PART 2
The enslaved people

Chapter 6
The son takes over (1794-1808)

'My whole fortune, at this instant, hangs by a thread.'
John Pretor Pinney (JPP), 1801[1]

When John Pretor Pinney's son John Frederick came of age in March 1794 it was time to transfer the entailed plantation to him.[2] In May 1795 JPP made over to his heir the land and the majority of enslaved people but retained ownership of the upper estate, Woodland, and of 21 people. When the absentee proprietors changed, this did not directly affect people on Mountravers, but a new era did begin and it seems a suitable point at which to start a new chapter.

In addition to the owner changing, from then on the plantation was managed by people who were not related to the Pinneys: first by two Welshmen, the brothers James and Henry Williams, and then by a Creole, Joseph Webbe (Joe) Stanley. Under these men, the numbers increased from 203 in 1794 to 215.

In Britain a Parliamentary campaign to end the transatlantic slave trade had started. JPP's business partner in Bristol, James Tobin, became the public face of their company when he gave evidence to a Parliamentary Committee charged with enquiring into the slave trade. Subsequently Tobin exchanged very antagonistic, published correspondence with Revd Ramsay, an abolitionist who had lived in St Kitts.

The revolution in France led to the temporary ending of slavery in French colonies and set off a number of slave uprisings in several Caribbean colonies. The longest, bloodiest and most significant took place in St Domingue (Haiti) and led to its independence.

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The James Williams period, 8 May 1794 to 31 March 1803

After serving as overseer on Mountravers for over a decade, James Williams finally became manager. He worked under the supervision of JPP's friend, the planter John Taylor. Living just a short ride away on his Tower Hill estate, Taylor was within easy reach and could be called upon at any time. Equally well, he could turn up at any time to check that everything was in order.

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[1] PP, Dom Box S3: JPP to Azariah Pinney, 6 August 1795

[2] The transfer of property happened on 1 May 1795 when JPP gave his 'patrimonial estate in the parish of St Thomas' to his eldest son 'as his portion'. Woodland he rented to John Frederick at S£100 a year and also the houses in Charlestown (PP, AB 41 f30; also ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797 f458, see also f443).

The last inventory on which the entailed people were listed separately from the purchased ones was compiled on 1 May 1795. In total 212 individuals were recorded: 32 adults entailed by John Frederick Pinney and 62 adults whom JPP had purchased, and 61 children of the entailed and 36 children of the purchased women. In addition to these 191 people, JPP did not convey to his son 21 people – people he had bought. Another two, Christianna Jacques and Pero Jones, were in England.

While Thomas Pym Weekes had busied himself and the workers with erecting and repairing buildings, Williams was charged with improving the plantation's landscape. One of his first tasks was to oversee a new lay-out of the slave village. It was then situated to the south of the Great House on sloping land near a ghut. These plantation villages, like African compounds, were ideally built on inclines so that, instead of rainwater stagnating around the houses, it could drain off, clearing away any debris in its path. Not only was this healthier but it also prevented the bases of the houses from rotting or eroding.

JPP's main concern was that people had sufficient yard space around their homes so that they could grow food and keep small animals. He did not specify how much everyone was to be allowed; he merely asked Williams to oversee that the houses were 'built at proper distances in right lines to prevent accidents from fire and to afford each negro a proportion of ground around his house.' [3] This suggests that formerly the houses were randomly spaced and close together – more like an African village than the uniform layout James Tobin described. Tobin claimed that 'The houses of the negroes are commonly placed in regular rows both ways, and situated in the centre of a square of nearly a quarter of an acre of land, planted by them in provisions, fruit trees etc.' Assuming that, roughly, four people lived in each household, by Tobin's measure the village at Mountravers would have covered an area of between about 11 and 15 acres (4.5 to 6 hectares).[4]

In his submission to the parliamentary enquiry into the slave trade James Tobin went on to describe some of the different modes of construction of slave housing in Nevis:

> They are constructed of timber and thatched round the sides and upon the roof; the poorest are divided into two apartments, a sleeping and an eating room, with a wooden partition between them. Some of their houses are much larger, consisting of three or more divisions, with kitchens

[3] PP, Misc Vols 7 1783-1794 List of Deeds and Papers at Nevis: JPP to James Williams, 8 May 1794
According to Revd Smith, slave villages, kitchens and boiling houses in Nevis were on the western side of dwelling houses so that its inhabitants could breathe 'the pure Eastern air without being offended with the least nauseous smell' (Revd William Smith *A Natural History*). On Mountravers the works at Sharloes lay to the west but the kitchen and the village to the south of the Great House.

[4] Dr Robert Thomas, too, submitted that the 'usual quantity of ground allotted each slave, besides that about his house, may be about ¼ of an acre, and generally some mountain-land.' (S Lambert (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 71 p256 Dr Robert Thomas's evidence).

The extent of the Mountravers slave village has not yet been established. Its size would have depended on the number of houses, and the number of houses on the number of households. The number of households, in turn, would have depended on the ratios of Africans to Creoles, males to females and adults to children. This claim is based on Higman's research. He has identified three forms of household structures: Firstly, individuals without families lived with friends as solitaries. This mostly applied to male Africans but also to Creoles as they grew old. Secondly, there were 'nuclear units' and thirdly, 'extended family households' (BW Higman *Slave population and economy in Jamaica* p168). By the 1790s relatively few male Africans lived on Mountravers and, given that the plantation population was stabilising, most people would have lived as nuclear units or with members of their extended families. Including those who permanently lived outside the village (domestics and watches) or temporarily away from the estate (people hired out on long-term assignments), the enslaved population on Mountravers in 1794 was made up of around 210 adults and children. It is possible to roughly calculate the number of houses they would have inhabited, based on the sizes of three known plantation villages in the same parish: Jessup's in 1755 measured about six and a half acres, Oliver's in 1760 measured just over six acres and Clarke's around the turn of the eighteenth century measured about eight and a half acres. The populations for these three villages have been established: Jessup's in 1748 had 111 inhabitants, Oliver's in 1790 had 115 and Clarke's in 1815 had 117 inhabitants. This meant that, on average, on Jessup's 17 people occupied an acre, on Oliver's it was 19 and on Clarke's 14. This is very much in line with the situation in Jamaica where on three plantations 864 people lived on 51 acres. This translates into a density of 17 people per acre. Assuming that each house was situated in about quarter of acre of land, households would have consisted of between 3.5 (Clarke's) and 4.8 (Oliver's) people. By that measure the village at Mountravers would have contained between about 44 and 60 houses, covering between 11 and 15 acres. This would have included trenches around the houses and communal spaces such as paths and trees.

This calculation does not take into account the different composition of the plantation populations. On Jessup's, for instance, about half of all the people were men (49 per cent) and women and children a quarter each (26 and 25 per cent). On Mountravers the population was quite different: children constituted the largest group (46 per cent), while the proportion of men and women was about equal at 27 and 28 per cent. It is not known how many people on Jessup's were newly arrived Africans without families, or their ages. Any of these factors would have changed the household density and, therefore, the area occupied by the slave village.

> and hog-sties detached. Some are wattled, and plaistered round the sides. Some have even shingled roofs and sides. These differences depend on the industry, wealth or vanity of the respective possessors; many of whom, particularly the tradesmen, are seldom in want of money to make things very comfortable about them.

Tobin claimed that slaveholders provided building materials such as hinges and nails, or that people could buy them, and he denied that anyone had the need to steal these.[5] In fact if hinges were not available, people knew how to adapt and help themselves: they used straps fashioned from undressed leather and, ingeniously, carved locks, bolts and keys from wood.[6]

Over a decade earlier, when JPP had left for England, he had instructed Joseph Gill to plant fruit trees by the ghut at Sharloes and to encourage the inhabitants to raise trees in any part of the estate - as long as the greenery did not interrupt the view and was kept well clear of the canes. Underneath Woodland, Gill was to have cleared the land, leaving all 'high standing trees'. [7] While their roots retained the soil, their canopies provided shelter for people as they worked in the fields. Now Williams was charged with adding more trees. While he received JPP's instructions regarding the lay-out of the village, he was told to plant 'a great many lemon and lime trees at the negro houses as a fence against Ward's line down to the path above Scarbrough's …'[8] These were to mark the boundary but Williams was also asked to plant fruit trees and to get a watchman to raise coconuts in a nursery at the Pond down by the sea. When the saplings were ready for transplanting, 'one or two' were to be given to people to plant near their houses; the additional food the trees provided would 'be of great service to them.' Leaving cedar and guava trees standing, Williams was told to clear the land from prickly pears and put poor cane land at Woodland partly in provisions to serve the plantation people. There was pasture at this upper plantation and later JPP asked that Woodland be fenced off to prevent animals from grazing on it.[9] The part of Woodland called Cruft's JPP considered 'pretty well adapted to bear potatoes and Angola-peas', and occasionally it was to be 'used for the purpose for feeding the negroes.'[10] Following on from these instructions came orders not to trust supplies and to carry on planting provisions.[11] Britain was at war again and it was more important than ever to grow at least some food on plantation land. Famine loomed if stores arrived late.

At war again

France had declared war on Britain and the Netherlands at the beginning of February 1793, and the West Indian islands had become, once again, the scene for countless invasions, occupations, attacks and counter attacks. Initial British victories at Martinique and St Lucia were followed by defeat when the French ejected the British first from Guadeloupe and then from St Lucia.[12] To add to the instability caused by military action, France's decision to abolish slavery in all its possessions encouraged discontent and outright insurgency in the British colonies among enslaved people who had already been stirred by French revolutionary sentiments and the massive uprising in St Domingue.

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[5] Tobin, James *Cursory Remarks* pp64-6
[6] Brathwaite EK *The 'Folk' Culture of the Slaves* in Gad Heuman and James Walvin *The Slavery Reader* p381
[7] PP, Misc Vols 6 List of Deeds and Papers, 1783: JPP to Joseph Gill, 5 July 1783
[8] PP, Misc Vols 7 1783-1794 List of Deeds and Papers at Nevis: JPP to James Williams, 8 May 1794
Joseph 'Charlie' Woodley has suggested that the limes of the lemon and lime trees supposedly marking the boundary of the slave village might have been sweet lime, a thorny bush commonly used as boundary material. Today sweet lime bushes can still be found at the site of the former slave village.
[9] PP, LB 14: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 10 January 1798
[10] PP, Misc Vols 7 1783-1794 List of Deeds and Papers at Nevis: JPP to James Williams, 8 May 1794
[11] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 1 August 1795
[12] Buckley, RN *The British Army* p186, p251, p256, p270 and Robin Blackburn *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery* pp224-33

News of turmoil in the Caribbean reached Bristol and triggered anxious enquiries to correspondents in Nevis. Rumours abounded: the House received different accounts of the capture by the French 'with the help of our own rebellious slaves - Grenada, St Lucia and St Vincent are particularly mentioned - and some accounts add Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat ...' People in Bristol thought it 'hardly possible' but feared 'that something very disagreeable must have happened.'[13] There is no record of any collective action in Nevis but everyone was nervous. Revd William Jones reported sighting a man of 'very suspicious appearance' who, when approached, disappeared into the woods on the mountains. He fitted the description of someone who had called at Mr Parris's lower works where he had wanted information about 'the situation, number and dispositions of the slaves belonging to the neighbouring estates' (which would have included Mountravers), and the Legislature was worried enough to offer a substantial reward for apprehending the man, and an increased sum if he was found guilty of incitement. The Speaker of the Assembly also wanted all strangers coming to Nevis to report to him to be examined and 'to give security for good behaviour'. That there was potential for an insurrection is clear from the Speaker's report on George Dasent, an enslaved mulatto man who had escaped to St Kitts. He was apprehended and while in jail he 'frequently and publicly harangued the negroes from the window of his prison and endeavoured to prevail upon them to take up arms against the Whites … and that they could easily obtain their liberty'. The Legislature sought to imprison him in Nevis 'until a convenient opportunity' offered itself 'to send him off the island', with the public re-imbursing his owner the full value.[14]

While in Nevis resistance appeared to have been contained, discontent elsewhere in the Caribbean led to open rebellion. In St Vincent the Caribs rose in March 1795,[15] while in the same month in neighbouring Grenada French forces joined enslaved and freed people in their effort to take over the island.[16] Between March 1795 and June the following year rebels killed many whites and destroyed about a hundred sugar and coffee estates. In St Lucia, enslaved people and sympathetic French whites united and drove British troops from the island. In Jamaica, the Trelawney Maroons started resisting in August 1795[17] but were induced to surrender a few months later, and by the middle of the following year the revolts in Grenada and St Vincent had also been suppressed.[18] In Grenada, about seven thousand enslaved people had died, or were condemned or deported. And the war had taken a different twist: in May 1795 allegiances switched when France, having occupied Holland, entered into an alliance with the Dutch. Eager to deny the French the strategic advantage by possession of the Dutch West Indian colonies, the British government decided on conquering Dutch colonies and dispatched 20,000 troops across the Atlantic.[19] Alarmed, JPP instructed James Williams to hide deeds, bonds and other documents by building a false wall in the counting house and by placing them in an upside-down jug which was to be buried in a particular spot. Williams was to make preparations and be on the alert:

> You had better send some of the furniture you can spare to Woodleys [Woodland] and keep two or three good watches every night on the bay - also in the lower work and with you in the yard - Let them call the hour every now and then all is well in order to give the negroes timely notice to go into the mountain in case of an attack or the landing of a privateer - Your utmost vigilance is now required, for the enemy seem inclined to carry devastation wherever they go - [20]

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[13] PP, LB 39: P & T to Edward Huggins, 2 February 1795
[14] NHCS, RG 1.12 Meeting of Nevis Council; Minutes 5 October 1797 and 9 September 1796). George Dasent was not sold into exile; instead his owner, George Webbe, some years later freed him (NCH, CR 1801-1803 ff367-77).
[15] Buckley, RN *The British Army* p257
[16] Rosalyn Terborg-Penn 'Black Women in Resistance: A Cross-Cultural Perspective' in Gary Y Okihio (ed) *In Resistance* p196
[17] Buckley, RN *The British Army* p187 and p257
[18] Marshall, PJ (ed) *The Oxford History of the British Empire* p190
[19] Buckley, RN *The British Army* pp256-57
Another source gives the number of troops despatched to the Caribbean between August 1795 and May 1796 as 35,000 men (PJ Marshall (ed) *The Oxford History of the British Empire* p190).
[20] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, 15 May 1795

JPP followed up this letter with the suggestion for the Legislature to post 'a hundred negroes and three or four white men' at Lowland Church.[21] Its position atop a hill affords an excellent view of the western part of the island but keeping watch would have been an additional burden on the men.

The war and the revolts in the Caribbean made JPP fearful of the consequences. West India property was in such a precarious state that he entreated his eldest son to apply himself with great care to his studies because one day there might be no more West India income: 'If Nevis should experience the misfortunes of Grenada and St Vincent you will want the means of a common support, and without either a profession or trade – reflect one moment, how near the brink of destruction you stand …' As further news reached Britain, JPP grew ever more worried. He believed that Mountravers might already have been lost: 'Our situation is so critical and it is possible, nay probable, at this moment your estate may be ruined and destroyed.' He reminded his spendthrift son and heir of his duty to end his 'unthinking mode of conduct by running into expenses' ('imprudent' even during peacetime) and told him directly: 'You and Aza must shift for yourselves.' Just how close JPP felt to 'the brink of destruction' he revealed in a letter to his second son, Azariah: 'My whole fortune, at this instant, hangs by a thread.' [22] JPP need not have feared. On Mountravers the only evidence of resistance was an unusual number of thefts that occurred during the autumn of 1795. Most of the stealing was done by individuals rather than in groups, and the victims were a random collection of whites and fellow, albeit elite, enslaved people: Acree and Scandal took a hog from Mr Scarborough, Phillip stole a goat each from Mulatto Peter and from William Fisher, and Billy Herbert robbed a white man of a hat. In addition, that year one man, John Wilks, was known to have deserted for a while and Dr Weekes's 'boy Tom' ended up in jail, but these incidents amounted to no more than the normal goings-on. As yet no evidence has come to light that the events in the other islands spurred the people on Mountravers, or elsewhere in Nevis, into organised, collective resistance.

Despite the revolts and with support of the military leaders in the West Indies, the British government decided to use enslaved people to defend the colonies. Planters opposed this scheme. With memories of the uprising in St Domingue still fresh in their minds, they were afraid of arming a section of the population who, instead of defending them, might turn against them.[23] The Committee of West India Planters and Merchants sent a strong protest to the British government, opposing its plans for 'raising and embodying negroes to serve as Military Corps in the British West India islands'. They argued that the British scheme 'was a measure of the most dangerous consequences to the lives and properties of the inhabitants and owners of estates in these islands.'[24] The British government had to concede that in the face of such opposition it would not be able to raise the requisite number and ordered that newly imported Africans were also purchased for the army.[25] In Nevis, however, whites once more remembered the dreadful invasion of 1706 and how bravely the enslaved people had fought back and decided that another French attack would be more damaging than arming the island's majority population. Accordingly, in May 1795 the Legislature passed an 'Act for the encouragement of such Negroes and other Slaves as shall behave themselves courageously against the Enemy in time of Invasion': every person who distinguished themselves in the defence of the island could choose a reward - either a sum of money, or freedom, while anyone maimed in battle would be freed with N£5 a year[26] maintenance from the island's treasury. Slaveholders would not lose out; in either case they would be recompensed with the person's appraised

[21] PP, LB 11: JPP to John Taylor, 3 August 1795
[22] PP, Dom Box S3: JPP to JF Pinney, 3 June 1795, 15 August 1795, and JPP to Azariah Pinney, 6 August 1795
[23] Buckley, RN *The British Army* p270
[24] Goveia, EV *Slave Society* p148, quoting *Minutes of the Meeting of the West India Planters and Merchants* Vol II, meeting of the Standing Committee 27 June 1795
[25] Buckley, RN *The British Army* p122, quoting WO 1/85: Dundas to Abercromby No 3, 28 October 1796
[26] N£ means Nevis currency

value. This new piece of legislation was published by beat of drum in Charlestown and many an enslaved person might well have hoped for a speedy invasion.[27]

In St Kitts, too, the Legislature went ahead and decided to select five hundred enslaved people to assist in the defence of the island. (In the following two years this figure was doubled.) Forty of the new recruits served with the regulars at Brimstone Hill fortress; the rest formed the Corps of Embodied Slaves. Commanded by a planter, every Saturday these men could be seen taking part in drill exercises.[28] One estate rewarded anyone who joined the black corps with 'about two Pounds Sterling, besides a suit of clothes', and it was proposed to extend the scheme to the rest of the island.[29] Elsewhere in the Caribbean over time the army managed to raise a sufficient number from established West Indian slave populations - and from newly captured Africans - so that by 1798 the West India regiments reached their full number of 12 battalions. Indeed, two of Thomas Pym Weekes's men were sent to this emerging, local army. William and Tom had defied plantation discipline and hiring them to the military was a way of ridding the plantation of their corroding influence. The British army had opened up a new route for banishing the idle, the awkward and the rebellious.

In 1792 the House of Commons had voted to end the African slave trade at the beginning of 1796 but then the war with France had intervened and the House of Lords rejected the Commons' bill. There was a cruel irony in the British government buying up enslaved people who were to defend its territories when not long before it had decided to abolish the slave trade. The historian Roger Buckley has argued that the decision to purchase enslaved people for the army was among the main reasons for delaying abolition until 1807.[30] In the meantime the British government became the largest individual buyer of people, and West Indians and Africans became indispensable components of British military strategy in the Caribbean.[31]

Rebellions and abolition … abolition and rebellions

Although the parliamentary campaign to abolish the transatlantic slave trade had come to a halt, the issue was still alive. It was kept in the public conscience by, for instance, the publication in 1789 of the first-ever autobiography written by a former slave. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* immediately found a wide readership. Chapter 5, which dealt with the abuse enslaved people suffered in the West Indies, would have made uncomfortable reading for planters and their families but to the British public Equiano's revelations put into context the rebellions which occurred in the 1790s. As these Caribbean revolts fed back into the debate in Britain, it made those with West India interest realise that they had to tread carefully if public opinion was not to swing entirely against them. This is illustrated in a letter concerning two people from Nevis who absconded to Glasgow. The House undertook to make enquiries as to their whereabouts but noted that these were 'ticklish times' in which to make 'any effectual exertions in cases of this kind.'[32] Too much publicity and people would just scoff at any appeal to return these two escapees, or - worse still - abolitionists might get involved and trigger yet more publicity. The House would, of course, have been very aware of the case of Harry Harper, 'a young man of colour' from Dominica, who had just some months earlier ended up in Bristol as a stowaway.

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[27] HoCPP 1816 Volume xix Miscellaneous Papers (Courtesy of Brian Littlewood)
[28] Chartrand, René and Lee Johnson (eds) *British Forces in the West Indies* p17, quoting UKNA, CO 240/14 and p45, quoting the same source
Between 1795 and 1798, a total of 1,168 enslaved people were enlisted for military duties (RN Buckley *'Slaves in Red Coats'* p38).
[29] Bangor Bodrhyddan MSS 3233: Robert Thomson, St Kitts, to Revd WD Shipley, 1 March 1797
[30] Buckley, RN *The British Army* p136
[31] Buckley, RN 'The British Army's African Recruitment Policy, 1790-1807' in *Contributions in Black Studies* Special Joint Issue with the *New England Journal of Black Studies* Vol 5 1981 Article 2 p4
[32] PP, LB 40: TP & T to Edward Brazier, 23 November 1796

Having hidden himself on board the *Levant*, after a few days, when out at sea, he had made his presence known and had then worked his passage. On arrival he had been arrested and, in danger of being returned to his 'severe master', his case had been taken up by a Bristol lawyer and abolitionist, the Quaker Harry Gandy. It transpired that an acquaintance of Harper's who had worked on the *Levant* had encouraged him to escape by stowing away on that ship. The historian Madge Dresser remarked that Harry Harper's case 'offers a glimpse of an unofficial support network amongst seamen (possibly themselves of African origin) and slaves wishing to escape'.[33] Possibly availing himself of this network, in the same year as Harry Harper's case was taken up in Bristol, one of the people from Nevis also ended up in Britain. Benton, a man in his twenties from John Stanley's estate, had 'gone away with the fleet'.[34] He did not appear in a subsequent plantation appraisal and it is likely that he had successfully freed himself.

Just how effective people could be in achieving results by working together was shown in 1792 when seamen went on strike at the quays in Bristol.[35] They demanded improved working conditions and better wages. Reluctantly the House and other ship owners gave 'into some of the demands of the Jacks, which were not deemed unreasonable', but 'absolutely and firmly' refused others.[36] Ship owners passed on the additional cost by raising the freight charges[37] and quickly got over 'this outrage'.[38] But more was to come when naval mutinies elsewhere in England raised the possibility of a complete breakdown of order. In a letter to his manager JPP expressed his fears that it might all spiral out of control:

> This country, I am grieved to say, seems on the verge of a revolution, if not already begun; which in the opinion of many is really the case - the men of war now lying at Sheerness, about 20 in number, are in a state of actual rebellion, and how the Government will suppress it God only knows.

Once again, the British political scene informed JPP's approach to running his plantation business, and he instructed James Williams not to incur any additional expenditure or to lend any plantation stores.[39] Added to the fear of revolution, people in Britain were alarmed that an invasion by French forces was imminent. One result was that money, literally, became in short supply. People withdrew their savings from the numerous small private banks, thereby causing such scarcity of cash that banks were unable to honour bills issued in their name. Many banks tottered and then went broke and collapsed. One of the Nevis Maynards who had settled in Suffolk lost £500 - 'a serious inconvenience' -[40] and another Nevisian, Mrs Horatio Nelson, concluded that 'The times are very unpleasant'.[41] In addition to the bank failures, the war put pressure on public finances and money had to be found from somewhere. The government found ever more ingenious ways of raising income: they taxed wheels on wagons, windows in houses, powder for wigs and then income itself.[42] JPP, meanwhile, sought to consolidate his business enterprise by purchasing more property in England.[43]

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[33] Dresser, M *Slavery Obscured* pp178-79, quoting GA, Granville Sharpe Collection D3549, 13/I/G2: Harry Gandy to Granville Sharp 4 August 1796 and p192 fn77
The owner of the *Levant* was Walter Jacks. He had given evidence for the defence in the trial against Captain John Kimber who was charged with murdering an African girl on board another ship owned by Jacks, the *Recovery*.
[34] PP, AB 48 John Stanley's Estate
[35] PP, LB 38: P & T to Edward Brazier, 29 October 1792
[36] PP, LB 38: P & T to John Taylor, 3 November 1792
[37] PP, Misc Vols 11: P & T to George Webbe, Blunstons Hotel, Falmouth, 2 December 1792
[38] PP, LB 38: P & T to Edward Brazier, 29 October 1792
[39] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, 5 June 1797
[40] Hardy, Sheila *Frances, Lady Nelson* p130
[41] Naish, GPB (ed) *Nelson's letters* pp355-56 Mrs Nelson to husband, 26 March 1797
[42] The scale at which income tax was payable is an indication of what was considered low, middle and high income: Those with incomes below £60 were exempt and then it was payable at a sliding scale: those with incomes of £60 a year or more paid two

England experienced a series of bad harvests in the years 1795, 1798 and 1799 which led to starvation, and Nevis, too, suffered food shortages. To avoid the enemy, vessels were forced to sail in convoys which had to assemble before crossing the Atlantic, and sometimes supplies arrived late.[44] One year all the herrings destined for Mountravers and other plantations did not arrive at all but ended up in Spain when the Nevis-bound vessel, which carried the herrings, was 'taken by a French frigate and retaken by a Spanish frigate, and carried into Cadiz.'[45] In addition 'a very strict prohibition against shipping flour, grain, etc. on board any vessel' was in place but the House got round this ruling by prevailing 'on the Captains to take on board a few hogsheads of bread as ship's stores.'[46] In 1796 the herring catches in southern England failed and, to secure supplies for Mountravers, JPP had them sent from Scotland instead [47] but the following year storms drove all herrings from the coast.[48] Nevis, meanwhile experienced another drought when no rain fell from November 1796 until May 1797,[49] and, with provisions in short supply, someone from Mountravers had to be dispatched all the way to St Kitts to 'procure cornmeal'.[50] Members of the Legislature warned that only 'an immediate supply can save the negroes from starving', [51] and it was against this background that JPP repeated his mantra to plant provisions. Although he would have been mindful that new legislation had been introduced which laid down minimum standards of food and other allowances, his concern that the plantation should grow some of its own provisions was ongoing and went back to the 1770s when famine had killed scores of people in Nevis. Having set aside some land for growing food crops, he had entreated his managers to raise provisions ever since he had left the island. This applied as much to Mountravers as to the plantations mortgaged to him. Of Williams he asked that the estate should become self-sufficient in cassava and Williams was to grow a new kind of food crop: breadfruit. John Taylor, who was ahead of him and had already established breadfruit trees on his estate, had promised to give the next sapling to Mountravers.[52]

New plants: breadfruit, cinnamon and nutmeg

Breadfruit had only reached the West Indies a few years earlier. It had been brought from Tahiti by Captain William Bligh and the crew of the *Providence*. Saplings first arrived in January 1793 at St Vincent where they were grown in the newly created Botanical Garden and soon breadfruit trees could be found elsewhere in the Caribbean. Breadfruit grown from the Tahiti shoots was already on sale in markets in Jamaica, and in New Providence in the Bahamas at least one specimen nearly twenty feet high was thriving in the garden of a Mr Forbes. George Tobin, the son of the Nevis planter James Tobin, had played a part in introducing this new plant to the West Indies. As a lieutenant he had sailed on Bligh's second, successful voyage which had succeeded in collecting and shipping the saplings – the first having ended in a famous mutiny. Tobin had been aware that by taking the breadfruit to the West Indies he would be 'doing good' and, convinced that 'the introduction of this nutritious food into the sugar colonies will be attended with the most beneficial effects to the toiling Africans', he had considered the voyage to Tahiti a 'humane undertaking'.[53] The breadfruit certainly was a worthwhile additional food crop. Rich in carbohydrates and essentials vitamins, it could easily be grown locally, in ghuts and on other marginal land. Its heavy fruits provide versatile uses. If baked, the pulp becomes sweet and soft, and if the pulp is

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pence in the pound and those who had incomes of more than £200 a year paid two shillings in the pound. The tax lapsed in 1802 but was re-introduced in 1806 and still exists today (http://www.netcentral.co.uk/steveb/dates/general.htm).

[43] PP, WI Cat 3 Index III.ii Domestic: Memo dated 31 March 1796, Jack's Coffee House, Bristol

[44] PP, LB 11: JPP, Cove of Cork, to Simon Pretor, 5 March 1794

[45] PP, LB 39: TP & T to Edward Brazier, Nevis, 3 June 1794

[46] PP, LB 39: TP & T to John Taylor, Nevis, 22 March 1794

[47] PP, LB 39: TP & T to Ed Brazier, Nevis, 26 January 1796

[48] PP, LB 40: TP & T to John Taylor, Nevis, 14 January 1797

[49] SRO, Mills Family Correspondence 1796-1803, DD\BR\bs/6

[50] PP, AB 47 Cash a/c

[51] NHCS, RG 1.12 Meeting of Nevis Council; Council and Assembly Minutes 19 December 1796

[52] PP, LB 14: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 12 November 1798

[53] Mitchell Library, Sydney, MSS MLA562: George Tobin's 'Journal on HMS *Providence*' p193 and pp297-98

dried and ground, this meal can be turned into bread and starchy puddings. Cloth can be made from the inner bark, the milky sap provides a ready-made water proofer, and the soft, light wood of the tree is easily turned into canoes and other useful articles. The introduction of breadfruit trees contributed greatly to West Indian agriculture.[54]

On Mountravers the first breadfruit tree was well established and thriving by the turn of the century, seven years after its arrival in the West Indies. JPP was delighted with this new addition and urged Williams to grow as many breadfruit trees as possible, particularly in the ghuts because there the trees were screened from the wind. In fact Williams was to plant young breadfruit trees anywhere on the estate, 'the greater number you plant the better'. JPP also turned his attention to other produce. He had already asked Williams to raise pineapples behind the allowance house but then requested that a proper 'pinery' be created in or next to the garden.[55] He singled out the calabash tree up at Woodland because it bore 'an excellent size callibash (sic)',[56] and he was satisfied with the progress of the nutmeg and clove trees.[57] These, and the cinnamon trees, had been planted recently. When JPP had lived in Nevis, he had to import nutmegs, cloves and cinnamon from England[58] but now the island was becoming more self-sufficient as new plants were getting established. Around the same time as James Williams acquired the first breadfruit tree from John Taylor and young cinnamon trees from Edward Brazier,[59] he was selling surplus Otaheite cane to a nearby plantation. This demonstrates how new plants were introduced and how they spread within the islands by an informal process – with friends and neighbours passing on seeds, shoots and saplings. Or people helped themselves. When mangoes were still rare in Nevis, President Brown picked the left-over stones off a dinner table and took them home so that he could plant them.[60]

Ordering houses being built into rows, growing foreign crops, introducing new tools and equipment and changing working methods – all these improvements shaped the landscape inhabited by enslaved people, as well as their material world. These developments were ideas of the Enlightenment put into practice and were part of a process that was taking place elsewhere in the Americas and across the Atlantic.

