-1852* (London: GE Eyre & W Spottiswoode, 1856) (Archive.org)
[2538] British Newspaper Archive, The Satirist, or the Censor of the Times, 10 May 1835; The Sun, 11 April 1835; the London Gazette for the year 1835
[2539] Ancestry.co.uk, United Grand Lodge of England, 1813-1836, Register of Admissions: London 'B', #275-648 f165
[2540] Ancestry.co.uk, London, C of E Births and Baptisms, 1813-1923 St Mary Le Strand No 1177 and 1178, and Camden, St Pancras, No 1320
[2541] Ancestry.co.uk, England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index, 1837-1915 St Pancras p351
In 1828 Irma Pochon, then aged 22 and described as a 'lady', had also travelled to New York, having departed from Havre, France. It is not known whether by then she had already met her future husband, William Augustus Archbald (Ancestry.co.uk, New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Immigration Lists, 1820-1850 M237/11/179).
[2542] Ancestry.co.uk 1851 census
[2543] W Bridges Adams, Edwin Ward Trent, GF Wilson, AH Blechynden, Leone Levi, 'Journal of the Society of Arts', Vol 2 No 102 pp821-834 Weekly List of Patents Sealed
[2544] Ancestry.co.uk, London, England, C of E Deaths and Burials, 1813-2003: Camden, St James Pancras, 1851-1856
[2545] Ancestry.co.uk, Find A Grave No 157688823

Verderaux. He also died in Paris in 1899, aged about 63.[2546] His cousin, Josiah Webbe Archbald's son of the same name, also died abroad. Aged about 78 he was buried in 1908 in Florence in Italy[2547] – the country where his parents had once got married.

442 and 443 Clarissa and Bess. Both were probably about six to ten years old when Revd William Jones purchased them in January 1781. They cost N£100. Although sold to the clergyman, in the accounts the girls were recorded as sold 'for the use of Ann Gerald McGill', Robert McGill's daughter. According to plan, a few months later Revd Jones made them over to their new owner, and Robert McGill's business partner Joseph Gill witnessed the transaction.[2548]

Clarissa, and presumably also Bess, went to live with the McGills. Clarissa gave birth to four children, but it is not known what work she did. The cook Tom McGill from Mountravers was hired to the family and Clarissa may have been a domestic, or she worked in Robert McGill's shop. Apart from being a merchant, as Deputy Secretary and Waiter at the Customs [2549] he held public offices but by the late 1780s may have been on the brink of bankruptcy. He sold a substantial amount of furniture, among them 'two large bedsteads' to Captain Watts [2550] and a painting of Mary Queen of Scots to JPP, during his visit in 1790.[2551] Some time before McGill's death in 1791, most likely during JPP's visit to Nevis, Clarissa was re-mortgaged by McGill to JPP. She remained with the McGill family.

Clarissa probably died in mid-1797 and it was after her death that a dispute arose over the ownership of her offspring. Because their mother had been mortgaged to him, JPP considered Clarissa's children his and he wanted possession of them. In the meantime all of Robert McGill's children had died, except for one of the daughters who by then had got married, and JPP asked that she, Mrs Washington, gave security for the children's value if she wished 'to retain them on her service'.[2552] Unwilling, or unable, to pay, a Mrs Foot then claimed that some time in the past she had bought Clarissa and that she had given her to McGill's eldest daughter by Deed of Gift – that Clarissa's children, therefore, were Mrs Washington's. JPP wanted sight of this Deed of Gift and thought it 'proper to make further enquiry into the business.'[2553] None of Clarissa's children came to live on Mountravers.

Nothing is known about Bess's subsequent fate.

◄► ▼◄►

444 Jemmy Jones was born on Thursday, 13 April 1780, to an entailed woman. It is likely that his father was a man from Mountravers with the surname Jones, rather than a man from Jones's estate: Tom Jones (b c 1746) perhaps, or Pero alias William Jones (b c 1753).

Aged almost three, he was valued at N£25, and when as a 13-year-old he worked in Tom's gang with other children his age, there was nothing to suggest that he was ailing but three years later he became

[2546] Ancestry.co.uk, Paris, France and Vicinity Marriage Banns, 1860-1902 and Paris Births, Deaths, Marriages, 1555-1929
[2547] Ancestry.co.uk, US Reports of Deaths of American Citizens Abroad, 1835-1974
[2548] ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 f637; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f4 Robert McGill's account to Gill & MacGill
[2549] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f624 and PP, AB 39 Robert McGill Waiter, late Merchant at Nevis a/c
[2550] ECSCRN, CR 1788-1789 f453
[2551] PP, AB 43 Robert McGill's a/c
[2552] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 10 November 1797
[2553] PP, LB 14: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 25 May 1798

very ill indeed. On a Tuesday the doctor came and bled him, gave him 'a phial stom. mixture' and visited again on the following day and once more on Saturday. He administered one last 'anodyne and a purge' but this did not save him.[2554]

Jemmy Jones died on Saturday, 5 November 1796.[2555] He was 16 years old.

445 Christianna Jacques, later Christianna Lewis and Christianna Ellis. She was born on Friday, 30 June 1780, to a purchased woman. Described as a 'mestize', Christianna was the daughter of Mulatto Polly and, almost certainly, a man called Gwyn Vaughan Jacques. She was the oldest of Mulatto Polly's children and had six sisters and a brother: Jenetta Scarborough (b 1785), Paul Scarborough, (b 1787) and Betsey (b 1789), Peggy (b 1794) and Nancy (b 1796). Peggy died in September 1798, aged four, a year after she was manumitted with her mother and sister Nancy. Mary (also Poll), Mulatto Polly's last child, was born after Peggy died. All these children were known by the name Scarborough; their father was John Latoysonere Scarborough.

Six months after Christianna Jacques was born, the Pinneys had a son, Pretor, for whom Christianna's mother became a nurse. Most likely her mother was the boy's wetnurse and Christianna Jacques would, therefore, have been brought up very close to Pretor Pinney and the other Pinney children. This, and the fact that she was a mestize, may explain why, aged three, she was appraised at N£30 - the highest value of all the children born in 1780.

In 1783, after the Pinneys left for England, Christianna Jacques's mother was 'permitted to work for herself and child', and Christianna would have been with her mother for much of the time – more so, probably, than other enslaved children whose parents worked in the field or were hired out away from the plantation. It is very likely that her mother was living on Scarborough's plantation. Her mother's partner was a widower in his early fifties who already had five white children - four daughters and a son - and at least two mulatto sons. He freed both boys. After Christianna's siblings Jenetta, John Paul and Betsey were born, old Scarborough successfully negotiated with JPP about buying the children – but not Christianna. The negotiations took place when Mr and Mrs P were visiting Nevis with their two servants.

When the visitors from Bristol left the island, they took with them Christianna Jacques. She had just turned ten years old. JPP recorded their departure in a memo which he updated in Bristol:

> This day August 1st 1790 I embarked with my wife and two servants Pero Jones and Fanny Coker and a daughter of Mulatto Polly named Christianna Jacques abroad ship *Nevis* - Charles Maies Master bound to Bristol where we arrived the 11th September 1790.[2556]

The 37-year-old Pero and the 23-year-old Frances Coker had already lived in England for seven years before they visited Nevis. They had sailed across the Atlantic twice and, no doubt, on their journey Fanny Coker was charged with looking after Christianna Jacques.

Before going to Nevis, the Pinneys had dismissed all their servants except Pero and Fanny, and they were waiting for their new house to be finished so that they could move in. When they returned to Bristol it

[2554] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson (& Hope) a/c
[2555] The updated 1795 slave list gives 3 November 1797 as the date Jemmy Jones died but the doctor's account is more likely to have been correct.
[2556] PP, AB 41 f2 Cash a/c Memo

was not ready, and at first they stayed with a planter family from Nevis, the Tobins, and then moved to lodgings at the Hotwells. This unsettled start may have contributed to her not taking to living in Bristol. She became stroppy. She may have suffered from culture shock and homesickness, perhaps made worse because for her going to England seemed like a punishment, and she may have felt rejected by her mother. Her mother had wanted her to go to England and had arranged with the Pinneys to take her. Whatever the cause of Christianna's behaviour, after some months in Bristol JPP wrote to his manager in Nevis that the girl was to return to the West Indies:

> I am sorry to be under the necessity of desiring you to impress Mulatto Polly that I am very much afraid we shall be obliged to send out her daughter by Maies next voyage, as it is inconceivable how ill she behaves for such a child.[2557]

But Christianna stayed, and her mother sent money to Bristol for her upkeep.[2558]

Christianna Jacques may well have wanted to be sent back to Nevis but that was not the case with another 'negro servant girl'. She was taken against her will to the West Indies. This happened in 1792, and the Pinney staff may even have known the girl who had lived in Bristol for several years. Her long residence did not save her. Crying, and watched by bystanders who were powerless to intervene, at Lamplighter's Hall she was put aboard a ship bound for Jamaica. Her case aroused sympathy in the city and must have shaken all the slave-servants in Bristol, particularly as this was not the first such incident. Two years earlier, the year Christianna arrived in England, a black girl who was supposed to return to the West Indies had hidden herself but was discovered and forced to board the ship that was to take her. She managed to escape and, walking barefoot, made her way back to Bristol. There she found shelter with members of the Quaker community who took up her case.[2559] In effect, forced removal had been made illegal by the Mansfield judgment of 1772 but the ruling was still rather ambivalent - something unscrupulous slaveholders were only too willing to exploit.

Presumably Christianna Jacques was in the Pinneys' service in Great George Street, working with Pero Jones, Fanny Coker and several other servants: the cooks and cleaners, coachmen and stable boys, 'upper servants' and housemaids. These people came from Wales and the counties of Somerset and Devon, and Christianna would have had to get used to a variety of dialects and speech patterns. She may have been the youngest servant in the household and, as a young girl, may have been in danger of sexual exploitation from the male members of the Pinney family as well as the male staff. According to one historian, fellow servants accounted for a sizeable proportion of all rapists, and female domestics who had been attacked in the house where they worked accounted for a sizeable proportion of rape victims. It has been estimated that in the period from 1800 to 1829 in northern England female domestics represented just under a fifth of all women and girls who had been raped.[2560]

Mrs P's father – who, possibly, was also the father of Christianna Jacques's mother - died at the end of 1796, and all the servants in the Pinney household attended William Burt Weekes's funeral in Wraxall near Bristol. He had died at Naish House where Revd William Young Coker lived with his wife and children, and Christianna Jacques would have known them all because they visited Great George Street. After William Burt Weekes died, Mrs P successfully pressed her husband to free Christianna's mother and

---

[2557] PP, LB 9: JPP, Bristol, to TP Weekes, Nevis, 5 March 1791
[2558] PP, AB 39 f112 Cash a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f106
1079 Latimer, John *The Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century* Vol 2 p492, quoting *Bonner's Bristol Journal* 8 December 1792; also Madge Dresser *Slavery Obscured* p178; Clare Midgley *Women Against Slavery* p11 and Peter Fryer *Staying Power* p203
[2560] Harvey, AD *Sex in Georgian England* p82, quoting Anna Clark *Women's Silence Men's Violence* p139 Appendix II Table 6

her two youngest sisters, and at the same time the decision was taken to have Christianna Jacques apprenticed. She was 16 years old, and her training was to last for three years. Presumably she learnt to become a seamstress. JPP arranged for her mother to finance her training, to keep Christianna clothed and to pay for her clothes to get washed. The money was to go to him. He finished his letter outlining the financial arrangement with an inducement for Christianna - 'If Christianna behaves well she will likewise have her freedom' – and added 'but I hope she will never return to the West Indies.'[2561] By 'behaving well' JPP probably had in mind that she did not question her enslaved status and did not agitate others. At this stage JPP clearly was fearful of the influence enslaved and freed people might exert on the Caribbean slave population. He wanted to restrict their contact with each other and forbade a servant from Nevis to accompany the orphaned Weekes boys on their journey to England (the injunction came too late; Nanny Weekes was on her way already and stayed in Bristol for some time).[2562] He also did not retire his manservant Pero to Nevis – no doubt, the Pinney servants had become radicalised, free-thinking spirits, and JPP feared that their presence in the colony would be too unsettling.

Nanny Weekes, the servant who had brought the orphaned Weekes boys from Nevis, returned to Nevis in 1798,[2563] the year the father of Christianna Jacques's siblings, John Latoysonere Scarborough, died in Nevis and Pero died in England. It is likely that Christianna was not living with the Pinneys then but that she served her apprenticeship elsewhere (perhaps with Betsey Pinney who lived nearby) because during the period she was being trained she disappeared from the records. She re-appeared in Great George Street on 11 July 1801 when JPP noted: 'Cook - Christianna dines of a Sunday'. A fortnight later she was back - 'Cook - Sundays Dinner to Christianna' – and again on 31 October 1801: 'Cook in the house and Christianna of a Sunday'.[2564] Christianna Jacques then appears to have worked for the Pinneys again; in September the following year she received nine shillings for 'nine days off' and some cash for a quarter pound of tea.[2565] This was an unusual payment; neither Pero nor Fanny Coker received payments for tea, nor was its provision mentioned. (In servants' contracts tea and sugar were often itemised – either the employer supplied them or paid an allowance, but at times servants were also obliged to purchase their own without extra payment.)[2566] On top of the money for the holiday, Christianna Jacques received another six shillings from JPP's daughter Mary. The same amount was also paid to Nancy Seymour, [2567] a servant woman from Nevis, who worked in Bristol for the widow of the Nevis clergyman, Revd William Jones.[2568] The payments were made around the time Mary Pinney's sister Betsey was delivered of a girl,[2569] and Christianna Jacques and Nancy Seymour may have sewn baby clothes and other nursery items on Mary Pinney's behalf.

Pretor, the Nevis-born Pinney boy with whom Christianna had been brought up, came off age in May 1802,[2570] but for some years his 'health in mind' had already been disturbed.[2571] Then his brother Azariah

[2561] PN 233, quoting Pinney Family Letterbooks (D) f258: JPP to James Williams, 17 January 1797
[2562] PP, LB 12: JPP to John Taylor, Nevis, 24 November 1796
[2563] PP, AB 1769 (On cover Family Account Books Estates England 1783-1797) f64
[2564] PP, JPP Domestic (Somerton and Bristol Expense Book) 1801-1804 f44, f46, f80 and f184
[2565] PP, AB 42 f69 Mary Pinney's a/c
[2566] In one household an upper maid was in 1766 paid S£5:15:6, exclusive of tea and sugar, while twelve years later her replacement was given S£5:5:0 and 'tea twice a day'. Six years on, the new maid's contract laid down a payment of five Guineas a year without tea. The payment for tea alone could amount to as much as two Guineas a year (Marshall, D 'The Domestic Servants of the Eighteenth Century' in *Economica* No 25 (April 1929) p18, pp19-20).
[2567] PP, AB 42 f69 Mary Pinney's a/c
[2568] In 1800, Nancy Seymour had brought the baggage for Revd Jones's wife from Nevis (PP, LB 16: JPP to Frances Jones, Nevis, 27 November 1800). Christianna Jacques's younger sister Nancy Seymour may have been named after her.
[2569] PP, Cat 4 Misc Vols and Item, Bound Vol of Misc MSS 1672-1806: Jane Pinney, to JPP, 24 September 1802
[2570] PP, AB 42 Pretor's a/c
[2571] PP, Dom Box P: JPP to John Frederick Pinney and Azariah Pinney, 16 June 1802 and 18 October 1802

died in January 1803, just before his 28th birthday.[2572] It was Christianna Jacques who sewed the mourning clothes for the family. She worked on them for ten days and, typically, JPP charged the cost of the sewing, the black thread and the ribbons to Azariah's account. Those payments for the days off, the sewing she did for Mary Pinney and the mourning clothes she made after Azariah's death were the only occasions Christianna Jacques was paid. At a daily rate of a shilling, her wages were double those of a washer maid,[2573] and half those of the upholsterer who made a chair and the window seat covers for the house in Great George Street, or the labourers who dug the back road at Berkeley Square, where Betsey Pinney had gone to live with her husband and children.[2574]

On 20 April 1803 Christianna Jacques got married in St Mary's church in Portsea, Hampshire. Her husband's name, John Lewis, [2575] may suggest a Welsh origin but it was also common in England. He was said to have been 21 years old and a joiner.[2576] As a wedding present she received £5 from the Pinneys,[2577] and two days after JPP accounted for this, on 27 April the Pinneys, with Fanny Coker, set off for London. Mary Pinney was in London, under the care of a Mrs Jackson,[2578] and her brother John Frederick and his family also lived in London. Mary was part of the Metropolitan West India set (among them was Lady Nelson, with whom Mary spent holidays and who called on her),[2579] and it is possible that Christianna Jacques went to live in London; certainly some time after she got married she lived not far from the capital, in Chatham in Kent. As a naval base and dockyard, Chatham, like Portsea, was closely connected with seafaring, and it is possible that Christianna's husband worked on the ships.

In the autumn of 1806 to Christianna's mother was in Bristol. Mulatto Polly had come to England as the servant of Mr and Mrs Scarborough, the son and heir of old Scarborough, but was left stranded by her employers because they did not pay her wages, or her fare home. Christianna Lewis took the opportunity to travel to Bristol to see her mother.[2580] When the Scarboroughs finally did pay her mother's wages, Christianna received half of the money, £16.[2581] She may have supplied her mother with goods for trading, had lent her some money, or had fallen on hard times.

The meeting in 1806 may have been their first reunion but it probably was not the last. Her mother came to England at least three more times, sometimes for quite lengthy stays, and on at least one other occasion mother and daughter met up. This was in the autumn of 1810,[2582] when JPP accounted for a Pound he had given to Christianna Lewis.[2583] Travelling on Pinney ships, Mulatto Polly would usually have made landfall in Bristol but contrary winds could send sailings ships along the south coast, and she may have ended some of her journeys in Kent.

Christianna may have only moved temporarily to Chatham, or she returned to Portsea on the death of her husband. It is likely that he was the John Lewis who was buried on 9 March 1813 in St Mary's at

---

[2572] PP, LB 17: JPP, Bristol, to Edward Parson, George and Blue Boar, Holbourn, 3 January 1803
[2573] PP, AB 42 Azariah's a/c
[2574] PP, AB 41: 14 January 1795 and AB 56: 19 August 1797
[2575] Familysearch.org St Mary's Portsea (England Marriages 1538-1973)
[2576] Hampshire Allegations for Marriage Licenses Granted by the Bishop of Winchester 1689-1837 Vol 1 (Harleian Society) (on Ancestry.com)
[2577] PP, JPP, Domestic (Somerton and Bristol Expense Book) 1801-1804 f44, f46, f80, f184
[2578] PP, LB 17: JPP, Bristol, to Viscountess Nelson, 54 Walbeck Street, London, 11 and 18 March 1803
[2579] PP, Dom Box S4-2: Mary Pinney to Mrs Pinney, 10 April 1802 (rec'd) and LB 17: JPP, Bristol, to Viscountess Nelson, 54 Walbeck Street, London, 11 and 18 March 1803
[2580] PP, LB 45: JPP & JF Pinney to William Scarborough at Mrs Forrests, Lyme Regis, 12 November 1806
[2581] PP, LB 23: JPP to Thomas Arthurton, Nevis, 1 March 1809
[2582] PP, LB 23: JPP to Peter Huggins, 13 October 1810
[2583] PP, AB 65 f17 Expense a/c 1810 and 1811

Portsea[2584] – the same church where the couple had got married and where, on 28 June that year she married again. In the registers for both marriages Christianna signed for herself and spelt her name 'Jaques'. Her second husband, Eli Ellis, was a jeweller [2585] who later ran his business from Goose Lane in Worcester. He probably was a Methodist; both the couple's sons were christened in the Methodist Chapel in Pump Street Worcester: Eli Joseph Ellis, born on 25 December 1815, was baptised two months later and another, unnamed child was christened in February 1819.[2586] By then her first son had died; he was buried in January 1817 at the age of two. The family was living in Silver Street in the parish of St Martin.[2587] It is likely that Christianna Ellis died following the birth of her second, unnamed child; she was buried on 2 December 1818 in the parish of St Martin, Worcester. She was 38 years old.[2588]

446 Randolph was born on Monday, 7 August 1780, to an entailed woman. Aged almost three years, he was worth N£22. He was a field hand but as a 17-year-old he still he worked in the small gang.[2589]

Randolph died between August 1807 and December 1816. He was between 27 and 36 years old.

447 Jibba, also Molly's Jibba and Madge's Juba, later Jubba Pinney. She was black and born on Wednesday, 23 August 1780, to an entailed woman. Her mother was Molly (No 227). She had an elder sister, Friday (b 1775) and an elder and a younger brother: Quashee (b 1776) and John-Peter (b 1794). John-Peter died a few weeks after being born. Acree (b 1767) may have been another brother.

Jibba was an aunt to her sister Friday's daughter Diana.
Like Randolph, who was also born in August, in 1783 she was appraised at N£22, and, like Randolph, in the late 1790s she worked in the small gang.[2590]

In January 1810, after Mountravers was sold, the new owner, Edward Huggins senior, ordered the public punishment of a number of people. Both Jibba and her brother Quashee were among those who were whipped in the market place in Charlestown, and they were said to have been among those who were 'severely flogged'. Quashee's thrashing was particularly bad; he was beaten for about 15 minutes, and it is possible that he ran away some time after this.

In February 1827 Jibba's mother Molly died, followed by her sister Friday two years later. Her niece's three children were baptised in 1829 and Jibba was baptised either on 14 November 1830 or on 3 October 1831. She was then on Clarke's Estate,[2591] which Peter Thomas Huggins had recently purchased.

[2584] England, Select Deaths and Burials, 1538-1991 FHL Film Number 919761 Ref ID 25 on Ancestry.com
[2585] Hampshire Bishops' Transcripts 1680-1892 and England Marriages 1538-1973 on Ancestry.com
It is likely that Christianna's husband Eli Ellis was baptised on 16 September 1781 in Kirkburton, Yorkshire, the son of a man of the same name, and that he returned to Yorkshire where he was buried on 21 January 1833 at the age of 51 (West Yorkshire Burials 1813-1985 Kirkburton, All Hallows on Ancestry.com)
[2586] FamilySearch.org, 'English Births and Christenings 1538-1975'; RG4-3283 image on Ancestry Library Edition and England and Wales Non-Conformist and Non-Parochial Register 1567-1970, in RG4 3282 – Register of Births and Baptisms at Pump St Wesleyan Chapel, Worcester 1803-1837 Numbers 128 and 205
[2587] FamilySearch.org, 'England, Deaths and Burials 1538-1991'
[2588] FamilySearch.org, 'England, Deaths and Burials 1538-1991'
[2589] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[2590] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[2591] On 14 November 1830 Jubba Pinney (transcribed as –ubba), an 'adult slave' (no trade) from Clarke's Estate, was baptised; on 3 October 1831 –iba from Clarke's Estate (NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 843 and unnumbered).

Aged almost 54, Jibba was alive on 1 August 1834.

448 Catherine, later Catherine Pinney (possibly Caty Clarke) and Catherine Clark. She was black and born on Friday, 22 September 1780, to an entailed woman. In July 1783 she was valued at N£20, N2 less than Randolph and Jibba who had been born a month earlier. Catherine was a field labourer and, as a thirteen-year-old, worked in Tom's small gang. Aged eighteen she was still in the small gang.[2592]

Catherine was of those known to have been publicly flogged on the orders of Edward Huggins in 1810. She was mentioned in William Pemberton's evidence as one of the eight people who were 'severely flogged'.[2593] By then she may have had children already. In May 1818, then aged 37, she gave birth to a daughter, followed in June 1823 by a son. Peggy was 'yellow cast' and William Springett was black. It is not known who Peggy's father was; William's was Glasgow, a watchman from Scarborough's Estate. He was about eleven years younger than Catherine and later married a woman closer to his own age, Nanno (No 562).

Catherine's daughter Peggy was baptised in March 1828 in the church at St Thomas Lowland [2594] and her son in August 1835 in the Methodist Chapel.[2595] The boy's father had been baptised in the chapel a few months earlier,[2596] and this may have been an instance of two fathers choosing for their children between church and chapel, Anglicans and Methodists. It is possible that Catherine was baptised as Caty Clarke on 12 March 1837, also in the Methodist chapel.[2597] She was said to have been a labourer on Clarke's Estate. At the age of 56 Catherine would have been among the oldest women baptised, but as there were three more women on Clarke's called Citty or Kitty – then 30, 34 and 49 years old – it could have been any one of these who had undergone baptism. However, it undoubtedly was Catherine and her daughter Peggy who at some stage moved to the village of Cotton Ground. There Peggy Pinney had a daughter – Catherine's grandchild. Her daughter died in 1860 at the age of 41.[2598] Catherine survived Peggy by seven years and was buried as Catherine Clark in November 1867. Said to have been 86, she was in fact 87 years old.[2599]

Catherine Clark would have been among the early settlers of the village of Cotton Ground - one of the independent villages that were beginning to get established in the 1840s. The village grew from 1845 onwards when several people leased land from the London bankers James Whatman Bosanquet and Charles Franks through their attorneys in Nevis, Robert Claxton and Henry Iles Woodcock. Bosanquet and Franks had acquired several estates in St Thomas Lowland, the old Clifton [,] Paynes and Moreton Bay plantations and they rented out this land in parcels. The plots ranged in size from quarter to half an acre[2600] and were arranged in two rows, with a six-foot-wide road running down the middle. A school was situated near the main island road. With developments such as this the old sugar estates were then transforming themselves into villages. Among the early inhabitants of Cotton Ground was a man from

[2592] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[2593] UKNA, CO 152/96 John Burke's evidence
[2594] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873 No 105
[2595] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873
[2596] Glasgow, said to have been an adult from Pinney's, was baptised on 25 December 1834 (NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835).
[2597] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873
[2598] Peggy Pinney from Cotton Ground was said to have been 40 years old when she was buried on 24 March 1860. Catherine's daughter was, in fact, 41 years old (NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 754).
[2599] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 2375
[2600] ECSCRN, CR 1838-1847 e.g. f608 and CR1847-1858 e.g. f63

Clarke's Estate, William Clarke. A black man who at Emancipation was about 49 years old, he leased half an acre of land. His patch, Lot 11, cost him $53.60. Other parcels were rented by people whose surnames are mostly those associated with the St Thomas Lowland area: James Daniell, James Herbert, John and Else Williams, John Colhoun, Archibald Thompson, Peter Benders, William Drew, Jack Bridgwater, Rachel Ritchens, Robert Walters, James Nisbett, Betty and Walter Colquhoun, Sidney Nisbet, Hetty Colquhoun and Nancy Henry, Richard Dasent and Thomas Jones.[2601]

449 Quashee, later Quashey Nolan or Noland. He was black and born on Thursday, 19 October 1780, to a purchased woman. Quashee had a tough start in life; he was born just days after the 'tremendous hurricane' of 10 and 11 October 1780 had battered Nevis. Mountravers had got off lightly - the wind had only 'damaged several pieces of cane' - but Charlestown had suffered damage: 'the surge was so high as to throw down several buildings.'[2602] In St Kitts shipping was severely affected and the surges caused extensive damage to the beaches[2603] but, compared to other islands, losses were comparatively small. The 'Great Hurricane' - in fact three distinct hurricanes within a few days - [2604] mostly hit the Windward Islands and Jamaica and 'caused considerable start at the sugar market'.[2605] For Quashee's mother this would have been an anxious time; after hurricanes food became scarce and much work needed to be done to clear up the damage.

It is likely that Quashee's mother was Sarah Nolan (No 398), one of the women acquired from James Nolan. If she was indeed his mother, then Peter Nolan (b 1783) was his brother and Honeyfield (b 1788) his sister. She was born when he was already 18 years old.

Aged two years and nine months, Quashee was worth N£25. He became a field hand. As a 13-year-old he was in the third gang that did the lightest work, and as an 18-year-old was still employed in the second gang.[2606] He may have been ill already; on 24 October 1798 he was administered 'a box of alt[ernative] pills' which cost N£1:10:0. A day later the doctor charged the same amount for 'cutting an issue' and giving him 'a box of ointment'. After two months he needed more medication and the doctor prescribed '8 repeg. powders', repeated with another twelve, costing a further N£1:4:0.[2607] At around this time the doctor also treated Sarah Nolan; she died in January 1799. Quashee survived but was not cured. In 1801 he was 'a cripple in the garden'. He was, however, still sufficiently fit to work with horses later in life.

In August 1834 Quashee, then in his mid-fifties, had a child with a woman in her early twenties,[2608] Jane Scarbro. She was from Scarborough's Estate. Their son was called Charles, which may be no coincidence since Sarah Nolan, the mother who probably was Quashee's mother, had been purchased with a boy called Mulatto Charles (No 399). In the late 1790s he was to have been sold to Jamaica but probably absconded in the nick of time, and Quashee may have remembered this man when he named his son Charles. The boy was baptised on 21 January 1835 in the Methodist chapel.[2609] Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the age gap between Quashee and the baby's mother, his relationship with Jane

[2601] ECSCRN, CR 1838-1847 f712
[2602] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to Harry Pouncy, 25 July 1781
[2603] Stapleton Cotton MSS 16: Charles Hutton to Catherine Stapleton, in a PS dated 25 October 1780 to a letter 10 October 1780
[2604] Burns, Sir Alan *History of the British West Indies* p759
[2605] PP, LB 5: JPP, Nevis, to William Manning, 31 January 1781
[2606] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[2607] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2608] In 1817 Jane was registered on Scarborough's plantation as a black Creole, aged three (UKNA, T 71/364).
[2609] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
Quashee Nolan's name was mis-recorded or mis-transcribed as Quashey Belin

was not a lasting one. Later she had another child with James Scarborough,[2610] a man about seven years her junior.

Quashee was baptised a few months after his son, on 25 October, also in the Methodist chapel.[2611] Aged 55, he was the oldest man to undergo baptism and one of those parents who underwent baptism after their children.

His sister Honeyfield and Peter Nolan were alive in August 1834. Peter may have been buried as Peter Penny in the church at St Thomas Lowland in 1850,[2612] and it is possible that Quashee was buried on 31 August 1853. A man just called 'Quashey' was buried that day and it may have been him. He may have been among the many cholera victims who had to be buried quickly before his full name could have been ascertained. It is also possible that his surname had fallen out of use. The dead man was said to have been 72 years old – Quashee Nolan's exact age – and his last place of residence had been Lowland.[2613] However, Quashey was a common name.

450 Kitty was born on Monday, 30 October 1780, to an entailed woman. Aged two years and nine months, she was worth N£20.

She was a field hand and worked in Jack's gang, the second gang, when she about 13 years old.

Kitty died between January 1802 and May 1803. She was in her early twenties.

451 William. Born probably some time after the mid-1760s, he was said to have been 'a negro boy'. He was purchased on Thursday, 4 January 1781, from Robert McGill for N£66.[2614] Undoubtedly William was intended as a replacement for Billy Scoles, whose manumission JPP facilitated later in the year. It is very likely that a previous master or mistress had sold William to McGill because he had been troublesome and difficult to manage. This would not have been the first time McGill took on an uncooperative person; some years earlier he had bought from JPP a known absconder, Pembroke. This theory is strengthened by what happened after William came to Mountravers because he, Scandal, George Wells and Ann Weekes's man Rigby were accused of a robbery. Their victim was Modeste Lapula, a free French fisherman, from whom they were said to have stolen salt fish and sugar. On 7 November 1782 JPP made good the theft and re-imbursed the free mulatto with N£6:12:0.[2615] At N£4:2:6 Rigby's share was the greatest.[2616]

Just four months after this happened, William appears to have committed some other mis-dead and he ended up in prison. The jail in Nevis would have been an uncomfortable place indeed. In the early 1760s it had been a rickety affair, 'very weak and in a ruinous condition', but it had then been repaired at the urgent request of the Deputy Provost Marshall, Archibald Thompson.[2617]

[2610] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[2611] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[2612] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 509
[2613] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 919
[2614] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f4
[2615] PP, AB 26 Plantation a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f91
[2616] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f91
[2617] UKNA, CO 186/4: 3 March 1762

On 18 March 1783 William was taken out of the jail and delivered to Mr Kidd, a clerk employed by Benjamin Lamming, and in less than a fortnight William was on his way to the island of St Thomas. JPP wanted him sold there or in 'any other island'. For his misdemeanours he was banished from Nevis.

Within days, William was sold in St Thomas. He fetched a little over N£60. Mr Kidd received 5 per cent commission, leaving a balance of N£57:15:0 [2618] and, having paid N£1:13:0 for William's passage to St Thomas,[2619] this presented JPP with a net loss of nearly N£10.

It is not known what happened to William after he was sold.

452 Little Bettiscombe, later Bettiscombe, was born on Tuesday, 9 January 1781, to a purchased female. It is likely that his father was the mason Bettiscombe.

Aged two and a half years, he was worth N£20.

At the age of 12 he worked in the third gang, the weeding gang that did the lightest work on the plantation. On 27 March 1797 he had an accident and was 'wounded by the mill'. The doctor visited him [2620] but he did not get any more treatment; there was no cure for his injuries. He had suffered a fractured skull and died just over a month later, on 30 April 1797. He was sixteen years old.

453, 454, 455, 456 and 457 Hetty and four of her children John Fisher, Edward Fisher, Sally Fisher and Joseph Fisher. The third child of the African woman Black Polly (No 261), Hetty was born on Friday, 12 January 1781. Her elder siblings, the mulattoes Frances Coker (b 1767) and Billey Jones (b 1773), almost certainly were the children of William Coker and JPP, while her younger siblings Cubbenna (b 1784) and Little Molly (b 1787) were, like Hetty, black. The children's father may have been Cubbena (No 221), a watchman. He died from consumption not long after Hetty's younger sister Little Molly was born.

Hetty had her first child when she was eighteen years old. She had been lying in for some days before Billy was born on 25 July 1799 and she was 'lying in' for three months afterwards. The manager noted that Hetty, 'having a young child cannot go out'.[2621] The child's father was William Nicholson, a white Creole about two years older than Hetty. He had previously worked on Mountravers as a boiling house watch and then as an overseer and was not employed on the plantation when this child, and also Hetty's second son, was conceived - Siah was born in July 1802. The fact that she was not subject to the control and authority of him as a plantation employee suggests that Hetty consented to this liaison with a white man. Their relationship was not based on Nicholson's power in his role as overseer.

In May 1804 William Nicholson's brother Josiah exchanged two black girls for Hetty's sons, Billy and Siah,[2622] and the little boys, aged almost five and two years, left the plantation to live with their father. Of course this could be done without Hetty's permission, but it is likely that she approved. It gave her sons an opportunity to be freed.

[2618] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f113; also AB 26 Plantation a/c
[2619] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f109 and f119
[2620] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2621] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[2622] PP, LB 21: JW Stanley's list 31 December 1806 and LB 20: JPP to JW Stanley, 7 August 1807

William Nicholson and the manager, James Williams, appear to have got on badly, and it may have been out of vindictiveness that Williams demoted Hetty to work in the field.[2623] She had been employed in the house before and later worked in the house again and, according to Joe Stanley, who took over the management from the Williams brothers, she was 'not much used to the field work'.

In late 1805, while pregnant with her third child, she was supposed to assist Sheba Jones with the laundry but, as it turned out, 'the cloathes (sic) were get up so badly' that, instead, Joe Stanley got her to do light housework: 'to assist in rubbing furniture etc'. Her uselessness at doing the washing may well have been a deliberate ploy to escape from the drudgery of laundry work and a means of taking control of her life temporarily and in a measured way. Her scheme proved successful, and Mrs Stanley employed her to peddle wares on her behalf. However, Mrs Stanley's husband soon put a stop to this activity. He disapproved – either because his wife had appropriated one of the plantation people for her own use, or because Hetty dawdled, chatting with friends along the way, enjoying a small slice of freedom. Trading was so much easier and more enjoyable than grafting in the fields, scrubbing the laundry, or polishing the furniture, but after she had been out three or four times with Mrs Stanley's goods, Mr Stanley assigned her to domestic chores.

Being in the house she could use to her advantage. It gave her 'an opportunity of seeing where each article was put away & where the keys were locked up' and, according to Joe Stanley, 'in two weeks after this Mrs S missed a quantity of dimity[,] 6 yds of lace and many other articles'. Stanley investigated and reported the findings to JPP. He had got his own girl to confess: not only did Nanny Nolan have a duplicate key for the drawers but Hetty had borrowed a key from Sally Peaden, pretending that Mrs Stanley had sent her. This key opened the trunk from which, according to Stanley's girl, the two women helped themselves to some material: Nanny Nolan took dowlas and Hetty helped herself to check brown Holland. Muslin was also missing, and the girl showed him a wrapper, which 'she said was part of what they have taken to make waistcoats'. However, according to Hetty's brother Billey Jones, it was the girl who had carried the material to his wife, Patty Fisher, for her to make waistcoats in exchange for keeping one for herself. Billey Jones said he had not wanted anything to do with this deal and had sent Stanley's girl away. 'They all were of course against the girl', Stanley commented, but, as no evidence could be found (except for the muslin that the girl had produced), Hetty and Mulatto Nanny were acquitted while the girl was sentenced to 39 lashes in the public market. Giving evidence against the others had not saved her, but for the others, sticking together had paid off. This incident illustrates the tensions that could arise between enslaved people who belonged to one owner living alongside those who belonged to another. However, for Hetty the story did not end there: over the Christmas period she was imprisoned in the hospital, the old boiling house, because Joe Stanley hoped she would tell him where he could find the stolen items. She held firm and did not confess to anything.[2624] According to Stanley, they were all in this together: Nanny Nolan, Hetty, Billey Jones, Patty Fisher and Frank Fisher, who was said to have had one of the waistcoats. It is quite likely that Hetty did steal the material for Frank's waistcoat and that he did not buy it from the girl, as he claimed, because when all this was happening, Hetty was in a relationship with Frank Fisher and pregnant with his child. Their son John was born on 8 March 1806.[2625]

Frank Fisher, a man about three years younger than Hetty, was a domestic with medical skills, who, like her, came from a family of people JPP reserved for himself. Hetty and Frank Fisher had another child.

[2623] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[2624] PP, Dom Box P: JW Stanley to John Frederick Pinney, 27 December 1805
[2625] The assumption that John Fisher was the son of Hetty with Frank Fisher is based on the fact that Hetty, John Fisher and Edward were listed after Frank on a list of 1810, before Hetty's brother Cubbena and sister Little Molly. In the 1820s, on an internal Clarke's list, John, Sally and Joseph were listed again after Frank.

Their son Edward was born about October 1807, and it is likely that in 1810 she had a miscarriage, or that her baby died soon after birth. She was said to have been 'visibly with child the beginning of the year',[2626] which was just when Edward Huggins publicly whipped the Mountravers people in the Marketplace. Said to have been a 'turbulent' negro, Hetty's partner Frank Fisher was implicated in the events surrounding the flogging, and it is conceivable that the stress of the situation might have caused the child's death.

Hetty was rented to Clarke's Estate as a field worker. Appraised at S£100, she was then worth about the same as a skilled Creole tradesman had been quarter of a century ago, and her youngest son Edward at S£25 twice as much as she had been when she was his age. (This comparison does not take account of the fact that Edward was male and a mulatto but serves as a general marker to show how the value of people had risen.) Her son John, over a year older than Edward, was appraised at S£30.[2627]

Between September 1813 and June 1814 Hetty and her family worked on Mr Mills' estate and around that time she gave birth to her first daughter, Sally. Back on Clarke's, four or five years later she had her last son, Joseph. He was known to have attended the estate school set up by Peter Thomas Huggins.

At some stage Hetty became a domestic. It is not known when exactly she moved from field to housework but, having had seven children, she qualified for the concession granted to mothers of six children or more to be freed from labouring in the fields, and it is likely that in the 1820s, when further amelioration legislation was passed, this was actually enforced. Hetty's partner also worked in the house, as did their son John, while Sally was still 'learning to work'. Edward had become a cooper, which was something of a family tradition: Hetty's brother's-in-law Tom Fisher and Josiah Fisher and her brother Billey Jones were all coopers.

Billey Jones lived with his family in Charlestown and died in 1820, and so did her sister Frances Coker, who had lived in England. Hetty, Molly and their brother Cubbenna were left £10 each in their sister's will. Cubbenna worked on Clarke's as a field hand but died in January 1828, leaving a daughter, Peggy Penney, and probably three stepchildren. Hetty's sister, Little Molly, appears to have moved to Scarborough's; she had two sons with a carter from that estate. On Clarke's were also Hetty's in-laws: Frank's mother Sarah Fisher, who worked as a midwife, Frank's sister Mary, also a domestic servant, and his sister Domingo, a field hand. One of Hetty's nieces, Billey Jones's daughter, later moved to Clarke's Estate as well. Hetty's sister-in-law Patty Fisher, Billey Jones's widow, was during Charles Pinney's first visit to Nevis sold to two free sisters, the Misses Smith, with her four youngest children. Patty and her sons were manumitted but she died not long after gaining freedom. Patty Fisher's two youngest daughters, Hetty's nieces Betsey and Jeanett, remained enslaved.

Judging by their estimated ages in 1817, as a young child Hetty's son John Fisher had developed well – his age was over-estimated by a year – whereas Edward progressed less well; his was under-estimated by a year or two, but it was Joseph who died young. Aged around ten, Joseph Fisher was buried on 6 May 1829. Although raised during the dreadful 1820s, he seems to have developed relatively well; his age was over-estimated by about two years.[2628] His death was noted during a school inspection at the

[2626] PP, LB 24: JPP to JH Clarke, 11 July 1814
[2627] The calculation is based on Hetty's 1783 value of N£20 and on an exchange rate of 1.6.
When Edward and John were first appraised, in March 1808, they were worth S£18 and S£24 respectively.
[2628] UKNA, T 71/368 and NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 286

beginning of the following year. It found that the pupils were 'generally healthy' and noted that only one death had occurred during the year.[2629]

In 1830 Peter Thomas Huggins bought Clarke's Estate, which had been mortgaged to JPP's sons Charles and John Frederick. With the plantation went the reserved people, and Huggins then owned Hetty and her family, and it was Huggins to whom in 1833 her oldest son, Billey (her mulatto child with William Nicholson), paid N£120 for the manumission of her number three son, John Fisher.[2630] Billey had been freed by his father in 1815 and was working as a stonemason but John, although free, chose to remain on Clarke's Estate, where he continued to work as a domestic servant.

Hetty was alive in August 1834. She was in her early fifties. Her partner, Frank Fisher, was also alive.

The weddings of several of her children were celebrated in church. The first was her daughter Sally. In January 1834 she married William Samson (also Sampson). He also lived in Lowland parish, was enslaved and about Sally's age.[2631] Sally's husband had been baptised on 25 January 1828,[2632] and she on 19 May 1833.[2633] When Hetty's sons Edward and John were baptised together on 26 January 1835,[2634] Edward was on 'Pinney's' and John still on Clarke's but when Edward got married the following year, he lived in Lowland parish. He, too, was free, and so was his wife, Sarah Ann Nisbet.[2635] One of the witnesses at their wedding on 21 September 1836 was Edward's brother-in-law, Sally's husband William Samson; the other, Bailey Ferrier,[2636] was a mulatto freed a few years earlier.[2637] His previous owners, the Ferrier spinsters from St Paul's, had hired people from Clarke's Estate (possibly the group Pinney had reserved), owed the House money for their hire[2638] and in 1833 were in debt to John Frederick Pinney. He instructed Robert Claxton, then on his way to Nevis, to recover the money from the Miss Ferriers.[2639] The women offered seven people by way of payment – no doubt, Bailey Ferrier knew them – but it is not clear whether they actually came into John Frederick Pinney's possession.[2640]

[2629] PP, Box R-4/4 'Examination of the school on January 5th 1830'

[2630] ECSCRN, CR 1831-1835 f291
John's sale was not recorded as a deduction in the 1834 Clarke's list (UKNA, T 71/369).

[2631] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
There have been Sampsons and Samsums in Nevis for over 150 years; John Sampson and John Samsum were listed as Nevis inhabitants in the 1677/8 census. More recently, in 1789 Samuel Samson witnessed a document (ECSCRN, CR 1789-1790); he may have been 'the Jew' whom JPP referred to around the same time (PP, AB 34) and the widower who in 1801 married Perla Abrahams. They were said to have lived on St Eustacia (CR 1801-1803 f121-2). Perla Sampson in 1817 owned three slaves but there was no William among them (UKNA, T 71/364).

[2632] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 315

[2633] NHCS, Baptisms St Thomas Lowland 1827-1873 No 349
It is possible that Hetty was baptised on 21 April 1833 (Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 939) but this may well have been a younger woman, Hetty Nelson (No 595).