The work during James Williams's time

Of course it would have been the plantation people who planted the trees and nurtured them, just as they would have carried out all the other tasks Williams was asked to oversee. He was ordered to do few building jobs, among them repairs to the properties in Charlestown. Not only was JPP still reeling from the cost of Dr Weekes's projects but he also held back (and here he, once again, revealed his thrifty side) because 'This is not the time to rebuild - when there is peace every article will be cheaper.' In the meantime he wanted 'the masons on the estate to procure firestone for quoins and head a large number of other stones ...' JPP repeated his request that all the stonework should be done by the masons on the estate.[61] There certainly were enough men to carry out the work. By the late 1790s Mountravers had five

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[54] Breadfruit is in some island strongly associated with the period of plantation slavery. The author has found that in Trinidad, for instance, some members of the black middle class disdain breadfruit as 'slave food', thereby demonstrating that the legacy of slavery survives in all aspects of everyday life in the West Indies.

[55] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, 31 July 1794, and LB 16: JPP to James Williams, 26 August 1801

[56] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, 16 January 1797

[57] PP, LB 16: JPP to James Williams, 25 November 1800

[58] PP, LB 4: JPP to Nathaniel Martin, 13 July 1775

[59] PP, LB 14: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, 10 January 1798

[60] *Aaron Thomas's Journal* p27
Walter Maynard of Nevis was credited with introducing mangoes to St Vincent in 1770. By the 1780s they were being 'propagated in almost all the West-India islands' (*Monthly Review* Vol LXVV 1786, courtesy of Brian Littlewood).

[61] PP, LB 15: JPP to James Williams, 29 October 1799

masons, as well as five carpenters and two coopers although there was no resident blacksmith. To repair the mill at Woodland a blacksmith from neighbouring Scarborough's plantation was called upon - John Jones, a man who had arrived from Britain some years earlier. [62] Although masons, coopers and carpenters were being trained locally, the demand for imported blacksmiths continued, and over the next few decades several of them were recruited by the House in Bristol and sent to Nevis.

Excluding domestics, in the late 1790s the working population of Mountravers amounted to around 130 people. They represented about two thirds of the plantation's total slave population.[63] JPP considered his son's estate 'well handed' and wanted as many people as possible hired out to ships.[64] The mixed-race people, in particular, were to 'bring in moderate weekly payments', either by being hired out by the manager, or by finding their own employment away from the plantation. Alternatively, James Williams was to find light work for them on the estate. One way or another, if 'the coloureds did not act right', Williams was to 'make them work a short time in the field, as a punishment'.[65]Although Williams could draw on a substantial workforce, at one stage he hired 'a negro belonging to Mr Hamilton called Polypus' whose job was to paint 'the roundhouse and tailtree of the windmill'.[66] The windmill continually suffered damage and Williams, like Dr Weekes before him, employed men on Sundays to carry out the repairs.[67] If necessary, people had to work around the clock. On a Saturday during crop time Williams noted in the plantation diary: 'Employed Jack and Frank from yesterday morn. til ten o'clock this forenoon putting in cogs in the w.mill.'[68]

The plantation diary from James Williams's time as manager has survived, and it provides brief glimpses into people's working days and the tasks they typically carried out throughout the year. The entries reveal a rolling programme of canes being cut, tied, ground and being made into sugar while another piece of land was stumped, holed and manured so that more shoots could be planted. However, traditionally sugar was only made in the first half of the year, before the hurricane season brought trans-Atlantic traffic to a halt.

Every month the small gang was employed to weed the cane pieces but sometimes the great gang was also drafted in to assist with the weeding. At other times both gangs worked together on tasks such as holing the ground for potatoes, cleaning the works at Sharloes, or carrying wora either 'up to the negro houses for thatching' or 'to trash the mule pen'.

The number of people employed in the boiling houses at Sharloes and at Woodland varied, as did the sizes of the gangs that worked in the fields (and not just because of sickness). In 1798 the great gang consisted of a maximum of 56 people, 27 men and 29 women. On average, around 40 people were employed.

[62] PP, AB 47 John Jones & Scarborough a/c
[63] PP, DM 1773/4 Plantation Diary
[64] PN 174, quoting DVIII 1803-4 f178: JPP to H Williams, 20 April 1802
[65] PP, LB 16: JPP to James Williams, 26 August 1801, and LB 17: JPP to James Williams, 6 March 1802
[66] PP, AB 52 Cash a/c
[67] PP, AB 47 Plantation a/c
[68] PP, DM 1773/4 Plantation Diary: 8 February 1800

Ages of 56 people employed in the Mountravers Great Gang, 1798

Age group	Number of males	% of males	Number of females	% of females	Total	% of total
15-19	0	0	1	3.5	1	1.8
20-29	8	29.6	8	27.6	16	28.6
30-39	7	25.9	7	24.1	14	25
40-49	9	33.3	6	20.7	15	26.8
50-59	3	11.1	6	20.7	9	16.1
60-69	0	0	1	3.5	1	1.8

[69]

The small gang consisted of about 28 women and teenaged boys and girls. The boys were aged 13 (one), 15, 16, 17 and one was probably as old as 20 years. The girls were 16 (two), 17 (three), 18 (one) and perhaps 20 or 21 years old (one).

Pompey's Gang, later amalgamated with the small or second gang, probably consisted originally of about 21 people: two pregnant women and about 19 boys and girls. The ages of eight boys are known: the youngest was 9 and a half (one), the others were 11 (three), 12 (one), 13 (one), 14 (one) and 16 years old (one) and the eight girls were 10 (two), 11 (two), 12 (two), 13 (one) and 14 years old (one). Another three boys were probably listed in a hole in the paper. These could have been the ten-year-old Tom Bossu, the nine-year-old Little Joe and Frank Fisher who was 13, almost 14 years old. In November 1793, the youngest male field worker had been a little boy called William Coker, then aged 7 ½ years old.

To give a flavour of the work done and the distribution of workers, below are the entries for randomly chosen days for each month in one year, 1798 (except for January; the diary started in mid-February).

4 January 1800 (Saturday)
Calm. 1 mason at Tobin's
44 Great gang till 9 o'clock planting Copper Hole piece – afterwards cutting and tying canes in the piece above the Mansion House
20 small gang carrying canes and tops
3 with carts
14 mill gang
6 with mule
5 boiling house and still house
13 watches etc
2 with child
[blank] sick = 118

[69] Many of the ages in the table are approximate because the great gang included purchased people whose ages had either been estimated at purchase or had to be estimated for the purpose of this exercise. Among the young people the majority was plantation-born and their ages are accurate.

15 February 1798 (Thursday)
31 Great gang including the driver, cutting canes in same field as yesterday
1 with small cart, bringing canes to mill
2 with large cart, canes to mill
9 with mules, bringing canes to mill
21 Pompey's gang planting in Cotton Tree piece
24 employed in the work
2 coopers making casks
2 carpenters making stuff for the windmill
2 carpenters at Colhouns
15 watches and stock keepers
5 masons loading stone
1 runaway/Philip
2 with child
16 sick or lame = 133

6 March 1798 (Tuesday)
40 Great gang including driver, cutting and tying canes on Tobin's piece at Woodleys [Woodland]
14 small gang including driver carrying canes to the mill
15 Pompey's gang, weeding young canes
13 employed in the work at Woodley's, grinding and boiling
5 masons making a new wall against the great house yard
3 attending the masons
3 employed in the lower work
2 carpenters at Colhoun's
3 coopers making casks
2 runaways, Philip and George Vaughan
14 watches and stock keepers
2 with child
1 yaws
2 with the cart bringing scum from Woodleys
14 sick and lame = 133

25 April 1798 (Wednesday)
50 Great and small gang cutting and tying canes in Old Potatoe piece
7 with mules carrying canes to mill
14 Pompey's gang in the morning weeding canes, afternoon taking away the ashes from the copper holes
21 employed in the work
5 masons walling a furnace in = 127

21 May [1798] (Monday)
75 Great gang including driver with Pompey's gang: dunging and dressing canes in No. 9 piece
1 carrying dry canes tops for cattle
1 mending old gaps at Jammerrows,[70] walls
4 carpenters cutting yokes for cattle to draw by

[70] The name of that particular piece of land, Jammerows, had survived for a century. In June 1694 Ruth Charlot wrote about 'ye next piece of plants cains by John Manrows' (PP, WI Box A); Jammerows was a corruption of his name. Another version was 'John Munro'.

5 June 1798 (Tuesday)
28 Great gang including driver, cutting and tying canes for grinding in General's piece
8 with 8 mules carrying wora, sometimes canes to mill
4 carpenters making a cart = 133 (sic)

12 July 1798 (Thursday)
58 Great and small gang including drivers 'working and clearing ground up in the side of the mountain and forming it for a new plantation for shrubs and curious spices', weeding canes
3 carpenters repairing the roof of Sharloes boiling house
5 masons building a wall for a support to Sharloes mule mill ground

25 August 1798 (Saturday)
All day off except watchmen and stock keepers, carters (bringing 3 puncheons flour from the bay/Capt Shepperd)

25 Sep 1798 (Tuesday)
Digging potatoes in Hot House [piece]
Potato vines for cattle to trash the pen at Sharloes
2 employed in the work, making a gap in the cistern to get out the worm
16 watches

27 October 1798 (Saturday)
34 Driver included wooding and cross holing in Mule Pen piece
45 small gang driver included dunging in Mule Pen piece and cross holing the same
1 carrying tarries up to Woodleys
3 masons repairing the furnaces as yesterday
1 attending to the masons
16 watches and stock keepers
2 runaways
3 with child
1 have the yaws
3 carpenters making stuff compleat for the mills
22 sick = 132

14 November 1798 (Wednesday)
36 Driver included cross holing in Copperhole piece at Woodley's
1 attending them with water
36 small gang driver included carrying out dung at Woodley's to put into the crosshole
3 masons walling
4 carpenters repairing and putting up the old wooden watchhouse at Sharloes which was brought from the pond
3 coopers making casks
17 watches and stockkeepers
1 runaway
2 hunters
2 with child
1 lying in
1 with mule carrying bread and molasses up to Woodley's
25 sick = 132

24 December 1798 (Monday)
55 Great gang weeding in Drew piece
25 small gang weeding 2 acre piece in the morning, weeding 3 acre piece in the afternoon
4 employed in the work
4 masons painting the new made wall at Sharloes
3 coopers making casks
4 carpenters jobbing
16 watches and stock keepers
1 runaway
2 with child
1 lying in
16 sick and lame = 131

Throughout the year people were engaged in other tasks to do with producing sugar and rum, such as 'drying and grinding cane for burning', bringing scum and molasses from Woodland for distilling at Sharloes, carrying wood to Sharloes to burn under the still, distilling rum, carting rum to town and sugar to the bay.

Dunging was an important chore and much time was spent collecting and preparing fertiliser. One day seventy workers carried dung out of the loo pit and up to the Mule Pen piece, another day the small gang 'carried away the filth such as rough grass in [the] 3 acre piece to make manure'. People built dung hills with scrapings from the yard at Sharloes or with cane trash at Woodland, and they cleared out the mould which had collected behind walls and in catches in the ghuts. This they carried to the fields to refresh the cane holes.

There was always something that needed to be moved about on the plantation: someone had to take 'the harness and tackling from Sharloes up to Woodley's in order to grind', or carry tarrass and stone to where the masons were working. A number of people did odd jobs, such as mending the windmill sails, counting 'feet of board in the yard', paving the counting house, clearing bush and cutting down wood. Maintaining the plantation infrastructure included keeping the transport routes clear; large teams of both gangs tended to work on the estate roads. When they were not out 'jobbing', the masons were busy with the walls and hewed and sorted stone 'for a new wall to support the entrance to the mule mill', they repaired 'the gaps in the old wall near the windmill' and erected garden walls. While the coopers made and repaired casks, the carpenters did 'jobs about the house', crafted cogs for the windmill, built a 'horse house' at Woodland, or spent a day 'shingling the Mansion House'.[71]

Above the house the garden, in which JPP had grown vegetables, needed tending. This was done by the old folk.

During the week people also maintained their own houses. In Africa the roofs of houses are repaired or re-made during the dry season, and so it was in Nevis. Usually at the end of crop both gangs carried 'trash to thatch the negro houses' and two or three people then did the thatching over a number of days. One Friday afternoon people were given time 'to clean the trenches round their houses'. During the working week the gangs also laboured on raising the foodstuffs that were given out as allowances. They dug holes and planted potatoes, or cut potato vines when green shoots are broken off from plants and placed on raked soil so that the cutting sends roots downwards. They weeded between the rows,

[71] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary

harvested potatoes, and planted other provisions such as cassava. Some of the food that was given out as allowances had to be fetched from town, either by boat or with the cart.

Most of the work associated with the animals would have been the responsibility of the five stock keepers but the gangs also carried grass from Woodland or cane tops to the animal pens, and they removed dung out of the pens. For this they used the dung boxes built by the carpenters.

Just as a person's death was occasionally recorded in the plantation diary, so were the deaths of some of the animals: the 'mule Coker', 'Maies old horse from Ireland' and 'cow Friday'. Since JPP had left the island, there was less livestock. The number of sheep, 'including those fattening', had dropped from over eighty in 1783 to 55 in 1801, and all the camels were gone. When Dr Weekes had taken over from Coker, there were two; when William took over from Weekes, one had been left, but two years on and that last camel, Jack, had also died. (Jack was the name by which JPP was known to friends and family.) As far as is known, after having worked with camels for close to three decades, no more camels were bought for Mountravers. On Mills's estate in Nevis, the last camel had died in August 1776.[72]

After the camels were gone, during the period 1796 to 1801 the number of mules also declined. In the early 1760s Coker had worked with 28 mules and, although there was now a windmill on the estate, they were still needed to move the drive shafts in the animal mills and to transport canes and other heavy und unwieldy loads.

Animals on Mountravers, 1783, 1796 and 1801

	July 1783	**July 1796**	**December 1801**
Cows	18	14	19
Steers	16	3	7
Calves	8 (6 bulls and 2 heifers)	11 (5 bulls, 6 heifers)	12 (7 bulls, 5 cows)
Bulls	7	10	3
Heifers	3	8	9
Mules	21	24	18
Asses	5	0	0
Horses	3	2 and a colt	5
Camels	2	0	0
Total	83	72	73

[72] MLD, Mills Papers, Vol 2 2006.178/8

In addition to these animals, the stock keepers on Mountravers were responsible for cattle that belonged to one of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees: two cows, a heifer and a bull calf.[73] Living in Charlestown, Ann Weekes had no pasture for her livestock.

Occasionally a certain number of people had to be made available for public works projects. In November 1799 the road at the entrance to Charlestown required repairs (even James Williams worked on this), and in February 1801 all the planters had to send two per cent of their people to Black Rock Fort.[74] In the case of Mountravers that would have meant ordering four people to take part but it appears that Williams sent six: 'Sabella, Tom Bossu, Counte, Warry, Hector, Mule Boy'. Their names were noted underneath the overseer John Cheyney's account as 'Constable of the parish St Thomas'. In addition to his work at Mountravers Cheyney had taken on this post and it was his duty to summon the enslaved people to partake in the labour at Black Rock Fort. He and Williams probably decided to lead by example and to send an extra two workers. The people they chose were a woman in her fifties who had been a domestic but in later life worked in the field (Sabella), a 13-year-old boy and a 19-year-old (Tom Bossu and Count de Grasse) and two African stock keepers, Warry and Hector. The person known as 'Mule Boy' almost certainly was Range, a Creole in his late twenties. He was a stock keeper with special responsibility for the mules.

The domestics and their work

The plantation diary only recorded the tasks carried out by the field workers and the tradesmen. There are no details of the domestic staff's duties. This section aims to redress the balance and look at the tasks carried out by one group in particular, the washer maids.

While the work of field hands and those employed in the sugar production has been extensively researched and a substantial body of literature explains the exact processes of growing, cutting, carrying and grinding canes and the art of turning the raw material into sugar, little has been written about the actual tasks performed by domestic servants in the West Indies. The main problem appears to be a shortage or lack of documentary evidence. The plantation records provide, at best, very scant details on domestic chores; at worst, no information at all. The logbooks on other plantations, which are similar to the plantation diary on Mountravers, also tend to detail the daily tasks of field and craft workers but not of the domestics.[75] And physical evidence of what the field workers and the craft workers did is, of course, everywhere because they transformed the natural and the built environment: the field workers shaped the landscape by terracing, levelling, planting while the craft workers built houses, windmills, churches, bridges and roads. They erected the buildings inhabited and used by the domestics: the wash houses, the kitchens, and the large, stand-alone bread ovens, which one can still see all over Nevis. There is, however, very little that connects this environment with the work carried out by the domestic staff. They did not leave anything lasting or substantial and very few archaeological traces. Whereas the paraphernalia for sugar-making has survived in some shape or form, items associated with household duties generally have not: they were not only smaller (needles being an extreme example) but were also mostly short-lived, less valuable and less valued. The material world inhabited by domestic servants was largely biodegradable and the chores they performed ephemeral.

When investigating the role household servants played in the West Indies, historians have looked at the composition of the workforce on plantations; the gender and colour distribution; their status and their

[73] PP, AB 27 A List of Horned Cattle in Nevis, AB 52 A List of Mules Horses and Horned Cattle, and AB 59 List of Negroes and other Slaves
[74] PP, DM 1773 Plantation Diary: 1 November 1799 and at the back
[75] See, for instance, RS Dunn 'A Tale of Two Plantations' p56, and MLD, Mills Papers, Vol 2 2006.178/8

working conditions. Some historians have commented on the large number of domestics the planters employed.[76] However, while it is generally accepted that planters employed more domestic staff than people of equivalent status in Britain, Barry Higman also found that there appears to have been 'a definite upper limit to the number required to signify opulence'. He established that on sugar estates about ten per cent of the females were domestics, while on coffee, cotton or cocoa plantations it was double that number.[77] Managers had to make do with fewer, and the numbers employed varied as to whether the owner was in residence or not. Nothing is known about the house staff employed in the early days by Azariah Pinney or by Mrs Mary Pinney, nor can it be established with certainty how many people JPP employed while he lived in Nevis but it is certain that he would have withdrawn as few people as possible from plantation duties. He was not a man who flashily displayed his wealth, nor did he approve of idleness.

Barry Higman's research has shown that the majority of domestics were female and the majority were mixed-race, but, as is evident from Barbados and St Lucia, one group of domestics was distinctly different from others: the washer women, who accounted for about a quarter to a half of the specialist domestics. [78] Their work was physically demanding, and in the hierarchy of female domestic servants they fell below the ladies or waiting maids, the housekeepers and the cooks, and the upper and under housemaids. Their colour reflected their low status. While in Barbados and St Lucia about one in three (36.8 per cent and 31.9 per cent) of the domestics were mixed-race, among the washer women it was only about one in seven and one in five respectively (13.8 per cent in Barbados and 21.9 per cent in St Lucia).[79] A larger percentage, therefore, was black. Whether the same was true for Mountravers cannot be confirmed but the only woman who was known to have been a washer woman, Sheba Jones, was black. She was briefly assisted by another black woman, Hetty. However, both belonged to favoured families who enjoyed a high status within the plantation hierarchy.

Washing and nursing were gender-specific activities and women's responsibilities,[80] but males also worked in the house. If they began working in the house as children, in adult life boys had a better chance of escaping fieldwork than girls. When analysing employment patterns, Richard Dunn found that on Mesopotamia 'boys who started work as domestics were usually converted to apprentice craft workers in their early teens, whereas most girl domestics became field workers. Adults were usually kept in the same line of work until they became too sick or old for prime labour, when they were switched to lighter tasks.'[81] In addition, domestics, once established, tended to remain on the plantations; field labourers were more likely to be sold or transferred.[82]

Higman stated that some historians have dismissed domestics as "non-productive" or "expendable" [83] but he pointed out that, rather than just serve 'decorative roles', the majority were usefully employed. While domestic servants may have been a status symbol that everyone aspired to – even if it meant owning just one - [84] it has to be remembered that housework then was different from what it is today and that many more pairs of hands would have been needed to get through the multitude of jobs. Until automated appliances lightened the load, all housework was done manually, many cooking and eating utensils required great care, and most cleaning materials were not shop-bought but prepared at home. The actual

[76] See, for instance, VB Thompson *The making of the African Diaspora* p158 fn72
[77] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p173
[78] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p173
[79] Higman, BW *Slave Populations in the British Caribbean* p196 [Barbados: 1817; St Lucia: 1815]
[80] Higman, BW *Montpelier, Jamaica* p41 and *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p189
[81] Dunn, RS '"Dreadful Idlers" in the Cane Fields' p804
[82] Dunn, RS 'A Tale of Two Plantations' p52
[83] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p173, quoting Karl Watson *The Civilised* Island p75, Craton and Walvin *A Jamaican Plantation* p139 and Handler and Lange *Plantation Slavery in Barbados* p77
[84] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p173

tasks domestic servants performed deserve a closer look but while the entry for 'domestics' in the index for Higman's *Slave Populations of the Caribbean* promises to reveal the 'tasks of', the text actually mostly deals with the numbers of domestics, their roles and their social status. The only real example of a task is George Pinckard's detailed description of how washing was done in Barbados. Higman admitted in the section on urban domestics that 'it is no more possible to provide a detailed account of their daily tasks in the towns than it is for the plantations', and he presented a broad sweep of the urban domestics' work: they emptied the chamber pots of their masters and mistresses, disposed of their garbage, 'cleaned and polished their houses and utensils', 'they purchased food from the markets and stores, prepared it, and waited on their owners and guests at the table. They looked after the children of the household, cared for their owners' clothes and helped them dress, served as valets and ladies maids, ran errands and carried messages.' [85]

Unfortunately, the Pinney Papers appear representative of other collections of plantation documents and do not provide easy answers either. They only offer hints of the domestic staff's routines. Account books, for instance, which detail the expenditure for cooking or eating utensils, allow us to speculate as to what was required to keep these items clean and serviceable, and from household inventories, which describe the rooms and their furniture, come further pointers as to what work needed to be done to keep everything spic and span and in good repair. Each item had to be scrubbed or polished, kept free of insects and preserved from the destructive humidity: the mahogany and oak furniture, the feather beds, the pictures on the walls and the books. Even the chamber pots required more than just emptying; in every well-run household they were scalded once a week.

Servants' work in large country houses in Britain followed strict daily routines, with weekly rotas for certain tasks, such as 'turning out' rooms and cleaning them from top to bottom. Their duties were highly demarcated: housemaids changed the family's linen but did not wash it; the wash maid washed the linen but left the starching to the chambermaid or the laundry maid.[86] In smaller establishment and in West Indian households the lines between the servants were less defined and generally domestic arrangements were more relaxed - to the point where visitors were shocked by the informal atmosphere which they considered peculiarly creole.[87]

In Britain smaller households contracted out many services, such as washing and carpet beating, but planters had at their disposal any number of people unfit for heavy fieldwork who could still perform useful domestic chores, such as polish the silver ware, the pewter and the brasses; sew and mend clothes; repair small items such as lampshades, or restring cane chairs. In Britain, an additional number of people were employed in the almost daily ritual of cleaning the grates, laying the fires and keeping the fires supplied with wood and coal; in the West Indies this would have been necessary only for the big fire in the kitchen. Apart from food preparation, some of the tasks associated with the laundry may have been done in the kitchen, such as heating irons and boiling water for making starch.[88]

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[85] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p174, quoting George Pinckard *Notes on the West Indies 1806* and p232
[86] Sambrook, Pamela A *The Country House Servant* p185
[87] Lady Nugent found in one of the Jamaican plantation houses she visited 'A number of negroes, men and women, and children, running and lying about, in all parts of it'. On another occasion she remarked on the absence of the smell of 'hot meats' which she appears to have come to expect of planters' houses. She also commented on the custom of house servants sleeping 'on the floors, in the passages, galleries, &c' (Frank Cundall (ed) *Lady Nugent's Journal* p103, p121 and p107). While this may have generally been the case, it was not always so. Gregory Lewis, for instance, stated that none of his domestics slept in the house but that they went 'home at night to their respective cottages and families' (MG Lewis *Journal of a Residence* p42) and JPP asked Gill to insist that some of the house people should 'sleep in the dwelling house' (PP, P19 Private Letterbook: JPP to Joseph McGill (sic), undated 1783).
[88] Sambrook, Pamela A *The Country House Servant* p162

Cleaning linen involved lengthy preparations and several different processes, and because many women were employed as washers it is worth investigating their work in detail.

The laundry process started with the maid sorting the articles that required washing. These tended to be separated into five different piles: white bed linen and body linen, coloured cotton fabrics, fine muslins, woollens, and coarse and greasy kitchen cloths. The maid would examine each item for missing buttons, rips and holes, as well as spots and stains, and before washing could begin, she would have to take care of these. If something required more than a few stitches, or the mending had to be particularly fine, she might hand the item to a domestic skilled in needlecraft.[89]

According to James Smith, an American visitor to the West Indies, women washed clothes in brooks, cleaning them by 'beating or battling the clothes on large stones or rocks'. He found to his cost that this method was 'extremely destructive to linen…'[90] George Pinckard described in some more detail what he saw in Barbados:

> The linen is first put into a tub, and rubbed through some water, then it is taken out and sprinkled with sand, previous to being pressed and beaten with a piece of wood, upon a coarse large stone, by the side of the river; after which it is rubbed out in the open stream. Next it is sprinkled with the fine white sand of the shore, and spread out by the sea to whiten; then it receives another dipping in water, and, finally, is rinsed out in the running stream of the river.[91]

In Nevis some of the linen was washed in the hot water of the Bath stream. The women did the laundry naked - one day a passing sailor diligently counted 79 females who, on spotting him, quickly got dressed -[92] but this open-air laundry was on the other side of Charlestown, and it would have been impractical to cart the dirty washing from Mountravers a couple of miles down the hill and across town. The presence of a wash house on neighbouring Scarborough's Estate[93] and also the laundry building at Golden Rock plantation suggest that not everyone used rivers and rocks to do their washing but that people employed different methods and processes. These were more private and would have escaped the notice of observers such as James Smith or George Pinckard.

Doing the laundry tended to involve extensive steeping. The linen would have been left to stand in urine or lye, or a mixture of both. If only stale urine was used this would have been at the ready, having been collected beforehand, but the lye had to be prepared. An alkali-based cleaner, the basis for this was woodash. In order to quickly prepare the solution in which to steep the linen, the well-organised housemaid would have had at the ready a supply of ashballs, also called washballs. These were made of woodash mixed with water. The resulting paste was then shaped into balls, or into rings with a hole in the middle, for stringing up. In England the manufacture of ashballs was a cottage industry and on Mountravers, too, someone may have made some money from producing these. To strengthen the woodash-based solution, various substances could be added: bran, stale urine, or water in which chicken or pigeon dung had been left to stand. This was easily available; many people kept chickens and several plantations had their own pigeon houses.[94]

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[89] *The Housekeeping Book of Susanna Whatman* p46
[90] Tyson, George F and Arnold R Highfield (eds) *The Kamina Folk* p205
[91] Higman, BW *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* p174, quoting George Pinckard *Notes on the West Indies* 1806
[92] *Aaron Thomas's Journal* p52
[93] DALSS, 337 add 3/1/8/2 (Box 25)
[94] For instance, in the early days there were pigeon houses at Lady Bawden's and at Christian Broome's property (PP, WI Damaged or Fragile Box). Later they could be found on Mountain Plantation (ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 f40) and on Wansey's (Nevis Wills Book 1787-1805 f357).

Although JPP sent soap to Black Polly and to his managers, he sent it irregularly and in small quantities, and it is very unlikely that the precious imported soap would have been used for the heavy laundry. Instead, soap could have been prepared in the West Indies. A recipe for making soft soap went something like this: boil lye with animal fat (mutton or pork) for three hours. Stir almost continuously. Add salt. Once the mixture is set, roll into balls. For hard soap, add caustic lye made with urine and unslaked lime. If a less astringent soap is called for, squeeze out the jelly from the leaves of the aloe plant.[95] This plant is readily available in the West Indies, and making soap with it and other local products may well have been a cottage industry.

Until around 1815, when washing soda, or sodium carbonate, began to be used for pre-wash soaking and for washing, every wash maid would have had to undergo any of these preparations before she could begin to tackle the laundry.

After steeping was complete, the next step was to loosen the dirt by rubbing, batting or pounding the material. To enhance white linen, a natural textile dye was added to the wash, mostly indigo – one of the crops the island's early settlers grew. The final step of the washing process was to rinse the linen many times to get rid of the smell, and then to rinse it with herbal infusions made of, for instance, sweet marjoram, bay or rosemary. In the West Indies other fragrances were to hand and possibly the distilled orange water JPP wanted sent from Nevis may have been intended to sweeten the Pinneys' laundry in Bristol.