[2634] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 Unnumbered
There was another adult Edward on Clarke's. He was a 'boiler occasionally' and had been baptised on 12 October 1828 as Edward Clarke, a watchman (NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 358).

[2635] No record of Edward being freed has yet been found.

[2636] NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842
Sally's husband witnessed another marriage, that of the Apprentice Labourers George Scarborough and Dinnah Clarke on 17 April 1838. A black man born about 1814, the groom was on Scarborough's Estate but nothing is known about the bride. The couple made their mark, the witness William Sampson signed (St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965).

[2637] Bailey, a 'mulatto lad', was freed in about 1829/30 by the spinsters Elizabeth and Mary Ferrier, who also manumitted three others: the negro man John, the mulatto girl Eliza and the mulatto girl Kitsey. The witness was the planter Henry Wilkinson Baker (ECSCRN, CR 1829-1830 Vol 1 f219). On 7 September 1830 Bailey Austin Ferrier married a woman called Elizabeth Christians. He signed the parish register; she made her mark. One of the witnesses at their wedding was the free carpenter Francis Warner, the husband of a woman who had once belonged to Mulatto Polly from Mountravers (St Paul's Marriages 1824-1842 No 66 and NHCS, Transcripts of Nevis Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835).

[2638] PP, LB 63: PA & Co to John Frederick Pinney, 1 June 1834

[2639] PP, LB 63: John Frederick Pinney to Robert Claxton, 17 October 1833

[2640] Said to have been 'very poor', Eleanor, Elizabeth and Mary Ferrier nevertheless received compensation for 17 slaves. The claim by Eleanor Ferrier and family of St Paul's was for an estimated value of £697. They were awarded over a third of that sum, £278,

Some time after they got married, Hetty's son Edward Fisher and his wife moved to Charlestown. There Edward worked as a cooper. In about December 1837 the couple had a son whom they named John, after Edward's brother. The boy was baptised on 9 February 1839.[2641] In about May 1841 their daughter, Eliza (also Elicia), was born but aged nine months, the girl died. Edward and his wife had her baptised five days [2642] before she was buried on 1 February 1842.[2643] Nothing more is known about Edward Fisher and his family.

Hetty's son John Fisher, whose freedom had been paid for by his brother, also raised a family. Shortly after Emancipation, on 30 August 1838 he married a recently emancipated Apprentice Labourer, Isabella Wells.[2644] John Fisher and his wife soon had children. An unnamed child of theirs was baptised on 28 October 1839,[2645] followed by Richard (b 25 January 1844) who was baptised on 21 April 1844.[2646] John Fisher was still a cooper and they both lived on Pinney's plantation but the couple may then have moved elsewhere in Lowland. They had at least two more children: their daughter Frances Ann (b 2 February 1846) was baptised on 17 May 1846,[2647] and on 14 March 1852 their daughter Ann Selena (born 13 December 1851). John Fisher was a cooper; the family lived on what was called Cottage Land.[2648]

John and Isabella's daughter Frances Ann lived in Charlestown and died unmarried; Frances Ann Fisher was buried on 30 December 1870. She was 24 years old.[2649] Nothing more is known about John and Isabella Fisher, or their son Richard.

All that is known about the rest of Hetty's family is that her son-in-law, Sally's husband, William Samson, witnessed the marriage between George Scarborough and Dinnah Clarke in April 1838[2650] and that he died two years later. He was buried on 4 December 1840. He was aged 30.[2651]

458 Jerry, also Jerrey, was 'black of a yellow cast' and born on Saturday, 17 February 1781, to an entailed woman.

When he was one year and five months old, he was appraised at N£15.

He became a field hand. Aged 12, he was in the third gang, the weeding gang and, almost six years later, still worked in the small gang.[2652] He may have been ill already. In May 1799 he suffered from yaws,[2653] but it was not fatal.

Aged 45, Jerry died on 16 November 1826.

---

and their claim No 154 was handled by Charles Pinney & RE Case who had power of attorney (PP, Dom Box R-6: Compensation file; HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 pp107-08).
[2641] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 No 8
[2642] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1838-1873 No 276
[2643] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 264
[2644] NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842
[2645] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 No 38
[2646] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 No 171
[2647] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 No 321
[2648] NHCS, Transcript of Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873
[2649] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 1635
[2650] NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842
[2651] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1837-1841 No 209
[2652] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[2653] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary

459 Betty, also Little Betty, was black and born on Monday, 5 March 1781, to an entailed woman. In July 1783 she was valued at N£15.

It is possible that, as a 12-year-old she was recorded in a gang list as 'M Betty', presumably to distinguish her from the entailed woman called Betty.[2654] Perhaps she had a nickname that started with M, or she was a mulatto (although her 1783 value does not suggest this), or her mother was a woman whose name started with the letter M.

In the late 1790s Betty worked in the field. She was in the small gang.

At the age of 53, Betty was alive on 1 August 1834.

460 Andrew was black and born on Tuesday, 17 April 1781, to an entailed woman.

Aged two years, he was valued at N£15. Possibly being small for his age, or not very strong, Andrew did not yet work in the field when he was twelve years old although other boys his age did. Aged sixteen and a half, he was in the small gang.[2655]

Andrew was alive on 1 August 1834. He was 53 years old.

◄► ▼◄►

461 to 473 In 1781 several loans JPP had made to his father-in-law, William Burt Weekes, were due for repayment. The loans went back to 1777, the year Mrs Pinney's father had entered into his third marriage, and involved three groups of enslaved people, 37 in total. In April 1777 William Burt Weekes and his mother, Mary Weekes, had mortgaged first 17, then another seven (his mother's),[2656] and in August, around the time of the wedding, he and his new wife mortgaged a further 13.

The group of 17 was in fact re-mortgaged to cancel a previous debt of £773 plus interest, which William Burt Weekes still owed from an original loan of £1,747. The new mortgage to the value of £1,040 was secured by Weekes and his mother with the following 24 people: Tom Walker, Dick, John, Ned, Harry London, Catherine, Penny, Sabina, Sabella, Bessey [Gould], Bessey Steward, Mary, Nancy, William, Charloe, Jack, Tom, Frank, Cudjoe, Sarah, Grace, Celia, Cuffy, and [Little] Dick. On 8 April 1777 Joseph Gill witnessed the deal.[2657] Some of the adults in this group would have been among the twenty people owned by William Burt Weekes in the mid-1750s.[2658]

However, the group of 13 people mortgaged in August 1777 had only recently been purchased by William Burt Weekes. They were Pollydore, Foe, Dick Rayes, Tom, Cato, Grandison, Lucy, Lubbo (also Lubba), Kate, Catto, Frankey, Letty and Harriett. These people Weekes had acquired with 42 acres of land from the women believed to have been his bride's mother and step-sister, Henrietta Alvarez and Esther Martin.

[2654] PP, Misc Vols 12 Leeward Island Calendar
[2655] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[2656] ECSCRN, CR 1777-1778 f28
[2657] ECSCRN, CR 1777-1778 f28; also PP, WI Box O Misc unnumbered item; also AB 27
[2658] PP, Dom Box P: General's Tax Notebook 1755

In order to raise a loan of £1,100, some days before their wedding Weekes and his future wife mortgaged the 13 people to JPP.[2659]

The new Mrs Mary Weekes brought into the marriage nine of her own people - Mial, Charles, George, William, Jemmy, Tom, Jallant, Polly, Bessey - but they were not mortgaged to JPP and never became his property. Most likely, they remained with the Weekeses and were freed after William Burt Weekes's wife died in February 1780 - one of them, Jallant Browne, in fact later manumitted Judy Ross who had belonged to JPP. Weekes's wife Mary died before the loan could be repaid, and JPP decided to sell most of the people to recover the outstanding money. On 20 May 1782 it was finally noted that 'This mortgage has been paid satisfied and discharged.'[2660]

Of the first group of 17, by April 1781 one woman, Sabina, had died. Although some people ended up on Mountravers, JPP did not intend to keep anyone for the plantation; this loan he had earmarked 'to secure something for Tommy' – William Burt Weekes's son and JPP's brother-in-law.[2661] Two appraisers, Roger Pemberton and James Tobin, assessed the value of each person, and JPP sold eight, with the money raised going to his brother-in-law, Thomas Pym Weekes. JPP also reserved for him the remaining nine: Penny, Bessy Steward, Mary, Nancy, Jack, Billey, William, Charloe and Tom, as well as the children who had been born in the meantime.[2662] JPP later bought two, Jack and Billey Steward, for the plantation, and Thomas Pym Weekes, with his father, mortgaged another four, together with their children, to JPP's business partner James Tobin and to JPP's son Azariah.[2663] As these people were originally intended to benefit Thomas Pym Weekes, their stories are told separately at the end of Thomas Pym Weekes's biography.

Of the 13 who were formerly owned by Henrietta Alvarez and Esther Martin, two people, **Grandison** and **Lucy**, had died 'in the service of William Burt Weekes'[2664] and **Tom** died soon after. The others were sold: **Polydore** for N£66 to Thomas Lister [2665] and **Foe** for N£130 to John Podd.[2666] A barrister-at-law, [2667] John Podd also bought the mortgaged the woman Celia (one of the people JPP reserved for Thomas Pym Weekes), but nothing is known about Thomas Lister. One young girl, **Kate,** was acquired by Jacob Alvarez, and so she remained or went back to live with people she knew.[2668]

[2659] The loan for £1,100 which JPP gave was due on 15 August 1781 and, although extended for a further year (ECSCRN, CR 1783-1785 f100), the slaves were noted as sold on 16 August 1781. The Bill of Sale was witnessed by John Browne, Henrietta Alvarez and Ann Lepar St Vincent (ECSCRN, CR 1777-1778 f183 and CR 1778-1783 f668; also PP, WI Box E: Bill of Sale 16 August 1781; also Dom Box S1).

While William Burt Weekes purchased the land from Henrietta Alvarez, she was to continue having the use of the dwelling house and the yard, as well as the land adjoining the house on which the negro houses were 'fixed'. In addition, she retained the use of a piece of land to the east of the dwelling house (CR 1777-1778 f196).

[2660] ECSCRN, CR 1777-1778 f219

When Mary Weekes made her will two years later, she wanted Jallant/Jilliant freed and left six of these nine slaves to various people: Charles, George, Jemmy, Tom, Polly and Bess Nowel – presumably Bessey. Mial and William were not mentioned in her will (ECSCRN, Wills 1763-1787 f501).

[2661] PP, LB 4: JPP, Nevis, to Wm Coker, 14 July 1777

[2662] PP, AB 27 TP Weekes's a/c

[2663] PP, LB 12: JPP to WB Weekes, Woodcutts, 3 December 1795; AB 45: 24 June 1794 and ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797 Unnumbered).

[2664] PP, AB 27 William Burt Weekes & Mary Browne's a/c

[2665] PP, AB 17: 16 August 1781; AB 27 f41 Wm Burt Weekes's and Mary Browne's a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f30

[2666] PP, AB 26 John Podd's a/c 10 July 1781; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f30

[2667] ECSCRN, CR 1783-1785 f155. See also Book of Wills 1763-1787f466 and f467 and CR 1789-1790 f1

[2668] PP, AB 26 Jacob Alvarez's a/c

Kate was sold for N£33:0:0; on 27 August 1781 the business partners Joseph Gill and James Nisbett put up half of the money (DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f39).

Once again, the buying and selling of people was a family affair; Jacob Alvarez, a Portuguese trader,[2669] was the step-father of William Burt Weekes's new wife. In 1755, a year after he had married Henrietta Browne, Jacob Alvarez had paid tax on twenty people,[2670] some of whom, presumably, were among the 13 his wife and Esther Martin – believed to have been his daughter from his first marriage - had mortgaged to William Burt Weekes.[2671]

The Alvarezes seemed to have been connected to the Rayes family: John Rayes owned land to the west of Henrietta Alvarez,[2672] and, according to JPP, 'John Rayes's brother' Abraham Alvarez was going to buy 'the land nearly opposite, on which he has built his house'.[2673] When JPP called Abraham Alvarez 'John Rayes's brother', almost certainly he meant brother-in-law. Given that there appears to have been a family connection, it is not surprising that among the mortgaged Alvarez/Martin people was a man called **Dick Rayes.** His previous owner may have been the John Rayes from whom JPP had bought Dorinda, Primus and Duck's Leah. John Rayes may have been a fisherman; after he died, his appraised effects included 'two old canoes and one old sein'. He also had eleven enslaved people, one of whom was Dick, a 'Negro man'. In 1772 Dick was appraised at N£80,[2674] and, if this John Rayes's Negro man Dick was the same as Dick Rayes, JPP sold him ten years later for N£110 to James Carroll.[2675] Just before being sold, Dick Rayes worked for 19 days on the drogger or sloop *Needs Must*, with John Wilks (No 358).[2676]

James Carroll was also due to buy **Cato,** a **'**Negro man from 45 to 50 years of age'. He was worth only N£50. When JPP left Nevis in 1783, this sale was still not completed but by the end of the year Carroll had acquired Cato, too.[2677] James Carroll had also bought from JPP Ned, Sabella and her daughter Fanny but when he died, none of these people were among his possessions.[2678] However, two of the people Carroll had bought, Sabella's daughter Fanny and Dick Rayes, may well have changed hands again and possibly ended up with the free fisherman John Rayes (not the same man as the John Rayes above). This John Rayes died in March 1810 and he left 'Dick, a Negro fisherman' who was worth N£180, as well a woman, Fanny. John Rayes had died intestate, owing money, and his main creditor, Revd William Green, petitioned for the executorship.[2679] Dick Rayes and Fanny were, presumably, sold once more. However, by then Dick Rayes would have been in his late fifties and may not have lived much longer.

[2669] Terrell, Michelle M *The Jewish Community of Early Colonial Nevis* pp147-48

[2670] PP, Dom Box R

[2671] Jacob Alvarez's wife Rebeccah died at the age of 44 in August 1743, just days after their daughter Esther had been baptised as an adult. Jacob Alvarez married Henrietta Browne in August 1754 (VL Oliver *Monumental Inscriptions of the British West Indies* p75, *Caribbeana* Vol 3 p354 and Vol 1 p326). 'Alien-born' Jacob Alvarez presented his petition for naturalisation at a meeting of the Legislature; members decided to introduce the appropriate Bill (UKNA, CO 186/3: 13 November 1745).

In his will of March 1775 John White of St Kitts, then Chichester, the brother of Henrietta Alvarez, left for her daughter Mary Brown from her previous marriage £400. Mrs Alvarez was said to have been a widow (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 6 p149) but so far no record of her husband's death has been found. Certainly by the time she died in August 1786, she was widowed (NHCS, St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials, 1729-1825 p31A).

Mrs Alvarez's son, a Dr Browne, died towards the end of 1786 (LB 6: JPP to John Patterson, Nevis, 9 February 1787).

[2672] ECSCRN, CR 1777-1778 f183

[2673] PP, LB 6: JPP to William Coker, 16 January 1787

[2674] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f414

[2675] PP, AB 26 WB Weekes's and Mary Browne's a/c; DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f88

[2676] PP, AB 26 f199 Negro Hire a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f80

[2677] PP, AB 26

[2678] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 f226

[2679] NHCS, Book of Wills 1805-1818 f153

The woman **Catto** was sold to another free fisherman, Joseph Batterton. He bought her in July 1781 for N£80. Included in the price were 'Two weeks hire of the said negroe'.[2680] Joseph Batterton also hired Leah Weekes [2681] and bought Grace (Weekes) from JPP, and in 1784 purchased a boy, Peter, from the free mulatto John Browne.[2682] A woman, Myrtilla Dowse, who probably lived with Joseph Batterton, manumitted Grace on 31 August 1787. By then Catto had given birth to a daughter called Rainer and Joseph Batterton was experiencing financial difficulties; six weeks before Grace (Weekes) was freed, Batterton borrowed N£161 from Thomas Arthurton, to be repaid in a year's time. As security Batterton put up not only his seine and canoe but also Catto and her daughter.[2683] It is likely that he did not manage to repay the loan and that Catto and Rainer ended up in Thomas Arthurton's possession. Some years later Joseph Batterton owed JPP nearly N£40.[2684]

James Tobin, who had previously appraised the 17 people earmarked for Thomas Pym Weekes, bought three of the 13 Alvarez/Martin people. As JPP's friend, he had the pick and moved swiftly. On 3 July 1781 he purchased three females - sisters perhaps: **Frankey** (later Franky Weeks), who was about 18, **Letty** (later Litty)**,** who was about ten and **Harriett** who was about five or six years old.[2685] They cost N£80, N£65 and N£35 respectively.[2686]

Franky, Letty and Harriett were then moved to Tobin's Stoney Grove Estate. It is not known what work these three did there and whether they raised any children, but it has been possible to research the plantation in some detail and thereby place their subsequent lives into context.
Just south of Charlestown, Stoney Grove estate ran for one and a half miles in a narrow strip from Gallows Bay up towards the mountain. When James Tobin left for England three years after he bought these three females, the plantation had 260 acres of cane land and on it lived 72 men and boys and 100 women and girls.[2687] In Tobin's absence, the plantation was run by a succession of bad managers and slid into debt. In 1789 he borrowed his first £10,000 from JPP, with whom he had set up business in Bristol, and by the time he returned to Nevis in 1806, the debt had almost doubled. After considering how the estate could be improved, he installed a new overseer, the 17-year-old mulatto William Bryan Archbald. Almost certainly he was one of Dr Sholto Archbald's sons.

During James Tobin's four-year stay in the island three black and mixed-heritage women close to his family died: in August 1809 his wife's 51-year-old maid Priscilla Gould, a months later an 'adult negro woman', Diana, who was baptised and buried on the same day, and in 1810 his father's mistress, the free black woman Sophia Tobin.[2688] A well-established and wealthy woman, she had lived not far from the plantation, near the Bath Plain,[2689] and the Stoney Grove people would have known her and her people well. James Tobin, with Dr Henry Richards Cassin, executed Sophia Tobin's will [2690] and then returned to

---

[2680] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f33; also AB 26 f167 'Joseph Batterton a free Negro' a/c
[2681] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f33 Memo
[2682] ECSCRN, CR 1783-1785 f544
[2683] ECSCRN, CR 1788-1789 f72
Catto and her daughter were put up as security in a bond and mortgage for N£161, payable by 20 June 1788 (dated 20 June 1787), to the planter Thomas Arthurton. Joseph Batterton signed the document.
[2684] PP, LB 11: JPP to TP Weekes, 9 February 1793
[2685] In 1783 N£35 was the value of girl aged five years and ten months, Little Patty, and a boy of the same age, Quakey.

The name Lettey or Letty was the pet form for Purletta. It was also the name of William Burt Weekes's oldest daughter.
[2686] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f30
[2687] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 71 pp270-71
[2688] Priscilla Gould was buried on 27 August 1809 in St John Figtree, and Diana was baptised and buried on 16 September 1809 in St John Figtree (NHCS, St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825 and ECSCRN, CR 1769-1771 f315).
[2689] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1805-1818 f148
[2690] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1805-1818 ff126-37

Bristol, leaving his eldest son, James Webbe Tobin, in charge. Nearly blind, James Webbe Tobin had come to Nevis for his health, bringing with him his wife Jane and their baby son. The couple had not been married for long. Over the next five years Mrs Tobin gave birth to four children who, no doubt, would have been tended by nursemaids chosen from the Stoney Grove plantation people.

While Tobin senior had energetically defended the rights of one man to own another, his son equally energetically campaigned for the rights of the enslaved and free populations. An Oxford graduate and friend of the poets Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey, he had also written several plays – one of which was even staged at London's Drury Lane - and had been involved in radical politics. His beliefs were based on the recognition that he existed 'only by the labour of slaves'. He recognised that from them he derived most of the comforts he enjoyed, 'as well as those advantages of education which have taught him what in return he owes to them.' While he did not conclude that he should set free his wealth providers, he did feel responsible for their well-being: 'If it is their lot in this world to labour, it is his duty to render their existence happy by the right exercise of his understanding and the cultivation of every good feeling with which he is endowed.'[2691]

One of the issues James Webbe Tobin addressed was the low birth rate among enslaved people. He believed that 'with proper treatment the laborious part of the community whether slave or free people would increase sufficiently without any further resort to the iniquitous slave trade', but he noted that a population increase was difficult to achieve in the present climate; the war had caused a shortage of supplies. In fact plantation people in Nevis had not been issued with their allowances for several months past.[2692] James Webbe Tobin wrote this in 1811. By then Harriett may have died but Franky Weeks and Litty certainly were still alive. In the thirty years they had lived on Stoney Grove, the number of people had risen to 220, as Tobin pointed out, mostly through births.

James Webbe Tobin stood for a progressive move towards the abolition of slavery. He suggested that matters would be improved 'if female slaves were allowed the liberty of purchasing their own children's freedom at a fixed price...',[2693] and he advocated the right of freedpeople to vote. Like many abolitionists, his attitude was paternalist and he believed in the white man's cultural superiority but on a small island like Nevis, where everyone depended on slavery for their wealth and position, it required great courage to take an abolitionist stance. Tobin displayed even greater courage when, following Edward Huggins's flogging of the Mountravers people and his subsequent acquittal by a rigged jury, he became Huggins's principal antagonist and publicly attacked the standard of justice in the island. In turn, his opponents scoffed at the little sugar Stoney Grove produced - in one year a laughable 30 hogsheads – and denounced him as a 'dangerous man'. They reminded everyone that in the past Tobin had been shunned by his fellow citizens and had left the island because of this.[2694] Tobin could dish it out as good as he got and, in the context of writing about the standard of government in the island, he accused the island's assembly of including 'many who cannot spell their own language' and described Mr Julius of St Kitts, who represented Governor Elliot in his absence, as a man 'whose talents, if rightly estimated, are hardly sufficient to entitle him to be President at a cockfight or a horserace.'[2695]

[2691] UKNA, CO 152/96: James Webbe Tobin to Governor Elliot, 24 August 1810
[2692] Small, D 'James Webbe Tobin', quoting CO 152/98 Letter dated 11 August 1811
[2693] Small, D 'James Webbe Tobin', quoting CO 152/98
[2694] Cottle, TJ *A Plain Statement*
[2695] UKNA, CO 152/96

Despite the attacks on him, James Webbe Tobin remained in Nevis until he died in October 1814.[2696] At the age of 47 he succumbed to a fever. In Britain, the anti-slavery African Institution had taken a great interest in the Huggins flogging and had praised Tobin's public stance. After his death the Institution's directors sought to publish a tribute to him in the *St Christopher Gazette* but their request was refused.[2697]

Tobin's wife - 'so amiable a young lady' - [2698] continued to support her husband's cause. When she left the island she took with her to Bristol a free black man, Charles Hamilton. He had been enslaved illegally in the islands of St Bartholomew and St Kitts and had been freed by the courts.

James Webbe Tobin's contribution to fight the excesses of plantation slavery was recognised many years after his death when in 1825 the *Edinburgh Review* praised him for bringing Huggins's 'diabolical outrages' to the government's and the public's attention. The writer of the article stressed the harassment Tobin had experienced; he was 'menaced with prosecutions, assailed with slanders, and preserved only by his blindness from challenges [to a duel]'. The article concluded that the people of Nevis had 'adopted the guilt and they must share in the infamy …'[2699]

James Webbe Tobins' father, old James Tobin, died in 1817 and ownership of the plantation passed to James Webbe's younger brother George, a Captain in the Royal Navy. Between 1819 and 1821, production rose slightly from between 53 to 69 hogsheads, but it was poor quality sugar that went onto an already depressed sugar market. When Charles Pinney visited the estate on his first trip to Nevis during 1820/1, he observed that it had 'upwards of 300 acres, the most part of poor thin soil, and which I conceive will require much labor, attention and time to make it properly productive with a liberal allowance of manure.' Only 30 acres were of 'superior quality', capable of a large return per acre, and a considerable proportion of the sugar was made on this small patch. Although well over two hundred enslaved people lived on Stoney Grove, it was badly organised and under-resourced: 'From the length of the property it is laborious, three works are used, and the only still house at the extreme end, to which everything is carted from the upper and middle works to make rum, which necessarily increases the labour of the stock.' It had no windmill and too few mules and cattle to drive the animal mills. So much time was consumed in taking off the crop and in the manufacture of sugar that too little time was left to prepare the ground and put in a new crop.[2700]

Although on Stoney Grove the size of the estate, the soil, the location of the works and the shortage of animals made work harder for the workers, during the period 1817 to 1822 relatively fewer people died on this than on some other estates in Nevis [2701] and a sufficiently large number of females of child-bearing age ensured that births outnumbered deaths. However, during the following three years Stoney Grove did worse than other estates, with deaths rising at an above average rate.[2702] 22 people died, including two

---

[2696] NHCS, St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825
[2697] *Fifth Report of the Directors of the African Institution Read at the Annual General Meeting on the 27th of March 1811*
[2698] PP, LB 22: JPP to JW Tobin, Tavistock Street, Bedford Square, 30 September 1807
[2699] The author of the article on Huggins was James Stephens, the great-grandfather of Virginia Woolf. A shortened version of it appeared in Winifred F Courtney's 'Nevis and the English Romantic Writers' which was published in 1990 in *The Charles Lamb Newsletter*.
[2700] PP, LB 27: Charles Pinney to Capt George Tobin, 1 February 1821
[2701] During the period 1817 to 1822 13.6 per cent of the slave population on Stoney Grove died. This was just below the average of 14.9 per cent which prevailed on a random sample of 17 estates. These were Black Rock, Bush Hill, Cane Garden, Clarke's, Golden Rock, Hamilton's, Jessup's, Montpelier, Mountravers, Maynard's New River, Huggins's New River, Prospect, Richmond Lodge, Round Hill, Scarborough's, Spring Valley and Stoney Grove (UKNA, T 71/364 and 365). The lowest rate of death was on the Spring Valley estate (8 per cent), the highest on Jessup's (28.8 per cent). Factors such as situation in the island, age and gender structure were not considered.
[2702] *Table I: Births and deaths during 1817-1834 on Stoney Grove*

out of the 12 babies born. The losses were the greatest among the most vulnerable groups, the young and the old: two thirds of the dead were under 15 or over 50. External factors were partly to blame: from 1822 onwards Nevis was particularly badly affected by import restrictions on food and by terrible drought, famine and illnesses. In addition, the estate suffered from Tobin's underinvestment, from a negligent attorney, William McPhail, who had tried to reduce the supplies to a level which his absentee owner could tolerate, and from poor management. The Pinneys' attorneys Mills and Galpine complained in 1823 that if 'This estate was badly managed by Mr Richie, it is now worse managed by a Mulatto man, the overseer [William Archbald].'[2703]

Since 1789 Stoney Grove had been under mortgage to the Pinneys and, as there was no prospect of this ever being paid off, Charles Pinney decided to foreclose. On 1 January 1824 his attorneys, John Colhoun Mills and Francis John Galpine, took possession of the estate. A new manager, William Murray, started work on the same day.[2704] He was a relative of McPhail's (the previous attorney) and well-liked by Mills, but he was still McPhail's relative and Mills wanted a clean sweep. He also wished to remove Archbald because he had a mistress on the plantation, or, as Mills put it, he had 'a connection on the estate' which he considered 'subversive of good order.' He asked the new owners to send out 'an active young farming lad'.[2705]

For the second time in their lives, Frankey Weeks and Litty were owned by members of the Pinney family. This time they belonged to JPP's daughters Mrs Ames and Mrs Baillie, who had inherited Tobin's mortgage on their father's death.

Their attorney John Colhoun Mills inspected the estate and his first report made dismal reading: The 'lands, stock and even the Negroes are considerably injured by parsimony and neglect' and 'To describe the condition of this estate exceeds everything. … Mr McPhail's conduct is most glaringly culpable ... the buildings are in ruins'. The roofs of the main buildings had not been re-shingled in time; in fact the roof of the middle works was beyond repair and the curing house of the upper works in such a bad state that the sugar was in danger of being washed out of the hogsheads. The Tobins and their attorney had skimped on materials; instead of using Bristol lime, the less durable local 'country' lime had been used for hanging coopers at the upper works and the still house. Carpenters and coopers were without tools, mules and horses bought from Porto Rico the previous year had nearly all died, and the estate could expect to make only 60 hogsheads of sugar. Mills's final words: 'The mismanagement of this estate has been noticed by the whole island.'[2706]

Period	Births	Deaths	Total slave population
1817			213
1817-1822	31	29	215
1822-1825	12	22	205
1825-1828	22	17	210
1828-1831	17	15	209*
1831-1834	13	11	211

* Between 1828 and 1831 six people were sold and three were purchased.

[2703] PP, LB 56: Mills & Galpine to PA & Co, 11 April 1823
[2704] PP, WI Box 1823-1825: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate 1824
[2705] PP, LB 58: JC Mills to PA & Co, 15 January 1824
[2706] PP, LB 58: JC Mills to PA & Co, 15 January 1824

The accounts for 1824 on this run-down estate bear witness to hunger, turmoil and harsh punishment:

10 February	Paid Constables per Magistrates order attending trial and examination of witness in Jupiter's case ……	N£5:0:0
6 March	Paid (James Locke, Smith) fitting two convict chains ……	N£1:16:0
17 March	Paid a woman of Mr Laurence's for a goat stolen by Pompey ……	N£1:2:6
17 March	Paid convict chain for one man …	N18s
28 March	Paid convict chains for a negroe man	N18s
29 March	Paid Police Officer for taken (sic) up a Negro…	N3s
25 May	Paid Police Officer ……	N3s
12 October	Paid for a goat stolen by Pompey (£2:14:0 included per order of the Magistrate to GH Lans)	
5 November	Paid for a sheep stolen by Pompey	
	Paid Collector Gordon's order ……	N£1:16:0
	Paid Police Officer ……	N6s
23 December	Paid Police Officer ……	N3s
30 December	Paid Mrs Seaton for a goat stolen by Pompey	N£1:4:6[2707]

At the end of the year, Duniarge (Dumarge?), a sambo in his late twenties, was accused of stealing N£1:7:9 worth of 'things' from Mills's former business partner, Francis John Galpine.[2708] Mills put the troubles down to the overseer having a mistress on the plantation which undermined his authority, and he wanted the man replaced by someone fresh out from Britain.[2709] In response to Mills's request for a new manager (and overseer), the Pinneys sent out a new manager – a bright young man called Henry Ransford. Ambitious and energetic, at the age of 16 he had set off from Bristol to the West Indies to recover his failing health. He had learnt plantership in Jamaica, gathering experience on at least six different estates between landing in Jamaica in April 1821 and departing three years later. After mooching around in Bristol for a while, he accepted the post at Stoney Grove and arrived in Nevis in March 1825.[2710] In Jamaica he had worked under a planter who, by adopting a new system of management, had not only been successful in renovating a property but also in 'improving the moral habits of the Negroes',[2711] and armed with this know-how young Ransford was set to take charge of the Tobins' dismally neglected estate.

Henry Ransford later recorded his first impressions: 'I went on shore and saw Mr Mills, the attorney for Pinney, Ames & Co. He invited me to his house until I could land my things and get settled. His estate was called Prospect and part of it was bounded by Stoney Grove, the estate I came to take charge of, so that we were near neighbours. He was a fine, gentlemanly, hospitable man and we were always the best of friends to the last… ' [2712] As to Stoney Grove,

[2707] PP, WI Box 1823-1825: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate 1824
[2708] PP, WI Box 1823-1825: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate 1824
[2709] PP, LB 58: JC Mills, Nevis, to PA & Co, January? 1824
[2710] Ransford, Henry 'Dates and Events'
[2711] PP, LB 59: PA & Co to Mills, 18 November 1824
[2712] Ransford, Henry 'Dates and Events' p19
Another visitor to the island attested to Mr Mills's hospitality. In the late 1790s Aaron Thomas's ship was stationed off Nevis and he made it his business to walk about Charlestown and its environs. At their first encounter 'Mr Mills behaved very civil' and Thomas visited Mills's estate several more times (*Aaron Thomas's Journal* p49, p85, p195, and p309).

> Stony it was with a vengeance, one of the canefields called Grape Tree about 30 acres and another Gardenpiece 12 acres, were literally a bed of stones with small bare patches of earth. The cane was planted wherever one could be stuck in or planted, nevertheless there were good crops of fine canes produced but the labour for the negroes and mules to carry away the canes when cut was great and troublesome. The bog lands on the lower part of the estate consisted of 25 acres of rich wet soil without a stone on it, the trouble here was that on parts the canes had to be carried to firm ground where the mules and carts could travel, as in many parts the weight would have swamped them. The place had been much neglected and badly managed and the small cattlemills were not sufficient to grind a good crop. So it was arranged that I should build a good central set of works and a steam engine be sent out from England.[2713]

Ransford planned and organised the building of the works - a major project. Just to build the engine house Charles Pinney estimated that it would require 25 hogsheads of lime and 10,000 shingles and the work of four good masons and 12 to 14 labourers for three months.[2714] To construct the housing and associated buildings, such as the cistern and the coal pits, Ransford employed a local man, the free mixed-heritage James Dore ('a very good man'), who worked alongside the plantation masons. After considering several engineers who then lived in the Leeward Islands, a man from Antigua, Joseph Gardner, was chosen to supervise the erection of the engine but the hard, physical work was, of course, done by enslaved men and women. It is not known to what extent these engineers sought to train the local - free and enslaved - labour force of masons, blacksmiths and carpenters,[2715] but there certainly would have been some transfer of knowledge and skills. This would have worked in both directions, with local people contributing their expertise and their experience as to what was possible, given the climate and conditions.

Operating the machinery required new skills but Ransford's employers in Bristol were confident that, having gained experience of working with a steam engine in Jamaica,[2716] he would 'be able to instruct the negroes in its management'.[2717] The engine was tested for the first time on 21 December 1826 'and gave perfect satisfaction'.[2718] With all this effort going into estate work, Ransford neglected sending out people to repair the public road that ran through the property and was fined N£10.[2719]

As well as improving the infrastructure on the estate, the new manager was grappling with problems of discipline. As early as 1820 the Stoney Grove people were reported as having been 'discontented'; as a group, they had applied to Mr Mills and also to the magistrates.[2720] While they did have grounds for complaints then, Mills thought they were 'long accustomed to a slovenly way of working'[2721] and that it would take time to get them used to a new regime. The only recorded punishment meted out in 1825 was to put on and take off 'a pair of convict clogs' but in the following year the blacksmith was called in to attach four clogs ('2 link chains added to each') and Ransford had to pay N6s 'for taking a negroe out of

---

[2713] Ransford, H 'Dates and Events'
[2714] PP, WI Box O3-3: Charles Pinney to RW Pickwood, 22 April 1829
[2715] Small, D 'Early Steam Engines in the Caribbean: Nevis 1816-1846'
[2716] In his recollections Henry Ransford did not mention that Lodge estate was one of four estates in the parish of St Dorothy which had installed Boulton & Watt steam engines between 1811 and 1817, and that the engine had been in place for five or six years by the time he arrived (D MSmall 'Early Steam Engines in the Caribbean', quoting V Satchell 'The diffusion of the Watt Steam Engine in the Jamaican slave/sugar economy 1810-1830', Paper given at the 29th Annual Conference of the Association of Caribbean Historians, April 1997, 16).
[2717] PP, LB 59: PA & Co to Mills, 18 November 1824
[2718] PP, LB 60: Mills to PA & Co, 22 December 1826
[2719] PP, WI Box 1823-1825: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate 1825 JC Mills's a/c
[2720] PP, LB 27: Charles Pinney to R E Case, 4 September 1820
[2721] PP, LB 59: JC Mills to PA & Co Continuation of his report, between 16 January and 24 March 1824

the cage', the public jail. Someone stole a sheep [2722] but what happened on Stoney Grove was no different to what went on in nearby Charlestown. There so many thefts and robberies occurred and riots by 'mobs of slaves and free people' that the Deputy Provost Marshal William Keepe pleaded for more police officers.[2723]

Under Ransford's management, things settled down on the estate. He had overseen the building of a complete new set of works and installed the latest technology. The crops increased, and although the estate was still not making any profit, by 1828 he had made such improvements that Charles Pinney, then on another visit to Nevis, rewarded him with a passage to England on one of the Pinney ships. Before he left on his vacation, Ransford witnessed his overseer, William Archbald, buying six Stoney Grove plantation people: Nanny Canham and her children Richard, Penelope, Josiah, John and Kitsey.[2724] Archbald, who in 1817 had already owned one male and one female, paid the equivalent of three years' salary, N£355.[2725] This purchase, though, he appears to have shared with a woman called Lucretia Griffin and a free mixed-heritage carpenter, John B Browne,[2726] for it was these three who then manumitted Nanny Canham and her children.[2727] Tragically, she and two of her children died in the spring of 1830 over a period of six weeks.[2728] By way of replacement for Nanny Canham and her children, Archbald then offered some of his people for sale and two men not exactly neutral or disinterested, Henry Ransford and Walter Bucke, valued them:[2729] a 35-year-old African woman, Fanny Pinney, and her two young children, Betty Pinney and Charles Pinney.[2730] They were sold to the plantation for N£205.[2731]

Archbald was clearly doing well under Ransford and Charles Pinney was pleased with his performance. While he may have failed during his brief spell as manager - Mills had thought him a worse manager than Adam Richie – Archbald had proved himself a competent overseer and received a gratuity of N£50 'for good conduct being overseer on the estate for 20 years.' [2732] Charles Pinney also approved of Archbald's marriage to a free woman, Frances Levy. Their witness was a man of some standing, Dr Cassin.[2733] He was a near neighbour; his recently purchased Merton Villa[2734] almost bordered the Stoney Grove Estate.

Ransford later recorded with some pride that 'The number of births increased during my management.'[2735] Between 1828 and 1831, 17 children were born but this was actually a drop from 22 births in the preceding three-year-period. Nevertheless, the 17 births outnumbered the 15 deaths – albeit by a small margin. In 1828 the causes of death were noted for the last time: Ebo Frank and Bess died from 'old age', aged 65 and 69, and Shelah, a 27-year-old woman, from consumption. Between January

---

[2722] PP, WI Box 1823-1825: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate 1825 and 1826 Estate of John Mills dec'd a/c
According to the accounts, the sheep was stolen from a C Bridgwater. This may have been Charlotte Bridgwater, who herself was struggling to survive. She was granted $1 poor relief by the Legislature (UKNA, CO 186/13: 30 March 1826).
[2723] UKNA, CO 186/13: 15 July 1826
[2724] ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 vol 2 ff628-29; also UKNA, T 71/1543 Bundle 7 No 3
[2725] PP, WI Box 1823-1825: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate
[2726] ECSCRN, CR 1814-1817 Index
[2727] ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 vol 2 ff718-19
[2728] PP, LB 60: Henry Ransford, Stoney Grove, Nevis, to PA & Co, 7 May 1830
[2729] PP, WI Box 1829-1836: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate Wm Archbald's a/c
[2730] UKNA, T 71/368
[2731] PP, WI Box 1829-1836: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate Wm Archbald's a/c
[2732] PP, WI Box 1829-1836: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate Wm Archbald's a/c
[2733] NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842
[2734] Terrell, Michelle M *The Jewish Community of Early Colonial Nevis* p117
[2735] From 1825 until 1834, during Ransford's management, births outnumbered deaths again. Although adverse weather conditions continued throughout the 1820s, Ransford managed to reduce the death rate during successive three-year periods from 10.2 to 8.9, to 7.1 and finally down to 5.3 per cent. This same pattern was evident, for instance, on Jessup's estate and Edward Huggins's New River plantation. Out of 17 sample estates, only Spring Valley consistently recorded more births than deaths. The estates were Black Rock, Bush Hill, Cane Garden, Clarke's, Golden Rock, Hamilton's, Jessup's, Montpelier, Mountravers, Maynard's New River, Huggins's New River, Prospect, Richmond Lodge, Scarborough's, Spring Valley and Stoney Grove (UKNA, T 71/364-369).

1829 and the beginning of 1831 twelve people died, and among them was Frankey Weeks – the woman mortgaged to JPP who, back in 1781, had been sold to James Tobin. Frankey was in her sixties and had laboured on Stoney Grove for almost fifty years.

Around the time of her death, the abolition debate was gathering momentum again in England, and in Nevis 'nothing was talked of but freedom.' According to Ransford, 'Things now began to get very uncomfortable, Exeter Hall ravings had set the negroes all eager about emancipation throughout the West Indies.' [2736] Then something must have happened on Stoney Grove that was not only 'very uncomfortable' but made Ransford fear for his life. After successfully running the estate for six years, he wrote to the firm that he was giving up the 'dangerous' job of manager: 'I say dangerous as on Stoney Grove there are five notorious thieves and runaways who unless worked in chains are creating constant trouble and expense, and should anything happen to them suddenly the life of the manager would in these times be possibly forfeited.' Without taking off the crop, in March 1831 [2737] he departed 'suddenly … on a plea of ill health.'[2738] How different had his return from England been eighteen months earlier! After being ship-wrecked with his dog off Antigua, he had been 'glad to get back to Stoney Grove and a hearty welcome from my dogs', adding 'the negroes too, I think, were glad to see me again.'

Very soon after Ransford left, a new manager started, Charles Clifton Caines. Production fell immediately but the estate began to show a small profit, largely because expenditure was screwed down again. Mills had always thought Ransford's ideas expensive (he probably improved the estate with an eye to renting it, and Ransford did indeed make an offer that was rejected), but then Mills was involved in his own little money-making scheme. Charles Pinney found out that he 'had been fleecing the estates by supplying them with lumber and provisions at what he called 'current prices''[2739] and with an outcry of 'what plunder…such a burthen of roguery'[2740] ringing in their ears, the Pinneys decided to sell the estate. They received a number of offers, including one from the new manager, but they wanted to hold on until slavery was abolished and the issue of the slave compensation money settled. Meanwhile, sugar production dropped from Ransford's high in 1830/31 of 153 hogsheads to 85, then to 61, and in 1833/4 doubled to a respectable 124 hogsheads.

On 1 January 1834, Litty was alive.[2741] Sold in her teens to James Tobin, she was then in her early sixties and probably past productive labour. For half a century she had toiled on a difficult estate but had survived. In the last 17 years, before slavery was abolished, 94 enslaved people had died on Stoney Grove and also several men involved in erecting and maintaining the steam engine. The engineer Gardner had not even lived to see the machine fully installed, and the engineer who took over and remained on the estate to supervise the running of the new equipment, succumbed to consumption. Then John Hill, probably a local man, took over but he also died.[2742] The attorney John Colhoun Mills had died, on his way back to England,[2743] and the long-time overseer William Archbald died at the beginning of March 1835.[2744] He had been married for just six years. For their three people, his widow received £42

[2736] Ransford, H 'Dates and Events'
[2737] PP, LB 65: Ransford to PA & Co, 24 March 1831
[2738] PP, Dom Box I i/12: Charles Pinney, Plymouth, to Mrs Pinney, 1 June 1831
[2739] Pares, R *A West India Fortune* p309
[2740] PP, Dom Box C2-13: RE Case to Charles Pinney, 19 September 1828
[2741] The compensation claim for Stoney Grove (No 1) stated that two people had died in the period 1 January 1834 to 31 July 1834. The individuals were not named and it is, of course, possible that Litty was one of these.
[2742] John Hill had owned one person (UKNA, T 71/369).
[2743] PP, Dom Box C2-13: RE Case to Charles Pinney, 23 August 1828
[2744] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 626

compensation.[2745] Archbald, who had worked on the estate for 26 years, was replaced by John Laurence - [2746] most likely another free coloured.[2747]

For the 209 Stoney Grove people, Litty included, the company of Charles Pinney & Robert Edward Case received over £3,500 [2748] and, with the compensation issue settled, they sold the estate and its apprentice labourers (who 'continued rather idle', it was claimed).[2749] Walter Maynard Mills bought it for £5,000 by way of a mortgage. The son of John Colhoun Mills, he took over the estate in September 1835, went to 'Canada West' and in 1839 married Grace Bell Cottle, the daughter of Thomas John Cottle. Walter Maynard Mills died in Nevis in 1841.[2750] Sixteen years later the Mills family sold the estate for a paltry £2,400 in cash.[2751] In the prevailing circumstances, Mills was no more able to make the estate pay than the Pinneys had been, or George and James and James Webbe Tobin before them. The plantation existed to produce sugar for the home market and wealth for the owner, but in both areas it had, largely, failed. In purely economic terms, the work of Franky Weeks, Litty and Harriett and hundreds of others had been wasted.