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

Once dry, the final stage was to uncrinkle the material and make it shiny. This process originated in northern Europe in the sixteenth century and was achieved by repeatedly passing a heavy wooden board over a large wooden roller on which pieces of almost dry bed and table linen had been wound. In Bristol the Pinneys had a box mangle – a wooden contraption in which a set of rollers were subjected to considerable pressure by means of weights – so that flat articles could be made smooth and glossy by being repeatedly passed through these rollers. Small items such as collars were burnished to a glossy sheen by being rubbed with a lump of glass while frills were treated on the crimping boar. This was a wooden, grooved implement on which damp, starched articles were laid and repeatedly pressed with a small wooden roller. Operating the big box mangle required great strength while those who did the hot-ironing or roller-pressing needed to have a delicate touch.

As these descriptions show, keeping the family's linen clean was arduous and time-consuming. From start to finish the complete laundering process could take a week: everything was checked, sorted and then soaked on Monday, it was washed and put out to dry on Tuesday, gathered and folded on Wednesday and pressed on Thursday or Friday.[96] In addition to laundering the different household linens, cleaning clothes made from other material would have entailed different processes; a recipe for cleaning silk or ribbons, for instance, required a mixture made with equal measures of gin and water and of honey and soft soap. Other household chores would have been just as cumbersome. Before practically any

[95] *Aaron Thomas's Journal* p221
Soap recipes varied; another called for 'Eighteen bushels of ashes, one bushel of stone lime, three pounds of tallow, fifteen pounds of the purest Barbary wax of a lovely green colour and a peck of salt' (*The Housekeeping Book of Susanna Whatman* p31).
[96] *The Housekeeping Book of Susanna Whatman* pp29-30

work could commence, materials such as washing-up liquid, furniture wax and boot polish had to be prepared, and a good domestic servant had to have a thorough knowledge of the ingredients and how to mix and apply them.

Although some of the housework was physically demanding, it was not as hard as field labour, and for many jobs children would have been employed, or the aged and infirm. Of a 'rather' sickly woman on one estate it was said that she could 'make herself useful as a domestic under-servant'.[97] She would have become a house maid, a scullery maid (dish washer), or a kitchen maid.

Sickness and health care in the late 1790s

In the plantation diary Williams was supposed to enter daily the number of workers who, during the six-day week, were 'sick or lame', had yaws, were pregnant or lying in after giving birth. However, sometimes days or even weeks went by when no such details were noted. The sickness record is also incomplete because, particularly in 1798, pages were torn out or details have become illegible. For that year a complete record exists for 15 full weeks of six days each plus 75 odd days; for 1799 details are available for 44 full weeks plus 11 odd days, while for 1800 only nine full weeks are available plus another 22 odd days. The sickness records for a total of 515 working days were analysed. They represent two-thirds of 763 possible working days in the period 14 February 1798 to 23 July 1800.[98]

People recorded as 'sick or lame' during the period 14 February 1798 to 23 July 1800

Period	**Total number of working days for which numbers of people recorded as 'sick or lame' are available or legible**	**Total number of people recorded as sick**	**Average number of people recorded as sick (per 1,000)**
14 February to 31 December 1798	164	3,068	187
1 January to 31 December 1799	275	4,289	156
1 January to 23 July 1800	76	768	101
Total for the period 14 February 1798 to 23 July 1800	515	8,125	158

[97] HoCPP 1826-1827 Vol xxii 'Reports by Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Slaves in HM Colonies under Acts Abolishing Slave Trade, St Christopher, Nevis and Tortola' Chadwyck-Healey mf 29.176-177

[98] In 1798 people worked on two Sundays but only one was included in the total: Sunday, 29 July appears to have been worked instead of the preceding Saturday whereas Sunday, 30 December was an additional day.

The total number of working days during the period 14 February 1798 to 23 July 1800 was as follows: 275 in 1798, 313 in 1799 and 175 in 1800.

The most striking feature of the above table is the decline in the number of people recorded as sick. This coincided with the yellow fever abating in the West Indies and with the overseer John Cheyney taking up his post. A young man fresh from England, he may not have tolerated absenteeism and worked people harder than his predecessor John Beer – a man who had succumbed to rum. Alternatively, Cheyney may have pushed people less hard and they therefore needed to be off sick less often. In terms of output, in all three years very bad sugar was being made, and in 1798 production was short 'by many hundred pounds'.[99] Other factors may have come into play why fewer people were sick, such as the weather conditions and the food supply. Following a drought, the year 1797 saw food shortages in the island and while in 1798 the weather seemed to herald a good crop in the following year, in 1799 another drought occurred.[100] These droughts may have decimated home-grown foodstuffs but do not explain the sickness records on Mountravers. Equally, the number of children born could provide indications of the conditions at the time but during the years in question there was no particular pattern, either. According to the records, in 1798 six children were born alive and one dead, in 1799 two were born and one was miscarried and in 1800 seven were born. Given the documentary evidence that is available, no firm conclusion can be drawn.

The plantation diary shows that the number of sick people ranged from as few as four a day to as many as 48. The week (22 to 28 July 1798) in which these 48 people were recorded as sick was also the week with the highest total number of sick people, 144 in all. (By contrast, on John Colhoun Mills's estate, on one particular day during that same week there was 'not one single infirm or sick negro, being to be found at home, which is a proof of their all being well.'[101] That same day, 27 July, 18 people were recorded as sick on Mountravers). Yet while that one week in July 1798 stands out, in the corresponding week in the following year only 89 people were sick and in the last fully recorded week in 1800 (14 to 19 July) only 32. This, and an analysis of the period from 14 February 1798 to 23 July 1800 by month, suggests that there were no significant seasonal patterns in the number of people who were recorded as sick.

Average number of 'sick or lame' people during the period 14 February 1798 to 23 July 1800, by month, based on completed and legible records for 515 working days

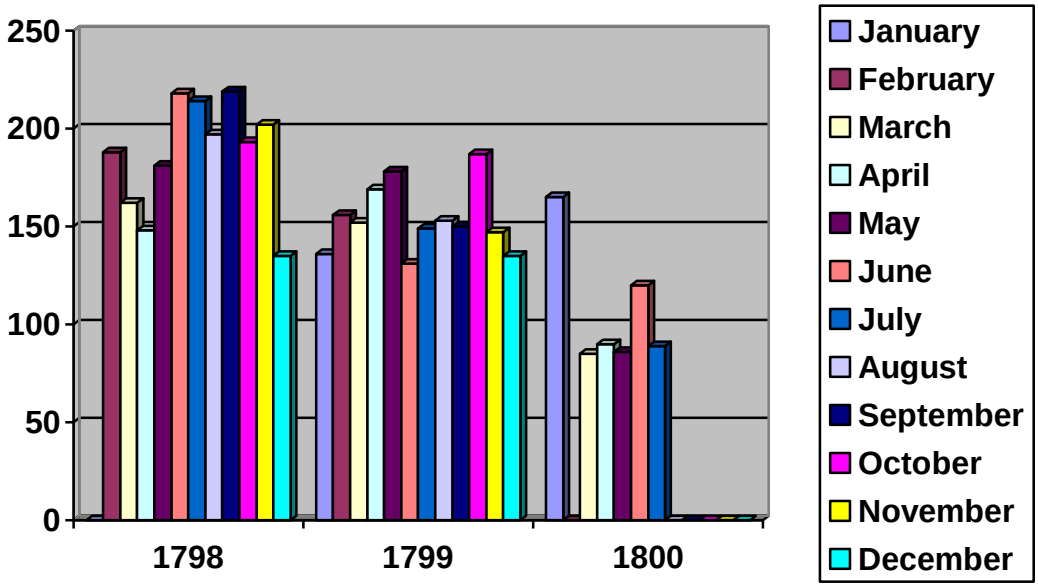
Month	14 February to 31 December 1798: Average number of sick people per recorded/legible day (per 1,000)	1 January to 31 December 1799: Average number of sick people per recorded/ legible day (per 1,000)	1 January to 23 July 1800: Average number of sick people per recorded/ legible day (per 1,000)	14 February 1798 to 23 July 1800: Monthly average of sick people per recorded/ legible day (per 1,000)
January	--	136	165	151
February	188	156	0	172
March	162	152	85	133
April	148	169	90	136

[99] PP, Dom Box S1: JPP, Bristol, to JF Pinney, 7 August 1798
[100] SRO, DD\BR\bs/6: JC Mills, Nevis, to Wm Mills, 12 September 1798, 12 November 1798 and 4 September 1799
[101] *Aaron Thomas's Journal* p49

May	181	178	86	148
June	218	131	120	156
July	214	149	89	151
August	197	153	--	175
September	219	150	--	185
October	193	187	--	190
November	202	147	--	175
December	135	135	--	135

[102]

Average number of 'sick or lame' people during the period 14 February 1798 to 23 July 1800, by month, per 1,000 workers

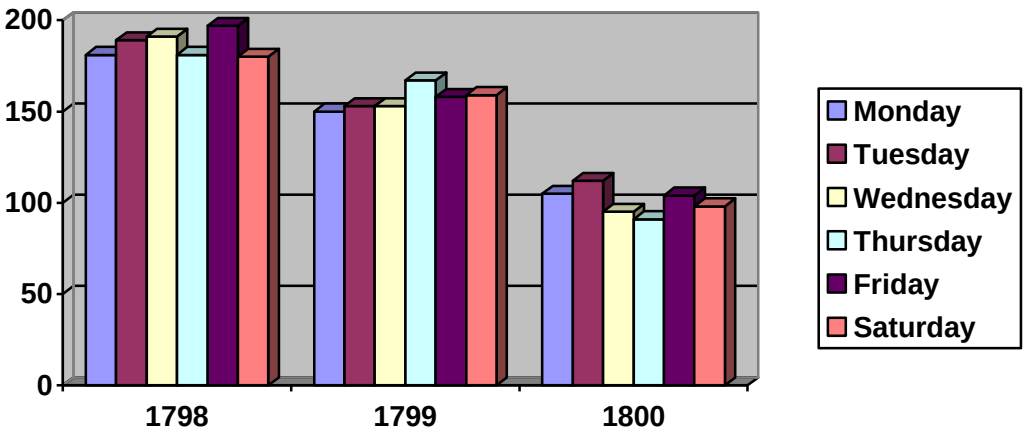


The breakdown by month does not suggest any seasonal bias, and the same is true of the breakdown by day. One might have expected most people to have been ill towards the end of the week, after a hard week's work, or perhaps reporting as sick on Mondays to give themselves time to recover from a weekend of balancing domestic responsibilities with recreational activities. However, in 1798 most people were off sick on Fridays, in 1799 on Thursdays and in 1800 on Tuesdays which suggests that certainly

[102] The table is based on an analysis of 515 working days on which the number of sick people was recorded or legible: 86 Mondays, 85 Tuesdays, 88 Wednesdays, 89 Thursdays, 85 Fridays, 81 Saturdays and one Sunday.

from 1799 onwards people were neither worked so hard that they desperately needed respite towards the end of the week, nor did they sham illness to avoid work at the beginning of the week.

Average number of 'sick or lame' people during the period 14 February 1798 to 23 July 1800, by weekday, per 1,000 workers



Average number of 'sick or lame' people during the period 14 February 1798 to 23 July 1800, by weekday, based on completed and legible records for 515 working days

	14 February to 31 December 1798: Average number of sick people per recorded/legible day (per 1,000)	1 January to 31 December 1799: Average number of sick people per recorded/ legible day (per 1,000)	1 January to 23 July 1800: Average number of sick people per recorded/ legible day (per 1,000)	14 February 1798 to 23 July 1800: Daily average of sick people per recorded/ legible day (per 1,000)
Monday	181	150	105	145
Tuesday	189	153	112	151
Wednesday	191	153	95	146
Thursday	181	167	91	146
Friday	197	158	104	153
Saturday	180	159	98	145
Sunday *	20	--	--	20

* On one weekend everyone had a free Saturday and instead worked on the Sunday.

Unfortunately only the daily totals and not the names of the sick were recorded. It can therefore not be established whether a core of the same people was ill for long periods, or whether there was a constant turnover of sick people who were only absent for a short time. In the case of two tradesmen, Primus and Jack, during a period of eight months and eight days in which they were hired out, each man lost 15 days through sickness or other absences. This meant they did not work for almost eight per cent of their hire period, but their absences could have been for reasons other than sickness.[103] It is also likely that tradesmen generally were sick less often than field workers. They tended to have easier, more satisfying jobs and enjoy greater independence.

Assuming an active workforce of about 130 people, in 1798 an average of 14.4 per cent of workers were recorded as sick; in 1799 this dropped to 12 per cent and in 1800 to 7.8 per cent. It must be noted that these figures do not take account of anyone who was ill among the other 70-odd people: the very young, the very old, the infirm and the domestics. And not all the tradesmen were included in the count.

As far as is known, there are no detailed sickness records available for other estates in Nevis, and the only comparison that can be made is with Russell's Rest. There, in the 1760s, about 20 per cent of the active workforce was incapacitated 'in the sickly time of the year'. [104] On Mesopotamia in Jamaica one particular group - 177 male field hands – was able-bodied for only less than half of the time.[105]

Although the sick were not individually recorded by name, it is apparent that not everyone who was absent from work received medical attention from a white doctor. The medical accounts show that during the period 14 February to 31 December 1798 only 29 named people were treated for their ailments. In addition, a few more saw the doctor but this was only logged in general terms as 'A visit and advice for several negroes'.[106] Of the named patients, males and females were about equal in numbers.

When Dr Weekes was the manager, he could attend to people around the clock, but now each time someone was ill a doctor had to be called, and now doctors were paid for each visit and for each treatment. This arrangement could not have been a cost-cutting exercise because by 1799 the medical bills had doubled[107] from the flat rate of N£40 a year that Dr Weekes had initially charged for his medical attendance.[108] The cost of inoculations, too, had doubled to N30s per person.[109]

In the 1790s a major outbreak of yellow fever was claiming many victims in the West Indies but appears not have had a great effect on Mountravers. Between 1795 and 1798 ten people were treated with fever-reducing medicines, and only one child, Mulatto Polly's four-year-old daughter died after receiving such 'febrifugal boluses'. It is possible, though, that Peggy died from another kind of fever and that others, who were given sweat-inducing pills or non-specific medication, were, in fact, undergoing treatment for yellow fever.[110] Equally, those infected may have died without having received any medical attention. No one was recorded as having died from yellow fever but a few other causes were noted: Mickey succumbed to dropsy, Miah to consumption and Bettiscombe died from a fractured skull. He lost his life after an accident

[103] Primus and Jack worked from Wednesday, 25 November 1795 for eight months and eight days (i.e. until Monday, 4 July 1796), a total of 190 working days (PP, AB 47 Job Powell's a/c).
[104] Stapleton Cotton MSS 14: Appraisal & Valuation 7 July 1766 and Aberystwyth Bodrhyddan MSS 2: Walter Nisbet to Ellis Yonge, 5 April 1766
[105] Dunn, RS '"Dreadful Idlers" in the Cane Fields' p809
[106] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson (& Hope) a/c
[107] PP, AB 54 Archbald, Williamson (& Hope) a/c
[108] PP, AB 43 Thomas Pym Weekes's a/c
[109] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson a/c
[110] The ten patients who were treated with febrifugal boluses were: Bridget (in 1795), Cuba, George Vaughan, Jenetta, Sarah Fisher (in 1796), Mulatto Polly's daughter, Peggy, James Peaden, Billey Jones, Sally Peaden (1797) and Joan (1798). In two cases the fevers were linked to childbirth (Cuba) and a tooth having been extracted (Sally Peaden).

in a year that stands out because several people had physical injuries which might have been caused by accidents. Apart from Bettiscombe's accident at the mill, which happened in March, in June Johntong's knee wound needed stitching, in August Robin had a fracture and Jack's finger required being dressed, while Frank's wound in the armpit, which was treated at the end of December may, possibly, have been sustained in a fight over the Christmas holidays. Almost certainly another 'misfortune in the mill' the following February caused the death of the distiller Jacob. Noticeable is also that only one woman was found among this group of patients. Although the sample is too small to draw firm conclusions, this is in line with findings by Barry Higman. According to him, more males than females suffered accidents and accidental death; males worked in inherently more dangerous occupations, particularly in sugar production and transport.[111] Just how hazardous working on a ship could be is demonstrated by an incident that occurred when the *Nevis* was anchored off-shore. One morning the boatswain fell down the hatchway and fractured his skull; he died the same evening.[112] However, while men were more prone to suffer accidental injuries, women were exposed to the dangers associated with pregnancy and childbirth.[113] When doctors assisted two women giving birth, at N£16:10:0 each they commanded the highest fee for a single intervention.[114]

In addition to those who died without having been tended by the doctors, at least ten patients succumbed to illnesses and accidents after they had received various kinds of treatment.[115] One man, Cudjoe Stanley, was seen by the doctor on the day he died, suggesting perhaps that he had suffered an accident but James Williams may also have left it too late to call for medical help. An alternative, and more likely, interpretation is that Williams was heeding a newly passed law, the Leeward Islands Melioration Act. Clause 20 stated that if anyone aged six years or over died without having been seen by a doctor in the preceding 48 hours, their death had to be reported to a coroner. By calling in the doctor Williams would have complied with the new law and at the same time avoided having to inform the coroner.

The Leeward Islands Melioration Act

Instead of pursuing the abolition of the slave trade, the British government turned its attention to the existing slave populations. On 6 April 1797 the House of Commons passed a motion to improve their conditions and a request went out to the colonies to put in place the necessary legislation. In essence, the idea behind this new legislation was to reduce the need for imports from Africa by prolonging the lives of those who were already enslaved and, by improving their conditions, encourage them to bear more children and create new generations of enslaved workers.

Grenada passed its act in November, Jamaica in December but lawmakers in the Leeward Islands did not get together until the beginning of March the following year. United in their opposition to abolition, the islands set aside their usual insistence on self-government and representatives of Antigua, St Kitts, Nevis, the Virgin Islands and Montserrat gathered in St Kitts for an extended session of the General Council and Assembly of the Leeward Islands. On 21 April 1798 this joint legislature passed its Leeward Islands Melioration Act: 'An Act more effectively to provide for the support, and to extend certain regulations for the protection of slaves, to promote and encourage their increase, and generally to meliorate their condition.'[116] 52 clauses set out what was required of owners of enslaved people or other 'directors' such

[111] Higman, BW *Slave population and economy in Jamaica* p115
[112] PP, DM 1773/4 Plantation Diary: Week beginning 23 June 1800
[113] Higman, BW *Slave population and economy in Jamaica* p115
[114] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson a/c
[115] The ten people who received treatment and then died were three boys aged five, 12 and 16 years - Tom Peaden, Dick and Jemmy Jones - in 1796; Mickey, Miah, Bettiscombe and Nancy Steward in 1797, Sarah Nolan and Cudjoe Stanley in 1798, and Bessy Richens in 1799.
[116] BUL, mf XVII.33 Parliamentary Papers, Nevis: Slavery

as managers and overseers. The Act dealt with a wide variety of issues. Some sections addressed the material and physical well-being, others the legal position while several were designed to improve the moral standards and conduct – as seen, of course, from the planters' perspective.

The Act laid down minimum food and clothing allowances as well as maximum working hours, but, as Elsa Goveia has stated, these particular provisions appear to have only enshrined in law what was already carried out in practice. Weekly rations of the following were to be given to all adults, including the sick and disabled: 9 pints of Indian or Guinea corn or beans, or 8 pints of peas, or wheat, or rye flour, or Indian corn meal; or 9 pints of oat-meal, or 7 pints of rice, or 8 pints of cassava flour or farine, or 8 pounds of biscuit, or 20 pounds of yam or potatoes, or 16 pounds of eddoes or tanias, or 30 pounds of plantains or bananas, plus one pound and one quarter of herrings, shads, mackerel, or other salted provisions, or two and a half pounds of fresh fish or other fresh provisions – all were to be 'of good and wholesome quality'. Allowances could be reduced, depending on 'the different labour, size, age, and strength, or otherwise', and during crop time allowances could be reduced by one fifth for those employed cutting cane or in manufacturing sugar. Allowances could also be reduced to a given formula if owners provided for every ten people one acre of land in which to grow provisions. They were to be given the time to work this land. In addition, anyone capable of working land was to be given at least 40 square feet around their house. If that could not be done without pulling down their habitation, they were to get some part of the plantation not usually planted in cane. If no land was available, the owner had to pay the person an annual amount equal to the value of land.

In terms of clothing, slaveholders had to provide two sets of clothes, on 1 January and 1 August: for men one jacket made of good sound woollen cloth and one pair of trousers made of 'good Osinbrig' (sic); for females a wrapper of good woollen cloth and a petticoat of Osinbrigs. If the recipient consented, one of the suits of clothes could be substituted for 'a good and sufficient blanket, and a hat or cap'.

Work was not to start before 5 o'clock in the morning and end no later than 7 o'clock in the evening, 'except in crop time, or from some evident necessity'. There were to be two breaks: at least half an hour for breakfast and two hours at noon. In the morning people could not generally leave the field or place of work but at noon they would go to their houses to procure, prepare and eat their dinner, and to rest. During break times they were not to be required to work. There were no special provisions for young children's working hours,[117] or for rest days. In the year the Act came into force people on Mountravers were known to have had three days off over Christmas, in the following year only two with an additional holiday on 1 January. This was in line with the arrangements on Mr Mills's plantation in the 1770s.[118]

Slaveholders were required to provide their sick people with medical help. The Act also made it mandatory for estates to provide a 'commodious hospital or sick house' with a sufficient number of attendants but the lawmakers did not specify what constituted an estate. In addition, slaveholders had to employ doctors on an annual basis. Doctors were obliged to attend each estate twice a week - unless the

[117] The 1798 Leeward Islands Melioration Act was passed at a time when people in Britain campaigned for changes in the legislation to ameliorate the conditions of the working poor. As a result of the developments which had taken place in Britain during the Industrial Revolution men, women and even children as young as five or six commonly worked 14, or even 16-hour days, and in 1802 the government introduced the first child labour law in Britain (Michael Reed *The Georgian Triumph* p220).

The Health and Morals of Apprentice Act of 1802, which largely addressed the moral improvement of children, limited the working hours of poor children conscripted to work in cotton factories to 12 hours a day and prohibited night work. However, without enforcing working hours and laying down minimum ages at which children could be employed it was only a first attempt at regulation. A further law, the Factory Reform Act of 1833, required that children below the age of 13 should work no more than a 48-hour week, and it was not until 1878 that legislation was put in place which set the minimum age of employees at ten. Children up to the age of 14 could only work on alternate days or consecutive half days. In addition, Saturdays were made half holidays.

[118] MLD, Mills papers, Vol 2 2006.178/8

owner gave notice in writing that his presence was not required – and, if called, doctors had to attend within eight hours of being summonsed. Anyone aged six years or over, who died without having been seen by 'some medical person duly qualified to practice physic' in the preceding 48 hours, was to have their death reported to the coroner. This had to be done within six hours of the person dying, and their bodies could not be buried until 18 hours after notice had been given. While this gave enslaved people some protection from being killed and from being disposed of randomly, it also meant that funerals, as was customary, could not take place on the same or the following day. However, perhaps the most important article in the Act was Clause 21 which laid down that any white or free person who killed or maimed an enslaved person was to be tried in the same way as if he or she had murdered or mutilated a white or a free person. Maltreatment was also made a criminal offence.

Punishments were addressed in the Act in just two clauses. One stated that women five months pregnant could only be punished by being imprisoned, the other that particularly brutal control devices, such as 'iron collars with projecting bars, hooks, or any collar with a chain or weight thereon', were only allowed to prevent future desertion.

In their submissions to the slave trade enquiry planters had previously argued that low birth rates among enslaved women were partly caused by venereal disease, transmitted through early and promiscuous sexual relations. The Leeward Islands Melioration Act sought to address this by imposing European notions of monogamous relationships. Clause 22 required owners to get enslaved people who had several partners to publicly commit themselves to one of them and to encourage individuals who reached maturity to bind themselves to one particular mate. Each year owners were supposed to enquire publicly whether these liaisons still held true. (Marriage ceremonies, however, were not to be encouraged.) If couples still lived together after a year, their fidelity was to be rewarded with public praise and payment of a dollar each. Any white man found guilty of living with an enslaved woman who already cohabited with an enslaved man faced a fine of N£100. The Act also enshrined that people were permitted to attend church on Sundays and allowed for their baptism free of charge.

Remembering that the central reason behind the Leeward Islands Melioration Act was the abolition of the slave trade and the need to increase the number of plantation-born children, the act sought to reward women in various ways. To encourage them not to carry out abortions and to give birth, women who were five months pregnant were to be assigned light work only, and women pregnant for the first time had to have a two-roomed house built for them. If women in stable relationships had children, they were to be rewarded: mothers whose children lived for at least six weeks were due a small payment of four dollars and another dollar for each subsequent child. More tempting might have been the new rule that, once these women had six children and their youngest lived to be seven years old, the women were to be freed from any hard labour. So as not to lose track of who was cohabiting, owners were required to keep a book with the couples' names.[119]

Owners also had to keep records when people fell ill. They were to log the time a doctor was summonsed and when he arrived, record the patient's symptoms, note down any diet or prescription the doctor ordered and how the medicines were to be taken. Once a year proprietors were required to provide the Council with details of any births and deaths on the plantation. In addition, they had to swear an oath that

[119] The Melioration Act encouraged enslaved people to have stable relationships but not to get married, as called for by, for instance, Lady Nugent. However, marriage between whites and slaves were not part of Lady Nugent's, or anyone else's, agenda. Around the same time the Melioration Act was passed and Lady Nugent advocated marriage among enslaved people, one clergyman in Antigua explained the rationale to an incredulous outsider who wanted to know why enslaved people were not permitted to marry: 'Why should other people take my property away. if you, as being a free man should take a fancy to one of my slaves, and carry her away & marry her, I hold it as our law that you, by so doing; have stolen my property. -- if a slave was allowed to marry: the contentions that would flow from it, would be endless' (*Aaron Thomas's Journal* p247).

they had set aside land for planting and that they had distributed food and clothing according to the law. Non-cooperation with this particular requirement attracted a fine of N£100. If owners did not comply with their obligations, the Act laid down other fines - some were fixed sums, others were payable per head. For instance, if owners withheld sustenance from sick people, or they did not pay money to mothers with a certain number of children, they risked a charge of N£50. Not providing pregnant women with two-roomed houses attracted a fine of N£20 and violating the working hours, one of N£5. Doctors and clergymen were also subject to penalties. Doctors who did not keep an emergency supply of a small quantity of medicines on an estate could be fined N£5 and clergymen who refused to baptise enslaved people free of charge stood to pay N30s per head. The final clause of the Act stated that the money collected was to go to the Treasury, to be appropriated for public use.

On the face of it, the Leeward Islands Melioration Act looks as if it could at least have changed people's living conditions, if not their lives. Although, as Elsa Goveia stated, the Act did not necessarily entitle anyone to more food or clothing, it did give them a 'better claim' to what they already received.[120] The problem was that enslaved people could not enforce their rights. For instance, if someone was beaten or ill-treated by a white or a free coloured person, it was up to their owner, not the enslaved person, to seek redress from the legal system. Equally, if a white or a free person took away certain goods which an enslaved individual was allowed to possess or sell with a ticket, it was the owner who had to take the matter up with a Justice of the Peace. It was up to each individual to convince his or her master or mistress that they had been wronged, and even if they succeeded in doing so, the enslaved person still could not give evidence against the white or the free person who had ill-treated them.

In order to provide enslaved people with an independent protector, the British government had envisaged the appointment of 'guardians of slaves'. Situated in every parish, these men (and it would only have been men) would have known what went on in their patch. The joint Legislature, however, dismissed the suggestion to appoint such guardians. They argued that this would encourage disobedience and would impinge on 'the bond between master and slave'.[121] If an individual could have approached an impartial person directly, the Act might have stood a better chance of success, but as long as they could not give evidence against free people, this new piece of legislation was doomed to be no more than a window-dressing exercise.

Some years earlier JPP had expressed the hope 'that no material alteration takes place in the government of negroes in the colonies',[122] and, as far as Mountravers was concerned, he need not have worried. Apparently nothing changed after the Act was passed. There is nothing in the accounts which indicates that payments were made to reward cohabiting couples or mothers of children, and there is nothing in the plantation diary which suggests that Williams minuted doctors' visits and other details as required by the Act. If Williams kept a separate book of cohabiting couples, this has not been found. If he failed to keep the necessary paperwork, there is no record of him having been fined. Except for one reference, this major piece of legislation appears to have left only the slightest of traces in the Mountravers records. Williams informed JPP of its passing but in his reply to his manager JPP merely addressed one specific requirement. He took badly to the clause which stipulated that qualified doctors

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[120] Goveia, EV *Slave Society* p197

[121] Goveia, EV *Slave Society* p197, quoting House of Commons Accounts and Papers Vol xlviii 1798-1799, No 967a(10): Thomson to Portland, 22 June 1798
In reply to the Duke of Portland's letter of 23 April 1798, President Thomson also responded to Portland's suggestion to attach enslaved people to the soil so that they could not be sold to settle their master's debts. He stated that in principle the members had agreed but had thrown it out 'because it seemed to involve in it matters too extensive for the time they thought they could devote to the consideration of it'. This excuse is typical of the way the legislature wriggled out of their responsibilities (BUL, mf XVII.33 Parliamentary Papers, Nevis: Slavery).

[122] PP, AB 41 f21 Caribbee Islands a/c

had to attend to the sick because if the patients died, their deaths would otherwise have to be reported to the coroner. JPP heartily disliked medical men (except for Dr Archbald and Dr Williamson) and had always prided himself on his ability to cure people through his own efforts and the healing skills of certain plantation people. JPP firmly believed that 'so absurd an Act' as Williams had described could not stand for long because it was 'the best plan … to injure the planters and increase the deaths of their slaves, by obliging them to employ every ignorant pretender of medicine …'[123] Accordingly he advised his manager not to sell the medicines which were kept on the estate – one day they would come in handy again.