Henry Ransford did not buy a sugar plantation. Instead, he emigrated to Canada, purchased land and became a farmer. Following on from his engineering triumph of erecting a steam engine at Stoney Grove, he subsequently went on to erect at Battersea in London 'the most complete set of starch works then in England.' Aged 77, two years before his death, he reminisced that he took care of the negroes, working and treating them fairly at all times, so that they had full trust in me and never punished but when it was deserved; took care of them when ill. … I did not altogether like the system of slavery and thought I should prefer renting an estate and hiring people to work.

However, it is questionable whether, even with a voluntary labour force, he would have been any more successful in wresting substantial profits from the stoney and swampy lands.

◄► ▼◄►

While Franky Weeks, Litty and Harriett and nine others were sent off to work on other plantations or for new owners, one woman in the group of thirteen people originally owned by Henrietta Alvarez and Esther Martin was freed. John Anderson put up N£100 for the manumission of 'the negro female' **Lubbo** .[2752] Nothing is known about John Anderson except that he was mentioned in a lease in 1772 from Catherine Emra (James Emra's widow).[2753] Catherine Emra was William Burt Weekes's cousin and may somehow have been connected to this story. Having received the cash from Anderson, on 21 September 1782 William Burt Weekes and JPP manumitted Lubbo[2754] and two days later Weekes rented a piece of his land to her. The agreement was for twenty years, at a peppercorn rent (one ear of Indian corn per

[2745] PP, Dom Box R-6: Compensation file
[2746] PP, WI Box 1829-1836: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate
[2747] John and Samuel Laurence were manumitted by Sarah Hobson on 19 October 1824 for N£660 (UKNA, T 71/1543 Bundle 7). John Laurence, a 'mulatto carpenter hired from Mrs Hobson', was listed in 1817 on Magnus Morton's Hard Times estate in St George's Gingerland (T 71/364).
[2748] PP, LB 68: Pinney & Case to Shearman and Evans, 18 January 1843
[2749] PP, LB 58: Pinney & Case to Mrs [Anne] Mills, 29 January 1835
[2750] NHCS, St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825; St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 255 and pers. comm., Clive Mitchell, 2002
[2751] PP, Dom Box I2: Thomas Huggins to Charles Pinney, 12 June 1857
[2752] PP, AB 17: 12 September 1782; AB 26 John Anderson's a/c and AB 26 WB Weekes' and Mary Browne's a/c; AB 27 f41 Wm Burt Weekes's a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f84
[2753] ECSCRN, CR 1771-1773 ff229-93 and UKNA, CO 186/6: 9 December 1772
[2754] ECSCRN, CR 1783-1785 ff124-25

annum). After a third of the term had expired, William Burt Weekes assigned the land to her, but not long afterwards she sold its title to his son. William Coker's son John Frederick witnessed the document.[2755]

The property was on Main Street and bordered Edward Parris's land. Her neighbours were Jeremiah Neale, who had a house in the free mulatto woman Mary Neale's yard,[2756] and William Weekes,[2757] John Latoysonere Scarborough's 'confidential friend' [2758] who witnessed Grace Weekes's manumission.[2759] Grace Weekes was, in fact, also a neighbour of Lubbo's: William Burt Weekes later wrote to his sister that Lubbo's 80 feet of land ran 'down westward from Dr Williamson's land towards the Street which reached near to the upper end of your Grace's house.'[2760]

In August 1798 she lived on William Burt Weekes's land [2761] but then moved to a property in Charlestown that belonged to the free black man John Harris. When he made his will in 1803, he stipulated that for two years the free black woman Lubbo Weekes was to be allowed to live in the house she then occupied and have the use of its furniture and also left her N£150. Lubbo Weekes died between Harris making his will in February 1803 and him adding a codicil in February 1808. This made the money bequest void but her brother Foe Gay was allowed to remain living in Harris's property.[2762]

◄► ▼◄►

474 Little Yabba, later Yabba, was black and born on Sunday, 30 September 1781, to a purchased woman. When she was close to two years of age, she was valued at N£15.

Yabba became a field worker. She started off in the third gang, the weeding gang, and as a 17-year-old was still in the small gang. Like everyone else, she did other jobs as well and once she was busy 'manufacturing casava' (sic).[2763] Apparently cassava (also cassada) had been cultivated in the islands before whites settlers arrived.[2764] It grows as a shrub several feet high. Although the leaves can be eaten, it is mainly valued for its roots. Revd William Smith described how these were prepared: 'The root of it is carefully scraped till the white part appears, and then it is rubbed hard against a large tin grater, in shape of a nutmeg-grater, nailed fast to a piece of wood, that is about two foot long; and being wondrous juicy, is soon rubbed to a soft matter that resembles children's pap. This pappy substance is then put into a hair bag, and pressed hard between two stones, until there comes from it a milk white water of a raw unsavoury smell, and which is rank poison; for if a turkey, hen, or duck, gets to the press and tastes the

[2755] PP, LB 11: JPP to Thomas Pym Weekes, 10 November 1792, ECSCRN, CR 1789-1790 f275; also LB 12: JPP to WB Weekes, Woodcutts, 3 February 1796
[2756] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f557
[2757] ECSCRN, CR 1789-1790 f275
[2758] DALSS, 337 add 3B/1/8/1 2 of 2 (Box 25)
[2759] ECSCRN, CR 1784-1789 ff162-63
[2760] On 16 November 1794 William Burt Weekes wrote to his sister about two pieces of land she wanted to know about. The second piece of land he described as 'To the East – land late Mr Edward Parris's now property of Dr Williamson. To the West with the Main Street. To the North with land leading from the Main Street up to the house on the land of the said Doctor Williamson. To the South with lands of the late Ann Osterman deceased, as far as the ground to the Eastward, afterwards with the path that led up to the Jews Synagogue late called Mr Willets now Mr Braziers.' This presumably was the second piece of land: 'On leaving the island I gave my negro woman Lubbo then free a deed for 80 feet of the said land down Westward from Dr Williamson's land towards the Street which reached near to the upper end of your Grace's house – (Dr Weekes may have purchased her right since!)' (PP, Dom Box S1).
[2761] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff287-91
[2762] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1805-1818 ff94-8
[2763] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[2764] Hicks, Dan *'The Garden of the World' A Historical Archaeology of Eastern Caribbean Sugar Plantations*

water, it instantly dies.' (Not just the root was poisonous; James Grainger knew that eating certain types of cassava leaves could poison a horse.)[2765] Once the liquid was pressed out, the cassava was left to dry in the open air so 'that the hot sun-beams may exhale what poisonous particles the press could not squeeze out'. Then it was sieved and the powdery flour made into cakes, which were baked 'upon a broad iron kept purely for that use'. Revd Smith certainly was 'an admirer of this bread', and it generally was very popular with white people;[2766] absentees even had it shipped back to Britain for their own use and to give as presents.[2767] Cassava was also turned into 'excellent puddings',[2768] or into dumplings, or pounded to make foufou, the starchy base for many a West African meal.

Yabba's job of 'manufacturing casava' was therefore one of trust; careless handling could spoil the batch and poison everyone who partook.

Aged about 21, in 1802 she was delivered of a child.[2769] This may have been John Pedero, or, less likely, James. She had another child four years later; her son Talliho was born in October 1806.

James and John Pedero died young, before 1817, and Yabba died between December 1816 and July 1817. She was 35 years old.

475 Count de Grasse, or Compte de Grasse, was the child of a purchased female. He was born on Saturday, 12 January 1782 - three days after the French attack on Nevis and on the very day the Naval Commander, Compte de Grasse, met JPP and James Tobin to discuss Nevis's terms of surrender. Naming the boy after the Frenchman was not done to mock or belittle; naming children after prominent people was also customary in West Africa.[2770] Several enslaved children born on other plantations in Nevis were also called de Grasse (and Degrass), and it became quite a common family name.

As an 11-year-old, Count de Grasse worked in Jack's gang. By the time he reached sixteen, he was the oldest boy in Pompey's gang; next in age was the fourteen-year-old Ned. It is likely he suffered from poor health. Count de Grasse died between August 1807 and December 1816, in his mid-twenties to mid-thirties.

476 Billy Keefe, also Billey Keeffe, was born on Friday, 15 February 1782, and Philley's eldest child. A 'Negro man' called Billey Keefe, most likely, was his father but not the father of this boy's younger siblings: Joe Neal (b 1788), Mickey (b 1791), Kate Neal (b 1793), and Hetty Nelson (b 1798). Another girl, Polly Neal (b 1784), may also have been his sister.

The previous owner of the man believed to have been this boy's father was James Carroll, and from 1783 James Carroll hired Billy's mother, a domestic. Billy, then worth N£12, at the outset of the hire period was

---

[2765] Grainger, James *The Sugar Cane* p41
[2766] Luffman, John *A Brief Account* Letter XV 12 May 1787 in VL Oliver *The History of the Island of Antigua* Vol
[2767] PP, LB 12: JPP, Bristol, to JB Dunbar, London, 13 October 1795, and AB 47 Cash a/c
[2768] Smith, Revd William *A Natural History of Nevis* pp101-02
In Winston 'Zack' Nisbet's International House Museum in Basseterre is a more mechanised cassava grater on display: a turning wheel makes lighter work than grating.
[2769] PP, LB 19: 6 November 1802
[2770] Burnard, Trevor 'Slave Naming Patterns: Onomastics and the Taxonomy of Race in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica' in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* Vol 31 No 3 (Winter 2001) p344

almost a year and a half old, and his mother would have taken him with her to her new employer. Billey Keefe senior had died by then.

Billy Keefe may have been sickly throughout his life. When he was six years old, Dr Thomas Pym Weekes gave him a 'cathartic',[2771] or purgative, which may suggest he suffered an illness of the bowels. Two years later he had another cathartic, together with four ounces of something that was abbreviated to 'cord. mix[ture]'. At the same time his mother was twice treated with '2 oz anodyne balsam'.[2772]

When he was eleven years old, Billy Keefe worked in the third gang, the weeding gang. Four years on he was still in the small gang.[2773]

Billy Keefe died between August 1807 and December 1816. He was in his mid-twenties to mid-thirties.

477 John Bertrand, born between about 1765 and 1767, was a black boy. Although the transfer of ownership had been agreed on 4 February 1781, officially he was purchased on Friday, 7 June 1782.[2774] His previous owner was a young widow, Martha Williams Bertrand. Her father, Thomas Wenham, had managed Mountravers, and she may, in fact, have been born on the plantation.

In 1775 Martha Williams Wenham had married the widower John Bertrand, his wife and son having died recently.[2775] The couple then had a son, who, like this boy, was also called John.[2776] Martha Bertrand's husband had been Deputy Collector of Customs, working under John Nelson,[2777] and it was to him, Mr Bertrand's superior, that the couple had in 1777 sold nine people: Mungo, a man, the women Nancy Bell and Nanno, the boys Garrick, Ben and John, and the girls Betty, Sally and Sarah.[2778] This boy John Bertrand probably knew them all and, of course, in this group may even have been members of his own family. In fact another family member may have been Cudjoe, whom Mrs Martha Williams Bertrand sold on the same day as John Bertrand. Cudjoe was older and, bought by James Tobin, presumably went to work on Tobin's Stoney Grove plantation.[2779]

[2771] PP, AB 35 TP Weekes a/c; also AB 30: 15 May 1788
[2772] PP, AB 43 Thomas Pym Weekes a/c; also AB 30 TP Weekes' a/c
[2773] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[2774] ECSCRN, CR 1783-1785 f262
[2775] John Bertrand married Martha Wenham on 2 March 1775 (NHCS, St John Figtree Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825). His previous wife must have died not long before; the couple's nine-months-old son was buried in 1773. According to fragments of the parish register for St Thomas Lowland church, this son was called William Senhouse (VL Oliver *Monumental Inscriptions in the British West Indies* p103), and it is, therefore, very likely that John Bertrand's first wife was related to the Surveyor General of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, William Senhouse RN ret'd (1741-1800). His papers, including genealogical notes, notes on the climate in Barbados 1784-1794 and very detailed and well-described recollections from between 1750 and 1787 are in the Cumbria Record Office and are worthy of further investigation (Cumbria RO, D/SEN Box 22).
[2776] Oliver, VL *Monumental Inscriptions in the British West Indies* p103
[2777] John Bertrand was appointed Deputy to Collector of Customs, under John Nelson, on 2 July 1772 (UKNA, CO 186/7).
[2778] John Bertrand sold these nine people for £600 on 25 April 1777 to John Nelson of Grenada (ECSCRN, CR 1777-1778 f61). Less than three weeks later, John Nelson, who was then absent from the island, was replaced by Archibald Thomson as Deputy Collector of Customs (UKNA, CO 186/7: 13 May 1777). It appears that John Nelson was then in England and dismissed from his post, as suggested by 'a memorial regarding his dismissal for not having embarked for the West Indies by 10 December, as ordered by the Customhouse, his vessel having been delayed, with receipt for his baggage received on board 13 December' (UKNA, T1/474/72-77).
[2779] On 4 February 1781 Martha Williams Bertrand, widow of Kingston, Surrey and Jamaica, sold to JPP and James Tobin two boys, Cudjoe and John (ECSCRN, CR 1783-1785 f262). Cudjoe, who cost N£104 (PP, AB 26 f181 John Richardson Herbert's a/c), was not listed on the Stoney Grove register in 1817 (UKNA, T 71/364).

When John Bertrand came to the plantation, he may have remembered the two Mountravers people who had worked for his former owner for a few weeks.[2780] Indeed, some years later, he himself was employed elsewhere. He was hired out and was expected back at the beginning of April 1792. Dr Thomas Pym Weekes, the then manager, reminded himself: 'John Bertrand to come here four months being expired.'[2781]

John Bertrand probably suffered from weak health. Within a couple of years of being purchased his value had decreased by N£2 to N£70 , and he did not work in the field.

In his thirties, John Bertrand died between May 1803 and December 1806.

478 Little Harriett, later Harriett, was 'yellow cast' and born on Tuesday, 17 December 1782, to a purchased woman. Aged seven months, she was worth N£10.

On Mountravers lived an African woman called Harriott (No 264) but this is an instance where a child with the prefix 'Little' was not the offspring of an adult of the same name. Little Harriett's mother was Maria (No 318), a Gold Coast slave, who may have named her daughter in honour of this woman, a domestic servant. As there was a Harriott/Harriett on the plantation already, this case may be evidence that some enslaved people could choose their children's names. JPP, with his orderly and efficient mind, would not have wanted to cause confusion by having two people of the same name.

Within a few years Little Harriett lost her mother and also a younger sister, Mimba (b 1785). They both died around the same time, between 1791 and 1794. Left motherless before she was twelve years old, most likely, another woman would have adopted Little Harriett. Given the strong bonds among ship friends, this may have been the woman called Nobody. She had endured the Middle Passage on the King of Prussia with Little Harriett's mother but Nobody, too, died about the same time as her mother, in 1793 or 1794. If Little Harriett was adopted by her namesake, then she would have suffered another loss; the African woman died in 1800.

Little Harriett was known to have had medical treatment in October 1797. Doctors Archbald & Williamson charged N£1:10:0 for 'Introducing a seaton'.[2782]

Harriett died on 21 January 1826, aged 43.

◄► ▼◄►

On 1 January 1783 eleven people from Woodland joined the folk on Mountravers. They were the last large group to be added. Instead of choosing able men or boys, JPP was planning ahead and picked four young women and their nine children, five boys and four girls.[2783] But before the transfer was completed, one of the women and one of the boys died.

Over the past twenty year these women from Woodland had been sold or mortgaged four times. They must always have felt uncertain as to what their future would hold. When one owner had tried switching

[2780] The names of the two people who worked for Mrs Bertrand are not known; only their hire income of N£7:10:0 was accounted for in 1773 (PP, AB 20 Plantation a/c).
[2781] PP, Misc Vols 12 Leeward Islands Calendar
[2782] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c; also AB 53 Archbald & Williamson's a/c
[2783] PP, LB 19 Roger Pemberton's a/c

from sugar to cotton, they at least had a relatively easy year because once the planting was done, there was not much to pick. With the estate lying so high, the crop proved unsuccessful.[2784] However, the bushes then had to be stumped up, cane holes dug again and the land manured so that the endless cycle of growing and cutting sugar cane could continue.

After Woodland came into JPP's possession, in January 1781 he had sold to Edward Brazier 55 of the Woodland people. Brazier wanted them for his plantation in St John Figtree. Part of Brazier's property consisted of Mary Pinney's old Mountain or Governors estate, [2785] which Brazier probably rented at first and then acquired by way of a mortgage from JPP. Thirty years later, those people who had survived were in a bad state. 'Ineffective from disease and from want of food', it was said that they had been 'suffered to lead so idle a life that it would be a work of time' to get them to produce anything.[2786] At a time when sugar was worth little and imports were costly, JPP had warned old Brazier 'that every planter ought to return their thoughts to the raising of provisions for his Negroes',[2787] but it appears that his warning was not heeded sufficiently and people went hungry. Later they were saved by the intervention of Edward Brazier's oldest son, the Revd Edward Brazier.[2788] A sign of their discontent and disaffection was that of the 76 males four Creoles absconded.[2789] In 1813 Brazier's estate, which adjoined James Tobin's Stoney Grove, was up for sale but 'from improper management' it was 'matted in nutgrass' and generally in a terrible state. No buyer came forward.[2790]

> While the majority of the ex-Woodland people sold to Edward Brazier lived and worked in poor conditions, one woman, Nancy Bowels, led quite an independent life. The people whom JPP took over in 1783 may have known her when she was a young girl. She was then called Nancy Vincent. She had lived on Woodland before she became the nurse of Edward Brazier's youngest son Joseph. Educated in England, Joseph later remained in Nevis to manage the estate for his father's sake; one elder brother, William, having died in childhood and the other, Edward, having become a clergyman in St Kitts.[2791] In the 1790s Nancy Bowles accompanied Edward Brazier senior on trips to France and England and, once back in Nevis, wanted to be independent and requested to hire herself. This was granted. Although she was not a plantation slave any more, in 1809, in an additional mortgage to JPP, Brazier inserted her name 'to make up the number' to thirty. Old Brazier picked up her story from there:
>
> … unfortunately she was employed by a Mrs Strode who rented one of my houses and ran off largely in my debt, and left, besides, a young unfortunate white child with this poor woman, who having to maintain the infant, could pay no hire – The Charitable Institution at St Kitts in time received and educated it. This girl, being now favourably settled with a respectable family there, is desirous of either purchasing the freedom of her kind and benevolent nurse, or of putting a young Negro in her place – I would readily meet her wishes and, poor as I am, reward such natives.

[2784] PP, LB 4: JPP to Simon Pretor, 19 August 1778
[2785] On 12 August 1818 Edward Brazier wrote from Governor's estate, Nevis, about trying to settle his affairs, that he was willing to give up the estate but his currency creditors must also be settled first. Mentioned having given up the management of the estate to his son Joseph.
[2786] PP, WI Box O: Edward Huggins junior to John Frederick Pinney, 5 September 1813
[2787] PP, LB 46: JPP to Edward Brazier, 5 August 1807
[2788] PP, Dom Box C1-4: Edward Brazier, Governor's Estate, to PA & Co, 12 August 1818
[2789] None of these four runaways were from the old Woodland estate: Dominica, aged 25; Bob Smitten, aged 30; Richard, aged 40 and Jack Green, aged 46.
[2790] PP, WI Box O: Edward Huggins junior to John Frederick Pinney, 5 September 1813
[2791] Revd Edward Brazier was at St John Figtree during 1808 to 1811 but left St John Figtree parish on 5 April 1811 to take up his appointment at Holy Trinity Palmetto Point with St Thomas Middle Island in St Kitts (NHCS, RG 16.13 St John Figtree - List of Incumbents).

As Nancy Bowles was mortgaged to Charles Pinney - the original mortgage had devolved to him on JPP's death - Brazier left the matter to him and added 'Nancy Bowles is an African 60 years old, without children or connexions on the Estate. The young woman's name is Susan Hudson and that of her patroness Mrs Berridge.'[2792] Charles Pinney's decision on this is not known. Brazier's estate was sold in 1820 as 'Willett's Estate or Ham Lodge', with 72 males and 58 females,[2793] and some of these, no doubt, were former Woodland people who, through the sale, acquired yet another new owner, Samuel Long. He, however, died in February 1824,[2794] and his executors carried on running the estate. The appalling conditions that had prevailed during the later years under the Braziers continued, and the plantation population went on declining. When the estate was sold, there were 130 people, in 1822 this dropped to 122, in 1828 to 118 and by 1834 there were only 112 left.[2795] Brazier's was a miserable estate; shortly before slavery was abolished, one of the managers, George Cousins, stood accused of 'wanton maltreatment of two slaves'.[2796]

When 55 people from Woodland were sold to Brazier's estate in the parish of St John Figtree this meant, of course, that families were divided and long-established relationships broken. Although the distance between the Mountravers slave village and Brazier's was no more than about a mile and people would have carried on 'night walking', they were, nevertheless, uprooted and their lives disrupted. The eleven people from Woodland who went to live on neighbouring Mountravers at least were on familiar terrain, knew everyone and did not have to go through a settling-in period.

JPP had sold the 55 people to Brazier for S£2,200; or S£40 on average.[2797] Those eleven he kept for himself he appraised within a few months of them arriving on Mountravers. The women's value of S£63, translated into currency at an exchange rate of 1.6, equated to N£100 and remained the same but the children's rose, reflecting the fact that they had grown older since their purchase was accounted for in December 1782: the youngest, the mulatto Tommy Fisher's value rose the most; the oldest, the girl Leah's, the least.

[2792] PP, Dom Box C1-4: Edward Brazier to Charles Pinney, 12 August 1818
[2793] On 21 January 1820, Samuel Long bought from Charles and John Frederick Pinney, Joseph Brazier, William Slater and his wife Harriet, and the spinsters Anna Maria Brazier and Bethia Brazier, the estate of 'Ralph Willett then commonly known as Willett's Estate but afterwards Ham Lodge', as well as the forty-acre estate 'before known as Pinneys and now known as Governor' (ECSCRN, CR 1819-1823 ff33-49).
[2794] RHL, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b)
[2795] UKNA, T 71/1039
[2796] RG 12.10: Indictment of Manager on Stapleton p307
[2797] PP, AB 26 f72 Roger Pemberton's a/c

Name of child	Price December 1782 in S£	in N£	Age July 1783	Appraised value in N£ July 1783	Increase in N£	Increase in %
Tommy	7	11:4:0	23 months	20	8:16:0	44
Violet and Omah	24	38:8:0	c 5-6 years	45	6:12:0	14.7
Jenetta	30	48	c 8-9 years	55	7:0:0	12.7
Johnny	36	57:12:0	c 11-12 years	65	7:8:0	11.4
Frank	38	60:16:0	c 16 years	70	9:4:0	13.1
Leah	42	67:4:0	c 18 years	70	2:16:0	4

479 and 480 **Susy** (probably born in the 1740s) was a black woman [2798] with four children: Leah, Frank Sanders, Jack Castle and **Philip Woodley**. At least two of the boys, Frank and Philip, appear to have had white fathers, probably John Williams Sanders and Samuel Woodley. Phillip may have been named after the man Phillip who was on Woodland in the early but not in the late 1770s.[2799]

Susy lost two of her sons shortly one after the other. Between January 1781 and December 1782 Jack Castle died and Phillip between January and the beginning of July 1783. One died before moving to Mountravers, the other after. Jack was, at the very most, ten years old; Phillip between three and three and a half years.[2800]

In 1793 Susy worked in the second gang, but five years later she probably did not work in the field any more. She may have been ill already. Perhaps in her fifties, Susy died on 12 November 1800. She had survived Samuel Woodley, the man who had probably fathered one of her children, two years to the day. He had died of gout.[2801] She had also survived her previous owner, John Williams Sanders, who had died some time before 1795.[2802]

481 **Leah** (probably born c 1765)[2803] was black and, like her mother Susy, a field worker.

[2798] In an account Susy was listed as a negro woman (PP, AB 26 f72 Roger Pemberton's a/c)
[2799] BULSC, DM 792: Indenture by Edmund Seymour of Nevis to JPP 7 June 1771
[2800] Jack Castle was first listed as an addition in June 1779. Judging by his price, Phillip was born in about December 1779 but by then he already was several months old: in June 1779 he was listed as 'baby Philip'.
[2801] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 3 (Cayon Diary)
[2802] ECSCRN, CR 1797-1799 f466
[2803] In 1817 her date of birth was given as 'about 1757' but she was only first listed as a woman in 1788. In Roger Pemberton's a/c (PP, LB 19) she was listed as a girl.

Leah suffered from ill health. In 1788, she was treated for 'an obstinate venereal complaint'[2804] and ten years later was given six diaphoretic (sweat-inducing) boluses and a phial mixture, costing a total of N£2:2:0.[2805] By then she had been pregnant and may have had,[2806] possibly, a girl called Nanno (b November 1793). However, Nanno could also have been Myrtilla's, or Patty's, daughter. In the late 1790s Leah may have had another child.[2807]

When her age was estimated in 1817, her life as a field hand had taken its toll. She was judged about eight years older than she actually was.

Having lost two of her brothers as young children, her brother Frank also died before her, between 1817 and 1822. Leah died on 26 November 1823. She was in her late fifties.

482 Little Frank, later Frank Sanders or Saunders (dob c 1766/7) was a sambo.

Little Frank and Ebbo Frank probably were among the earliest people in Nevis treated with electricity. He had three doses, on 23 and 28 November 1789 and again on 20 March 1790. This was followed by a gargle on 12 April.[2808] The treatment may have worked; he did not have another recorded medical intervention.

He may have had a child with the mulatto woman Sally Peaden (No 422); one of her children was called Betsey Saunders (b 1798). Sally, who had several more children, died between 1807 and 1816, Betsey in 1826.

Unusually old for an apprentice, in his mid-twenties Little Frank was apprenticed to Mr Brazier 'to learn the business of a millwright'. The early part of his apprenticeship Frank spent on Mountravers with Brazier and his man Long Tom, who received an 'extra fee' of N£3:6:0 for 'superintending' him.[2809] (As Little Tom, Long Tom may have lived on Woodland and been among those 55 people Brazier had bought from Woodland in 1781.) The men were finishing off the animal mill and the windmill at Sharloes. They had much work to do: 'repairing the horsemill, altering the collar and setting the mainroll up plumb, horseing side rollers to wedge them, cogging the main and side rollers', 'taking down the windmill point lathing and putting it up again', 'taking down a side roller and wedging the gudgeon' and replacing spindles and cogs.[2810] At the end of Little Frank's apprenticeship in May 1794 Thomas Pym Weekes, the then manager, paid Brazier the apprentice fee of N£33.[2811]

Repairs continued on the windmill. In May 1797 Frank was among five carpenters paid for working on a Sunday. They had to mend the damaged windmill,[2812] and in the following year, for instance, he and the other four carpenters made cogs and other parts for the windmill. Four of the carpenters also built one of the carts used for hauling cane to the mills.[2813]

[2804] PP, AB 35 1784 Plantation a/c; also AB 30 f134 TP Weekes' a/c
[2805] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c: 19 December 1798
[2806] PP, Misc Vols 12 Leeward Islands Calendar: 'Negroes supposed to be with Child: Flora, Myrtilla, Sarah Fisher, Philley, Leah, Pereen, Barbai, Patty, John Tong
[2807] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover: 'Leah Child'
[2808] PP, AB 30 TP Weekes a/c and AB 43 TP Weekes' a/c
[2809] PP, AB 39 f129 Plantation a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger (Mt Sion) 1789-1794 f99
[2810] PP, AB 39 f117
[2811] PP, AB 50 Plantation a/c; also AB 40
[2812] PP, AB 47 Plantation a/c
[2813] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary June 1798

In 1792 the mason John Keepe had laid over twenty perches of wall on the 'horse millround at Sharloes'[2814] but seven years on 'Mr Williams agreed with John Henley to make a new horse mill at Sharloe (sic), likewise to hire Jack and Frank to work for him while doing the work.' At the end of November 1799 Jack (No 218) and Frank began to work for John Henley, a free mixed-heritage house carpenter from the parish of St George Gingerland.[2815] At the beginning of February Frank was sick for two days but Jack carried on, and on 19 February 'Mr Henley finished the horse mill'.[2816] Their work was accounted for at N£4 per month.[2817] In fact, Frank and Jack worked for two mixed-heritage carpenters, because for a couple of months John Hendrickson was also employed on the project. Manumitted some years earlier by a man of the same name, he was literate, owned a plantation and had a mulatto wife, Elizabeth. She was the daughter of the blacksmith and planter Joseph Powell and the 'Negro woman' Polly Powell.[2818] Around the time he was working on Sharloes, Hendrickson's brother-in-law, the mulatto James Powell, was leaving for England.[2819] Hendrickson's enslaved man Charloe Hendrickson may also have worked on the horsemill; certainly later on in the year he repaired the windmill on Mountravers.[2820]

Frank Sanders, as he became known, was among the people JPP reserved for himself and any hire charges were to go to his personal rather than the plantation account.[2821] Frank Sanders may have been one of the two carpenters working on Colhoun's estate (Primus was the only one known to have been hired out). In 1802 Frank Sanders, Primus and Jack were hired out to John Handcock for four months - all at N£4 - with the income going to JPP.[2822] In the following year Frank Sanders was not employed away from the plantation; he may already have started suffering from rheumatism. This illness lowered his value from £100 in 1810 to £75 in 1811.

As one of JPP's reserved people, he, with 23 others, was from March 1808 hired to Clarke's estate, then briefly, between September 1813 and June 1814, they worked on Mr Mills's estate and after that returned to Clarke's.[2823]

Frank Sanders died on Clarke's between 1817 and 1822. He was aged about 53 to 56.

483 and 484 **Ann** was black and probably born in the mid to late 1740s.[2824] She may have been a Creole, possibly the daughter of Violet, an old woman on Woodland. The man Joney may have been the father of her first son, **Johnny** (b c 1771/2).[2825] Both Violet and Joney appear to have died between 1772 and 1779.

[2814] PP, AB 39 f122
[2815] BUL, mf XVII.33 Parliamentary Papers, Nevis: Slavery
[2816] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[2817] PP, AB 47 John Hendrickson's a/c
[2818] ECSCRN, CR 1790-1792 f704; UKNA, T 71/364 and Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff295-97
[2819] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 f357
[2820] PP, AB 47 Charloe Hendrickson Millwright a/c
[2821] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 15 November 1796
[2822] PP, AB 57 f37 Negro Hire a/c and Pinney's a/c. See also Nancy Jones, Tom McGill, Prince, Billey Jones, John Wilks, and Tom Thraske
[2823] Frank was reserved in 1795, 1797, 1801, 1806 and 1807. He, and two others (Old Sue and William Jones), were in 1817 listed at the end with a note: 'These three slaves admitted by an order from his Honour the President bearing date the 12th day of February 1818 and filed with the original return' (UKNA, T 71/364).
[2824] The Woodland list seems to be ordered roughly according to age, and given Ann's position in 1771 as number 25 out of 32, she therefore probably was a relatively young woman. By 1779 she had moved up to No 11 out 43 females but that included 'girls'.
[2825] Johnny was not listed in a 1771 indenture but in 1772 was the 13th of 14 boys, suggesting that he was very young.

Ann came to Mountravers with her children Johnny, Jenetta (b c 1774/5), and Violet (b c 1777/8). On Mountravers she had two more daughters: Lissy was born in December 1785 and Dorinda in November 1788. Aged five at the most, Lissy died soon after Dorinda was born, and her son Johnny died on 4 July 1796. In his mid-twenties, he had succumbed to 'a consumption'.[2826] A couple of months before Johnny's death, Ann's daughter Jenetta had her second child - Ann's second grandchild.

When her youngest daughter was 12 years old and she herself by then a grandmother of three, Ann absconded for three days, from Monday, 7 July.[2827] At the same time, the 32-year-old Acree ran away. Perhaps these incidents were connected.

She was twice treated in November 1798 with 'a quart lotion' and 'a purge of salts'. The doctor's visits and the medicines came to N£3:4:9 but may not have saved her.[2828] Ann died between January 1802 and May 1803. She probably was in her fifties.

485 Jenetta (also Jennetta and Jeanetta), Ann's daughter, was black and born about 1774/5.[2829] Aged about eight or nine years old, she was at N£55 probably somewhat overvalued - compared to slightly older girls.[2830] She may have been particularly bright and attractive.

Jenetta became the mistress of the overseer James Williams. He was then about 27, 28 years old and Jenetta ten or eleven years younger. Their first child was born in November 1791; he was named Lewis after James Williams's father and younger brother. Their second child was called Henry (b May 1796), after another brother, and their third child Nancy (b December 1798), after Jenetta's mother. A few months after Henry's birth Jenetta needed treatment of some kind and was administered six boluses.[2831]

Around the birth of their first child, James Williams asked JPP to send from England a cornelian, a translucent semi-precious gemstone that ranges in colour from yellow to orange to deep red. He wanted it 'set in gold, on an oval form, with the initials of his name'. No doubt this was a present for Jenetta.[2832] This expensive, original gift suggests a genuine and loving relationship, and Jenetta and James Williams may well have settled into relatively comfortable family life: in January 1792 his salary as overseer had gone up to N£100 a year and he was in a position to purchase his first enslaved person - perhaps someone to assist Jenetta with looking after Lewis. He lived in the overseers' house at Sharloes and, although it was small, Jenetta no doubt moved in with him and then moved up to the great house when he became manager. After an extended visit to Wales he replaced Thomas Pym Weekes in May 1794. During James Williams's absence, Jenetta had worked in Jack's gang but Williams took her out of the field and, officially, she may have been the woman servant he was allowed to keep, according to his contract. She probably directed the work of the other people who came with his new job: two boys for the house and the stable, and two old people for the kitchen and the garden.

[2826] PP, AB 52 list (very faint)
[2827] PP, DM 1173/4
[2828] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2829] In 1817 Jennetta was said to have been 42 years old (UKNA, T 71/364). Also, she was listed in 1775 but not in 1772, suggesting she was born between 23 March 1772 and 1775.
[2830] When she was eight or nine years old, her value was that of girls aged 10y 9m or 11 yr 8 m.
[2831] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c: 20 November 1796 6 boluses for Jenetta N30s
[2832] PP, AB 43 James Williams's a/c
The cornelian (also carnelian) James Williams had made into an ornament may have had symbolic relevance. A necklace containing a large cornelian (as well as dog's teeth, cowry shells, fish vertebrae and glass beads) was excavated by Handler in Barbados. See JS Handler 'An African-Type Healer/Diviner and his Grave Goods' in *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* (1997) Vol 1 pp91-130 and JS Handler and FW Lange *Plantation Slavery in Barbados. An archaeological and historical investigation* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1978

As the manager's mistress Jenetta was party to confidential plantation business. This put her in a powerful position not only within her community but also, as it turned out, with her owner. On one occasion JPP had asked Williams to hide bonds and other valuable documents, taking 'particular care not to let a single person see when and where you placed it'. As soon as Williams had read the letter, he was to 'commit it to the flames, lest it should fall into improper hands'. Williams was inform him where he had hidden the papers by sending the information on two different ships.[2833] This he did not do and JPP, fully expecting Williams to have shared the secret with his mistress, later had to ask his then manager, Joseph Webbe Stanley, to 'Enquire of Jenetta whether James Williams put any papers in a jar and buried them in the place under the arched compting house, when the French were expected, agreeable to my desire'.[2834] Stanley did not ask her, or he did not pass on her reply to JPP, and a couple of years later JPP solicited Peter Thomas Huggins's help. JPP thought it was 'very probable Janet may be able to show you the spot' underneath the arch of the counting house.[2835] It is more probable that Jenetta chose not to divulge the information because, by then, her relationship with JPP had changed.

In 1799 Jenetta was one of ten women who received from Mrs Pinney material for a wrapper [headwrap].[2836] Bridget, a former mistress of another white man, was also a recipient. Then Jenetta was still in favour with the Pinneys but the picture changed after James Williams died in 1803. His brother Henry took over as manager, and John Frederick Pinney, who was then out in Nevis, accused her, as well as her mother, of dishonesty and outright theft. He gathered this information from other people, perhaps picking up idle gossip from someone envious of Jenetta's position. John Frederick told his father: 'It appears very clear that Jenetta has been constantly in the habit of distilling drams to sell to the sailors', and he was now trying to prove that her mother had taken rice to sell in the market and 'that all her stock has been fed from my stores'.[2837] (James Williams's manager's contract had stated that he was allowed '40 bushels of corn for his feathered stock'.) JPP, astounded at the high cost of provisions, lumber and stores under the Williams brothers, put this down to their mismanagement 'and robberies by favoured females and their adherents'.[2838]

These allegations put an end to Williams's efforts at trying to free his and Jenetta's children. Before the abuses had come to light, JPP (on behalf of his son) had been compliant, although he did express his reservations about adding to the number of free mixed-heritage people who may not have been in a position to support themselves.[2839] James Williams may have heeded this warning and changed his mind, but around the time he asked to buy his children he was also beginning to fall apart. Being responsible for a family may have seemed a burden too far, and it is possible that he did not pursue the issue any further.

After James Williams died, his brother Henry sought to free his nephews and his niece. JPP was willing to sell and free Lewis, Henry and Nancy - as long as he did not lose out financially – and instructed his son's attorney accordingly: 'The children of the late Mr Williams, you will be so good as to have fully appraised and my son will comply with the request of Mr Henry Williams in any way he pleases on receiving their value or good security, whichever may be most convenient to him'.[2840] To Jenetta, who had lost her mother and her partner within a short space of time, this must have been comforting news. At least her children were to be freed. In June 1804 JPP even asked for 'their names and descriptions', 'to enable my

[2833] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, 15 May 1795
[2834] PP, LB 22: JPP to JW Stanley,15 August 1807
[2835] PP, LB 22: JPP to PT Huggins, 28 April 1810
[2836] PP, LB 15: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, 29 October 1799
[2837] PP, Dom Box P: John Frederick Pinney, Nevis, to JPP, 21 February 1804
[2838] PP, LB 19: JPP to John Frederick Pinney, 4 April 1805
[2839] PP, LB 15: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 16 July 1799
[2840] PP, LB 18: JPP to JC Mills, Nevis, 30 November 1803

son to send out the manumission of the late Mr Williams' children',[2841] but four months later, having pored over the accounts ('injudicious and profuse expenditure', oil cakes even!) he considered that in a few years the children's value would increase and, if he held on to them, that this would go towards making up the money their father had squandered.[2842] It is very likely that the N£50 Williams left to each of his children[2843] was subsumed in the £1,200 shortfall that JPP charged against James Williams's account. Henry Williams then also died and nothing was said about Jenetta or the children for another couple of years.

In 1806 Jeanetta might have tried to rebel in some way; certainly something happened under the new manager, Joseph Webbe Stanley, which prompted JPP's outburst: 'The proper place for Jeannetta is the field to which she was brought up, as a punishment for her atrocious conduct but under no pretence suffer her to go off the island'.[2844] To punish her, 'as she has done him so much injury', JPP wrote to Stanley that his son wished to sell Jenetta's children but not her. He wanted to know their value and asked what Stanley thought they would fetch.[2845] Whether it really was his son who wanted to sell the children is questionable because, in effect, it was JPP who still directed the plantation business. Officially he had handed over the reins to John Frederick, but JPP was as actively engaged as before. Stanley, however, did not follow JPP's instruction and instead of demoting her to fieldwork he allowed Jeanetta to work out. He may well have considered that it was better to separate her from the rest of the plantation community and also to allow her some of the freedom she was used to as a white man's mistress. JPP saw this as 'indulging her'; she 'deserved no favour from her late ill conduct'. Although he did not object to her working out, he still wanted to sell her children. He did not change his view of her: 'Jenetta will not be sold, as it would be an encouragement for others to act as she has done, to plunder the estate to obtain their freedom'.[2846] He wanted to prevent the sale because, if sold, she might then be able to purchase her freedom from her new owner.

Jenetta's story is one that Pares picked up briefly in his book *A West India Fortune.* Rather uncritically he echoed JPP's sentiments that she 'induced him [James Williams] to waste the substance of the plantation by riotous living … when Williams was dead and Jenetta's conduct was known, he [JPP] resolved that her children should be sold, no matter to whom …'.[2847] But Pares also reached the conclusion that JPP refused manumission vindictively. Of course it is impossible now to know the exact facts. Jenetta may have been one of those 'serpents' who influenced white men[2848] and may have initiated Williams's overspending. She could have been his accomplice, although, who knows? She may even have tried to restrain him. However guilty she may have been, her children were innocent of any wrongdoings. They did not deserve to be separated from their mother. As it turned out, however, they were not sold individually but went with the plantation to Huggins, except for Nancy, who ended up on Clarke's as one of the people JPP reserved for himself. James, Sarah Fisher's son whom JPP had wanted to reserve with his mother for hire to Clarke's, by mistake was sold along with the other plantation people to Huggins, and to rectify the situation, JPP offered that 'Mr Huggins is to have Jennetta's daughter Nancy in the room of

[2841] PP, LB 18: JPP to JC Mills, Nevis, 5 June 1804
[2842] PP, LB 19: JPP to Henry Williams, 25 October 1804
[2843] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff428-29
[2844] PP, LB 20: JPP to JW Stanley, Nevis, 18 October 1806
[2845] McInnes, CM *Bristol: A Gateway of Empire* p343, quoting Business LB 15, 1805-7, f321; also PN 225, quoting JPP 1805-7 B15 f321 and LB 20: JPP to JW Stanley, Nevis, 4 May 1807
[2846] PP, LB 22: JPP to JW Stanley, Nevis, 15 August 1807
[2847] Pares, R *A West India Fortune* p132
[2848] Lady Nugent related how, the day after she arrived in Jamaica, 'the ladies' told her 'strange stories of the influence of the black and yellow women, and Mrs Bullock called them serpents' (Frank Cundall (ed) *Lady Nugent's Journal* p18).

James'.[2849] Huggins was not prepared to swap and JPP offered her for hire instead. The deal did not go through and Nancy remained on Clarke's as one of JPP's reserved individuals.

Perhaps realising that he had been mean-spirited in trying to sell her children, over the years JPP's attitude to her seems to have softened although it has to be remembered that Jenetta still held the secret of the documents which James Williams was said to have hidden, and without her cooperation the chances of finding them were slim. Perhaps he tried a new line of approach when in 1812 he asked his attorney John Colhoun Mills to 'send for Jennetta (the Mistress of the late Manager Williams)' about a red cedar chest. This had been made for him years ago for storing documents. He suggested that Jeanetta might have kept it in her house 'which is not improbable as it was an excellent chest', but instead of involving Mills in trying to recover it from her, or asking her to pay for a replacement, JPP said that if the chest could not be found, he just wanted the carpenter Dick Weekes to build another one.[2850]

Whether the papers were ever found, is not known but JPP certainly did not free any of Jenetta's children. However, two of her children, Nancy and Henry, did become free: in April 1821 Nancy was sold and then freed by her new owner, and Henry freed himself. He absconded in September 1823 at the age of 27. Three years later her sister Dorinda died and Jenetta probably became a grandmother; Lewis, most likely, had a son called Henry Williams.

Aged about sixty, Jenetta was alive on 1 August 1834, as was her younger sister Violet.

486 Litte Violet, later Violet, (b c 1777/8)[2851] was yellow cast and came with her mother and elder siblings from Woodland when she was about four or five years old. Her two younger sisters, Lissy and Dorinda, were born on Mountravers in 1785 and 1788. Lissy died before she was five years old, and Violet's brother Johnny died in 1796, followed by their mother in 1802/3.

In her mid-teens, Little Violet worked with her older sister Jenetta in Jack's second gang but while Jenetta was taken out of the field by her partner, the manager James Williams, Little Violet continued as a field labourer.[2852]

It is likely that by the 1820s Violet was past productive labour and that she was allowed to live away from the plantation. She may well have gone to stay with Jenetta's daughter, her niece Nancy Williams (No 594). She had been manumitted by a free black woman and probably lived with her and her enslaved people in Charlestown. Certainly Violet was living in Charlestown when she was baptised in St Paul's church on 18 February 1827.[2853] The death of her sister Dorinda a couple of months earlier may be significant in that it might have spurred Violet into undergoing baptism. Sophia Bailey, the woman who had freed Violet's niece Nancy, died at the end of 1827 and after her death Nancy probably went back to work for Peter Thomas Huggins. Unless she could earn a living in Charlestown, Violet, too, would have had to return to the plantation.