As well as addressing the needs of those held in slavery, the Act provided for destitute people who had no owners. They were to be supported from public funds. To discourage the freeing of ill, aged or disabled people, the Act required potential manumitters to lodge £300 with the Treasury. The idea was that twice a year the freed person could then draw an allowance from the interest on that sum. However, from the Common Records which contain the manumissions there is no evidence that anyone complied with this. Instead, another Act was passed which required manumitters to seek permission to manumit from the Council and the Assembly, as well as lodge N£500 with the Treasury. With a deadline set for end of February 1803, this resulted in a rush to free people or to confirm previous manumissions,[124] followed by few over the following years. In 1814 the Legislature put a new measure into place. It shifted the onus from the owner to the person to be freed: anyone due to be manumitted had to be presented to three magistrates who would assess and certify their ability to maintain themselves.

Among the final passages of the Leeward Islands Melioration Act were two important clauses which could have opened up more just and honest approaches in the way enslaved people were treated. One allowed the signatories to apply the new legislation generously in their islands and the other to improve on its provisions. Clause 49 stated that should doubt arise from the wording in the Act, it should be interpreted in the enslaved people's interest so as to 'promote and secure the protection and comfort of slaves', and Clause 51 allowed islands to pass laws that bettered the conditions of enslaved people without lessening 'any protection, privilege or indulgence' already provided by the Act. Nevis certainly did not make use of the leeway it was given. It did not adopt additional measures, and, from what is known of subsequent court cases, Clause 49 quickly fell into disuse.

The Leeward Islands Melioration Act and the subsequent additional legislation can be credited with one success: it scared some proprietors into setting free a number of their people. From the Common Records it is apparent that after the Act was passed a larger than usual number of individuals were being freed in Nevis. They joined those free people who were already establishing themselves as independent players in the local economy: men such as the carpenter John Hendrickson, the writing clerk Jenkin Powell and Jacob Belfast, the master and owner of a sloop, the *Joseph D'Lasannas.*[125] The work the women did is less visible in the documents. Many of the free people were the mistresses, or children, of white men and they may have acquired their wealth through bequests left in the men's wills. Certainly free women like Amelia Brodbelt,[126] Ann Baillie,[127] Elizabeth Powell,[128] Sophia Tobin and Mary Neale were sufficiently well-off to live independently and to acquire property. Mary Neale, for instance, owned two houses and land in Charlestown and could count among her property a canoe, a seine net and two seine houses on the bay.[129]

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[123] PP, LB 14: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 25 May 1798
[124] ECSCRN, CR 1801-1803 and 1803-1805
[125] PP, LB 9: JPP, Nevis, to Charles Andrew Chabert, 23 and 24 May 1790
[126] ECSCRN, CR 1777-1778 ff128-29
[127] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1805-1818 f7
[128] ECSCRN, CR 1797-1799 f14
[129] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1763-1787 f557

The Mountravers story continued

Some of the people who formerly had belonged to Thomas Pym Weekes were giving Williams trouble. From JPP he had instruction not to allow Charloe or William back into the yard – they were known for their thieving and would cause disputes - [130] and another, Tom Tross, ended up in jail in St Kitts and had to be bailed out.[131] Another, Jack Steward, who had already got off the island while Dr Weekes was manager, attempted to escape at least twice more. With JPP's permission he was sold into exile. Banishing people off the island was meant to deter others from fleeing but the measure had limited effect. This is evident from the manager's plantation diary. Over a period of 898 days, from 14 February 1798 to 31 July 1800, Williams recorded 25 instances of people absenting themselves from their work. This represented, on average, someone disappearing every 36 days. As the plantation diary contains the only detailed record of absences, it is impossible to say whether more people took the opportunity to leave the plantation under James Williams than under other managers, but it is clear that the majority of people returned of their own accord, or 'came home', as it was noted. Others were seized by hunters or turned in by people who had apprehended them. Glasgow, for instance, had been sent out to search for Violet but had been unsuccessful; Ben later caught her hiding in one of the houses in the slave village. Another fugitive was returned by 'two strange negroes'[132] who were rewarded with a payment of N4s6d - [133] one of only three cash rewards made during the period February 1798 to July 1800.

Most people absent themselves for less than a week. Violet, a woman in her thirties, went away the most times; Philip, a man in his twenties, was gone the longest. Philip may have gone into hiding to escape punishment after another misdemeanour; some years earlier he had stolen goats from plantation people and had been punished by having clogs fitted.[134] That particular incident was the only time James Williams was known to have used this physical restraint. It is likely that he was under instruction from JPP not to resort to clogs as readily as Coker had done and then only in cases of theft. For absconding and other transgressions he could employ different punishments: floggings, locking people up in the sick house or withdrawing privileges. It was, however, customary to tolerate short, occasional absences when people went off to visit friends and family elsewhere in the island, whereas attempts at escaping off the island were punished harshly. Despite the threat of punishment, in 1800 two men from Mountravers tried to get away. One failed, the other succeeded. Acree, who had sustained himself by robbing the houses in the slave village, was caught when he eventually attempted to leave Nevis[135] but the mulatto James Peaden managed to break free for good.

JPP later accepted that James Peaden had left Mountravers because of the treatment he had received from Williams. His behaviour towards the young mulatto man may have had something to do with him having been drunk because after managing Mountravers for about four or five years Williams became an alcoholic. Weak and insecure, James Williams, however, also lacked the ability to handle certain situations. Mulatto Peter, for instance, became uncooperative after he had been compliant during Weekes's time, and Williams was unable to persuade anyone to take over from Patty, the midwife. Had he been better at managing people, one of the women he proposed for the job may have accepted it.

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[130] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 15 December 1794
[131] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary: 16 May 1799
[132] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary: 8 February 1799
From another plantation in Nevis, John Mills's estate, comes evidence of many more people absenting themselves. During a 350-day period in the mid-1770s, the manager recorded 37 instances of 26 different individuals attempting to escape or temporarily abscond – this represented one person absenting themselves every nine days, four times more than on Mountravers in the late 1790s. The figure is even more alarming if one considers that with a total plantation population of 161 Mills's estate was smaller than Mountravers. However, it suffered from a brutal manager and the 'Plantation Occurrence Book' covered a particularly difficult period when Nevis experienced famine and other calamities (MLD, Mills Papers, 'Introduction to the Mills Archive' and Vol 4 2006.178/10).
[133] PP, AB 47 f108 Plantation a/c
[134] PP, AB 52 f6 Frederick Huggins' a/c
[135] PP, AB 47 f111 Cash a/c

Williams also fell out with John Taylor and had strained relationships with the former manager, Thomas Pym Weekes, and probably also one of his overseers, William Nicholson. However, one man he knew how to handle was his employer. Quietly he ingratiated himself to JPP and sucked up to him whenever the opportunity arose.

It seems that Williams also did not have the cooperation from his boilers and that this was to blame for the low-grade sugar they produced. Dirty and full of molasses,[136] it was so bad that for his private consumption JPP bought a barrel of better quality – something which he had never done before. He advised Williams to keep the boiling house clean but also suggested that there was something systematically wrong in the way the boilers went about their work.[137] Soon after Williams had taken over as manager, JPP had sent him presents to give to various people and had advised him to encourage the head boilers with some of the check material if they did their duty well and made 'good sugar',[138] and JPP clearly judged that it was time for some more encouragement. JPP believed that with a few presents Williams could put the men 'in the right way',[139] and in the following year they did indeed produce 'very good sugar'.[140] Unfortunately, despite the year having started with a 'brisk' market,[141] by the summer prices had fallen and the market had turned 'bad'.[142] The home market had become flooded; the war with France had obstructed the export route to Europe and increased production from French colonies had replaced British sugar.[143] Continental Europe, meanwhile, was taking its first steps towards establishing its own sugar industry. A certain type of beet contained sugar had already been discovered by a German chemist in the 1740s, but interest in this home-grown plant was re-kindled in the last decade of the eighteenth century when naval blockades caused supply problems and the slave uprisings in St Domingue and elsewhere pushed up the price of sugar. Continental Europe wanted to become independent of West Indian slave-produced cane sugar, and in 1802 forward-thinking entrepreneurs opened the first factory that processed European-grown beet in Germany. Although not immediately economically successful, it demonstrated that sugar could be made in the cold, northern climate with simple, home-grown produce.[144] As if to prove that West Indian sugar was an unpredictable commodity, in May that year Dr Sholto Archbald's works went up in flames - [145] for the second time in two decades.[146]

The presents the Pinneys sent from Bristol for the boilers were always meant as an encouragement or as a reward if they 'deserved' them, whereas the mulattoes and the house people received presents without any strings attached. Boilers got material for shirts, the mulattoes mostly had coats, and the house people calico, bed gowns and wrappers.[147] Other absentee planters also rewarded or encouraged their key workers with gifts,[148] but what may have been unusual was the two-way traffic which briefly developed between Mrs P and the seamstresses on Mountravers. Twice JPP's wife sent Irish linen and 'some cambrick' from which the seamstresses were to make shirts for their son John Frederick. She sent a

[136] PP, Dom Box S4-2: Azariah Pinney, to JPP, 2 August 1799
[137] PP, LB 42: TP & T to Jas Williams, 25 November 1801
[138] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, 5 December 1794
[139] PP, LB 42: TP & T to Jas Williams, 25 November 1801
[140] PP, LB 17: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 8 February 1803, and 6 March 1802
[141] PP, LB 38: TP & T to Joseph Clarke, Nevis, 20 January 1802
[142] SRO, DD\BR\bs/6: JC Mills to Wm Mills, 14 July 1802
[143] Ward, JR *British West Indian Slavery* p12
[144] http://www.deutsches-museum.de/en/exhibitions/werkstoffe-produktion/agriculture/sugar-refining
[145] RHL, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (a) Diary of WL Bucke: 26 May 1802
[146] Many years earlier, in March 1784, the sailors on the *Champion* Frigate had extinguished the fire at Dr Archbald's. Joseph Gill, the then manager at Mountravers, had contributed money towards a collection for their efforts (PP, AB 31 Cash received for Negro Hire a/c).
[147] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, 5 December 1794, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 10 November 1797, LB 15: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 16 July 1799, LB 16: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 11 February and LB 17: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 6 March 1802
[148] Stapleton Cotton MSS 3(i) Nevis Account 1745

sample,[149] and when the order was fulfilled to her satisfaction, the next time she also wanted shirts made for JPP and their son Pretor.[150] Mrs P was the person generally in charge of arranging the presents for the Mountravers people[151] and of arranging the articles for new-born babies which began being sent after JPP had returned from his second visit to Nevis. Initially Mrs P dispatched three old sheets, from which the seamstresses were to sew baby clothes,[152] but these were followed by ready-made 'baby suits' or 'complete suits of baby linen': six in 1796, 12 in 1797, ten each in 1798 and 1800, and another 12 in 1802. Other proprietors, too, sometimes supplied their estates with ready-made baby suits from England, or with material for making them,[153] but it is not known how common presents of 'handkerchiefs', or head wraps, were. These started being sent for new mothers from 1798 onwards – the year the Leeward Islands Melioration Act came into force.[154] Such paternalist gesture was the Pinneys' way of encouraging the Mountravers people to continue having children, and of keeping them alive.

One of the first women to receive one of the handkerchiefs was James Williams's mistress, Jeanetta, who in December 1798 gave birth to their third child. Soon after their daughter was born, Williams set about trying to purchase all three children from JPP but his employer was most reluctant to add to the free, mixed-race population and no decision was made.

Williams was beginning to fail as a manager. He did not find a successor for the plantation midwife and he did not organise the training for someone to learn how to bleed and draw teeth. Mulatto Peter used to do that but he had died in 1800. Williams also did not ship the scrap metal back to England but disposed of it in Nevis, forgot to order plantation stores, failed to account for items and overspent on the repairs of the properties in Charlestown. He did not collect the taxes from the tenants in town and failed to evict one of them, the widow Mrs Carroll. She had rent arrears, and JPP had asked him to ensure that she left the premises in good condition, or to charge her for the cost of any repairs and, once she was gone, to find a new tenant at an increased rent.[155] But all Williams did was to spend a colossal sum on having the house repaired - over N£200.[156] He did not recover this money from her and, for the time being, Mrs Carroll remained in the property.

He was neglecting his duties and, just as he had helped Joseph Gill during his last few months on Mountravers, so James Williams would have had to rely on others to do his work for him. Over the years he had worked with several overseers and employed several boiling house watches. Men came and went. The first boiling house watch, William Price, had died in 1795, and the first overseer, John Smith, had in July 1796 been moved to another estate. A young local man, William Nicholson, had replaced Price and had then become overseer, but Nicholson had left in April 1797 and had been replaced by a man from Dorset, John Beer. Contracted for three years, JPP had sent him out, but after a promising start Beer had become an alcoholic and for much of the time was either ill or drunk or both. Two Creoles, Dominiq Alvarez and Moses Levy, then worked with James Williams as boiling house watches until JPP sent John Cheyney. Also on a three-year contract, he had arrived in late 1798/early 1799 and soon proved himself a very capable young man. He could have taken over from Beer immediately but stubbornly Beer insisted on completing his contract in full and remained on Mountravers until April 1800. Beer then returned to England and Cheyney officially replaced him. In the following year James

[149] PP, LB 14: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, Nevis, 8 March 1798
[150] PP, LB 16: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 25 November 1800
[151] PP, LB 18: JPP to JF Pinney, London, 23 March 1804
[152] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, 5 December 1794
[153] PP, WI Box O-1: Morning Star/Pembroke Accounts; also S Lambert (ed) *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Vol 71 p255
[154] PP, LB 11: JPP to James Williams, 29 January 1796, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, 10 November 1797, LB 14: JPP to James Williams, 12 November 1798, LB 16: JPP to James Williams, 25 November 1800 and LB 17: JPP, Bristol, to James Williams, 6 March 1802
[155] PP, LB 15: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 16 July 1799
[156] PP, AB 57

Williams's brother Henry arrived in Nevis but if he did any work on Mountravers, he was not on the payroll. Instead, in 1801 and 1802 James Williams employed local men as boiling house watches: George Vaughan and John Coker. At the end of March 1803 John Cheyney left Mountravers, and at the end of March 1803 James Williams also drew his last salary. He had become very ill and was planning to go to England to recover his health. He died before he could leave the island.

The Pinneys in Bristol

When news of James Williams's death reached JPP, he was still grieving for his son Azariah. The young man had been ill for many years – the trip to Nevis in 1793 was meant to have restored his health – but he had died earlier in the year, on 1 January 1803. Azariah was almost 28 years old and still single,[157] and JPP may have regretted that he had urged him not to get married at a time when news of unrest in the Caribbean had made him fearful of the family losing their West India properties.[158] His son's death was a great and tragic loss. Of his four sons, Aza had the keenest business mind and had proved himself a worthwhile addition when in May 1796 he had become a partner in JPP's company with James Tobin. Aza had been the most promising of JPP's sons, and it is certain he would have taken over the family business. The oldest son, John Frederick, had gone into the legal profession and showed little interest in either his plantation or his father's business, and the third son, Pretor, was ill. Having first tried his hand at commerce, Pretor had then read law at Cambridge but, owing to ill health, had to give up his studies.[159] JPP proved himself an understanding father. He wrote very warm and caring letters to his eldest son about Pretor's condition, and also about the back problems which afflicted his last-born child, Charles. The boy probably suffered from scoliosis, a curvature of the spine, which caused him to walk awkwardly, reclining on one side, with his belly protruding.[160] Diagnosed with a 'distortion' of the spine at the age of nine years, Charles was fitted with a contraption that took the weight off his head and shoulders and rested on his hips.[161] This did not work and his back got progressively worse until, in his teens, Charles's had to remain in bed for six or nine months at a time. JPP called his son's suffering 'this affliction of the Almighty'.[162]

JPP still had responsibility for looking after his mother's second family, the Hayneses. His stepfather, farmer John Haynes, died in 1799 and, as one of the trustees of his will,[163] JPP undertook to watch over the family of his half-brother, Samuel. Occasionally one of the Hayneses came to stay in Bristol,[164] and they all relied on JPP's help and on him using his influence.[165] No doubt echoing her grandfather's words, JPP's granddaughter later described JPP's half-brother Samuel Hayne as 'not intelligent but really religious'.[166]

JPP was also deeply involved in the affairs of his former managers, Joseph Gill and William Coker. He first settled Gill at his house in Racedown and then in Halstock in Somerset but, having lent large sums to

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[157] PP, AB 42 Azariah Pinney's a/c
[158] PP, Dom Box S3: JPP to Azariah Pinney, 6 August 1795
[159] Pretor Pinney was at Trinity College, Cambridge, from 23 October 1799. He matriculated Michelmas 1800, migrated to Trinity Hall on 18 April 1801. He was admitted to Middle Temple on 8 November 1800 (Venn, John and JA Venn (comp) *Alumni Cantabrigienses)*.
[160] So concerned was the headmaster at Charles's school that he wrote to JPP about the strange manner in which Charles walked (PP, Dom Box P: Revd George Coleridge, Ottery St Mary, to JPP, May, June and 10 August 1802). At Revd Coleridge's school Charles Pinney was not the only boy from a West India family; one of the Tobin sons, for instance, also attended it.
[161] PP, Dom Box P: JPP to JF Pinney, 8 August 1802
[162] PP, LB 23: JPP to Revd Jn Kempthorne, Claybrook, Butterworth, Leicestershire, 30 December 1809
[163] PP, Dom Box X
[164] PP, LB 10: JPP to Mrs Dunbar, 1 June 1793
[165] PP, LB 12: JPP to Mr Hayne at Messrs Clarke & Watts, 13 August 1796 and to Messrs Clarke & Watts, 27 November 1797
[166] PP, Misc Vols 48 Anna Maria Pinney's Notebooks

William Coker that had, largely, remained unpaid, he started proceedings to foreclose. Coker's home, Woodcutts estate, was to be sold.

JPP's son John Frederick, meanwhile, was resolved to sell Mountravers. He was setting up his law firm in London and, in any case, he had never taken a great interest in his property. When Aza was still alive, he had raised concerns about the plantation's profitability, its exhausted soil and the poor-quality sugar it produced,[167] and, although James Williams had just made an excellent good crop of over 200 hogsheads,[168] Aza's warning may well have contributed to John Frederick's decision to rid himself of Mountravers. One problem was that no buyer would hand over the money immediately. The purchaser would pay in instalments and John Frederick had to find someone who could be relied upon to produce enough profits to pay off the investment over a number of years. A neighbouring planter, John Henry Clarke, seemed a good bet and at the end of 1802 he offered Clarke the estate. For sale were 274 acres of land and another 200 acres of mountain land held in common between John Frederick and Wansey's estate. John Frederick asked for S£30,000.[169]

JPP undertook the negotiations on his son's behalf. He promoted the estate's location, 'being the most seasonable part of the island', praised 'its easy cartage - its vicinity to Charlestown', as well as 'the complete condition of all the buildings - abundantly supplied with coppers, furnaces, casks and every necessary for the boiling house and still house.' The windmill was another selling point, and so was the workforce. JPP commended his people as 'the best disposed gang of slaves I know.'[170] Clarke wisely declined. Given the fluctuations in the wartime price of sugar he may well have decided that it was not the right time to acquire more property.

When praising the workforce JPP could have added that they were reasonably fertile and willing to reproduce. Once he had completed purchasing new people, he had laid the groundwork for the numbers to maintain themselves – an unusual situation on West Indian sugar plantations. In 1783, when he had left Nevis, there had been a total of 210 people on Mountravers: 149 adults and 61 children. Of the adults, he had freed 15 from work because they were 'old and useless'.[171] By 1801, almost twenty years later, 214 people belonged on the estate: 133 adults and 81, mostly plantation-born, children. Among the adults were seven classed as 'useless'.

But not all 214 people were to be sold. For his own use JPP had originally reserved 21 people: four men, four women and the children of three of the women. By 1801 the number had grown to 27 because in the intervening years the fourth woman, Mulatto Nanny, had given birth to two children, Sarah Fisher had

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[167] PP, Dom Box S4-2: Azariah Pinney to JPP, 2 August 1799
[168] PP, LB 17: JPP, Bristol, to JF Pinney, London, 18 November 1802
[169] The 200 acres of mountain land held in common between John Frederick Pinney and Wansey's (late Jones's), was then in possession of William Laurence. Originally it had belonged to Lady Bawden's estate and stretched above Wansey's estate to the top of the mountain (PP, Dom Box T3).
[170] PP, LB 17: JPP, Bristol, to JF Pinney, London, 18 November 1802
[171] Of the 134 adults on Mountravers fit for work in 1783, 49 were entailed people who had survived from when JPP took over the estate; the other 85 had been purchased or had fallen due in mortgages. Included in the count was Pero Jones, whom JPP had taken to England, Bander Legged Moll, whom JPP had given to Mrs Thraske, and Rose's Jenny, who had lost one hand and who was to provide for herself and her child and 'therefore [did] nothing for the estate'.

Of the 61 children, 42 were children born to entailed women and 19 were children of purchased women. He had sold two of the children, Betsey Arthurton and James Arthurton, but one additional girl, Fanny Coker, was not counted because she had been freed.

JPP had paid tax on 183 of the 195 people; another 12 were responsible for their own tax. In 1787 the number of taxable individuals increased to 199 and in 1789 to 206. From then on, until the last available tax account in mid-1803, tax was always paid on over 200 people. Numbers fluctuated because some people worked out and were responsible to pay their own tax.

produced two more, and she and Black Polly had had a grandchild each. The reserved group was to be hired out, and in the accounts their income had to be kept separate from that of the plantation people.[172]

Of the 15 people manumitted in 1783 (six men and nine women), two of the women were still alive in 1801: Old Phibba and Old Tyty. For 18 years they had lived in retirement on the plantation. Another three women had dropped off the lists between 1794 and 1801 and it must be assumed that they had died in the intervening years, as had the other ten people who in 1794 were no longer recorded as living on the estate. During his second visit to Nevis in 1794 JPP had set free from work another five people, two of whom survived until 1801: Abba and Old Yankey. When James Williams compiled an inventory in December 1801, he listed the four surviving manumitted people (Old Phibba, Old Tyty, Abba and Old Yankey) together with another three who were ill and considered 'useless': Abraham, Gretaw and Juliet.

A brief interlude: The Henry Williams period, 1 April 1803 to ?31 April 1805

Henry Williams sailed to Nevis in 1801. He arrived during a violent and politically unsettled time. Two other travellers, one of JPP's sons and James Baillie, the brother of JPP's son-in-law, that year also sailed to the West Indies and on their return journey were caught up in the war. Their ship, the *Westindian,* was captured but retaken from the enemy.[173]

British forces fought in the Caribbean and acquired new territories - Swedish St Bartholomew surrendered, followed soon after by French and Dutch-held St Martin, and Dutch-held Saba and St Eustacia - [174] while in St Domingue Toussaint L'Ouverture, the former slave and leader of the independence movement against France, succeeded in liberating the island from the French. All the whites in the Caribbean were shaken by 'a massacre of three hundred and seventy white persons in St Domingo'. In Jamaica Lady Nugent commented: 'How dreadful, and what an example to this island.'[175]

In 1802 Britain and Frances signed a peace treaty in which Britain agreed to restore to France and her allies all the territories that had been conquered in the Caribbean, except for Trinidad,[176] but neither country fully observed the treaty provisions and hostilities resumed in the following year. In June, not long after James Williams had died, British forces attacked St Lucia - the French surrendered the following day - and captured Tobago. In September they took the Dutch settlements of Demerara, and Essequibo, Berbice.[177] This was the political situation in the Caribbean when Henry Williams succeeded his brother as manager.

Among the first instructions JPP sent to his new manager was a reminder to be 'careful in calling in medical assistance'. Without even a nod in the direction of the Leeward Islands Melioration Act he advised that 'the simples of the country … will in general be sufficient, if you give proper attention'. The recipes in the plantation book, Doctor Buchan and his 'good kitchen physic', combined with 'kind attention to the sick', would stand Williams in good stead – just as these methods had worked for JPP. Far from being old fashioned or plain penny-pinching, JPP was following an enlightened philosophy of health care espoused by Dr William Buchan in his *Domestic Medicine, or a Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases by Regimen and Simple Medicines*. The book contained sections on preserving health by

[172] PP, LB 12: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 15 November 1796
[173] PP, LB 16: JPP, Somerton, to HH Tobin, Bristol, 6 July 1801 and LB 16: JPP, Somerton, to JB Dunbar, London, 8 July 1801
[174] Buckley, RN *The British Army* p258
[175] Lady Nugent's entry was dated 22 November 1801 (Frank Cundall (ed) *Lady Nugent's Journal*).
[176] Deerr, Noel *The History of Sugar* Vol 1 p152
[177] Buckley, RN *The British Army* pp262-63

wholesome living, and on identifying illnesses and their cures. Aimed at a wide audience, it was meant to empower people to take control of their health 'through reason, temperance, hygiene and heeding nature's laws'. The Edinburgh-trained Dr Buchan wanted to make modern medical knowledge accessible to everyone so that the sick could save their lives through their own skills and understanding and thereby escape exploitation by his fellow professionals whom Dr Buchan called 'designing knaves'. Breaking the doctors' monopoly with his medical self-help text put Dr Buchan in direct conflict with some of his Edinburgh colleagues but his *Domestic Medicine* enjoyed immense popular appeal. First published in 1769, with over 140 separate English-language editions and translated into seven languages, for over a century generations of people all over Europe and America valued the book as a handy guide to healthcare.[178] It appears that a copy of it was kept at Mountravers and that JPP, too, had put his faith in Dr Buchan's methods. He assured Henry Williams that when he used to treat his people he did not lose 'near as many as when the estate was regularly attended by a doctor'.[179] Some months later JPP repeated that employing the 'simples of the country' were better than 'pills and purges ready made up - probably from old medicines', and he also restated his claim that with his methods fewer people had died than when Dr Boddie had cared for them. His assertion to have cut the deaths to a third[180] cannot be substantiated because slave inventories for the relevant period appear not to exist.

An important component of eighteenth century medical practise was to bleed the sick, and soon after he arrived, Henry Williams called in a man called Richard Butler. He was not a practising doctor but James Williams had used him the previous year. Then Butler had bled 22 patients and Henry asked him to bleed another four. Butler charged N1s6d per person, which was only a fifth of what doctors charged for the procedure,[181] but the cost was not the real issue. The problem was that three full years had passed since Mulatto Peter's death and there was still no one on the plantation able to bleed and draw teeth. It was indicative of what was happening on Mountravers. JPP picked up on this when he received James Williams's last accounts: 'NOTE: This is an unusual expense both the manager and overseer ought to bleed - also at least one of the negroes & draw teeth.' He also spotted an error in the midwife's fees for delivering two women - '… an overcharge of N3s as 2 dollars is the price' - and commented that 'One of the negro women on the estate ought to learn.'[182] At other times the purchase of a very expensive canoe might not have been questioned but JPP was on the alert and asked: 'What use is this boat put to?'[183] And JPP was irritated that James Williams, like Thomas Pym Weekes before him, was following the oil cake route.[184] He did not want Henry Williams to get any ideas about oil cake and repeated that he was not going to send any; the cattle could do without.[185]

Things were not going well. This was becoming all too evident, and it was time for John Frederick Pinney to see for himself. Born in the West Indies and educated in Britain, he was a typical absentee owner. After inheriting the estate he had preferred to remain in Britain – despite his father's hopes that he might spend some years tending to his concerns in person. In 1773, the year John Frederick was born, Governor Ralph Payne had noted that absentees were 'so infinitely superior to the very few who are left here', but even if he had lived in Nevis, John Frederick would not have excelled as a planter; he had little interest in his estates. Although he had become the rightful owner of Mountravers, his father was still conducting all

[178] Porter, Roy *Enlightenment* p211, quoting CJ Lawrence *William Buchan: Medicine Laid Open* 1975 and Roy Porter *Spreading Medical Enlightenment* 1992; also Christopher Lawrence 'Buchan, William (1729-1805)' in *Oxford DNB*
[179] PP, LB 18: JPP, Bristol, to Henry Williams, Nevis, 15 December 1803
[180] PP, LB 19: JPP to Henry Williams, 25 October 1804
[181] PP, AB 57 Plantation a/c
[182] PP, AB 57 Plantation a/c
[183] PP, AB 57 Daniel Levy a/c and Plantation a/c
JPP bought the first canoe in 1770. Others were purchased in 1773, during JPP's visits in 1790 and 1794, and in 1799. The canoe which James Williams bought in 1802 was the sixth.
[184] PP, AB 47 James Taylor's a/c and Plantation a/c
[185] PP, LB 18: JPP to Henry Williams, 15 December 1803

the business. JPP, who had spent nearly twenty years of his life ridding the plantation of debt and getting it to function profitably, was still emotionally attached, and when John Frederick was busy with his law studies JPP had used this as an excuse to resume his involvement with Mountravers and the other properties that were mortgaged to the Pinneys.