[2849] PP, LB 22: JPP to John Colhoun Mills, 18 February 1811
[2850] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 24 September 1812
[2851] In 1817 Violet's age was given as 'about 35' i.e. dob 1782 (UKNA, T 71/364) but her value in 1783 was that the same as that of a seven-year-old girl.
[2852] PP, DM 1773/4 Plantation diary
[2853] Violet, an adult, was said to have been resident in Charlestown and 'a slave of P Thomas Huggins' (NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 219). The other Violet on Mountravers was only 16, and therefore would not have been described as an adult – unless she had already given birth.

Violet was alive on 1 August 1834. She was in her late fifties.

487 Little Omah (b c 1776/7) came to Mountravers as an orphan; her mother Phebia had died some time in the previous two years. Originally listed as Oma, she was called Little Omah to distinguish her from Omah who had been born on Mountravers in 1765.

Aged about 16 or 17, she worked in the field, in Tom's gang, and in her early twenties was still in the second gang.[2854] This could suggest that she was not very strong but, as she was of child-bearing age, she may well have been pregnant when the manager compiled that particular gang list.

Little Omah was once recorded as having left the plantation for a weekend. She went on Saturday, 30 November 1799, but 'came home' on Monday, 2 December.[2855] The African woman Violet, a field worker, was also gone at that time; she returned the following Friday.

In her mid-twenties, Little Omah died on 11 March 1803, apparently the last person who died under James Williams's managership.[2856]

488 Broom's Sarah, also Sarah Broom, and then Sarah Fisher (b c 1759-1761).[2857] A black Creole, her family name suggests a connection with Philip Brome, the Royal African Company agent who died in 1705. However, if one or both of her parents were indeed called Broom, by 1771 no one of that name lived on Woodland.

When Sarah Broom and her son Tommy changed owners, the boy was just over a year old and she was eight months pregnant with her next child, Patty. But she and the children did not go to work on Mountravers. Instead, Sarah Broom was hired to the former manager of Woodland, John Fisher. He had left JPP's service in mid-September 1781,[2858] and it is not known where he then lived or what he did but on 6 May 1783 he paid the taxes due on Broom's Sarah and her children, N£1:13:3.[2859] It is unlikely that John Fisher was a Creole;[2860] he may possibly have been related to members of the Philadelphia merchant firm of Joshua Fisher & Sons that JPP was dealing with.[2861] A white man, almost certainly he

---

[2854] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[2855] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
[2856] Omah and Jenetta figure as Robert Pemberton's slaves in Michelle M Terrell's *The Jewish Community of Early Colonial Nevis* (pp122-23). Terrell has made Omah a fictional cook and Jenetta her friend.
[2857] In 1817 her date of birth was given as 1761/2; in 1828 as 1759/60. Her age is roughly confirmed by being listed seventh out of 15 girls in the original 1772 indenture (ECSCRN, CR 1771-1773 ff157-73).
[2858] PP, DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1775-1778 f40
[2859] PP, AB 26 f208 Negro Hire a/c; also DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f119
[2860] Although a John Fisher was listed in 1677-8 as a single white man (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 3 p76 List of Nevis Inhabitants), the name does not figure in Nevis until the last quarter of the eighteenth century.
[2861] The firm Joshua Fisher & Sons consisted at first of the father, Joshua, and his sons Samuel and Miers, a lawyer (http://www.earlham.edu/~birkemi/birkel_3.html). They were Quakers; on his death Joshua Fisher left money to the Committees of Monthly Meeting of Women Friends for the Poor and to Trustees of the Free Negro School (http://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/pa/philadelphia/wills/willabstrbkd.txt). After his father's death, Thomas Fisher joined the company (PP, LB 38: 6 August 1789). JPP knew him from his visit to Philadelphia; he referred to him as his 'particular friend' (LB 11: JPP to Azariah Pinney, 18 February 1793), and Thomas Fisher may have been the man who in 1781 was mentioned in connection with a fine imposed on him by a court in St Kitts (AB 26 Casualties a/c).

The three Fisher brothers were arrested in 1777 during the American Revolution, together with over a dozen others, among them John and James Pemberton (http://www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qwhp/exile1a.htm), and it may have been this Fisher/Pemberton connection that led to John Fisher working on Roger Pemberton's Woodland Estate. As yet, no evidence has been found in the Pinney Papers that sheds light on John Fisher's origin. It has not been possible to consult American archives, such as the Fisher

was the father of her first four mulatto children: Tommy (b August 1781), Patty (b February 1783), Frank (b March 1784) and John (b October 1788). After his death the children were always recorded with their surname, Fisher, and Sarah's changed from Broom.

At N£4 a month, John Fisher spent about half of his overseer's wages on hiring Broom's Sarah and her children.[2862] Almost certainly he hired his mistress and his children until he died.[2863] He was buried on 21 July 1789 in St John Figtree.[2864] Having died intestate, in September 1789 the merchants William and Samuel Laurence applied for letters of administration. (This was usually done to recover money owed by the deceased.) Three men appraised the effects: William Weekes (not JPP's father-in-law but Martha Mitchell's son)[2865] and the merchants Thomas Erskine [2866] and Joe Stanley.[2867] John Fisher's possessions were few and their value amounted to a meagre N£95:8:3: one mulatto boy called Jack, possibly a son of his, who at N£90 was worth the most; an old table, a 'broken half-chest of drawers', some glass and '1 pair small steelyards' [a weighing device].[2868]

Sarah Fisher would have lived as John Fisher's wife and housekeeper but after he died, she and her children returned to Mountravers. She continued as a domestic servant, first for William Coker, then for Thomas Pym Weekes, and she may have worked for the Pinneys during their stay in 1790. While they were visiting, she sold them a hen worth N7s6d.[2869] As if prompted by JPP, later in the year she hired herself out and between August and November made six payments, totalling over N£3, but then these stopped.[2870] She was pregnant again and in April 1791 gave birth to her daughter Domingo.[2871] Although the name means Sunday, the date of birth was recorded as Monday, 4th, but it is very likely that Sarah Fisher gave birth on Sunday and the manager recorded the event the following workday. She may well have followed the Akan custom of naming her child according to the day she was born, and the use of the Spanish version may have something to do with the girl's father's social aspirations. It is very likely that he was Siah Parris, a mulatto man, who worked as a domestic servant for Mr Parris, a neighbouring planter.[2872]

Family Papers 1797-1825 held by the American Philosophical Society (http://www.amphilsoc.org/library/browser/f.htm), or the Pemberton Family Papers, kept by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

A Philadelphia/Bristol connection came to light in a will in which Thomas Fisher was mentioned: in Philadelphia James Logan left legacies to his friends Nicholas Waln, John Cox and Thomas Fisher for use of a public school under the care of Quakers and also mentioned the children of his deceased niece Sarah Fisher, as well as the 'Late Uncle Logan of Bristol, England'. In Surrey, England, Sarah Logan remembered in her will her brothers Thomas Fisher of Philadelphia and George Logan of Stanton, near Philadelphia. Presumably this was in the sense of religious rather than blood brothers (http://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/pa/philadelphia/wills/willabstrbkd.txt).

The Logan-Fisher-Fox Collection 1700-1930, which mentions the Pennsylvania Quaker William Logan Fisher, may be worth exploring to see whether at any stage a John Fisher emigrated to Nevis. These papers are also with The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (http://www.hsp.org/library/guides/womena.html).

[2862] PP, AB 26 John Fisher's a/c

[2863] PP, AB 35 1784 John Fisher's a/c
In 1788 Pinney received from John Fisher N£8 for the 'balance for 2 years hire of Sarah and children due May 11 1785'. He was late in paying and probably owed the money for the hire when he died.

[2864] NHCS, St John Figtree Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825 f32

[2865] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f312

[2866] PP, AB 43

[2867] Oliver, VL *Caribbeana* Vol 3 p362-5

[2868] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1787-1805 ff88-90

[2869] PP, AB 27

[2870] PP, AB 43 f32 Negro Hire a/c

[2871] Domingo could not have been named in honour of the uprising on St Domingue; this started later that year, in August (Roger Norman Buckley *The British Army in the West Indies* p255). Similarly, a revolt that took place in Dominica happened in August (http://www.lennoxhonychurch.com/artcile.cfm?ID=394).

[2872] The name Domingo was more likely to have been used for boys; in one list Domingo was in fact listed along with other boys (PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 28 April 1810).

Two years later, in May 1793 Sarah Fisher was pregnant again[2873] but she either miscarried, or the child died before it was a year old, and it was around this time that Sarah Fisher also lost her son John. Aged five at the most, he died between January 1791 and July 1794. These two events may have been unconnected but may have been linked to her being subjected to a new work regime; some time in 1793 Thomas Pym Weekes demoted Sarah Fisher from the house to the field,[2874] then probably took her back as a domestic but the next manager, James Williams, again relegated her to fieldwork. JPP approved of down-grading as a form of punishment: 'You acted very properly in putting Sarah Fisher into the field, as she did not choose to comply with such easy duty, as the furnishing of one bottle of castor oil a week.'[2875] Her demotion was temporary. Within three years she was back in her old role as a domestic.[2876]

In April 1795 Sarah Fisher gave birth to her next child, Josiah, and she was expecting another in the following year. When she was six months pregnant, she fell ill with a fever and was given eight fever-reducing boluses. Three months later her daughter Mary was born (February1797) but then her other children were sick and had to have pills and eye water. When Mary was two weeks old, the doctor inoculated her but she soon also fell ill. In all, the treatment for the children came to N£6:7:0.[2877] Luckily everybody recovered and two year later, in May 1799, Sarah Fisher's last child, James, was born.

In his evidence to the House of Commons Slave Trade Enquiry James Tobin had claimed that in Nevis 'a freedom from all kind of labour is given to every Negro woman who is the mother of six children capable of doing any thing upon the estate.'[2878] This was a privilege, not a right, and the manager did not grant Sarah Fisher this concession. There is no suggestion that she was, even temporarily, freed from all labour. (The 1798 Melioration Act enshrined this concession in law but it required that the six children had to be born while the woman was in a stable relationship with an enslaved man.)

Sarah Fisher and her seven surviving children were among the people Pinney reserved for himself. Together with Black Polly's family, they accounted for more than half this group. In fact the two women's families were joined when Sarah Fisher's oldest daughter, Patty Fisher, and Black Polly's oldest son, Billey Jones, lived together as husband and wife. The young couple had a son in 1801 – Sarah Fisher's first grandchild. JPP had always favoured Black Polly and Billey Jones, and now Sarah Fisher benefited from this connection because while Black Polly was considered free and did not have to work any more, Billey Jones, Patty and also her mother were allowed to hire themselves out. From the time Mountravers was sold the rest of the reserved people were rented as a group to another estate, [2879] while Sarah Fisher was hired to Josiah (Siah) Parris, the father of, certainly, her last two children, Mary and James, and most likely also the father of Domingo and Josiah. Among the Mountravers people, this is the only confirmed example of an enslaved man hiring his wife and children but presumably it would have been a more common arrangement. Sarah Fisher's youngest son James, meanwhile, had been sold to Huggins by mistake and became the subject of a dispute that dragged on for several years. JPP wanted to exchange Jenetta's daughter Nancy but despite his repeated efforts at negotiating a swap, James remained with Huggins.

In 1810, not long after her son Frank was involved in the events surrounding the flogging by Edward Huggins in the marketplace, Sarah Fisher fell ill, and over a ten-month period her value decreased from

[2873] PP, Misc Vols 12 Leeward Islands Calendar
[2874] Sarah Fisher was on the gang list (PP, Misc Vols 12 Leeward Islands Calendar).
[2875] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, 5 December 1794
[2876] Sarah Fisher was not on the 1798 field list and was recorded as a House Servant in 1808
[2877] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2878] Lambert, S (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 71 p268
[2879] PP, Misc Vols 17-19 Case of Clarke and Huggins: JPP to James Tobin, 1 February 1808 (1806 list)

£100 to £80, while her daughter Mary's rose from £50 to £70. Around this time Siah Parris wanted to purchase his wife and their daughter Mary and, at some stage, also James. JPP was prepared to sell them but either Siah Parris had not paid the hire charges, or the money was not passed on to JPP,[2880] and it was noted that 'Mr Pinney not having heard any thing from Mulatto Siah Parris, respecting his wife and daughter, and not having been informed that he has paid their hire, Mr Pinney will add them to the list if Mr Clarke approves.'[2881] Mr Clarke did approve, and Sarah Fisher and Mary were hired to his estate and briefly worked with a group of other reserved people on Mr Mills's estate before returning to Clarke's. Siah Parris may have been ill already when these negotiations went on; he died and on 14 June 1812 was buried 'at the Town Church, St Paul's'.[2882]

By the time she was hired to Clarke's Sarah Fisher had become a midwife. The switch from her being a domestic to a midwife may have occurred when her health declined. She certainly worked as a midwife well into the 1820s and may have assisted in the birth of some of her grandchildren. She had over a dozen grandsons and granddaughters. Most of them lived on Clarke's Estate.

Her status as a midwife did not entitle her to more generous rations. Like all adults on Clarke's, Sarah Fisher was given the usual adult allowance of six pints piled and three herrings. This was in contrast to her son Frank, who, as a leading domestic, received more. Frank and her other children had done well and held good positions: Mary was a seamstress, Tom and Josiah were coopers, and only Domingo worked in the field. It was quite typical of JPP that some but not all of her children were taught trades; in Black Polly's family the pattern was similar.

Both Tom and Josiah were lame; Josiah could not work any more and in May 1832 her son Tom died, aged fifty. He was buried in St Paul's church. A year later her son James got married, and then also her daughter Mary.

In her early to mid-seventies, Sarah Fisher was alive on 1 August 1834.

There were several other children with the surname Fisher on Clarke's and on Parris's. They probably were her grandchildren – children her sons had with other woman – but may also have been William Fisher's (No 416) children. In 1813/4 Mary Fisher was born on Clarke's Estate, and in 1821 John Fisher on Parris's. Both were sambos.[2883] On 11 January 1842 an eight-year-old Frank Fisher from St Thomas Lowland was buried. Given the name and that the child was buried in St Paul's, it is very likely that he was another grandson of Sarah Fisher's.[2884]

The name Fisher appears to have all but died out in Nevis although at least three other women carried this surname into the 1830s and 1840s. Two were called Susanna. One of these was belonged to Miss Clarke's, the other was free. They lived in Charlestown and had children called George (baptised in March 1829), William (baptised in June 1833) and Elizabeth (baptised in June 1837). One woman was a laundress.[2885] Apart from Sarah Fisher's mulatto daughter Patty there was also a black Patty (Patience) Fisher who lived on Parris's Estate. Her 'illegitimate children' Thomas (b 1822) and Elizabeth (b 1823) were baptised in March 1834.[2886] Both children were black. Patty (Patience) Fisher had these children

[2880] PP, LB 23: JPP to Sam Laurence 7 July 1810
[2881] PP, LB 23: JPP to JH Clarke 6 July 1810
[2882] NHCS, St John Figtree Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825 f14
[2883] UKNA, T 71/364 and 365
[2884] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 259
[2885] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 413 and No 654 and St Paul's Baptisms 1835-1873 No 68
[2886] NHCS, Baptisms St Thomas Lowland 1827-1873 Numbers 416 and 417

when she was very young indeed.[2887] She had at least three more - Margaret, Mary and Sarah – who were baptised in May 1843. She lived on 'Pinney's' where she worked as a servant .[2888]

489 Tommy, later Tom, Tom Fisher, Thomas Fisher, and also Thomas Clarke. A mulatto and oldest of Sarah Broom's children with John Fisher, he was born on Saturday, 4 August 1781. His siblings were the mulattoes Patty Fisher (b 1783), Frank Fisher (b 1784) and John Fisher (b 1788), as well as Domingo (b 1791), Josiah (b 1795), Mary (b 1797) and James (b 1799), whose father was the mulatto man Siah Parris.

As the child of a black domestic and a white man, Tom stood a very good chance of not having to work in the field and of learning a trade instead. Around the time his youngest brother was born, Tom was being trained as a mason,[2889] but at some stage he switched and learnt the craft of a cooper. His brother Josiah, too, became a cooper but Tom Fisher was singled out as 'a very good cooper' when, as one of the group reserved by JPP and rented to Clarke's, he was appraised. In 1808 he was worth S£100, two years later this rose to S£150. Although his sister Patty, her husband Billey Jones and their children lived in Charlestown and were originally not rented to Clarke's, in 1811 JPP hired Patty's eleven-year-old son William to that estate as well. This boy, too, became a cooper, and it is likely that Tom taught his nephew the trade.

Until he was his early twenties, there is no record of Tom Fisher suffering illnesses or accidents - apart from having a tooth extracted on his 17th birthday - [2890] but by the time he was in his mid-forties, he had become lame. He was still working as a cooper whereas his younger brother Josiah, who was also lame, was not.

Among the adults, Thomas Fisher was an early convert to the Anglican faith. On 20 June 1824 he was baptised in St Paul's' church in Charlestown by the resident clergyman, Revd Daniel Gateward Davis, who recorded his name as Thomas Clarke.[2891] Tom Fisher's baptism followed just a few weeks after Revd Davis had conducted the first service at the chapel on Cottle's Round Hill estate[2892] and the Legislature had discussed the enslaved people's right to get married in church. At the end of March the Council had resolved to encourage their attendance at services,[2893] and in May the Assembly had approved the principle that they could get married in church. Not long after Tom Fisher's baptism, news from Downing Street reached Nevis: Bishops had been appointed for the Leeward Islands and for Jamaica.[2894]

Thomas Fisher died aged 50 and was buried on 22 May 1832. He was among the few adults from Mountravers who received a Christian funeral.[2895]

◄► ▼◄►

[2887] In 1817, two girls were registered: a four-year-old girl called Patty and a three-year-old girl called Patience. Both were black. Most likely, it was the older girl who had her first child in 1822. But even if one allows for her age to have been under-estimated by up to three years, Patty Fisher was still a very young mother.
[2888] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1835-1873 Numbers 322, 323 and 324
[2889] PP, DM 1773/4 Front cover
[2890] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[2891] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 Unnumbered
[2892] Walker, GPJ *The Life of Daniel Gateward Davis*
[2893] UKNA, CO 186/12: 26 March 1824
[2894] UKNA, CO 186/12: 13 May and 20 May 1824, and 26 June 1824
[2895] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 Unnumbered

490 Little Peter, later Peter Nolan(d), possibly also Peter Penny. He was black and born on Sunday, 26 January 1783.[2896] Sarah Nolan (No 398), a field hand, probably was his mother and Honeyfield (b 1788) therefore his sister. Quashee Nolan (b 1780) may have been his elder brother.

Aged six months, Little Peter was worth N£10.

When he was 15 years old, Little Peter and Quashee worked in the small gang.[2897] Their mother died in 1799. Quashee, as a child 'a cripple in the garden', had a son called Charles. Quashee and Honeyfield were alive in August 1834.

Although his age would have been underestimated by about 17 years, he may possibly have been buried in 1850 as Peter Penny. Said to have been 50 years old, his age appears estimated.[2898]

491-496 Patty, also Sarah's Patty and Patty Fisher, and her children **Charles Jones, Frederick Jones, Betsey Jones, Mary,** and **Jeanett.** A mulatto, Patty Fisher was born on Monday, 10 February 1783. Her mother, Sarah Fisher, was heavily pregnant with Patty when JPP acquired her, together with Patty's one-year-old brother, Tom Fisher. At first the children and their mother remained hired to their father, John Fisher, and during that time two more boys were born, Frank Fisher (b 1784) and John Fisher (b 1788). After the children's father died in 1789, Patty's mother had four more children: Domingo (b 1791), Josiah (b 1795), Mary (b 1797) and James (b 1799). Almost certainly their father was a mulatto man, Siah Parris.

Patty's mother was a domestic servant, and later a midwife, but Thomas Pym Weekes temporarily demoted her to fieldwork and Patty worked with her in the field. Aged ten and a half, she was the youngest of the female field hands.[2899] Usually girls did not work in the field until they were about twelve years old, and punishing not only her mother but Patty as well seems particularly harsh. Around the time they worked in the field, her mother either miscarried, or the child died young, and her brother John died. Patty did not work in the field again [2900] but was almost certainly employed as a seamstress.[2901] She may have been trained by Black Polly, who became her mother-in-law, when, aged almost 18, Patty had her first child, William (b January 1801). The boy's father was Black Polly's son, the mulatto Billey Jones, who was ten years older than Patty and worked as a cooper. Through her relationship with Billey Jones, Patty acquired four sisters- and brothers-in-law: Frances Coker (b 1767), who worked in Bristol for the Pinneys, Little Molly (b 1787), Cubbenna (b 1784) and Hetty (b 1781), who became the wife of Patty's brother Frank Fisher.

Before Mountravers was sold, Patty and Billey Jones had two more children, Fanny (b November 1803) and Charles (b 1 July 1806). With both of them and their families reserved as his own, from as early as 1806 JPP decided that 'William Jones and his wife Patty Fisher with her mother Sarah Fisher may be

---

[2896] In 1817, Peter Nolan's date of birth was erroneously given as 26 July 1783 (UKNA, T 71/364).
[2897] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[2898] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 509
[2899] The next child in age to Patty Fisher was Little Yabbo, who was eighteen months older. Only two boys were younger than Patty: William Coker was a mere seven and a half and Cubbenna nine and a half years old.
[2900] In 1798/9 Patty was not in the great gang and I doubt whether she was in the second gang (in the hole), given that she was only 14, almost 15 and girls that age were listed at the end.
[2901] An incident in late 1805 with a stolen wrapper material suggests she was a seamstress. On a list of reserved people, which included their jobs, Patty's was not recorded.

suffered to work out.'[2902] For a while her mother and one of her sisters, Mary, were rented to Mary's father and then joined the rest of the family on Clarke's Estate. Patty's younger brother James ended up on Mountravers with Huggins by mistake and became the subject of a long dispute between JPP and the Hugginses.

Some time in the early 1800s Patty Fisher and her husband moved to Charlestown where they lived with her mother-in-law, Black Polly.[2903] In 1809 they moved to the Cedar Trees but JPP was casting around for a piece of land for Black Polly not far away, 'above the Town brookes' (sic). Presumably another property was found and her mother-in-law then moved out.[2904] While living in Charlestown, Patty gave birth to another son, Frederick (b 1808/9), and then had three more daughters, Betsey (b 1811/2), Mary (b 1814/5), and Jeanett (b 1817/8).

Although Patty and her children were not hired to Clarke's from the time Mountravers was sold, in 1811 JPP was prepared to rent to Clarke's Estate her oldest child, William, then aged ten (JPP's estimate that the boy was eleven was not far off, demonstrating that he kept himself informed about the people on Mountravers). Initially the agreement was for two years[2905] but William remained hired out and in 1814 Patty Fisher's oldest daughter, Fanny Jones, joined him on Clarke's Estate. Hiring the children to Clarke's Estate may have been a punitive measure against Patty's husband; JPP threatened to sell Billey Jones because he had not paid for some goods sent from Bristol, and then to hire him to Clarke's to recover outstanding hire money.[2906] Although Patty and her family lived in Charlestown, enjoying a limited freedom away from Mountravers, they were still enslaved, and in 1817 JPP's attorney Samuel Laurence confirmed this by entering them in the island-wide slave registration as belonging to JPP. Technically this was not quite correct because by then JPP had made them over to his son Charles.

Some time after July 1817 Patty Fisher's daughter Mary died, and in early 1820 Patty lost her husband. With her oldest children working on Clarke's, she could not expect them to support her, and she was forced to look after her four children on her own. The youngest was only two or three years old, the oldest nearly fourteen. As a seamstress she had marketable skills but with an increasing free population she also faced increased competition. The rate relief granted to posthumously to her husband could only be a temporary patch. Charles Pinney was staying in Nevis at the time of Billey Jones's death and instead of freeing the widow and her children – that would have involved Pinney having to guarantee that he would support her if she was unable to do so - he sold Patty Fisher and four of her children: Charles, Frederick, Betsey and Jeanett. On 31 March 1821, just before he left Nevis, he finalised the deal with the two Misses Smith, Christiana and Hester.[2907] Second-generation free coloureds, the Smith sisters were the daughters of the free mulatto woman Amelia Brodbelt, who in the 1790s had hired a woman from Mountravers, Nanny Nolan. Their brother Francis Smith could well have been the father of Nanny Nolan's offspring.

The Smith sisters were well established in the island and prime representatives of the mixed-heritage, property-owning class that was establishing itself in Nevis.[2908] While their mother's wealth, as well as that

---

[2902] PP, Misc Vols 17-19 Case of Clarke and Huggins: JPP to James Tobin, 1 February 1808 (with 1806 list)
[2903] Billey Jones was, in 1806, listed as 'a Cooper in town'.
[2904] PP, LB 23: JPP to Thomas Arthurton, 28 August 1809
[2905] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 4 November 1811
[2906] PP, LB 24: JPP to JC Mills, Nevis, 5 February 1814; to JC Mills, 18 July 1814; to JC Mills, 8 March 1814 and 4 April 1814
[2907] UKNA, T 71/365
[2908] In 1810 the Government had agreed with Hester Smith to pay N£140 in cash for the hire or rent of a large room 'calculated for the purpose of the Court House' and which was to have a portable partition for the accommodation of the Council and the Assembly. A Jurors room was to be provided, and, without additional charge, the adjacent dwelling house turned into 'respectable

of their sister Amelia, may have been founded on having been the mistress of a white man (Amelia Smith was undoubtedly the mistress of Revd William Green),[2909] Hester and Christiana were independent women. They made their living from a variety of activities. Hester, described as a 'merchant',[2910] ran a business that was more substantial than that of a retailer or a huckster. The two sisters also lent money to those in need. Among their customers was at least one free mixed-heritage man, Joseph Herbert. A cooper, he was the husband of their cousin Findella.[2911] They took his house and land in Charlestown and eleven people as security.[2912] The sisters owned or rented more than one property; one half of a property had descended from their aunt Hester Brodbelt to their mother and, after their mother's death in May 1817,[2913] to Christiana and Hester and their sisters Amelia and Jane and their brother Francis. The house was in St Thomas Lowland on the road to Black Rock Fort and very close to Mountravers.

When Patty Fisher and her children were sold to the Miss Smith, the sisters already owned two females, a 20-year-old black Creole, Mary, and a 40-year-old African woman, Sophy. A few weeks before the Miss Smith bought Patty Fisher, they had just sold a 13-year-old Mulatto girl, Louisa.[2914] The other Smith sisters, Amelia and Jane, also bought, sold and freed enslaved people,[2915] and Amelia also owned another plot of land in Charlestown which she had inherited from Revd Green.[2916] However, although sold to the Misses Smith, it is likely that Patty Fisher and the children did not live with their new owners but remained at the Cedar Trees. Certainly Patty's daughter Fanny - rented out and working as a domestic on

---

accommodation' for Governor Hugh Elliott during his visit. Visits by the Governors were always grand occasions and prepared months in advance, and, backed by a Committee of Council and Assembly members, Hester Smith was also charged with providing the public entertainment during Elliott's visit. On 28 February 1811, in front of the Council, he produced his Commission as Commander Captain General and Governor in Chief and, with the Huggins flogging of Mountravers slaves still fresh in everybody's minds, in a long speech urged the Nevis Government to reform the legislation on corporal punishment. Once the serious business was out of the way, the entertainment could begin. No doubt in the evening the island's leading citizens enjoyed a ball, organised by Amelia Brodbelt and her daughters. Four months after Elliott's stay in Nevis she and Christiana Smith received a substantial sum - nearly N£160 - but apparently that did not fully cover the costs. Hester Smith had undercharged the Legislature (UKNA, CO 186/9: 25 September 1810, 12 June 1811, and 16 August 1811).

[2909] After Revd Green's death at the age of 38 Christiana and Hester Smith's sister Amelia acted as his executrix and was his sole beneficiary. Amelia sold several properties he had owned in Charlestown and other parts of the island. It was said that Revd Green had owned a rum shop (ECSCRN, King's Bench and Common Pleas Cause List 1805-1813; CR 1829-1830 Vol 1 ff24-31, CR 1835-1838 ff254-61, ff509-21; CR 1823-1829 Vol 2 ff481-83, ff492-94; CR 1838-1847 ff657-59).

[2910] UKNA, T 71/1237 No 255

[2911] ECSCRN, CR 1814-1817 f43

[2912] Joseph Herbert gave 11 people as security for the mortgage: the negro man Bliss, and women Betsey Butler, Louisa, Polly, Citty, Ann, Maria and Matilda; Joseph, a male infant, and Mary Ann and Margaret, female infants. The property in question was wedged between beach or sea and Main Street and the bordered the properties of Edward Lowe Howe and the mariner Robert Reap The witness was John Herbert Brodbelt, a free black man (ECSCRN, CR 1829-1830 Vol 2 ff162-70).

Joseph Herbert may have been related to the Brodbelts; he inherited from the free mulatto Eve Brodbelt the three individuals she had registered in 1817: Cetty (Citty), Matilda, and Polly (UKNA, T 71/364 and 365).

[2913] NHCS, St John Figtree Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825

[2914] Louisa was sold to Robert Mulhall on 14 February 1821. Christiana and Hester Smith had also owned another woman, Julia, a 25-year-old African, whom they sold on 25 September 1817 to Robert Claxton (UKNA, T 71/365).

[2915] In 1817, Amelia and Jane Smith owned seven slaves: Amelia (black, aged 22), Nancy (African, aged 22), Mary (negro, aged 18), Mary Ann (Mulatto, aged 22), Elizabeth (Mestee, aged 26), Maria (Mulatto, aged 5), and Thomas (African, aged 26). By 1834 they had all died, been freed or sold: Amelia and Nancy died between 1817 and 1822; Mary Ann was sold on 5 April 1823 to William Nicholson; Elizabeth, Maria and Thomas were manumitted between 1828 and 1831; and Mary died between 1831 and 1834. However, these were not the only slaves whom Amelia and Jane Smith owned: On 4 March 1819 they purchased Betsey (black, aged 28) from Frank Browne and sold her on 4 March 1819 to Mrs Joseph Herbert. Mr Joseph Herbert, in turn, sold Betsey to Joseph Hanley.

On 23 August 1819 the Miss Smith bought from Joseph Jones a 28-year-old African woman, Eliza, who had previously belonged to Felix Alvarez. The Miss Smith manumitted Eliza between 1828 and 1831. They also manumitted a 45-year-old black woman, Mary Ann, whom they bought from Lydia Phillips of St Kitts on 10 May 1820. A month later, in June 1820, the Miss Smith acquired two 28-year-old men, Constant, and George, an African. These two men were 'transferred from Alexander Wallace'. The Miss Smith sold Constant on 14 June 1820 to Laurence Prentice who in 1825 sold him to Maria Huggins. Three boys born between 1825 and 1831 (before their mothers were sold or died) were the only people Amelia Smith owned in 1834 (UKNA, T 71/364-369, ECSCRN CR 1829-1830 Vol 2 ff374-76, CR 1831-1835 f188 Index).

[2916] ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 vol 2 ff481-83 and ff492-94

Clarke's Estate - lived in Charlestown when her first child was born in October 1823. This girl, Ann Eliza, probably was Patty's first grandchild, but the little girl died in 1827. Fanny then had two more children, Thomas and Sarah Ann, and around 1830 moved from Charlestown to live on Clarke's Estate. Patty's oldest son, William, was still working there as a cooper.

In 1831 the Smith sisters freed Patty Fisher and her sons Charles and Frederick.[2917] Their joy, however, was overshadowed and short-lived. Not only did the other children - William, Fanny, Betsey and Jeanett - remain enslaved, but in 1832 Patty first lost her brother Tom, and then, three months later, her son Frederick. Aged 23, he was buried on 30 August 1832. Within a few months, her son Charles was dead, too. He was buried on 22 January 1833.[2918] Her daughter Fanny had to cope with an additional loss - that of her partner, Isaac Herbert. The cluster suggests an outbreak of a disease, most likely cholera. This was said to have reached the Caribbean from North America in 1832,[2919] but so far no record has been found to confirm that the cholera pandemic of 1826-1837 had spread to Nevis as early as April 1832 (when Isaac Herbert died), although the year before, in July 1831, Charles Pinney had been aware of the threat posed by '*Cholera Morbus*'. Corresponding with Peter Thomas Huggins, he was concerned that there was 'no idea of introducing any measure at present respecting the Negroes',[2920] and the Nevis Legislature did indeed not propose its first measure – that of checking all incoming vessels - until August 1832.[2921] It appears that they had reacted too late.

Probably after her sons died, Patty Fisher moved to Lowland parish. It is likely that not only William but also her other sons had been coopers (as their father before them) and that they had supported her financially. In August 1834 she saw her four remaining children become apprentice labourers.

Patty Fisher lived to see slavery being replaced by the apprenticeship system but a few months later she died. She was buried on 27 November 1834. Like her husband and her sons, she was laid to rest in St Paul's. Patty Fisher was 51 years old but she was judged three years older than she was.[2922]

It is not known what happened to her daughter Jeanett but William died in 1842 and Fanny probably in 1853. It is most likely that Betsey was buried in May 1865 as Elizabeth Jones. Aged about 53, she was said to have been 48 years old and resident in Charlestown.[2923]

The women who had bought Patty Fisher and her children, the sisters Christiana and Hester Smith, left for London. Their sister Jane had died in November 1826,[2924] and they were following their sister Amelia to England. She had already once been to in England in the 1820s.[2925]

[2917] According to the Slave Register, Patty Fisher, Charles and Frederick were freed in 1831 (UKNA, T 71/369) but in the Common Records only Hester Smith's manumission of Frederick Jones was noted. He bought his freedom for N£100 on 10 May 1832, about three months before he died (ECSCRN, CR 1831-1835 ff128-29). It is likely that Patty Fisher and her son Charles were also supposed to pay the Smith sisters but did not have the funds to do so and that they died before the money was paid in full. Their manumissions could, therefore, not be recorded.
[2918] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 476 and No 501
[2919] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p275
[2920] PP, LB 29: Charles Pinney to PT Huggins, 1 July 1831
[2921] UKNA, CO 186/14: 25 August 1832 and 1 September 1832
William McPhail, who had been James Tobin's attorney, was at first proposed as Harbour Master but on 6 November 1832 the Legislature dismissed the idea of employing him. They decided that it was not feasible for one man to inspect all the vessels and gave the task to health officers instead. William McPhail may have been a victim of the cholera. He died about a year later. Aged 51, he was buried on 6 January 1834 (NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 550).
[2922] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 603
[2923] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 1372
[2924] RHL, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b): 13 November 1826
[2925] ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 vol 2 f481 and f482

Christiana and Hester Smith probably departed from Nevis just after April 1835. When in London, Hester identified herself as a merchant, and in that role she presented to the Commissioners of Compensation an eloquent appeal on behalf of a free black man from Nevis.[2926] Several people still owed her money – her debtors were free coloureds and white, men and women - and to recover their debts she applied to receive their slave compensation money. Hester Smith submitted counter claims and applied for compensation for 39 people. She received S£641 for them.[2927] With her sister Christiana she claimed for their five personal slaves, including Patty Fisher's children Betsey and Jeanett, and received another S£92. Amelia Smith was paid S£49 compensation for the remaining three who had belonged to her and Jane.[2928]

Christiana, Hester and Amelia Smith died in England, unmarried, in 1841, 1843 and 1856.[2929]

497, 498 and 499 Jenny Whitehall 'alias Jenny Young' and her two children came to JPP by way of a mortgage which was recorded on 12 April 1783. The sum involved was N£100. She, her daughter Pussey (elsewhere Bessey) and her son Dick Neal (also Neale) had previously belonged to William Wilkinson,[2930] an overseer, or a manager.[2931] This may have been the man who in 1756 had married Amelia Stalker but could also have been their son William who had been born not long after the wedding.[2932]

On the same day Jenny Whitehall and her children were mortgaged to JPP, he decided to give the interest on Wilkinson's bond to one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees, Betsey Weekes, for her life.[2933] It was a way of securing some income for his wife's aunt. In addition to receiving the interest, Betsey Weekes also benefited directly from Jenny Whitehall's services because at some stage Jenny Whitehall and her children moved to the Cedar Trees.

The Ladies at the Cedar Trees – three unmarried women, Mrs P's aunts - appear to have bought and sold but also freed people, and in their household there would have been much coming and going. In 1785, for instance, Jenny Weekes had bought three people from Thomas Wall, whom she passed on to a merchant called Richard Whitehall.[2934] Almost certainly Jenny Whitehall had in the past belonged to that man before she became William Wilkinson's property.

An owner of 15 people in the 1750s,[2935] Richard Whitehall was then a police constable,[2936] but later appears to have traded in hardware goods. He sold the coffin furniture when JPP's daughter Alicia was

---

[2926] The petition Hester Smith presented on behalf of Joseph Herbert concerned an enslaved woman called Matilda. In about 1833 she had been very ill and he had taken her to St Kitts 'for the benefit of the change'. When he wanted to return to Nevis, she could not be found and he left without her, having been told by the authorities in St Kitts that his documents were in order. After three days Matilda turned up in Nevis but was seized by the Collector of Customs because Joseph Herbert had not reported her missing on his arrival in Nevis (UKNA, T 71/1609).

Joseph Herbert may well have been a relative of Isaac Herbert, the partner of Patty's daughter Fanny Jones.

[2927] UKNA, T 71/1237 and T 71/1612: Counter Claims Numbers 9, 53, 67, 147, 192, 238, 255 and 277

[2928] PP, Dom Box R-6: Compensation file; claims numbers 202 and 201

[2929] Ancestry.co.uk Burial Register St Peter Cornhill 1813-1849 p38 No 287 and p43 No 316; Civil Registration Death Index 1837-1915 p78/184 Clerkenwell Sub-Registration District

[2930] ECSCRN, CR 1783-1785 ff16-7, PP, AB 26 William Wilkinson's a/c and Plantation a/c; DM 1173 Nevis Ledger 1780-1790 f115

[2931] PP, AB 39 Overseers at Nevis a/c

[2932] NHCS, St John Figtree Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1729-1825

[2933] PP, AB 26 William Wilkinson's a/c

[2934] ECSCRN, CR 1783-1785 ff721-25

[2935] PP, Dom Box P: General's Tax Notebook 1755

[2936] UKNA, CO 186/3: 24 April 1753

buried [2937] and dealt in items such as hatchets, files and gimblets, hammers, padlocks and chalk lime.[2938] At one stage he wanted to import various items through JPP's company in Bristol but the House could not be bothered with his small-scale trading and declined to accept a cargo 'of such multiplicity of trifling articles'.[2939] As a representative for the parish of St Paul's[2940] Whitehall was among several petitioners who asked that a bill to regulate trade was introduced. He and several others argued that it was necessary to stop mulattoes selling stolen goods, thereby undercutting white people.[2941] His complaint about competition from mulattoes was somewhat disingenuous, given that, almost certainly, he had fathered the two mulatto boys, Richard and George, whom he freed.[2942] 'Old Whitehall' died in 1785, not long after he bought the three individuals from Jenny Weekes.[2943]

In 1787 when William Coker, the brother-in-law of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees, worked on Mountravers, a wrangle arose over several of the Weekes family slaves. They had been mortgaged to JPP and several people were laying claim to them. Betsey Weekes apparently had wanted to swap Jenny Whitehall ('alias Jenny Young') for another woman called Nancy. JPP settled the dispute and told Betsey Weekes that 'Your brother [i.e. brother-in-law, Coker] has nothing to do with Nancy or other of the Negroes, they are all my property. I have desired Mr Coker to let your nephew [i.e. Thomas Pym Weekes] have the use of Sharloe and Mary and you may have the use of Nancy instead of Jenny Young.'[2944] It is not known for whom Jenny Whitehall alias Jenny Young worked after that, or where she and her children Pussey and Dick Neal lived, but her previous owner, William Wilkinson, in 1790 rented property from JPP and lived at the Cedar Trees.[2945] He died some time before August 1794 and left a debt of over N£50.[2946]

500 Jibba, Nelly's Jibba, later Juba and Jubba Pinney. She was black and born on Sunday, 20 April 1783. Her mother Nelly (No 234) probably was a domestic; her father may have been the cooper Lewy (No 166). Jibba had two younger brothers, Little Lewey (b 1785) and Tom-Bossu (b 1787). Little Lewey died before he was eight years old.

At the age of three months, Jibba was worth N£10. She became a field labourer and in her mid-teens worked in Pompey's gang. Jibba was among those who were beaten by Huggins in the market place. It was said that she was one those who were 'severely flogged'.[2947] By then she had become a mother of two children. Between June and the beginning of November 1802, she had been delivered of a child,[2948] and on 16 December 1805 she had given birth to another child, Toby (also Tobin). Her first baby may have died young, but could also have been John Pedero (No 612) or James (No 619). Both James and John Pedero died young, some time before 1817. Her second child, Toby, died at the age of 11 between December 1816 and July 1817, followed by her mother, who died between 1817 and 1822, and in December 1830 by her brother Tom Bossue.

[2937] PP, AB 26 Richard Whitehall's a/c
[2938] Stapleton Cotton MSS 15 (v) and 16 (iv)
[2939] PP, LB 37: Pinney & Tobin to Richard Whitehall, merchant, 2 October 1784
[2940] UKNA, CO 186/7: 27 October 1768
[2941] UKNA, CO 186/6: 23 August 1769
[2942] ECSCRN, CR 1761-1769 Index
[2943] PP, LB 7: JPP to WB Weekes, 26 October 1785
[2944] PP, LB 6: JPP to Elizabeth Weekes, 27 October 1787
[2945] PP, AB 43 f6 William Wilkinson at the Cedar Trees a/c
[2946] PP, AB 50 Estate of Wm Wilkinson dec'd
[2947] UKNA, CO 152/96 John Burke's evidence
[2948] PP, LB 19: 6 November 1802

After Toby she may well have had other children but the next traceable child was one baptised on 23 March 1828. This boy was registered as Moses but, as there was no boy of that name on any of the Huggins estates, she may either have re-named her son at baptism or, more likely, the name was mis-heard, or mis-transcribed for Josey, a boy who was born on 16 March 1817.[2949] It may be significant that on Clarke's Estate there was a man called Moses, who was about twenty years younger than Jibba. He may possibly have been the boy's father. Certainly by the early 1830s Jibba Clarke's was given as her residence when she was baptised either on 14 November 1830, or on 3 October 1831.[2950] In her late forties, she was among the few older people who underwent baptism. She undertook the ceremony on the same day as a woman in her early fifties, Eve Clarke. Perhaps as friends they had decided to go through the baptism together?

When Moses/Josey was baptised, Jibba also had another, as yet un-baptised, son. This child, Joseph, was born on 3 November 1824 and baptised on 13 July 1834. The father's name was given as Azariah Pinney,[2951] a man fifteen years her junior.[2952] Again, when that child was baptised, Jibba also had another, as yet un-baptised, son. Tommey, born in September 1830 and probably named after her brother Tom-Bossue, was baptised three weeks after Joseph, on 3 August.

Jibba was 53 years old when she had Tommey. He must have been her last child and, fittingly, he was baptised two days after slavery was abolished.[2953] It would have been a double celebration for Jibba and her family because, as her son was under six years old, it was noted that the child was free.

The pattern of not baptising all her offspring together suggests that at least two different men fathered the boys. The children probably were the result of casual relationships: Azariah Pinney, the father of her second child, Joseph, married another woman a month after Joseph's baptism and, unusually, he was considerably younger than Jibba. The man who may have been Moses's father was also much younger.

501 **Ned** was the last child born before the Pinneys left Nevis. He was 'black of a yellow cast' and born on Thursday, 12 June 1783. His mother was an entailed woman.

When he was about three weeks old, his value was N£6. Aged 14, Ned worked in the field in the small gang.[2954] He was among those who suffered a severe flogging by Edward Huggins in 1810.[2955]

Aged 51, Ned was alive on 1 August 1834.

[2949] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873 No 106
Alternatively, Moses was a very young child born after January 1828 (when the list was compiled) who died and whose death was not included in the next list. However, a baptism at such a very young age would have been unusual.
[2950] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 843 and unnumbered
The other 'Juba' who was baptised probably was Madge's Jibba.
[2951] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 1037
Jibba's name was given as Juba Pinney.
[2952] The only other Azariah on the Huggins estates in St Thomas Lowland was a black 18-year-old on Clarke's. It is unlikely he would have been called Pinney.
[2953] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873 No 433
[2954] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary Front cover
[2955] UKNA, CO 152/96 John Burke's evidence

To read other chapters, please copy this link and paste it into your search engine:
https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/mountraversplantationcommunity.html

March 2026 v20

Copyright © Christine Eickelmann 2016-2026

Except for the use of brief quotations or brief excerpts with proper attribution to the source, this study or any portion thereof may not be reproduced or used in any manner whatsoever, nor any work derived from it, without the express written permission of the author. For permission, please contact c.e.eickelmann@bristol.ac.uk.