Fortunately for all concerned, John Frederick had married a very competent, intelligent and level-headed woman, Frances Dickinson. She gave birth to a son and heir but was diagnosed with what doctors presumed was consumption. Their son (also called John Frederick) was baptised on 7 November 1804 and ten days later the young Pinneys set off for the West Indies. Mrs John Frederick Pinney was in poor health; the physicians had recommended she left for the West Indies as a matter of urgency. Everyone hoped that the long voyage would restore her strength and the family even tried to get her a speedy passage on a Man-of-War, but the Admiralty dismissed this idea as being too uncomfortable for someone of ill health who was not used to life at sea.[186] And so the young Pinneys travelled on the *Pilgrim*, with two servants accompanying them, and JPP and Mrs P sent them all on their way with 'a puncheon of refined sugar for sale'. The proceeds, it was thought, would be sufficient to buy what the young couple needed during their stay in the island. Aware of his son's propensity for spending money, JPP warned him not to carry his 'English wants' to Nevis.[187]

John Frederick would have noticed immediately the changes that had taken place in Nevis since his last visit. The number of free people had increased and the Wesleyan Methodists had gained a solid foothold. When he had visited the island in 1794, the Methodist mission had existed for only four years but in the last decade it flourished and could boast a membership of a tenth of the population. Enslaved people were attracted to the Methodists because they were not only concerned with the spiritual but also the economic well-being of their congregations. While the Methodists advocated social reform, they did, however, not preach revolution. In Britain they had imbued the working class with an acceptance of their station and a willingness to labour for their masters.[188] But their basic belief, that each person was equal before God, posed a threat to the system of slavery and could potentially destabilise it. And so, when Dr Thomas Coke, the first Methodist to visit Nevis, had arrived in the island in 1787, he found that 'every door was shut against the exercise of his ministry'. But soon several planters changed their minds. They saw that Christian teachings could have a beneficial effect on their people and agreed to a mission being established. In the Leeward Islands the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan (Methodist) Missionary Society and, to a lesser extent, the United Brethren were actively recruiting members. In Nevis a number of missionaries operated on behalf of the Wesleyan Missionary Society under the guidance of Joseph Maddock and TK Hyde. In 1788 they could boast 17 white and 943 black members, and the society's work was beginning to extend throughout the whole island.[189] At first missionaries preached in the houses of managers on those estates that welcomed their presence but they found that more people attended services if these were held in specially constructed small cabins. Walter Nisbet, for instance, provided such a little chapel on his estate. His kinsman, Richard Nisbet, also supported the Methodists, as did other planters - among them John Taylor, Edward Brazier, and John Ward, the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court.[190] By 1796 the Methodist Society was well-established and 'on a more respectable footing in Nevis, than in any other island of the West Indies, except Antigua.'[191]

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[186] PP, AB 42 and LB 19: JPP to JF Pinney, 17 November 1804; also SRO, Dickinson Papers, DD/DN/276-4: John Frederick Pinney, Bristol, to William Dickinson October 1804; DD/DN/276-6: John Barrow at the Admiralty to William Dickinson, 25 October 1804; DD/DN/276-7: Samuel Smith, New Spring Garden, 24 October 1804; DD/DN/276-17: Caleb Dickinson to William Dickinson, 29 October 1804

[187] PP, LB 19: JPP to JF Pinney, Nevis, 8 January 1805

[188] Mathison, WL *British Slavery and its Abolition* p111

[189] The Methodist Register for MDCCCXX p67

[190] Horsford, John Revd *A Voice from the West Indies* pp294-95 and p299

[191] NHCS, RG 17.15 Anon 'Rekindling the Flame: The Story of the Emergence and Growth of Methodism in Nevis' in *Methodism: Its Roots and Fruit* and Revd John Horsford *A Voice from the West Indies* p296

But then some of the white inhabitants took issue with the Methodists. In Britain, many opponents to the slave trade acted from religious conviction, and planters in Nevis believed the Methodists had common cause with the abolitionists. They began harassing the young Wesleyan Methodist missionary, John Brownell, and disrupted his meetings with singing and swearing. The rabble came armed, brandishing their weapons and forcing Brownell to abandon his assemblies. According to him, 'Several great men were ringleaders'. Planter families sympathetic to the Methodists did not intervene. They faced harassment themselves. Events took a very nasty turn when one evening four men came to the chapel in Charlestown 'with a large quantity of squibs, to fire among the congregation'. They threw one of the incendiaries into the building. Members extinguished the fire but the mob turned on some of the mixed-race people in the congregation. To save their lives they fled the island. The following day several men waylaid Brownell in the street, struck him with a bludgeon. None of the bystanders intervened. Nor did the magistrate afford him protection but, with support from the President, Brownell appeared before the Council and, on the promise that his persecutors would leave him and his congregation in peace, he forgave his attackers and did not press charges.[192]

From then on the Methodists prospered again[193] but not everything went smoothly. When they tried to appropriate some land in the country as a burial ground, neighbours strongly objected. The Methodists did, however, manage to establish a spacious cemetery in Charlestown[194] and they built a new chapel.[195] By 1802 Methodism had advanced so much that Nevis could export its own home-grown missionaries. Two freed men, William Powell and William Claxton '(those two stalwarts …)' emigrated to Guiana and as 'lay pioneers' established Methodism there.[196] In turn, Nevis received some enslaved Methodists from America who assisted in converting people.[197] The missionaries were pleased with the results of their labour and claimed among their successes 'the rapid and visible disappearance of vice, including cock-fighting, dancing, and other evils.'[198]

By the turn of the century the 'commodious chapel' in Charlestown had already become too small. Many worshippers had to stand outside, in the hot sun, or in the rain. The congregation consisted of free mixed-race and enslaved people but whites also attended, which, as one missionary put it, was 'a kind of miracle in these regions.'[199] To accommodate the growing flock, in the following year two more chapels were built in the island. Ever since the early days when Revd Thomas Owen had instructed a class of 21 catechumens in Charlestown[200] membership had risen steadily but when Dr Coke visited Nevis once more in 1803,[201] his visit pushed up recruitment to an unprecedented level: between 1793 and 1801 members had increased from 394 to 883, [202] in 1802 another 25 people joined but in 1803 over ten times

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[192] Some sources claim that the Methodist Chapel in Charlestown was burnt down (Coke, Thomas Dr *A History of the West Indies* p18 and Vincent K Hubbard *Swords, Ships & Sugar* pp157-58 and *Revd* Wilfred Easton and Revd DA Parker *Kindling of the Flame* pp49-50, and NHCS, RG 17.15 'Rekindling the Flame') but Brownell stated that the congregation put out the fire (*The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* Vol 2 Series 3 Vol XLVL and Revd John Horsford *A Voice from the West Indies* pp296-97, quoting Brownell to Coke 12 May 1797)
[193] Easton, Revd Wilfred and Revd DA Parker *Kindling of the Flame* pp49-50
[194] Coke, Thomas Dr *A History of the West Indies* p23 and p27
[195] *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* Vol 2 Series 3 Vol XLVL
[196] Easton, Revd Wilfred and Revd DA Parker *Kindling of the Flame* pp49-50, http://www2.div.ed.ac.uk/other/mms/GazCarribean.htm. See also John Neal's article for further details about William Claxton's life (http://www.methodistheritage.org.uk/missionary-history-neal-in-the-beginning-2011.pdf).
[197] Goveia, EV *Slave Society* p294, quoting Thomas Coke *A History of the West Indies* p17
[198] Horsford, John Revd *A Voice from the West Indies* p299
[199] Horsford, John Revd *A Voice from the West Indies* p299
[200] NHCS, RG 17.15 'Rekindling the Flame'
[201] Coke, Thomas Dr *A History of the West Indies* p29
[202] Easton, Revd Wilfred and Revd DA Parker *Kindling of the Flame* p51

that many people, 303, committed themselves to becoming Methodists. Membership then stood at 1,211,[203] which represented more than a tenth of the total population.[204]

Membership of the Methodist Society reflected a certain economic standing because attending chapel and classes cost money. Different rates applied: whites paid N16s6d a year for their seats in chapel; enslaved people paid N1s6d a quarter for an admission ticket and N1s6d a month to attend a class meeting. In addition, each Sunday members contributed N1 1/2d to a collection.[205] Those unable to pay stayed away, and it was said that attendance declined during times of drought. It is not known whether any Mountravers inhabitants belonged to this early Methodist congregation but it is likely that James and Henry Williams would have encouraged people to join. Back home in Wales, their brothers were actively involved in trying to get a non-conformist chapel established.[206]

Henry Williams's first year as manager had been difficult: a hurricane had visited the islands, wrecking a number of ships at St Kitts,[207] and, once again, it had seemed that the crops would 'fall so dreadfully short'.[208] Yet while other estates generally exceeded their expectations, the output at Mountravers was down by nearly 40 hogsheads.[209] This may have been due to the workers trying out the new manager, but it is also likely that the overseer's worsening condition had contributed; William Thomas Williams, who had served on Mountravers for less than two years, had died of drink not long before the Pinneys came to Nevis.[210] The sugar which was then being produced was judged by John Frederick Pinney to be of very good quality.[211] In the spring of 1805 the new overseer, David Jones, arrived.

John Frederick Pinney set out to get to the bottom of various allegations against James Williams: that his mistress Jenetta had taken liberties with plantation stores, that he had stolen sugar and shipped it on his own account, and that he had failed to return scrap metal to Britain but had sold it in the island. Also, the accounts for food allowances looked unusually large and other items had not been accounted for at all. The evidence was stacking up against James Williams, and John Frederick informed his father of his findings. In the meantime, back in England JPP had perused both James and Henry Williams's accounts. He had reached the conclusion that not only his old but also his new manager had let him down. For instance JPP had instructed Henry Williams to hire out spare men to their two ships.[212] He had repeated that request, adding that men also ought to be hired to 'any other established ship in the trade'[213] but had then found a shortfall in his own Negro Hire account.[214] It is likely that Williams had failed to enter some of the money earned by JPP's reserved men. John Frederick, in the meantime, had gathered enough evidence to know that Henry Williams was not up to the demands of the job. He sacked him and employed a local man. Within months of losing his job, Henry Williams became another West Indian casualty. He died.

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[203] Bayley, FWN *Four Years' Residence in the West Indies* p683
[204] In 1805 Nevis was said to have had 1,300 white inhabitants, 8,000 enslaved and 150 'coloured people' (FWN Bayley *Four Years' Residence in the West Indies* p684).
[205] Goveia, EV *Slave Society* p292, quoting CO 152/68 'A State of Clergy …', enclosed in Nugent to Grenville, 8 December 1789
[206] http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/wal/Dissent.html
[207] Burns, Sir Alan *History of the British West Indies* p759
[208] PP, LB 43: T & P to Edward Brazier, 8 June 1804
[209] PP, LB 19: JPP to Henry Williams, 25 October 1804
[210] PP, LB 19: JPP to JF Pinney, ship *Pilgrim*, Cork Harbour, 17 November 1804
[211] PP, Dom Box P: John Frederick Pinney, Nevis, to JPP, 21 February 1805
[212] PP, LB 18: JPP to Henry Williams, Nevis, 15 December 1803
[213] PP, LB 18: JPP to Henry Williams, Nevis, 20 April 1804
[214] PP, LB 19: JPP to John Frederick Pinney, 13 February 1805

Another brief interlude: Joseph Webbe (Joe) Stanley, 19 May 1805 to 3 August 1807

John Frederick Pinney would have known Joe Stanley's family, in particular his elder half-brother, John. He was a prominent man. For many years John Stanley had been a Member of the British Parliament, an agent for Nevis, Attorney General and Advocate General for the Vice Admiral of the Leeward Islands[215] and acting Leeward Islands Governor. A planter himself and a strong critic of abolition, in April 1791 he had aired his views in a very lengthy speech to Parliament.[216] John Stanley had died years earlier but being able to engage his younger half-brother must have seemed to John Frederick like stroke of good luck. A mature man in his early fifties, Joe Stanley was a good, experienced planter.

John Frederick left nothing to chance and equipped his new employee with a raft of very precise instructions. He addressed the shortcomings of the Williams brothers - for instance, Stanley was expected not to purchase plantation stores in the island, nor iron or copper work, and not to sell scrap metal without asking what to do with it. He was asked not to run up debts, and following his father's diktat that some food must be grown on the estate, John Frederick laid down the requirements. Stanley was to set aside 12 or 16 acres of land (or more, if possible) for planting yams, eddoes and potatoes. In addition, because this was 'preferable to a fallow' people could plant potatoes on cane land but not corn or cassava. The aim was for people to feed themselves for three months a year. If there was a surplus this could be sold but never lent to other planters. So as not to entirely depend on ground crops, Stanley was also asked to lay in a sufficient quantity of provisions which were to last until the end of January or February. Having set out how he wanted his estate run, John Frederick and his wife left Nevis.

Now Joe Stanley was in charge. People on Mountravers would have known that for twenty years he had managed his brother's Morning Star and Pembroke estates. Although he had worked in the parish of St John Figtree, people on Mountravers would have been aware of him and his reputation whereas the new overseer from Britain, David Jones, was a completely new entity. According to Joe Stanley, Jones settled in well. For the workers on Mountravers the arrival of the new supervisors meant that they had to adjust to yet another new regime, having just adapted to Henry Williams's way of managing the estate. One difference was that now both the manager and the overseer were married men. For the time being, Mrs Jones had remained in Britain but Joe Stanley arrived on Mountravers with his young wife and at least two children. One of the criticisms levelled against James Williams was that his 'female adherents' had plundered the estate and, perhaps wishing to alter the dynamics on Mountravers, John Frederick (or his sensible wife?) may well have chosen Joe Stanley because he was a family man. While living on Mountravers Mrs Stanley probably gave birth to another child.

The new manager and the new overseer got to work on the somewhat neglected estate. Pastures had not been kept clean so that the cattle were in poor shape,[217] one of the Williams brothers had failed to keep the source of the pond properly open [218] and the buildings were in a bad state of repair. The overseer's house, in particular, was rotten, and it was too small if David Jones's wife was to come and join him in Nevis. As far as the workers went, the Williams brothers appear to have allowed them much leeway: field hands had called in sick when they were well enough to work and others had not been employed to full capacity. For instance, under the Williamses 'strong boys' had been taking care of the mules when 'persons incapable of doing hard labour' should have done so. Stanley was under instruction to make better use of the 'many old people on the estate and several with permanent complaints', and it was up to him to call some of the older folk out of their retirement and to put them on light duties. Stanley also found that the pilfering for which JPP had blamed James Williams may well have been done by the people on

[215] PP, Misc Vols 12 Leeward Islands Calendar
[216] Thorne, RG (ed) *The History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1790-1820*
[217] PP, WI Box O-2: JF Pinney's instructions for Joseph Stanley, 19 May 1805
[218] PP, LB 20: JPP to JJ Cottle, Bath, 1 February 1807

the plantation. He discovered that false keys had been in circulation and that people had helped themselves to provisions. Within months of arriving he also suffered thefts in his own house. His wife had brought from England various items to sell, and several of the Mountravers women got together and stole from Mrs Stanley muslin, dowlas and checked brown Holland. When confronted, they and their brothers and partners – Billey Jones and Frank Fisher - stuck together and denied that they had taken anything. Billey Jones's sister, Hetty, who was pregnant then, was locked up by Stanley in the old boiling house and one of his own people, a girl who had given evidence against the individuals involved, ended up being given a public beating in the market place. Billey Jones and William Fisher, meanwhile, got into a flight that left William Fisher unable to work for some days.[219] It was mainly the yard people, the house servants, who were giving Stanley problems. Most of them were in the group JPP had reserved as his own.

After James Williams had taken over as manager, in his first two years the surpluses had yielded £1,205 and £1,779 but as time went by, returns had got smaller. According to JPP, the plantation used to produce a profit of four per cent [220] but for several years it had not yielded two and a half per cent on the capital and this, he feared, was not enough for the plantation to support itself.[221] Exasperated, in 1804 he had asked: 'Where will it end?'[222] (On New Year's Day 1804 the Black Republic of Haiti had been established, no doubt prompting JPP's anxiety. While rattling planters' confidence in the future, the Haitian liberation struggle gave hope to hundreds of thousands of enslaved people that one day they, too, would live in freedom.) As far as Mountravers went, despite the downturn in profits JPP and his son were still willing to invest in the property. JPP gave permission to add another building of the same size next to the old overseer's house,[223] he sent out fresh mules from England and it was John Frederick's intention to set up a blacksmith shop on the estate. At least the iron work could then be repaired quickly and on the spot.[224] In preparation for this JPP asked that Frank Fisher and 'any other young sensible boys' be apprenticed: 'one or two to a mason and one to a blacksmith'.[225] Others had previously been trained as masons but this was the first time a young man from Mountravers was to learn the blacksmith's trade. Prince**,** a black boy in his early teens, was chosen.

John Frederick had drawn up a very detailed contract and JPP followed this up with a few instructions of his own. He reminded Stanley to keep all plantation utensils under lock (this advice came too late; Stanley had already discovered the false keys) and to finally get some people trained so that they could provide medical assistance; for some years the estate had to make do without a midwife and a person competent in the skill of bleeding and drawing teeth. JPP also asked Stanley to keep all papers in a box in the counting house.[226] It was important to keep all documents safe because the war with France was still ongoing - indeed, in March 1805, when John Frederick and his wife were in Nevis, the French had raided the island once more (the President had managed to buy off the invaders with a payment of just over N£4,000)[227] and in the following year the French fleet attacked Basseterre harbour.[228]

Once more JPP also reminded Stanley to hire out surplus men onto ships. Some of these were among the group JPP had reserved for his own use. It appears, however, that several people exploited the

[219] PP, Dom Box P: JW Stanley to JF Pinney, 27 December 1805
[220] Pares, Richard *A West India Fortune* p145 and p149
[221] PP, LB 46: Pinney & Tobin to John Taylor, Tunbridge Wells, 26 February 1808
[222] Pares, Richard *A West India Fortune* p149
[223] PP, LB 20: JPP to JW Stanley, Nevis, 5 December 1805
[224] PP, WI Box O-2: JF Pinney's instructions for Joseph Stanley, 19 May 1805
[225] PP, LB 19: JPP to Henry Williams, 25 October 1804
[226] PP, LB 20: JPP to JW Stanley, Nevis, 5 December 1805
[227] Pares, Richard *A West India Fortune* p148, quoting CO 152/87: President Daniell to Governor Lord Lavington, 14 March 1805
[228] Buckley, RN *The British Army* p195

handover to the new manager by claiming that JPP had allowed them to work for themselves. JPP put Stanley in the picture:

> I know of but one negro allowed to work for herself and that is Black Polly and she is to pay her taxes if any charged, which I hope not as I have considered her exempt from all labor on my account ever since I left the island in 1783 - unless there are any living of the old and infirm which I manumitted to save their taxes.

In the same letter he enquired from Stanley about documents which James Williams was supposed to have hidden.[229] JPP wrote this on Sunday, 15 August 1807, and it may, in fact, have been the very day on which Joe Stanley and his family left Mountravers. On 3 August 1807 John Frederick Pinney's attorney, James Tobin, had arrived at the estate and had asked Stanley to hand over the keys and the books. His services were no longer required. Tobin had sold Mountravers and he had put Samuel Bennett temporarily in charge of managing it. Taken completely by surprise, Stanley had to ask for a reprieve of ten days or a fortnight so that the house into which he and his family were moving could be fixed.

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Selling Mountravers

Since 1802, when John Henry Clarke had refused John Frederick's offer to buy Mountravers, the Pinneys had not made any further attempts at finding another purchaser. But then, within a short space, John Frederick had lost two useless managers, and he had visited Nevis and seen what went on. The brothers' 'infamous conduct' firmed his resolve to sell.[230] In 1802 it had been mostly his wish to sell the estate but, having received from Nevis the latest account books, their perusal infuriated JPP and convinced him that it was time to pull out. The Williamses' neglect and abuses proved to be the final straw. The plantation barely covered its expenses although, as Richard Pares pointed out, the Pinneys' plight was not universal. Owing to a variety of wide-ranging political and economic causes other West India proprietors also suffered reduced profits.[231]

It appears that JPP had also lost some of the enjoyment he used to get from overseeing the management of the estate. Much had changed since his days in Nevis. People had become more demanding: attorneys wanted payment for their services, overseers were no longer content to wear plain Osnaburgh jackets[232] and managers chose to feed the plantation livestock oil cakes and oats. And plantership had changed. Amid much hype, a new variety of cane had been introduced but this Otaheite cane proved to be no better than the old. Planters now followed new methods of planting which meant that crop finished later and not in June, as in his time. Even ways of packing sugar had changed.[233] To Joe Stanley he had written:

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[229] PP, LB 22: JPP to JW Stanley, 15 August 1807

[230] PP, LB 46: JPP to John Taylor, Tunbridge Wells, 26 February 1808

[231] Pares, Richard *A West India Fortune* p356 fn5, referring to Lowell J Ragatz *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean* New York 1928 Chapter ix
The decline in profits, however, apparently did not affect the Stapleton plantations, as the following figures indicate (they apply to Nevis, unless otherwise stated): 1747-1760: 4%, 1761-1770: 7.9%, 1778-1788 (St. Kitts): 6%, 1778-1782: 4.7%, 1783-1795: 3%, 1796-1810 5%, 1789-1809 (St Kitts) 6% (JRV Johnston 'The Stapleton Sugar Plantations in the Leeward Islands' in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* Vol 48 (1996) pp175-206).

[232] PP, LB 19: JPP to Henry Williams, 25 October 1804

[233] PP, LB 17: JPP to James Williams, 19 April 1802
One planter advised that all estates should begin crop in January and end 20 July (Stapleton Cotton MSS 20: Ward's opinion of the St Kitts Estate June 1766).

> The whole system of plantership is altered since I left the island and I am sorry add without good effect – everything in our little island seems to be in a retrograde motion … Permit me to recommend you to go on in the *old* way agreeable to the instructions: in which I was very successful and everything went on well with regularity and order. Why then should we adopt a different method?[234]

A man in his sixties, JPP was getting disillusioned with the whole West India business.

In the autumn of 1806, his business partner James Tobin had gone to Nevis. Armed with power of attorney,[235] which was followed up to include William Laurence and Thomas Arthurton,[236] Tobin was charged with selling Mountravers on behalf of John Frederick and JPP. This did not include the upper estate, Woodland, which JPP had acquired in the early 1780s, and a number of people whom he had reserved for himself. He decided to keep for himself 33 men, women and children. Among them were Black Polly, her children and other people whom he did not consider 'as field slaves'.[237] Black Polly and some of her family lived in Charlestown, ten of his reserved people stayed at Woodland while, for the time being, the others carried on living in the slave village.

One person interested in buying Mountravers was Edward Huggins, but JPP did not really want to sell to him and, instead, raised the possibility of selling to a Mr Stedman, or, if he arrived in Nevis in time, to John Henry Clarke. JPP asked Tobin to tread carefully because he did not want to upset Huggins:

> … if you can so contrive it without offense (sic) to Mr Edward Huggins, to whom I am under no promise or engagement, but yet I would not wish for him to know that I gave preference to other persons merely because he bears the character of being cruel to his negroes.[238]

JPP wrote this on 18 February 1807, two months after the last slaver to Nevis had landed its cargo [239] and a month before the Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade received Royal Ascent. The Act came into effect on 1 May 1807. Ships that had lawfully left from a British port on or before 1 May 1807 could transport captive Africans to the West Indies until 1 March 1808. But while, on the one hand, abolishing the slave trade, the British government also used this window for its own purposes. It made an eleventh-hour attempt at buying between two and four thousand enslaved people – over a thousand of whom were to replenish the eight West India Regiments, the others to increase the number of these regiments to ten, or even twelve. The government passed on its requirements to the merchants at Liverpool: the Africans were to be from 'tribes from the Gold Coast', and 'Half, or certainly one third of this number, might be taken at the age of 16, well-made & healthy lads. The average price of the men would be about £70 Sterling, the boys proportionally less.'[240] The Liverpool slave traders had to deliver their wares before the Act took effect, otherwise their vessels were at risk of being captured, seized and their cargo detained. To enforce the Abolition Act British ships could intercept any vessel they suspected of being involved in transporting captives to the Americas. The promise of a bounty made them, in effect, government-sponsored pirates. But instead of returning these 'freed' Africans to their homelands, they were shipped to the West Indies. Later over thirty Africans who had been captured from at least one Spanish ship were in

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[234] Pares, R *A West India Fortune* p148, quoting JPP to JW Stanley, 18 October 1806
[235] PP, LB 20: JPP to JW Stanley, Nevis, 18 October 1806
[236] PP, LB 41 Unnumbered, undated page
[237] PP, AB 42 ff1-2
[238] PP, LB 21: JPP to James Tobin, Nevis, 18 February 1807
[239] In the early nineteenth century only three slavers landed at Nevis. The *Ann* arrived in September 1803 and the *Hillsborough* after in November 1805 and again in December 1806. Both were Liverpool ships. The last group of Africans to arrive in Nevis were people from the Congo region (David Eltis *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyages 80281, 81843 and 81844).
[240] For the full text of the Gordon Memorandum of 8 April 1807 and the reply by the Liverpool merchants see Frank Goodwill's website http://website.lineone.net/~bwir/gordon.htm

fact imported to St Kitts and Nevis where they worked as military labourers on Brimstone Hill Fort and alongside enslaved people on Bush Hill estate and in the barracks.[241] The British defence forces benefited from these captured Africans; they enlisted them to fill the gaps left by war and disease. For enslaved people already serving in the British army, the imperial Mutiny Act of 1807 granted them their freedom. Yet they were still disadvantaged: black troops remained enlisted for an unlimited period while European infantrymen signed up to serve for seven years.[242]

With the abolition of the slave trade looming, at the beginning of 1807 the sugar market went through a trough. Brown sugar from Nevis that in the early 1790s had sold for as much as 74s per hundredweight now fetched between 51s and 54s, and the fine variety that had sold for as much as 84s was now worth no more than 75s.[243] But the value of property was another matter. JPP thought the new legislation would bring advantages. While the expanding sugar colonies were able to increase production and thereby threaten the viability of the old, exhausted sugar islands, these, however, benefited from having established slave populations. JPP therefore thought that the abolition of the slave trade would not be 'injurious to the well settled estates in the old islands [but] it will have a contrary effect, it will increase the value and be a check to new settlements.'[244] Accordingly, the value of the Mountravers people increased immediately. In February 1807 they were said to be worth S£65 each on average;[245] by September 1807 this had risen to S£70.[246] By using an average value per person, it seems that people were spared the undignified spectacle of being assessed individually - an exercise familiar to Africans and mortgaged individuals, but not to the plantation-born Creoles.[247]

Although the negotiations about the sale of Mountravers were taking place against the background of the British Parliament abolishing the slave trade, it was not the ending of the supply of Africans that informed the Pinneys' decision to sell. In February 1807 JPP claimed that 'Not a negro has been purchased for my son's estate a great many years and the number, I believe, is increased.'[248] He was right: although nine people were bought after 1794 (three without his approval), in general terms he had bucked the trend whereby, as Barry Higman wrote, 'From the middle of the eighteenth century the planters had been generally agreed that it was cheaper to purchase slaves from the African slave traders than to 'breed' them.'[249]

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[241] HoCPP 1826-1827 Vol xxii 'Reports by Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Slaves in HM Colonies under Acts Abolishing Slave Trade, St Christopher, Nevis and Tortola' Chadwyck-Healey mf 29.176-177

[242] Buckley, RN *The British Army* p123 and p141

[243] Higman, BW *Montpelier, Jamaica* p45 and PP, LB 38: T & P to Joseph Blake Chabert, St Croix, 24 October 1791, LB 46: JPP & JF Pinney to Jn Henry Clarke, Netteswell, Harlow, 25 January 1807, LB 46: JPP & JF Pinney to George Webbe, Falmouth, 4 February 1807 and LB 20: JPP to JJ Cottle, Bath, 1 February 1807

[244] PP, LB 20: JPP to TJ Cottle, Bath, 1 February 1807

[245] PP, LB 20: JPP to James Tobin, 5 February 1807
The average price of the people on Mountravers was about S£9 per person less than the British government paid when, between 7 April 1806 and 7 February 1807, it purchased 1,202 new recruits for a total of S£89,487 (UKNA, CO 318/31).

[246] PP, LB 22: JPP to JH Clarke, 5 September 1807

[247] Appraisers tended to be two or three experienced planters who knew the value of slaves although, in the case of Hulburd's which was valued in May 1809, there were four appraisers: William W Wilkes, Edward and William Pemberton and James Weekes. When they considered the value of 43 people, one of the appraisers, William W Wilkes, consistently put a higher price of people than his fellow appraisers. For one man, Cuffee, valuations fluctuated between N£160 and N£200 and finally resulted in a value of N£175; in the case of another, Jack Cooper, Wilkes considered N£250 appropriate while his fellow judges believed N£200 was more realistic. To settle on a sum, they added up their individual values and divided the sum by four, agreeing on N£212 (ECSCRN, CR 1810-1814 f159).

[248] PP, LB 20: JPP to TJ Cottle, Bath, 1 February 1807

[249] Higman, BW *Slave population and economy in Jamaica* p3

Since JPP had inherited the estate until it was sold, the plantation population had grown from 141 (in 1763) to 215 people [250] and the number would have been higher had people not been sold (57), freed (8), given away (6), run away (4, possibly 6), taken to England (2) or stolen (1). The increase in numbers came about partly through the children who were born on the plantation and partly through acquiring new people: altogether 192 people have been traced as either having been purchased directly or having been acquired through mortgages falling due. Some people were subject to some very complicated deals which probably only JPP understood.

71 of the 192 people acquired for Mountravers were Africans purchased in the 1760s directly from slaving vessels (ten by Coker and 61 by JPP). After 1768 no more freshly-landed Africans were bought until 1803 when one manager added another three - without JPP's consent and against his wishes.

The majority of people came to Mountravers before 1783 when JPP left Nevis. After that only 15 more people were acquired:

- During Gill's time three mortgaged women joined the workforce: Richens Quasheba, Peggy and Bessy Richens
- Coker bought one Creole boy (George Vaughan)
- When Dr Weekes was manager, two fell due in mortgages: Billy Steward and Jack Steward
- When James Williams was manager, JPP bought Prince
- Henry Williams purchased three Africans: Caesar, Pompey and Augustus
- Before the end of 1806 five people were acquired: Nasino, Dorset, Castile, John French and his son

During JPP's time in Nevis,

- three people were sold into exile abroad: Grace (1765), Pembroke (1775) and William (1783). One of these, Grace, was an entailed woman
- another entailed person, Congo Will, was sold to JPP's friend John Hay Richens
- four of the newly arrived Africans were sold: Prince from the Gold Coast and the Ebboes Daniel, Scrub and Judy (who was sold with her plantation-born daughter)
- another 17 (18) of the people he had bought were sold. Most of them were Creoles: in 1766 Daniel Foe was sold, in 1767/8 Nanno, Little Mingo and Moll Henderson; in 1770 Violet Wells and Nancy Maillard; in 1771 Jemmy and Jenny; in 1772 Will, Billy Coker and Judy; in 1774 Dick; in 1775 Polydore, Cuba, Susanna and Betty Scoles with her youngest child. She came back into JPP's possession in 1780 with two sons, and she and her sons were sold again. Some of these people may have been mortgaged and returned to their owners once these had paid off any outstanding money.
- 22 people who had definitely fallen due in mortgages were sold: Dick, Lydia (in 1780); Dick, Little Dick, Dick Rayes, Bessy Gould, Frankey Weekes, Letty, Harriett, Bess, Clarissa, Catto, Celia, Cuffee, Polydore, John, Kate, Foe (in 1781); Dick Rayes, Sabella and daughter Fanny, Grace (in 1782)
- two plantation-born children were sold to their father: Betsey and James Arthurton
- a plantation-born child, Fanny Coker, was manumitted
- four mortgaged people were allowed to buy their freedom: Catherine and Harry London, who both died before they being freed, and Lubbo and Tom Verchild Walker

[250] JPP sold to Huggins 182 people (the lists of people sold to Edward Huggins give the number as 183 but Old Lucy was counted twice), another ten were at Woodland and he had reserved 22 people. As of 31 December 1806, the total should have been 215; Black Polly was not included as she was not listed.

- six women and children were given to other people: Ann to Ann Sprowles; Dung Belly Fibba to Mrs Coker; Jenny Whitehall and her children Dick and Pussey to Betsey Weekes; and Bander Legg'd Moll to Mrs Thraske

Two more men were lost to the plantation during JPP's time in Nevis: Polydore freed himself and Michael was stolen off the island, never to return. Pero Jones and Christianna Jacques were taken to England by the Pinneys, in 1783 and in 1790.

JPP allowed managers to rid the plantation of runners and otherwise difficult individuals, and when Joseph Gill was in charge, Natt and George Wells were sold. Under Coker one woman (Bess Powell) was sold to the man who had hired her, and during Thomas Pym Weekes's time as manager Mulatto Polly's three children were sold to their father who intended to free them. Later Mulatto Polly and her two youngest children were also freed.

Dr Weekes had permission to banish into exile abroad one particular young man, Mulatto Charles, but he probably freed himself before he could be sold. Another, Jack Steward, however, was sold to Jamaica during James Williams's managership, while James Peaden managed to get off the island for good (also when Williams was in charge), and two mortgaged males, Charloe and Tom Tross, were equally successful. It is likely that a woman, Violet, escaped as well.

Two mulatto boys were exchanged by their white uncle for two girls.

In all, during the period 1765 to 1801, 42 people had been officially freed from work because they had become 'useless' through old age, accidents or disease. However, one was sold at profit, another hired out and two were sold along with the plantation. These two were among the 182 who were sold to Edward Huggins – everyone who was alive on 31 December 1806 plus a boy born in April 1807, Bunda. The remaining 33 people were reserved by JPP.

Among the 182 people sold were 24 entailed individuals (ten men and 14 women) whom JPP had inherited.[251] The other 91 adults (46 men and 45 women) had either been bought or were plantation-born. With one exception (John French's son), all of the 67 children (41 boys and 26 girls) sold to Huggins were plantation-born.

One conclusion that may be drawn from the fact that the numbers increased through births rather than purchases is that women workers were not pushed beyond their limits. A Jamaican planter, William Beckford, calculated that three workers might make two and a quarter hogsheads,[252] another, Edward Long, advised that planters wishing to keep up numbers through births, or even increase them, ought to aim at producing no more than two hogsheads of sugar for every three people of all ages.[253] During JPP's time in Nevis this was the exact average amount of sugar three people of all ages produced on Mountravers; after he left production fell to one and a half hogsheads while the number of people on the plantation increased. [254] Compared to some other estates output was low. At Russell's Rest in Nevis, for

[251] The following entailed people were sold to Huggins: Tyty, Lucy, Yankey, Robin, Charge, Creole Will, Fido, Yanneky, Penny, Sabella, Phiba, London, Wiltshire, Santee, Phillis, Bridget, Johntong, Molly, Nelly, Fanny, Glasgow, Betty, Cuba and Foe.
[252] Pares, R *A West India Fortune* p353 fn26
[253] World Microfilms Anti-Slavery Collection C18th-C19th, Reel 1 Vol 2/3, quoting Long Vol 2 pp437-38
[254] Pares, R *A West India Fortune* p125 and p89 Table I and p91 Table II
On Mountravers the plantation population stood at between about 170 and 180 in the 1770s and at around 200 from the mid-1780s onwards. During the years 1768 to 1778, the workers produced, on average, 111 hogsheads a year, while after that production fell and appeared to remain in the region of around 100 hogsheads. In one exceptional year during James Williams's time, workers made 200 hogsheads (PP, LB 17: JPP, Bristol, to JF Pinney, London, 18 November 1802).

instance, three enslaved people of all ages produced, on average, two hogsheads [255] (thereby keeping to Long's formula) and on a Jamaican estate, Worthy Park, even as much as close to two and a half hogsheads.[256]

This calculation is a very rough one. It does not take account of a multitude of other factors: the different capacity of the hogsheads, the ratio of productive to unproductive people, how much rum and molasses were produced - besides sugar - or the role played by the weather, the soil and by different production methods. However, if one accepts Long's and Beckford's measures as a general guide, it would appear that certainly from the mid-1780s the workers on Mountravers did not suffer an excessively oppressive work regime.

Just before James Williams started to manage Mountravers, JPP bought one man, Prince. The other biographies are of children born during Williams's managership.

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BIOGRAPHIES

567 Prince, later Old Prince (b c 1757), a black Creole man, was in his thirties when he was purchased on 29 July 1794.[257] During his second visit to Nevis and a day before he left for England, JPP bought him on his own account. Prince's previous owners were Butler Claxton and John Rayes, a free black fisherman.[258] Prince's purchase price of N£120 was payable in rum.[259]

Butler Claxton's and John Rayes's association went back some years. When John Rayes was still enslaved, Claxton had bought a couple of people on John Rayes's behalf. A few years later he had manumitted John Rayes.[260]

Prince was spared having to work in the fields during crop time. The day JPP left Nevis, on board ship he wrote to his new manager: 'Take into your possession John Wilks and hire him with Tom McGill, Prince & Glasgow Wells on board the ships during crop, taking care to oblige the captains to pay their hire before they go - The three first when they work out at other periods, let them bring in a dollar a week.'[261] Prince

[255] During the eight-year period 1745 to 1752 Russell's Rest had, on average, plantation populations of 190 people. They produced, on average, 125.75 hogsheads of sugar a year. The average weight per hogshead was 1505.25 pounds (682.77 kg). I am grateful to Brian Littlewood for supplying me with this information (27 May 2009).
[256] In ten years from 1783 Worthy Park estate had an average enslaved population of over 330 and produced, on average, 270 hogsheads a year (M Craton *Searching for the Invisible Man* p174 Table 42 Worthy Park: Annual productivity, revenue, profits, 1783-1838). The weight of these hogsheads is not known but the 100 hogsheads Coker shipped in 1763 contained about ten per cent less than the Russell's Rest hogsheads: on average they held only 1,401.39 pounds (635.66 kg) (PP, LB 3: An Account of sugars made on my Estate in the Island of Nevis 1763).
[257] In the 1817 Mountravers slave register, Prince was listed as a Creole, aged 'about 60 years' (UKNA, T 71/364). His date of birth, therefore, would have been about 1757, in which case he was around 37 years old when he was bought.
[258] PP, AB 39 Butler Claxton & John Rayes a Negroman a/c; AB 43; AB 45; also LB 11: JPP, at Sea, to James Williams, 9 August 1794
[259] PP, AB 50 Pinney's a/c
[260] ECSCRN, CR 1789-1790 f372
[261] PN 223, JPP 1788-92 - B6 f150, quoting Pinney to James Williams, 29 November 1794

hired himself out and during the rest of the year made cash payments [262] and in the following year worked on the ship *Nevis* for 40 and the ship *Rachel* for 16 days.[263] Between mid-August and the beginning of November Prince made four further payments into JPP's account.[264] In 1796 he was hired for 63 days with John Wilks and Tom McGill on board a brig and cutter that belonged to Claxton & Huggins.[265] Butler Claxton had set himself up as a merchants firm with either John Huggins junior, or with Frederick Huggins. Both men were blacksmiths and had land adjoining Butler Claxton's near Black Rock Fort. [266] John Huggins also acted as a witness when Claxton freed Jack Rayes. [267]

In 1797 Prince was hired again to the *Nevis* and the *Rachel*, for twenty and 36 days. Whereas he brought in N£27, in the following year this was reduced to N£16.[268] Prince was ill and towards the end of the December was treated with a pain relieving medicine ('a specific ano.[dyne]') and a quart lotion. Together with a doctor's visit this came to N£2:1:0.[269] He recovered and soon after hired himself out again.[270] He worked on the *Nevis* for two months with Tom McGill. Previously the men had been employed for N4s6d, now the rate the daily rate was increased by a quarter to N6s. Prince was ill again for twelve days [271] but in the following years was fit enough to hire himself out once more. All along his income went to JPP rather than the plantation [272] but in 1805 his income dropped. JPP was worried and wrote to his son, who was then in Nevis, that he had only been credited for Prince and Tom McGill ('two very punctual negroes') with just over N£37 when the preceding year he had made N£10 more and before that 'still more'. He urged his son to investigate Williams's hire account and to talk to both Prince and Tom McGill.[273]

As early was 1795 JPP had reserved Prince as his own but in 1807 included him in a group of ten individuals that were given up for sale with Woodland. In December 1816 he was among those people whom Peter Thomas Huggins rented out with Woodland to his father, Edward Huggins.

In his mid-seventies, Prince died between 1 January 1831 and 31 December 1833.

568 Peggy, a mestize, was born on Wednesday, 30 July 1794, to a purchased woman. Her mother was Mulatto Polly (No 378) and her father the elderly planter John Latoysonere Scarborough. Peggy had three older sisters, an older brother and a younger sister: Christianna Jacques (b 1780), Jenetta (b 1785), John Paul (b 1787), Betsey (b 1789), and Nancy Seymour alias Margaret Ann (b 1796).

While her sister Christianna was taken to England by the Pinneys, Jenetta, John Paul and Betsey were bought and later freed by their father. Peggy, her younger sister Nancy and their mother were manumitted in 1797 by John Frederick Pinney.[274]

At the beginning of 1797 Peggy was very ill. The doctor attended to her and although she and her family lived at Mr Scarborough's, the doctor's fees of over N£6 were charged to the Mountravers plantation account. On 6 and 7 January the doctor gave Peggy eight fever-reducing pills but a month later, on 9

[262] PP, AB 50 Negro Hire a/c; also AB 39
[263] PP, AB 52 Owners of ship *Nevis* a/c, Owners of ship *Rachel* a/c and Negro Hire a/c; also AB 47 f83 Negro Hire a/c
[264] PP, AB 47 Cash a/c
[265] PP, AB 47 Claxton & Huggins and Negro Hire a/c
[266] ECSCRN, CR 1810-1814 f264
[267] PP, AB 41 Merchant in Bristol 1796-1800 a/c
[268] PP, AB 47 Ship *Nevis* a/c, AB 47 Ship *Rachel* a/c and AB 47 f133 Negro Hire a/c
[269] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[270] PP, AB 47 Negro Hire a/c
[271] PP, AB 57 f24 Negro Hire a/c
[272] PP, AB 57 Negro Hire a/c and Pinney's a/c
[273] PP, LB 19: JPP to JF Pinney, Nevis, 12 or 13 February 1805
[274] ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797 f621

February, the doctor had to visit again and she had to have another 12.[275] For the time being the girl recovered.

In May the following year Peggy's father died and some time afterwards Peggy's mother gave birth to another girl, Moll (Mary). But by then Peggy may have been dead already. She died on 11 September 1798. She was four years old.

569 **John Peter** was born on Tuesday, 26 August 1794, to an entailed woman. He was the youngest of Little Molly's (No 227) children. Friday (b 1775), Quashee (b 1776) and Jibba (b 1780) were his elder siblings.

Aged about five weeks, in October 1794 John Peter died of dropsy.

570 **Mary** was a mestize and born on Monday, 29 December 1794. Her mother was Sally Peaden (No 422), a domestic.

Not yet a year old, Mary died before 31 December 1795.

571 **Princess** was born on Tuesday, 6 January 1795. Her mother was Myrtilla (No 293), an Ebbo and a field worker. She died soon after giving birth to Princess. It is possible that JPP's manservant Pero was her father; he visited Nevis in 1794 and she was one of three girls whom JPP reserved unexpectedly. She was in the group of people he retained for his own benefit. He renewed his commitment in 1801 but in February 1808 surrendered her, together with one of Pero's sisters and his nephew, as well as seven others, to be sold with Woodland.[276] It was as if Pero's death ten years earlier had faded from JPP's memory and with it his commitment to his family. However, as far as Princess went, his decision not to keep her may have been more practical. JPP was aware that 'the negro girl Princess' had leprosy. [277] She was then the only person so afflicted – something in which he took some pride.[278]

Princess died between August 1807 and December 1816. She was at least twelve, at the most 21 years old.

572 **Ritta,** a mulatto, was born on Tuesday, 17 February 1795, and the oldest child of the field worker Frankey Vaughan (No 425). Ritta had two younger brothers, Guy (b 1798) and Fido (b 1807/8), and three younger sisters, Patty (b 1801), Juno (b 1803) and Miah (b 1804-1806). From an early age Ritta experienced deaths in her family. When she was six years old, her four-months old sister Patty died from consumption, when she was about 12 or 13, her sister Miah died, and a couple of years later her mother had another child that died young.

Born following the visit of JPP and his son, it is likely that either JPP or, more probable, his son John Frederick, was her father. Ritta was among three girls JPP rather surprisingly reserved in 1795 and subsequent years but then gave up for sale whilst retaining the rest of her family as his own. Originally

[275] PP, AB 53 Archbald and Williamson's a/c
[276] PP, LB 22: JPP to James Tobin, Nevis, 7 September 1807
[277] PP, LB 47: JPP to James Tobin, Nevis, 5 February 1807
[278] PP, LB 20: JPP to JJ Cottle, Bath, 1 February 1807

they had not been reserved. While from March 1808 her family was hired out to Clarke's Estate, Ritta was in December 1816 among seven people who were rented out with Woodland by Peter Thomas to his father Edward Huggins senior.

It is possible that Cinderella, a yellow cast girl born on 22 February 1826, was her daughter; she was baptised as an orphan in December 1832. There were, however, several other women who could equally well have been Cinderella's mother.

When she was around her mid-thirties, Ritta died between 1 January 1831 and 31 December 1833.

573 **Nanny** was black and born on Saturday, 7 February 1795. Her mother was the field labourer Richen's Quasheba (No 511). She had two younger sisters, Sally (b 1800) and Kitty (b 1807/8). It is likely that her father was Pinney's manservant Pero Jones, who visited Nevis in 1794. He died in Bristol in 1798.

Pero being her father would explain why Nanny was the only member of her family originally reserved by JPP. However, in 1808 he gave her up for sale with Woodland estate and retained her mother and sisters for hire to Clarke's. Nanny remained on Woodland[279] and with nine others was rented out by Peter Thomas Huggins to his father Edward. By 1817 she was on Mountravers. Between 1817 and 1822 her mother died on Clarke's Estate where her sister Sally worked as a domestic and her sister Kitty a field hand. She had five children although Nanny would have known only the first, John, who was born around 1824 and baptised in 1829. In March 1830 her sister Sally died and Nanny died seven months later, on 10 October 1830. She was 35 years old.

In 1834 a 15-year-old orphan, John Tongue, was baptised; she may have been her daughter but could equally well have been the child of several other women.

574 **Mussey, later Mussey Pinney,** was 'black of yellow cast' and born on Friday, 3 April 1795. She was Bessy Richens's (No 510) youngest surviving child and had a sister and a brother: Jenny (b 1787) and Joe (b 1792). She was the hundredth person JPP transferred to his son John Frederick.[280]

When Mussey was four years old, her mother died, and it is likely that the woman believed to have been her grandmother, Peggy Richens (No 509), then cared for Mussey and her siblings. Peggy Richens and Joe died between 1807 and 1816.

Mussey had three children. Her first son, James, was born in February 1821; the next was a boy, baptised as Abram (b 1826), and the third a girl, Kitty, or Catherine. Her daughter was born in May 1833. It is not known who James's father was; all that is known about him is that he was dead by the time the boy was baptised. Abram's and Catherine's father was Joe Scarbro, a black field worker born in Nevis and three or four years younger than Mussey. He was on Scarborough's Estate where Mussey was also based in 1834. Their daughter Catherine was the first of her children who underwent baptism, on 13 April 1834, followed a month later by James and Abram. [281] It was not unusual for the youngest child to be

[279] PP, LB 22: JPP to James Tobin, Nevis, 7 September 1807
[280] PP, LB 12: JPP to Peter Batson, Sherborne, 14 September 1795
[281] Mussey's name was mis-transcribed or mis-heard as 'Mofry'. James and Abram were baptised on 11 May 1834 (NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 Numbers 1021, 1023 and 1024).

baptised first – if that child was fathered by a different man – but in this case the pattern was altered and a son and a daughter of the same man were baptised on two separate days.

When her sons' baptisms were being recorded, James was said to have been 'about ten' but actually was 13 years old. Abram was 'about eight'. There were no boys of that, or a similar, name on Mountravers or on Peter Thomas Huggins's other estates. The only explanation is that the parents rejected the plantation name and decided on Abram instead. Ivanhoe, born in January 1826, is the most likely contender. This, and the case of the boy Josey (b 1817), whose name was probably changed to Moses, are the only known instances of parents changing the name of a child at baptism.

Mussey, her sister Jenny, and her children were alive in August 1834.

575 Josiah, later Josiah Parris. A sambo born on Thursday, 16 April 1795, he was the son of Sarah Fisher (No 488), a black Creole domestic and later midwife. His father, almost certainly, was Mr Parris's mulatto house servant, Siah or Josiah Parris. From her previous relationship with a white man his mother had three mulatto children, Tom (b 1781), Patty (b 1783) and Frank (b 1784), whereas Josiah's three other siblings almost certainly also were Siah Parris's children: Domingo (b 1791), Mary (b 1797) and James (b 1799). While James ended up being sold with the plantation people to Huggins by mistake, in March 1808 Josiah, his other brothers and sister and their mother went to work on Clarke's Estate. They were among the people JPP reserved for himself.

Until he was nearly 16 years old, Josiah worked as a 'field negro' and then learnt 'the trade of a cooper'. When appraised at the age of 13, his value had been S£70; two years on, when he was still a field hand, it had risen by S£20 and did not change when he started his training. It is likely that his brother Tom, 'a very good cooper', trained him without recompense; it did not make economic sense for JPP to pay for Josiah's apprenticeship as he received a lump sum for the whole group of his reserved people and, once everybody was appraised, their skills would not affect the amount JH Clarke paid.

While Siah Parris wanted to purchase from JPP Josiah's mother, his sister Mary and, at one stage, also his brother James, there was no discussion about him buying Josiah. As it turned out, they all remained on Clarke's and were briefly hired to Mills's estate. Siah Parris died in June 1812.

In the mid-1820s his mother still worked as a midwife, his elder sister Domingo in the field while his younger sister, Mary, was a seamstress and his brother Frank a house servant. Tom and Josiah were both lame now but while Tom still worked as a cooper, Josiah did not. Possibly quite disabled, he had no particular duties. He was entitled to the usual adult allowance of six pints piled and three herrings.

Within less than decade he lost five family members: In 1829 his nephew died, Joseph Fisher, Frank's son, in 1832 his brother Tom, in 1834 his sister Patty, and the same year Mary's young daughter, his niece Anne. Mary's son Walter died in 1837.

His mother was alive in 1834, as was his sister Domingo and his brother James, who got married in 1833 (he may have died in 1840). His sister married Mary in 1834. She and her husband William Weekes lived in Charlestown in 1841. Domingo at some stage probably also left Clarke's and either moved to Charlestown or to Cotton Ground.

Josiah appears to have been particularly youthful-looking: aged 22, he was said to have been four years younger; aged 32, ten years and when he died, at the age of 62, he was said to have been twelve years younger. Josiah Parris, who had last lived in Charlestown, was buried on 5 December 1857.[282]

576 Joan was black and born on Monday, 5 July 1795, to an entailed woman. She was just seven months old when she was treated with liniment but this did not work: two months later the doctor opened an abscess and gave her six 'alternative boluses'.

Aged three and a half, she was ill again and had six fever-reducing boluses. In total, the treatments came to N£3:14:6.[283] Joan survived and it is very likely that she was baptised on 21 April 1833.[284]

Aged 39, Joan was alive on 1 August 1834.

577 Ando, later Andrew Pinney, was black, born on Monday, 16 November 1795, and a field worker.

When he was in his early thirties, Andrew Pinney was baptised, on 1 June 1828 - the same day as Lucy Pinney (No 637).[285] She was also black, nine years younger than him and the mother of two of his children: their daughter Bridget was born in March 1832 and baptised in 1836,[286] and their daughter Catherine born in 1838 and baptised in August 1842.[287]

He had two more children, both boys, with Sarah Pinney (No 635), another black woman who was also nine years younger. Their son Thomas was born in 1839 and baptised in October 1842 - a couple of months after Catherine's baptism - [288] and their son John Burns was born in December 1846 and baptised in February 1847. In the early 1840s the couple lived in Charlestown but they moved to Wards Estate. There Andrew Pinney worked as a field labourer.[289] Given that all his children were baptised in the Methodist Chapel, it is likely that he was buried in the Methodist cemetery in Charlestown.

578 Nancy Seymour, Nancy Steward, later Ann Scarborough and Margaret Ann Scarborough. Born on Sunday, 17 January 1796, Nancy was Mulatto Polly's (No 378) sixth child. In 1795 she was listed as Nancy Seymour and in 1797, erroneously, as Nancy Steward. The name Nancy Seymour was also that of a servant who travelled to England on behalf of Revd William Jones's widow.[290] She may well have been a friend of Mulatto Polly's.

Nancy had an elder brother and four elder sisters: Christianna Jacques (b 1780), Jenetta Scarborough (b 1785), Paul Scarborough (b 1787), Betsey (b 1790), Peggy (b 1794) and Mary (b 1798). Her oldest sister, Christianna Jacques, was taken by the Pinneys to England in 1790, the year Betsey, Jenetta and Paul

[282] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 1060
[283] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[284] The baptism was of 'Jane' rather than Joan but the parish register was transcribed and contains several mistakes. It is, however, possible, that 'Jane', who was said to have been an adult on Pinney's, may have been a 45-year-old woman from Parris's (NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 938).
[285] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 197
[286] UKNA, T 71/369 f153
[287] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[288] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[289] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[290] PP, LB 16: JPP to Frances Jones, Nevis, 27 November 1800

were sold to their father. This was the neighbouring planter John Latoysonere Scarborough, with whom Nancy's mother and her siblings lived.

Nancy's three siblings were officially manumitted in 1797,[291] and also Nancy, her mother and her sister Peggy.[292] Her youngest sister, Mary, was not born until some time after May 1798. That was when the children's elderly father died, and a few months later Nancy's four-year-old sister Peggy also died. Apparently Nancy at some stage acquired this sister's formal name, Margaret, added her own and then became formally known as Margaret Ann Scarborough.[293] Ann was also the name of one of John Latoysonere Scarborough's white daughters. In the late 1790s she married into one of the well-known planter families in Nevis, the Maynards.[294] Many years later, in 1825, Margaret Ann Scarborough's youngest sister Mary also got married. Her husband was a mariner, William Trimingham. Their wedding was witnessed by their elder brother John Paul and by a man called John W Browne, who may have been John Webbe Browne, an accountant, [295] or, more likely, a free carpenter.[296] Both witnesses signed the register,[297] and when Nancy (as Ann Scarborough) and her sister Mary Trimingham were called upon to act as witnesses, they also signed their names. In May 1824 both women witnessed the marriage of George Murray and Nancy Abbott, and in February 1827 that of the shoemaker William Reap to a woman called Mary Clarke.[298] Having witnessed the marriages of these free people, one or both of the women may also have been asked to become godmothers to the shoemaker's children.[299] The Murrays, however, may have remained childless. In his mid-thirties, George Murray died less than two years after getting married.[300]

Margaret Ann became an aunt to two nieces when Mary Trimingham gave birth to Mary Elizabeth and her sister Betsey to a daughter called Jane Maria. Both girls were baptised in St Paul's church.

In 1825 Margaret Ann Scarborough registered two people for the first time. One, the 19-year-old Charles, she had bought from her mother; the other, the two-year-old Henrietta, from her sister Elizabeth. A black child, Henrietta was the daughter of one of Elizabeth's people, either a woman called Harriett or a young girl, Christiana. (Christiana, too, had originally been owned by their mother, Mulatto Polly.) Having acquired her two individuals, Charles and Henrietta, in 1828 Margaret Ann Scarborough signed her register and recorded 'no change'. However, on 21 April 1829 she had sold Charles his freedom by Deed of Manumission. She had called on a free black man, Henry Mills, to witness the transaction.[301] A writing clerk, he also was a witness when Margaret Ann's sister Elizabeth set Christiana free.[302]

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[291] ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797 f620
[292] ECSCRN, CR 1794-1797 f621
[293] According to Handler and Jacoby, Ann was one of three most common names in seventeenth century and eighteenth century England. In their study of names of enslaved people in Barbados, they found, however, that it did not often occur on its own or as the first part of double names but with 'considerably frequency' as the second in double names. Margaret Ann Scarborough's name falls into this category (Handler, Jerome S and JoAnn Jacoby 'Slave Names and Naming in Barbados' in *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol 53, Issue 4 (October 1996) p703 fn51 and fn52, quoting the *Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names* 3rd ed Oxford 1977).
[294] NHCS, GE/M1 GE/P2 Maynard family file
[295] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1830-1837 f1
[296] ECSCRN, CR 1814-1817 Index letter 'A', at bottom of page
[297] NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842
[298] NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842
Ann Scarborough may possibly have been a black woman called Nancy who was manumitted in 1817 by Judith Scarborough (ECSCRN, CR 1817-1819 Vol 2 f14). However, as this Ann Scarborough was literate, it is more likely that the two sisters witnessed the wedding.
[299] William and Mary Reap had at least four sons: Clement, William Henry, Charles Daniell and John Henry. They were baptised in 1831, 1833 and 1835 (NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835).
[300] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 111
[301] UKNA, T 71/1543 Bundle 7 No 11, and ECSCRN, CR 1829-1830 Vol 1 ff220-23
[302] ECSCRN, CR 1829-1830 Vol 2 ff376-78 and ff275-77

Margaret Ann had sold Charles his freedom for N£100, and this money may well have financed her fare when she travelled to America. She was following her sister Jenetta who in 1833 had gone to New Haven.[303] While both women were abroad, in 1834 their mother completed their slave registers on their behalf. Margaret Ann was still temporarily abroad when it came to claiming compensation and her sister Elizabeth was charged with submitting the claim for her. Although she had given her sister no official power of attorney, the Assistant Commissioners James Maynard and George Webbe accepted that Elizabeth was allowed to transact business on her behalf.[304] Elizabeth signed Margaret Ann's claim for compensation at the end of October 1834 and not long after that she died, some time later in the year or in 1835. Her death followed that of their brother John Paul, who had died in July 1831. Her sister left a young daughter, Jane Maria, for whom their married sister, Mary Trimingham, became the guardian.

In 1836 Margaret Ann Scarborough was paid S£20 compensation for her remaining slave. Henrietta, by then of course an apprentice labourer, was in her early teens.[305] It is not known whether or when Margaret Ann Scarborough returned from America, or what happened to Henrietta.

579 Phoenia (also Phania and Phena) was black and born on Sunday, 3 April 1796. Aged 20, in December 1816 she was listed as a girl, suggesting she had not had children by then. But she may have been the mother of one of the four orphans who were baptised between 1832 and 1834: John Tongue (black, b October 1819), Elizabeth ('black of a yellow cast', b September 1824), Cinderella (yellow cast, b February 1826), or Fanny Penny ('yellow', b May 1827).

Phoenia died on 7 February 1830.

580 Frances, later Frances Neal (also Neale) and Frances Huggins. She was 'yellow cast' and born on Monday, 25 April 1796. In Nevis there was, or had been, a white Frances Neale [306] and this girl was the second Frances (Franky) Neal on Mountravers. The other girl, who was ten years older, was alive.

Frances Neal's father, most likely, was Mulatto Peter (No 357) and her mother may well have been Philley (No 376). Mulatto Peter had other children - Frances's siblings or half-siblings: Joe Neal (b 1788), Mickey (b 1791), Kate Neal (b 1793) and also Little Polly or Polly Neal (b 1784). Franky Neal (b 1786) was almost certainly a half-sister, and Frances may have had another half-sister and a half-brother: Billy Keefe (b 1782) and Hetty Nelson (b 1798).

Mulatto Peter died in January 1800, Frances's brothers Billy Keefe and Mickey between 1807 and 1822, Philley in 1816/7 and Polly Neal in 1824. Joe, the oldest brother, had a child with a woman called Sophia Huggins and died in 1825.

In 1819, Frances Neal gave birth to a daughter called Clarah (also Clare). The girl was baptised as a six-year-old.[307] Following the rather common pattern of a parent being baptised after their child, Frances Neale underwent the ceremony herself some years later, on 7 November 1831.[308] She was baptised in St

[303] UKNA, T 71/1039
[304] UKNA, T 71/1039
[305] HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 pp107-08
[306] The white Frances Neale was the daughter of Edwin and Elizabeth Neale and was born in March 1735 and baptised in January 1743 (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 3 Transcript of St George's Parish Register).
[307] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 138
[308] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873 No 261

Thomas Lowland church but her daughter was baptised in St Paul's church – the child's father may have worshipped in Charlestown, or he lived in the parish. When her daughter's baptism was entered in the parish register, Frances Neale's name was recorded as Frances Huggins but her own baptism in St Thomas Lowland was recorded as Frances Neale.

Her sister (or half-sister) Hetty Nelson was baptised two years later, in the Methodist Chapel. Hetty Nelson and her sister Kate Neal were alive in 1834, as was Frances's daughter Clarah. It is very likely that her daughter married a man with the surname Williams and that she remained on Mountravers until she died.

Frances Neale, too, remained on Mountravers until her death. She was buried on 25 April 1863, the day she would have turned 67.[309] Her age at death was noted correctly and she was buried as Frances Neale.

581 Henry Williams was a mulatto and born on Sunday, 8 May 1796, to a purchased woman. He was the middle child of Jenetta (No 485) and the manager James Williams. His brother was Lewis Williams (b 1791) and his sister Nancy Williams (b 1798). His name was that of his uncle's; he managed the plantation after the children's father died in 1803. Henry was then just seven years old.

Their father and then their uncle had tried to free the children but without success. At one point JPP was going to sell them to someone else, to punish their mother for some wrong-doing. Despite this, Henry's sister, Nancy, was among JPP's reserved people but became the subject of a prolonged argument between JPP and Peter Thomas Huggins; JPP wanted to exchange her for Sarah Fisher's son James, who was inserted by mistake into a list of people that were included in the sale of the plantation to Huggins. The deal did not go through and Nancy was rented to Clarke's, from where she was sold in 1821. Her new owner manumitted her immediately.

Henry Williams became a mason.[310] This was a well-respected job which placed him among the plantation elite but two years after his sister was sold into freedom, on 2 September 1823 he sought his own freedom and absconded. He was 27 years old. As a skilled man he could earn a living anywhere - as long as no one discovered that he had escaped from Nevis.

582 Diana, later Diana Pinney and probably Diana Williams. She was black and born on Thursday, 1 September 1796. Her mother was Friday (No 414), her grandmother an entailed woman, Molly (No 227). She had an aunt and uncles: Jibba (No 447) and Queshee (No 424) and possibly also Acree (No 335). Her brother may, possibly, have been John Pedero (No 612), born when she was five or six years old.

Diana had three children with Frank Colhoun, most likely a man from Parris's Estate who was 17 years her senior and a carpenter. Their first child, Priscilla, was born in March 1818, followed by Angelica in May 1820 and Rasburn or Roswell in January 1826. Diana Pinney's children were baptised in the Methodist Chapel on 19 April 1829.[311] They were then eleven, eight and three years old.[312] Six months

[309] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 840
[310] ECSCRN, CR 1814-1817 ff761-74
[311] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 Numbers 582, 583 and 584
[312] Frank, a black man, was 38 in 1817 and on Parris's. He was alive in 1834. There was no Frank on Scarborough's, Clarke's (only Frank Fisher) or Mountravers, and both parents were living at Pinney's.

after this ceremony her mother died, aged 54. Two years earlier Diana had already lost her grandmother, an entailed woman.

Diana probably got married, also in the Methodist Chapel, to Samuel Williams, a labourer. Samuel and Diana Williams' daughter Mary was born on 4 October 1841 and baptised on 27 January 1842. The family lived on Pinney's Estate.[313] It is likely that Diana named her daughter after her maternal grandmother, Molly.

583 George, later George Smith, described as a mulatto, was born on Wednesday, 26 October 1796, to a purchased woman. His mother was Nanny Nolan (No 400), also called Mulatto Nanny.

George Smith had a younger sister, Christianna (b 1800), with whom he and his mother, a domestic, were originally reserved but JPP gave them up for sale and rented them to Edward Huggins. His sister died when she was about seven or eight years old.

On 19 May 1831, aged 34, George Smith got married. One of the witnesses at the wedding, James Herbert, was a free mixed-race carpenter from Newtown in Lowland and, being mixed-race himself, it is quite likely that George, too, had become a carpenter.

George's wife was Kitsey Greathead (No 651) from Mountravers.[314] She was 'black of a yellow cast' and about twelve years younger than him. She already had two boys, Henry Williams and John Greathead. Her first son, most likely, was Lewis Williams's (No 557) but her third son, Eneas Smith, certainly was his child. The boy was born in June 1830 and two months later Kitsey's three sons were baptised together.[315] The couple had one more son, Edwin George. He was born in March and baptised in September 1833. Six months later George Smith died. Having been married in the church in St Thomas Lowland, he was buried on 10 March 1834 in Charlestown. He was 37 years old but his age was given as 38 years.[316]

584 Johnny was born on Tuesday, 20 December 1796. He died between January 1802 and 31 December 1806. He was at least five, at the most ten years old.

585 and 586 Mary, later Mary Webbe, Mary Parris and Mary Weekes, and her daughter **Mille (also Milley and Amelia Clarke; married name Scarborough).** A 'mestize', Mary was born on Friday, 10 February 1797, and the sixth surviving child of the domestic, later midwife, Sarah Fisher (No 488). Her father, a mulatto called Siah Parris, was a domestic servant and worked for the planter Mr Parris. Mary had six brothers and sisters: the mulattos Tom (b 1781), Patty (b 1783) and Frank (b 1784) and the sambos or mestees Domingo (b 1791), Josiah (b 1795) and James (b 1799).

Having been inoculated two weeks after she was born, a couple of months later Mary was ill. Judging by the length of the time the doctor attended to her – almost three weeks – and the cost (N£3 for two alternative boluses, 'materials for a quart of lotion' and a 'decoction'),[317] she was very sick but survived and was in 1801, together with her mother and siblings, among the group JPP reserved for himself.

[313] NHCS, Transcript of Methodist Baptisms 1835-1873
[314] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
[315] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873 Numbers 214, 213 and 212
[316] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 560
[317] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c

Probably around the time Mountravers was sold, Siah Parris hired Mary and her mother. Her father wanted to buy them but the sale did not go ahead. He appears to have owed the hire charges and then, in June 1812, Siah Parris died. Mary and her mother were rented to Clarke's Estate, and by the time she was in her mid-teens, she had been trained as a seamstress. It is possible that Black Polly, the mother-in-law of her elder sister Patty, schooled her.

Mary already was aunt to about a dozen nephews and nieces when, in 1815 or 1816, her first child was born, Mille. It is likely that her mother, Sarah Fisher, who was a midwife, assisted the birth. Mary's new surname, Webbe, was possibly that of Mille's father, who may have been on Mills's estate where Mary and her mother had been employed for ten months until June 1814. They, and the other reserved people, then returned to Clarke's Estate and in 1818 or 1819 Mary gave birth to a boy, Walter,[318] and in about 1824 to a girl, Anne.[319] Her daughter was baptised in St Paul's church on 16 December 1825, the same day as Frances Neal's daughter.[320] Perhaps the women were friends.

While her son was consistently registered as a 'mulatto' and her daughter Anne as black, her oldest child, Mille, was first listed as a mulatto, then as black.[321] Although she herself was the child of a black and a mulatto parent and as an infant had been identified as a 'mestize', Mary must have been very dark-skinned; on the Clarke's lists she was recorded as 'black'. Herself reserved by JPP, some time before the mid-1820s Mille, her eldest daughter, became a Pinney-owned slave. This child replaced one of the original group hired by JPP to Clarke's Estate who had died. Her other children, Walter and Anne, meanwhile, were owned by the Clarke's Estate.

Mary was a domestic and Mille, aged around eleven, was 'learning to work'. Mother and daughter received the usual adult allowances of six pints piled and three herrings, while the infants Walter and Anne got three pints piled each and no herrings. Of her family, only her elder sister Domingo was a field hand; most of the others worked in the house: her brother Frank and her sister-in-law Hetty, her nephew John Fisher and her niece Fanny Jones. Other family members had been trained as coopers: her nephews Edward Fisher and William Jones and her brothers Josiah and Tom Fisher. The Fishers were her half-brothers and sisters; her full brother James Parris, meanwhile, worked on Mountravers for Peter Thomas Huggins.

In May 1829 her nephew Joseph Fisher, Frank's and Hetty's young son, died, followed by Mary's eldest brother, Tom, in May 1832. He was fifty years old. Within three months another nephew died, Frederick, her sister Patty's son with Billey Jones, but nine days after he was buried, on 8 September 1832 another Frederick was born - [322] Mille's 'illegitimate' mulatto son, Mary's grandson. Again, Mary's mother, Sarah Fisher, the midwife, may have attended this birth. It is possible that Frederick was Mille's second child; at the very early age of eleven she may have had a child that did not survive. The boy Frederick, Mary's first grandchild, was baptised on 27 November 1833.[323] Having that year also buried another nephew, Patty and Billey Jones's son Charles, in the following year, 1834, her oldest sister Patty died, too, and also Mary's younger daughter, Anne. The girl had probably never developed well; she was said to have been eight years old when she was buried on 16 February 1834. In fact she was about a year or two older.[324]

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[318] Walter was listed as aged 3 in 1822 and aged 7 in 1828 (UKNA, T 71/364 and 367).
[319] Two Annes were listed in 1825, aged 1 and 2 years. The other infant Anne was Fanny Jones' child who was baptised 22 January 1824. – In 1828 one black Anne was listed, aged 3, and one Nancy, also black, aged 6. No Nancy had been born 1822 or 1825; the older Anne was, therefore, in 1828 called Nancy and probably was Fanny Jones's Anne/Nancy; Mary Webbe's daughter was aged 'eight' when she died.
[320] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 128
[321] In July 1817 Milley was listed as a 1-year-old mulatto; in 1828 as a 12-year-old Black (UKNA, T 71/364 and 367).
[322] UKNA, T 71/369
[323] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873 No 398
[324] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 555

Mary's daughter Anne, buried as 'Ann Weekes', no doubt was the daughter of William Weekes, whom Mary married later in the year, on 7 August 1834 – within days of slavery having been abolished.

A carpenter, William Weekes was an apprentice labourer owned by the Misses Bertrand. Mary's husband was about her own age and originally had belonged to the last of The Ladies at the Cedar Trees, Jane Weekes. When this woman died in 1812, she had in her possession five people: a 45-year-old carpenter called Dick, a 24-year-old woman called Mary Nugent, a woman of about forty called Kitty and her three sons Billey, Monesses and Almond. The boys were aged about 16, 14 and 12 years.[325] Two of Jane Weekes's people, the carpenter Dick and Mary Nugent, went to Mrs Pinney's great-nephews, the Weekes brothers William Burt and Thomas Pym, but with the heirs being indebted to JPP, he acquired Kitty and her sons. They were to be sold. However, acting very much in the spirit of The Ladies of the Cedar Trees, JPP wrote to Jane Weekes's executors to 'Please permit Kitty to choose her own master for herself and children, if the person she fixes on is one you approve and will give as much as anyone else for them.'[326] It is not known whom Kitty, Monesses and Almond chose but Kitty's son Billey chose as his new owner a free mixed-race man, John Frederick Bertrand. He, too, had been slave-born but was freed by Jane Weekes in the early 1780s.[327] John Frederick Bertrand had become a Customs Clerk and lived at the Cedar Trees. JPP spoke well of John Frederick Bertrand's relationship with Jane Weekes - 'that young man I understand behaved very kind to his Mistress to the last and deserves great praise' - [328] and for his services Bertrand inherited from his former mistress several valuable items: a table and bed linen, a pair of glass shades and a small mahogany table.[329] In 1817 John Frederick Bertrand registered Kitty's son Billey, who, by then, had matured into a young man aged 22. In 1834, when he married Mary, Billey (William) Weekes was in his late thirties[330] and Mary 37.

The witnesses at Mary Parris's and William Weekes's wedding were James Herbert and John Thompson. Both were free mixed-race men and fellow carpenters of the groom. James Herbert, freed in the 1790s,[331] was well-established: he lived in Newtown in Lowland Parish, was married[332] and as a Parish Clerk had been one of the five free mixed-race members of the congregation who had been administered the 'first Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood' at St Thomas church, together with nine whites and eight enslaved people.[333] James Herbert owned thirteen people, for whom he later received over S£200 compensation. The other witness, John Thompson, on the other hand, was not prospering yet. Manumitted only a decade earlier [334] and during a particularly difficult time in Nevis, he had owned two individuals but had freed them.[335] Recently he had been in receipt of a pauper's allowance paid by the Legislature.[336] His fortunes improved and by the late 1830s he rented a property in Charlestown where he

[325] PP, LB 23: JPP to Samuel Pemberton and Francis John Galpine, 19 October 1812
[326] PP, LB 23: JPP to Samuel Pemberton and Francis John Galpine, 19 October 1812
[327] ECSCRN, CR 1778-1783 f631
[328] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 16 October 1812
[329] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1805-1818 f233
[330] NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842
At least three more William Weekes lived then in St Paul's. One, a woman belonging to Ritta Clarke's, married the free black woman Frances Sampson in April 1829; another married Sally Washington in March 1832 (St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842). For this wedding no owner's consent was given. The groom may have been the negroman William manumitted by Jane Weekes in February 1803 (ECSCRN, CR 1801-1803 ff518-20). In 1833 the son of the free fisherman William Weekes from Charlestown and his wife Sarah, a boy called Charles, was baptised (Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 951). In 1833 another William Weekes married a woman who belonged to Miss Joan Arthurton.
[331] ECSCRN, CR 1803-1805 f5
There may have been a Weekes family connection: in October 1790 James Herbert, together with his mother, Sally Brookes, and eight others, had been held in trust by Dr Thomas Pym Weekes. His mother and sister had been sold by Dr Weekes to James Scarborough who subsequently freed them, as well as James Herbert.
[332] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 57
[333] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873 Notes at the back of the volume
[334] UKNA, T 71/1543 Bundle 7
[335] ECSCRN, CR 1831-1835 ff129-30 and ff303-04
[336] UKNA, CO 186/14: 2 July 1832

may well have had a workshop.[337] In 1841 John Thompson was contracted to do work in the Court House, erecting a dock for prisoners and the witness box. Not long before the wedding James Herbert had also worked on this building but had attracted criticism for being slow in completing his repairs on the doors and windows.[338] In later life Thompson was elected to the Vestry in St Thomas Lowland.[339]

When Mary and William Weekes's daughter Anne was buried, Mary was said to have been resident in Charlestown, and it is likely that Charles Pinney, when he visited Nevis, allowed her to remain living there. Mary's other children, Mille and Walter, however, stayed on Clarke's. Walter died young. Buried as Walter Clarke on 10 March 1837, he was said to have been sixteen years old when he was at least a couple of years older. He, too, must also have been of small stature.[340] His death appears to have spurred the couple into having their latest child baptised quickly and, two days after Walter's funeral in St Paul's church, their five months old daughter, also called Ann, was – surprisingly - baptised in the Methodist Chapel.[341] The couple also chose to have their next child baptised in the Methodist Chapel: Richard, born in March 1840, was baptised on 11 April 1841.[342] It is very likely that he was named after Dick, Jane Weekes's carpenter, who had been at the Cedar Trees when William Weekes was a child (was Dick perhaps William's father?). Dick had absconded but almost certainly returned when it was safe to do so. He died a month[343] after Mary and William Weekes's son Richard was baptised.

Mille, Mary's daughter, celebrated Emancipation by getting married shortly afterwards – just as her mother had got married within days of slavery being abolished. In her early twenties, Mille was then still living on Clarke's Estate, as Amelia Clarke. She married William Scarborough on 4 August 1838. Their witnesses at the wedding were Thomas Newton and William Browne.[344]

Amelia and William Scarborough's first son was named Edward, like Mille's cousin. The child was baptised on 14 October 1841. By then the couple had moved from Clarke's Estate to Parris's. There Mille's husband worked as a labourer.[345] The couple may, possibly, have had another son, John Joseph (b 1 October 1847), who was baptised on 21 November 1847.[346] However, as there was at least one other William Scarborough in Lowland parish,[347] and as the name of that boy's mother was not recorded in the parish register, this cannot be established for certain.

It is not known when Mille and her husband William died, or her mother, Mary Weekes.

Mary Weekes's brother James may have died in 1840 and her brother Josiah in 1857. Her husband, then still living in St Paul's parish, may have been buried on 17 January 1864. Said to have been 75 years old,

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[337] ECSCRN, CR 1838-1847 f90
[338] UKNA, CO 186/16: 29 April 1841 and 29 July 1841 and CO 186/13: 10 September 1829 and CO 186/14: 25 August 1832
[339] UKNA, CO 187/33, CO 187/34, CO 187/35, and CO 187/40 Blue Books Nevis
[340] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 800
[341] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873
[342] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 No 14
[343] Aged seventy, Richard Weekes from Charlestown was buried on 28 May 1841 (NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1954 No 232). This man's age is consistent with that of Dick, the carpenter.
[344] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
Mille's husband may have been a 20-year-old sambo who, during slavery days, had once belonged to Elizabeth Scarborough, the daughter of a freed Mountravers slave. Elizabeth Scarborough had sold William, who was then called William Westerman, to Horner Jennings, a 'turnkey and cage keeper (UKNA, T 71/365 f184 and CO 186/9: 30 April 1811).
[345] NHCS, Transcripts of Baptisms St Thomas Lowland 1831-1873 No 644
[346] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873
[347] Three men (or one man?) called William Scarborough had children with three different wives: with Sarah a daughter called Rachel (baptised in March 1839 in St Paul's church), with Martha a son called George (b December 1845, baptised in March 1846 in the Methodist chapel), and with Sophia a son called Joshua (b October 1846, baptised in March 1847 also in the Methodist chapel). His residence having been noted as Lowland, in 1847 it was recorded as Clarke's Estate (NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1835-1873 No 171 and Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Numbers 314 and 380).

that man's age appears estimated; William Weekes was actually in his late sixties.[348] Mary and William Weekes's son Richard may have become a police constable.[349]

587 Betsey, later Betsey Arthurton, was 'yellow cast', born on Thursday, 15 June 1797, and Barbai's (No 344) fourth child. Betsey had two elder sisters, Flora (b 1787) and Kate (b 1794), and an older and a younger brother, London (b 1785) and Adam (b 1806).

When she was not yet twenty years old, she had already lost two members of her family: her mother and her sister Flora. Her brother London died in 1823. Betsey survived her brother for a few years and died on 1 July 1829, aged 32.

588 Cuba's Peggy was born on Sunday, 29 August 1797. She was the oldest child of the field hand Cuba (No 248). By the time Peggy's brother Felix was born in April 1801, she may have died already. Peggy certainly was dead by the end of December 1801. At the most she was just over four years old.

589 Martin was born on Saturday, 16 December 1797. His mother was Mary Path (No 412).

When he was six months old, Martin had medical treatment. On 19 June 1798 he was given eight laxative powders and ten days later 12 corroborant, or strengthening, powders. The treatment was expensive – it came to N£5:16:0 -[350] but it did not save him. Martin died some time before the end of December 1801. He was less than four years old.

590 Sally's Betsey, then Betsey, later Betsey Saunders. She was 'of a yellow cast' and born on Thursday, 8 February 1798.[351] Her mother was the domestic Sally Peadon (No 422) who probably had three, possibly four, surviving children: George Scarborough (b 1792), Mary Scarborough (b 1803), Alfred (b 1806) and William Peaden (b 1810). Given her surname, Betsey may have been the daughter of Frank Saunders (No 482), a sambo. As a child, he, his mother and sister had been transferred from Woodland to Mountravers, together with several other people. He became a carpenter and later worked on Clarke's Estate where he died between 1817 and 1822.

On her mother's side, Betsey was descended from an entailed woman. Her grandmother was a black woman, the domestic Bridget (No 225). She had had two children with JPP's white servant, Tom Peaden. Betsey's grandfather had died in the 1770s but her grandmother was alive, as was Betsey's uncle, James Peaden (No 388). He, too, was a carpenter by trade. James Peaden had two sons, the twins Charles and James, who were born when Betsey was not yet two years old. However, just after the boys were born, her uncle escaped from the island.

[348] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 1292
One of the other William Weekes was buried as William Quashey Weekes on 1 November 1852. He was from Figtree; his age was not known.
[349] UKNA, CO 187/33 Blue Book Nevis 1859
[350] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[351] In 1817 the date of birth for Sally's Betsey was erroneously recorded as 5 February 1798 (UKNA, T 71/364).

Betsey's mother, Mary and Alfred died between 1807 and December 1816. Like their father before them, her cousins, the twins, absconded from Nevis and were gone by the time by the time their grandmother died in 1825.

Aged 18, Betsey was already listed as a woman whereas Betsey Arthurton, who was a little older, was not. It is likely that she had a child by then and in February 1826 she may, possibly, have had another, Cinderella. However, several other women could have been the mother of this girl.

Betsey Saunders died on 20 December 1826. She was 28 years old.

591 Azariah, Azariah Pinney, also Azariah Parris. He was black and born on Wednesday, 30 May 1798. It is most likely that his mother was Peter's Flora (No 231) and his siblings, therefore, were Quakey (b 1777), Flora's Peter (b 1784), John Frederick (b 1787), Phibba (b 1793) and Charles (b 1801). Their mother died in 1803 when Azariah was just five years old, and the youngest, Charles, died around that time, too.

Azariah Pinney was named as the father of the second of Jibba or Juba Pinney's three sons, Joseph. The boy was born in November 1824 and baptised on 13 July 1834.[352] Juba had two other children: one was baptised when Joseph was three years old, the other three weeks after Joseph. The fact that her sons did not undergo the ceremony with either of their brothers suggests the children had three different fathers. There appears to have been a pattern of children who were born consecutively being baptised out of date order, suggesting that the fathers decided, or, at least, had a say in, when and also where, a child was baptised. Juba's first and third sons were baptised in the Anglican church at St Thomas Lowland; Azariah's son Joseph in the Methodist Chapel.

Just after slavery was abolished, on 3 August 1834 - the same day Juba's third son, Tommey, was baptised – a child called James Parris also underwent baptism. Probably born on 20 April 1833, he was Nelly Penny's son. [353] Nelly, a black woman five years older than Azariah, lived on Parris's, and three weeks after James's baptism, on 23 August 1834, Azariah Pinney married her in the church at St Thomas Lowland.[354] Their next child, Thomas Benton, was baptised on 7 December 1836 in Charlestown, in St Paul's church. When the baptism was recorded in the parish register, his wife's pet name Nelly was semi-formalised into Ellen and their surname changed from Pinney to Parris. They were both domestics at Mountravers Estate and, most likely, worked in Peter Thomas Huggins's household.[355]

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[352] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 1037

[353] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873 No 434
There were also two older boys called James on Parris's. One, a sambo, was in 1831 aged two; the other, a black boy, aged two and a half (UKNA, T 71/368).

[354] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
Given that Nelly had what appears to have been her first child, James, when she was about 40 years old and then another eight, on the 1817 Parris's Estate list Nelly's age of 24 must have been over-estimated by several years - unless some of the children were twins. Also listed on Parris's was a three-year-old Elenor but she died before 1825.

In August 1840 Azariah Pinney was called upon to witness the wedding of two people connected with Peter Thomas Huggins's estates: Scipio Tyrrell and ?Sarah Parris (NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965 No 221).

[355] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1835-1873 No 41
It is possible that Thomas Benton Parris, as Thomas B Paris (sic), in 1902 joined Nevis inhabitants in signing a petition to the King, seeking his assistance in alleviating the dire economic situation (UKNA, CO 152/276 No 16086 Memorial to the King by James Clarke Taylor, Pollards Village, and over 570 others, 8 April 1902).

During the next twenty years, the couple had another seven children: Charles, William, Joseph, Eliza, Sarah, Georgina and Emma. When naming one of their boys Charles, the couple may have remembered Azariah's dead brother.

By the mid-1850s their eldest sons, James and Thomas, were working as boatmen. Azariah Pinney and his wife, who was now formally called Eleanor, were still working as domestics. They achieved what many people would have dreamt of: they acquired land of their own. They had an acre and a half at Nugents in St Thomas Lowland. Their property bordered Peter Thomas Huggins's to the west; to the east their neighbours were Titus Scarborough, George Scarborough and Edward Iles, and Edward Iles's land also bordered to the south, as did Robert Morgan's and John Woodley's. To the north lay the properties of William Walters, John Tyson and Peter Nolan.

The fact that the Pinneys had so many neighbours indicates that each of these people had a small plot of land and that it was of irregular shape. Some of their neighbours had links with Mountravers or other estates which belonged to Peter Thomas Huggins; Edward Iles, for instance, had married a woman called Martha who was either born on Mountravers (No 666) or on Parris's Estate.

Azariah and Eleanor Pinney assigned their property to their sons James and Thomas. As senior sons they were to look after it on behalf of the other children, then still minors. The couple signed by pressing their thumb marks onto the document. Samuel Iles and one of their neighbours, Edward Iles, witnessed the transaction, which was entered in Court on 26 August 1856.[356]

Around that time Peter Thomas Huggins's health was failing and, unable to work anymore, he had begun renting Clarke's Estate to his son Charles.[357] A few months later Peter Thomas Huggins died and possibly after his death Azariah Pinney went to live on Clarke's Estate to work for Charles Huggins. Then in his late fifties, he could still have carried out his old job as a domestic servant, but just a few weeks short of his sixtieth birthday Azariah Pinney died. He was buried on 6 May 1858 in the cemetery at St Thomas Lowland.[358]

592 Guy, later Guy Clarke and Guy Pinney/Pinny. He was black and born on Tuesday, 5 June 1798,[359] the second child of the field labourer Frankey Vaughan (No 425). He had an elder mulatto sister, Ritta (b 1795) and three younger sisters - Patty (b 1801), Juno (b 1803), and Miah (b 1804/6) - and a younger brother, Fido (b 1807/8). When Guy was three years old, his sister Patty died of consumption and his sister Miah died around the time Fido was born. A few years later his mother had another child that died in infancy.

When his sister Ritta was among the group kept back by JPP neither Guy nor his mother were reserved by him but Ritta was later given up for sale and Guy, with his mother, sister Juno and brother Fido, were rented to John Henry Clarke. Aged nearly ten, in April 1808 Guy was described as a 'field negro' and appraised at £50. Two years later this rose to £60, by February 1811 to £65. His brother's value had also risen by £5 in that period, while sister Juno's remained at £40.

[356] ECSCRN, CR 1847-1858 ff506-07
[357] PP, Dom Box E4: PT Huggins to Charles Pinney, 28 September 1856
[358] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 689
[359] In 1817 Guy's reputed age was 13 but this may have been mis-read by the registrar for 18. In 1828 his reputed age was under-estimated by one year.

For just over nine months Guy and his family worked on the estate of JPP's attorney, Mr John Colhoun Mills, but in September 1814 they returned to Clarke's Estate. His brother Fido died between 1822 and 1825. Guy continued working alongside his mother and sister Juno in the Number 1 field gang. In addition, Guy was also employed as a boiler. He and two other men, Monday and Edward, worked under the guidance of the '1st boiler & watchman' Billy or William Steward. The first boiler's position entitled Billy Steward to bigger rations - eight pints and four herrings - while the other boilers were only entitled to the usual adult allowance of six pints piled and three herrings. They also got only four yards of bamboo and brown cloth each, while the first boiler received 12 yards of brown, together with a hat, a great coat and a shirt. Between them, these boilers made not only good but, according to William Laurence, 'the best sugars in the island'.[360]

In 1828 Guy became a father when his son Joseph was born. The boy's mother was a 21-year-old black woman, Matilda Wansey, who lived on Belmont Estate.[361] On the day the apprenticeship system was introduced Joseph, by then six and a half year-old, was baptised. Guy then lived with his family on the estate on which his wife had grown up. He was still employed as a boiler.[362]

Just a couple of months later, on 19 October 1834, another, unnamed child of Guy's was baptised, also in the Methodist Chapel. While on the first occasion Guy's surname was recorded as Clarke, on the second it was registered as Pinney. That child's mother was Bella Clarke[363] (also Sibella), a black woman about three years his senior who also worked in the Number 1 gang. She had five children from four different fathers, and three of these children were baptised on the same day as Guy's unnamed child.[364] Having had his two sons baptised, Guy followed this up with his own baptism two months later, on 25 December 1834 – the first Christmas after abolition. On the same day another child of Bella Clarke's with another man was baptised, the seven-year-old Simon.

Between 1831 and December 1833 Guy's sister Ritta died while around that time his only remaining sister, Juno, got married. Guy's sister Juno remained living on Clarke's and her husband moved to the estate from Charlestown. Guy was uncle to their three children Frances, Daniel and George Powell.

Guy Pinny died not long after his 49th birthday. Described as aged 47, he was buried on 10 July 1847.[365]

593 **Miah** was born on Wednesday, 31 October 1798. It is most likely that her mother was Yanneky (No 436). She may possibly have been named after the 28-year-old woman of the same name who had died the year before.

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[360] PP, Dom Box C2-8: Wm Laurence, Nevis, to Charles Pinney/RE Case, 18 March 1822, enclosed in a letter from RE Case to Charles Pinney

[361] UKNA, T 71/364 and T 71/366
Matilda Wansey had grown up on Wansey's/Mount Ida which was either a part of Belmont, or an alternative name for the whole estate. Iles on his 1871 map showed Belmont and Wansey's as two separate properties.

[362] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835

[363] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 Unnumbered

[364] In 1817, Bella was 22 years old; in 1828 she was said to have been aged forty. The earlier estimated age probably is more credible; presumably she aged a lot during the famine years and from having had at least five children.

By 1826 she had two children, Nancy and Simon. They were baptised on 19 October 1834, together with Guy's unnamed child. She also had two unnamed children and a ten-months-old boy, Felto, the son of Charles Felto. The other two fathers were Frank Brown and an unnamed man who had died. Frank Brown was also the father of Bella Clarke's son Simon who was baptised on the same day as Guy (NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 Unnumbered).

[365] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 422

Miah had two younger brothers, Dinny (b 1801), and Billy (b 1806), but when Miah was already in her twenties, her mother had two more children, Nancy Jackson (b 1820) and Eliza (b 1824). In 1829 the girls' father, Peter Cooper, died and also her brother Billy. Four years later her brother Dinny got married and Miah became an aunt to his daughter Fitzlarenee. Her niece and also her mother were baptised in 1834.

Given that after emancipation freed people tended to remain in the area they had lived previously and that her name was not very common, it is possible that on 8 April 1858 she was buried as Miah ?Bercon in St Paul's. She had last lived in Lowland. Her age was not stated;[366] Miah would have been 59 years old.

594 Nancy Williams, later Ann Williams. A mulatto, she was born on Friday, 7 December 1798. Named after her maternal grandmother, she was the third child of Jenetta (No 485) and the manager James Williams. She had two elder brothers: Henry Williams (b 1796) and Lewis Williams (b 1791). The children's father died when Nancy was four years old.

At first JPP intended to free Nancy and her brothers, but then he decided to sell them, to punish their mother for some transgression that JPP considered 'atrocious conduct'. However, the children were not sold away from the plantation, as intended, but were sold with the plantation to Edward Huggins. For some unexplained reason Nancy then came to be among those reserved people who were rented to Clarke's. JPP tried to swap her for a mixed-race boy of the same age as Nancy, Sarah Fisher's son James. By mistake James had been sold to Huggins, and JPP told his son's attorney John Colhoun Mills that he did not want a dispute with Huggins; he just wanted to give him Nancy 'in lieu of James'. This would be to everyone's advantage because he had Nancy's mother and Huggins had James's, and JPP hoped that 'on reflection', Huggins would 'see the propriety of making that exchange.'[367] Huggins did not see the propriety of such an exchange – after all, it was JPP's manager who had made the mistake and included James on the list of people that went with the plantation, and Nancy was worth less than James. A contract was a contract. But JPP did not see it that way and reminded Mills again: 'Mr Huggins is to have Jennetta's daughter Nancy in the room of James ...'[368] The issue was not settled and then became enmeshed in a disagreement between JPP and Edward Huggins over another person, Phibba, and a separate consignment of people that JPP sold to Edward Huggins ('which was 64 and you received 67').[369]

While JPP was negotiating about her exchange, Nancy may already have been in poor health: when appraised in 1815, she was valued at only £45. This was due to her 'having the rose'.[370] Perhaps the stress of her uncertain future caused Nancy to become ill and suffer from this painful, nervous condition. John Henry Clarke, to whom the reserved group had been rented, meanwhile, appears to have given up Nancy [371] and she was then employed to wait on one of Peter Thomas Huggins's sisters - either Mrs Frances Cottle at Round Hill, or Miss Ann Prentis Huggins. At the same time James was waiting on Edward Huggins's son Peter Thomas at Mountravers.[372] Having earlier stressed the importance of keeping the children with their mothers and still insisting that James was his property, by 1813 JPP was prepared to let James remain at Mountravers - as long as Peter Thomas Huggins paid 'a moderate rent

[366] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 1073
[367] PP, LB 23: JPP to John Colhoun Mills, 28 April 1810
[368] PP, LB 22: JPP to John Colhoun Mills, 18 February 1811
[369] PP, LB 23: JPP to Edward Huggins, 10 March 1813
[370] PP, G Ledger 1813: 20 June 1815
[371] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 8 March 1813
[372] PP, LB 24: JPP to Edward Huggins, 21 October 1813; also LB 24: JPP to PT Huggins, 20 October 1813

for him'.[373] While hoping that the dispute between Peter Thomas Huggins and himself 'could be done away with', [374] JPP quietly tried to negotiate hiring Nancy to Huggins ('this between ourselves') but in the end settled on her being hired to Clarke's.[375] From February 1815 Nancy was finally officially rented to Clarke's.[376] James remained on Mountravers.

JPP's son Charles visited Nevis between late 1819 and early 1821, and during that visit he sold Nancy Williams. JPP had died but before his death had made over his reserved people to Charles.[377] This son was also one of the partners in the company trading as Pinney and Ames that had lent money to John Henry Clarke and his wife Mary Hannah. There was not much Charles could do about freeing the rest of Nancy's family – they were now owned by Peter Thomas Huggins – but Charles Pinney could at least take the first step toward freeing her. He may have shied away from freeing her directly because under a law passed in 1814 he would have had to pledge that Nancy was able to support herself financially without becoming a burden on the public purse, or, if she was unable to work, to secure an income for her. It is likely that this last requirement prompted Charles Pinney not to free her himself but to pass Nancy on to someone who would free her. In 1821 he sold Nancy Williams for a token N10s to the free black woman Sophia Bailey (also Bayley).[378] If the family felt shame over JPP's shabby handling of the Williams brothers' efforts to free Nancy and her brothers, Charles had assuaged their shame. However, letting Nancy go was not a loss because passing her on to a new owner meant that he acquired another person to replace her. This was a 17-year-old boy called Cicero. He had belonged to Nancy Williams's new owner, Sophia Bailey.

Cicero's story goes back to 1806. According to the records, Sophia Bailey had in 1806 bought Cicero with his brother Billy and his mother, a 37-year-old African woman called Flora, for the sum of N£200. They had been the property of the former Mountravers managers, the Williams brothers, and after they both died, Sophia Bailey had bought these three.[379] Cicero's brother Billy had probably died in the meantime but his mother had had another child, a girl called Belle. On the same day that Sophia Bailey bought Nancy from Charles Pinney - 30 March 1821 - the purchase in 1806 of Cicero, his mother and his brother was recorded in the island's Secretary's Office. Frank P Brown and George Bucke, as executors of Henry Williams's will (who, in turn, had executed his brother James's will) recorded that Cicero, his brother and his mother had on 15 March 1806 been sold to Sophia Bailey. It is questionable whether Sophia Bailey actually ever paid the N£200 that was the recorded sale price for Cicero, Flora, and Billy, and it is also questionable whether anyone would have remembered the exact date of sale.[380] After all, 15 years had passed. The reason for this transaction being logged at that point in 1821 was that, while Sophia Bailey acquired Nancy Williams, she sold Cicero to Charles Pinney,[381] and Pinney would not have wanted to acquire anyone without good title.

Nancy Williams, then aged 22, was finally freed on 31 March 1821. A day after Sophia Bailey purchased her, she was manumitted with 'a certificate of capacity', which confirmed that she was able to earn her

[373] PP, LB 24: JPP to Edward Huggins, 21 October 1813
[374] PP, LB 24: JPP to PT Huggins, 3 June 1814
[375] PP, LB 24: JPP to JC Mills, 18 July 1814, JPP to Sam Laurence, 8 March 1814 and JPP to PT Huggins, 13 October 1814
[376] PP, LB 24: JPP to JH Clarke, 13 February 1815
[377] PP, Dom Box P: Instructions from JPP to James Parsons, dated August 1815
[378] ECSCRN, CR 1819-1823 ff209-10
[379] ECSCRN, CR 1819-1823 ff194-95
[380] ECSCRN, CR 1819-1823 ff194-95
At a time when dates of births and deaths were often only vaguely recalled, it seems improbably that the precise purchase date, 15 March 1806, would have been remembered by anyone involved. Another anomaly is that JPP thought that Messrs Huggins and Laurence were Henry Williams's executors, and not George Bucke and Frank P Browne (PP, LB 20: JPP to JW Stanley, 16 April 1807).
[381] In 1822, Cicero was by Sophia Bailey listed as sold to Charles Pinney 'about 6 April 1821' (UKNA, T 71/365).

livelihood.[382] A week later Sophia Bailey officially gave her Flora – the woman she had bought from the estate of Nancy Williams's father and uncle – together with Flora's youngest children, the two-year-old twins Adam and Eve. Again, the transaction went ahead for a token N10s.[383] Sophia Bailey retained Flora's ten-year-old daughter Belle.[384] The African woman's children now had three different owners. It is very likely, though, that Nancy was living with Sophia Bailey in Charlestown, and that Flora was therefore with three of her children.

Nancy's freedom had been purchased at a cost, and it was Flora's son Cicero who paid the highest price: in his early twenties, he died on Clarke's Estate. His death was followed by that of Nancy Williams's benefactress. Aged 71 years old, Sophia Bailey was buried on 30 December 1827.[385] After Sophia Bailey died, Belle went to the free black woman Polly Crosse. Belle was lucky. Her new mistress discharged Belle Bailey from apprenticeship.[386] Polly Crosse, the woman who freed Belle, herself had been freed only recently, also by a woman.[387] This chain of manumitting one another was not unusual among free women.

It is very likely that, following Sophia Bailey's death, Nancy became homeless and then worked for Charles Pinney as his housekeeper during his second visit to Nevis. He was staying on Clarke's Estate. He had brought with him a servant called Williams. This man would have attended to Pinney's personal needs but for kitchen duties he would have employed a woman domestic. He certainly had a mulatto housekeeper, and from Bristol he ordered a piece of bed sheeting for her. He also asked for one '(not the best)' bedstead from the house in Great George Street and the small bedsteads from the nursery, as well as a mosquito net.[388]

Nancy Williams probably remained on Clarke's Estate, which came to be owned by Peter Thomas Huggins. She may, therefore, have ended up working alongside her mother and her brother Lewis. Her brother Henry had determined his own fate; he absconded from Mountravers in 1823.

Nancy Williams still owned the African woman, Flora, and two of Flora's children, Adam and Eve. She either sold or mortgaged them to a man called Thomas Martin (in 1825 he registered these three as purchased from her) but he died [389] and they came back into her possession. On 4 March 1834 she sold Eve to Robert Ferrier.[390] It is likely that by then Eve was pregnant or had had a child. Both Eve and Adam were baptised together on 21 January 1835. It is possible Robert Ferrier never paid Nancy the money for Eve because Adam and Eve's residence was still given as Pinney's. [391] Eve died young, in October 1844.[392]

The last reference to Nancy Williams was in a letter to Peter Thomas Huggins dated 1 March 1836. He was acting as her intermediary for her slave compensation claim and that of another free mulatto woman.

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[382] ECSCRN, CR 1819-1823 ff210-11
Although Nancy Williams was 22 years old, she was freed as a 'mulatto slave girl'. In Sophia Bailey's 1822 return, she was registered as 23 years old and as 'manumitted' (UKNA, T 71/365).
[383] ECSCRN, CR 1819-1823 ff346-47
[384] In 1822, Sophia Bailey registered that she owned one female (UKNA, T 71/365).
[385] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1827-37 No 209
[386] ECSCRN, CR 1831-1835 ff371-72
[387] The spinster Henrietta Neale manumitted Mary (Polly) Cross on payment of N£100 in February 1829. Henrietta Neale signed the document which was witnessed by John Huggins (ECSCRN, CR 1829-1830 Vol 2 ff25-7, also UKNA, T 71/1543 Bundle 7).
[388] PP, WI Box O-3: Charles Pinney to RE Case, undated and 29 March 1828, and Dom Box C2-13: RE Case to Charles Pinney, 3 June 1828
[389] NHCS, St Paul's Burials, 1825-1837 No 247
[390] UKNA, T 71/1038 Claim No 146
[391] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[392] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965

Huggins's involvement had resulted in two claims being submitted, one in St Thomas Lowland for 'Nancy Williams, a free coloured woman', the other in Charlestown for Anne Williams. The Assistant Commissioners for Compensation had to put the mistake right: claim No 159 was to be cancelled as it was a duplicate of claim No 146.[393] It is interesting to note that Nancy was described in St Thomas Lowland as a 'free coloured woman' whereas in Charlestown this additional information was not given. This may have been how Huggins had submitted her claim but it also shows that by then free coloureds living in Charlestown were treated as people in their own right. They were so numerous that they were no longer identified as free – unless they had been freed very recently.

In a final twist of irony the Pinney firm handled Nancy Williams's compensation claim for her two remaining people (the African woman Flora and her son Adam). The National Debt Office in London paid the money to a number of merchants or family members authorised to receive it on behalf of claimants in Nevis, and Nancy's cheque for about £40 was collected by Charles Pinney.[394]

In 1840 Adam probably married, as Adam Huggins, a woman called Anna Washington.[395] The couple's daughter Georgiana was baptised soon after the wedding. They then lived at Round Hill where he worked as a butler.[396] Perhaps it was no coincidence that at one time Nancy Williams may have worked on Cottle's Round Hill estate.

595 Philley's Hettey, later Hetty Nelson,[397] was black and born on Monday, 10 December 1798. She was the youngest child of the domestic and later, at times, field worker Philley (No 376). Her mother had several children, most likely with Billey Keefe (No 433), Mulatto Peter (No 357) and another man: Billy Keefe (b 1782), Joe Neal (b 1788), Mickey (b 1791) and Kate Neal (b 1793). Polly Neal (b 1784), Franky Neal (b 1786) and Frances Neal (b 1796) almost certainly were also Mulatto Peter's children – Hetty's half-sisters. Hetty's father was a black man.

Her brother Billy Keefe having died between 1807 and 1816, in the space of nine years she lost another four members of her family: her mother in 1816/7, Mickey between 1817 and 1822, Polly Neal, a sister or half-sister, in 1824 and her brother Joe Neal in 1825.

Hetty was an aunt: her brother Joe may have fathered a child and Frances Neal, the other half-sister, had a daughter, Clarah. She was baptised in St Paul's church; Hetty probably was baptised in the Methodist Chapel on 21 April 1833 (although this could also have been Hetty, No 453).[398] On that day another forty people, many of them adults, underwent baptism. One free man, Charles, was from Charlestown but all the others lived on estates: Pinney's, Tobin's, Ward's, Jessup's, Hamilton's, Mills's, Laurence's, Bailey's, Taylor's, Jones', and Brazier's. Among the baptised were field workers but a high proportion held skilled jobs: four were sugar boilers, four masons, two carters, and there was a carpenter, a groom, a driver and a cooper. Hetty's trade was not listed but, most likely, she was a field labourer.

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[393] The Assistant Commissioners George Webbe, James Maynard and Josiah Webbe Maynard jr wrote to the Commissioners of Compensation on 3 March 1835 and corrected not only Nancy Williams's claim but also several others. These included their own accounting errors (UKNA, T 71/1513 Bundle 7; also T 71/752).

[394] UKNA, NDO 4/9
The House acted on behalf of Nancy Williams's Claim No 146 (pre-fixed with 'PTH') for two people (£43:13:1). In another version her compensation amounted to £39:17:9 (PP, LB 66: P & C to PT Huggins, 1 March 1836; Dom Box R-6: Compensation file; HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 pp107-08. See also https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/25215).

[395] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965

[396] NHCS, Transcripts of Baptisms St Thomas Lowland 1831-1873 No 606

[397] In 1806 Hetty was listed as Philley's Hetty and Johntong's Hetty as Hetty Nelson. In 1817, however, Johntong's Hetty was listed as Hetty Salmon and Philley's Hetty as Hetty Nelson.

[398] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 939

Hetty was alive on 1 August 1834, aged 35.

596 James Fisher, later James Parris and probably James Penny. He was 'yellow cast', born on Friday, 24 May 1799, and the youngest child of the black Creole woman Sarah Fisher (No 488) and the mulatto Siah, or Josiah, Parris.[399] Both his parents were domestic servants; his mother later became a midwife. James was among the people JPP reserved for himself, as were his mother and six surviving brothers and sisters: Tom (b 1781), Patty (b 1783), Frank (b 1784), Domingo (b 1791), Josiah (b 1795), and Mary (b 1797). His three oldest siblings, all mulattoes, came from his mother's relationship with the then manager on Woodlands, John Fisher, while the father of the other three almost certainly was also Siah Parris.

Although originally reserved by JPP along with his mother and siblings, James ended up with Huggins on Mountravers while the rest of his family worked on Clarke's. The manager Joe Stanley had inserted him by mistake into a list of people to be sold to Huggins, and this only came to light after Huggins was in possession of the estate. However, JPP did not want 'the smallest dispute' over the issue and if Huggins insisted on retaining James, JPP was prepared to let him remain with Huggins. If, on the other hand, Huggins was not satisfied with him, then JPP offered to exchange James for Nancy Williams, the mulatto daughter of the manager James Williams.[400] JPP pointed out that this exchange made sense because Nancy's mother belonged to Huggins while James's to his son and 'On reflection' he hoped that Huggins would 'see the propriety of making that exchange.'[401] It has to be remembered that some other families were split up and while reuniting James's and Nancy's families may well have been part of the reason behind the swap, there appears to have been more to the story. The question was whether Huggins had the right to insist on the contract and claim a person whose name had been entered by mistake.[402] While the wrangling went on, James was appraised: aged nine, he was worth £60, two years on he was worth £10 more. His value was included in the price that JPP proposed when, at one stage, Siah Parris wanted to buy James, his mother and his sister Mary. However, possibly because of the ownership dispute, his father then appears to have concentrated on acquiring just his mother and Mary but the purchase did not go ahead and they, and the rest of James's family, went to work on Clarke's Estate and, briefly, also on Mr Mills's. James's father died in June 1812. He was buried with Christian ritual in St Paul's church. The dispute over James and Nancy rumbled on for about five years and ended in February 1815 when Nancy was officially rented to Clarke's.[403] James remained on Mountravers.

Many children had been baptised before him but on 17 March 1826 James Parris was the first adult on Mountravers to undergo baptism.[404] Still carrying his father's surname, he chose St Paul's church and on

[399] Several other men called James Parris lived in Nevis: 1. The Hon. James Parris, a planter; 2. James Parris, a mestee man, sold by the free black woman Sophia Tobin to George Abbott in October 1808 (ECSCRN, CR 1808-1810 f200); 3. A 22–year-old James Parris from Charlestown was buried in October 1828 (NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837); 4. On payment of N£150, on 22 November 1831 PT Huggins manumitted James Parris, formerly the property of Hon James Parris but purchased by PT Huggins (CR 1831-1835 f96). He may have been the cooper or carpenter who trimmed puncheons on Stoney Grove in 1834 (PP, WI Box 1829-1836: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate) and the carpenter from Charlestown, whose daughter Mary Louisa with his wife Isabella was baptised in St Paul's on 26 December 1845 (St Paul's Baptisms 1838-1875 No 417). 5. Another James Parris first worked in the field, then as a watchman on Pinney's. His and Penny Parris's son James was baptised in August 1835 and their son William in July 1838 (Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873). The name lived also on with Nelly Penny's son James Parris, who was baptised on 3 August 1834. She lived on Mountravers (St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873 No 434).
[400] PP, LB 45: JF Pinney to Samuel Laurence, Nevis, 7 February 1810
[401] PP, LB 23: JPP to John Colhoun Mills, 28 April 1810
[402] PP, Dom Box T3-6: Notes added to 'A list of Negroes and other Slaves the Property of Pinney Esq under rent to John Henry Clarke Esq commencing the 7th March 1808 and who were appraised by Wm Laurence and JD Smith Esq the 25th April 1808'
[403] PP, LB 23: JPP to PT Huggins, 11 May 1812, 18 October 1812 and 10 March 1813; LB 24: JPP to PT Huggins, 20 October 1813; JPP to Edward Huggins, 21 October 1813; JPP to PT Huggins, 3 June 1814 and 30 November 1815
[404] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 159

16 July 1833 also got married there. His mulatto wife Sarah Levy was about ten years his junior. She belonged to the mariner Robert Reap senior who had purchased her from B Evan of St Kitts.[405] Bought as Sally between 1817 and 1822, by February 1825 (when she buried her ten-months-old son Daniel) she was already known as Sarah Levy. [406] She had probably taken on the surname of her child's father; he may well have been Daniel Levy, who, like Sarah's owner, was a mariner. There were connections between the Reapes and the Levys; in the past Daniel Levy had called on another member of the Reape family, Charles, to witness the assignment of enslaved people to Judith Levy, who appears to have been his daughter. [407] Another sister of Judith's was Frances Levy who had married the overseer William Archbald on Stoney Grove, and it was this Frances Archbald who acted as one of the witnesses at the wedding of James Parris and Sarah Levy. Their other witness, Angela Smith, may also have been known as Angelica Smith. She had previously belonged to the mixed-race Smith sisters (Amelia, Christiana and Hester), but by then Angelica Smith owned one person herself. [408] At the wedding, both witnesses and James Parris signed the parish register while the bride made her mark.[409]

James's wife may have had to remain with the Reapes in Charlestown until the abolition of slavery; James Parris certainly continued working on Mountravers, where in the late 1830s Peter Thomas Huggins had his new Great House built.

Although he had been baptised already, it is likely that he chose to undergo the ceremony again - this time in the Methodist Chapel - and that on 1 May 1836 he got baptised in the name of James Pinney.[410] This is supported by the fact that on 7 November 1840 he was buried in St Thomas Lowland as James Penney. The age given, 45 years, appears estimated; he was actually 41 years old. He had not left Mountravers.[411] His surviving siblings - Josiah and Mary - at some stage moved to Charlestown. Domingo probably also left Clarke's and either moved to Charlestown or to Cotton Ground.

597 Billey, later William Nicholson, was born on Monday, 25 July 1799. A mulatto, he was Hetty's (No 453) first child, born when she was eighteen years old. His mother was a field hand, and, according to the plantation diary, his father was 'Sir William Nicholson'. The 'Sir' was to ridicule either Nicholson's pretensions, or Hetty's ambitions for a liaison with a white man. William Nicholson, an overseer, was also the father of Billey's brother Siah, or Josiah (b 1802). When Mountravers was sold, the boys' uncle, Josiah Nicholson, swapped the two brothers for two black Creole girls, Phibba and Glory. Billey and his brother went to live with their father. His mother then had four more children with a different man, Frank Fisher, a mulatto house servant: John (b 1806), Edward (b 1807), Sally (b 1813/4), and Joseph Fisher (b 1818/9). Reserved by JPP, they went to live on Clarke's Estate, together with most of Billey's aunts and uncles and their paternal grandmother, Sarah Fisher. Their maternal grandmother, Black Polly, lived in Charlestown, as did Billey's uncle Billey Jones and his family. It is not known where Billey and Siah lived but their uncle Josiah Nicholson owned property in Charlestown and, by 1817, Shaw's Estate in the

[405] Robert Reap senior purchased Sally and a 34-year-old African, Adam, from B Evan before 1822 (UKNA, T 71/365).
Robert Reap senior was paid compensation for nine people, Robert Reap junior for three (HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 pp107-08). These three he had acquired through his marriage to Joan Arthurton in August 1831 – see Thomas Arthurton's biography.
[406] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837
[407] ECSCRN, CR 1814-1817 ff7-10
[408] Angelica Smith was paid slave compensation for one person and was listed after Hester Smith (HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 pp107-08).
There was also a longstanding Reape/Smith connection concerning land in Charlestown. A Lease and Release dated April 1835 between the free mestize woman Christiana Smith and the mariner Robert Reape mentioned an agreement of October 1804 (ECSCRN, CR 1835-1838 f6).
[409] NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842
[410] NHCS, Transcript of Methodist Baptisms 1835-1873
[411] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 250

parish of St James Windward. He had previously rented this with another member of the Nicholson family,[412] and it is likely that this is where Billey's and Siah's father worked and where they lived.

Apart from their four half-brothers and sisters – their mother's children with Frank Fisher - Billey and Siah probably also had another two half-brothers and a half-sister: Joseph Wilkinson, William Wilkinson, and Nancy Wilkinson. Not long after their previous owner died, William Nicholson acquired these three mulatto children and then freed them on 28 February 1815, together with Billey and Siah (then called William Nicholson and Josiah Nicholson).[413] The manumission appears to have been prompted by the three children coming into their father's possession.

Around the time he was freed, William Nicholson was fifteen years old and of an age when young men were apprenticed. He was learning the craft of stonemasonry. His brother Siah became a Sergeant-at-Arms and then traded as a merchant.

In 1829 one of their half brothers, Joseph Fisher, died and the following year Peter Thomas Huggins bought Clarke's Estate from Charles Pinney. It may have been his youngest brother's death or the fact that the estate was under new ownership that prompted William Nicholson to pay for his half-brother John Fisher to be freed. The oldest of his mother's children with Frank Fisher, John was one of the Pinney-reserved people and worked on Clarke's Estate as a house servant. On 7 May 1833 William Nicholson paid Peter Thomas Huggins N£120 for John and Huggins manumitted him.[414] Although freed, John remained on Clarke's Estate where their mother and other family members still worked.

By then both Billey's brother Siah and their father were married; their half-sister Sally married in 1834 and their half-brother Edward in 1836. Shortly after Emancipation, John also got married. Sally's husband, William Samson, died in 1840 and his brother Josiah in 1841 but it is not known what happened to Sally, or to Edward and his wife after they buried their young daughter in 1842. The half-brother whom William Nicholson had freed, John Fisher, became a cooper and lived in Charlestown but then moved to Lowland. He and his wife Isabella had several children; the last known offspring was a daughter who was baptised in 1851. William Nicholson's father died, in his sixties, in 1845 but in his will he did not leave anything to his surviving son.

His father was buried in the churchyard of St Paul's in Charlestown, which is also where, three years later, William Nicholson was laid to rest although he had last lived in the parish of St John Figtree. He was buried on 3 September 1848. His age was given as 48 but he was 49 years old.[415]

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[412] Josiah and Finlay Nicholson rented land in St James for one year from Mrs Pinney (ECSCRN, CR 1810-1814 f485). In a document of 24 October 1817, Finlay Nicholson's land was said to have bordered land to the east of Pot Works and Newcastle estates. His property was described as 'formerly Eneas Shaw, afterwards Jeffery Meriweather Shaw now Finlay Nicholson' (CR 1817-1819 Vol 2 f110).

On 4 May 1820 James Laurence mortgaged to Butler Thompson Claxton 40 acres in St James Windward 'some years since of John Pinney and Jane his wife', then William Nixon's, then Finlay and Josiah Nicholson's, then James Laurence's. From the description and the accompanying papers it seems to be part of Shaw's Estate which in ca 1834 came into the possession of William Weare from both James Laurence and Butler Thompson Claxton. The focus of Shaw's estate seems to have been a plantation once owned by Jane Mereweather and afterwards by Eneas Shaw and his wife Mary (BCRL, Jefferies Collection Vol 13, Papers concerning William Weare and Shaw's Estate).

[413] ECSCRN, CR 1814-1817 ff151-53

The three mulattoes Joseph, William and Nancy had belonged to the planter Christopher Wilkinson who had died intestate the year before, in April 1814 (RHL, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b) Typed Manuscript). Wilkinson had 'no kindreds' in Nevis and James Stanley applied for executorship but withdrew and William Nicholson applied instead. Among Wilkinson's effects were five enslaved people: the mulattoes Joe, William and Nancy, together with the Negro woman Molly and her child Mary (Book of Wills 1805-1818 f277).

[414] ECSCRN, CR 1831-1835 f291

[415] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 637

598 Richard was black and born on Thursday, 6 February 1800.[416] His mother was the field worker Mary Path (No 412). He had two sisters, Fanny Frederick (b c 1802) and Violet (b 1805); his elder brother Martin (b 1797) probably had died already by the time Richard was born.

Fanny Frederick went to live on Clarke's Estate where she worked as a field hand, while he, his mother and Violet were sold to Huggins. His mother and Violet died between 1807 and 1816, and Richard died on 4 December 1824 at the age of 24.

599 Christianna was born on Sunday, 6 April 1800. Her mother was Mulatto Nanny (No 400), a purchased woman. She had an elder brother, George (b 1796).

Originally her mother and her brother were reserved by JPP but in July 1807 he decided to sell all three of them with the plantation. Christianna died some time before February 1808. She was seven years old at the most.

600 Sally, later Sally Clarke, was black and born on Friday, 23 May 1800. Her mother was the field worker Richen's Quasheba (No 511). Sally had an elder and a younger sister: Nanny (b 1795) and Kitty (b 1807/8). The spelling in 1801, Sarai, suggests that she known under a different name, and somehow this later caused confusion. JPP wrote to his attorney that Richen's Quasheba's daughter 'Sary' was not on his list.[417]

While her elder sister Nanny was sold with Woodland Estate and then ended up on Mountravers, from March 1808 Sally with her mother and sister Kitty, although not originally reserved, were hired to Clarke's. Aged eight, when she started being hired to Clarke's, Sally was valued at £50, in May 1810 this rose to £60 and remained at that level when she was next appraised in February 1811.

She, her mother and sister belonged to the group of people who worked on Mr Mills' estate between September 1813 and June 1814 and then went to work on Clarke's. There her sister Kitty was employed in the Number 1 Field Gang[418] and Sally in the house. However, in the mid-1820s neither Sally nor Kitty belonged to the Pinneys anymore; it is likely that Charles Pinney during his visit to Nevis in 1820 substituted them for two of the grandchildren born to women who were closer to the Pinney family: Sarah Fisher and Black Polly.

By the time Sally gave birth to her son John Henry in 1818 or 1819, her mother may have died already; she certainly was dead by 1822. John Henry, presumably named after the then manager/overseer John Henry Clarke, was black. Like many other children born during that time, Sally's son was under-developed; when he was nine or ten years old, his age was estimated at six.[419] In January 1828 he was baptised, his name shortened to John.[420] Sally's sister also had a son called John; he was born in 1824 and baptised a year after Sally's son. Both boys were alive in 1834. The father of Kitty's son was John Wallace, and it is likely that Sally's son became known as John Clarke and that he, with his uncle John

[416] According to the slave inventories, Richard was born on 4 February 1800 but the date given in the Plantation Diary was the 6th. This would appear to have been a more reliable source.
[417] PP, LB 24: JPP to Samuel Laurence, 8 March 1814
[418] Another Kitty waited on Jack, the driver. This was more likely to have been the 40-year-old Kitty.
[419] UKNA, T 71/365 and T 71/367
[420] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873

Wallace and his cousin of the same name, moved to Pollards Village: John Clarke was one of 38 people who built houses and took out leases on the land.[421]

However, Sally had died long before then. Aged 29, she was buried, as Sally Clarke, on 30 March 1830 in St Thomas Lowland. She was said to have been thirty years old.[422]

601 and 602 James and Charles (later James Peden and **Charles Peaden)**. These boys were twins, born on Wednesday, 11 June 1800. James was described as 'yellow cast', Charles as 'yellow', illustrating that skin tone was more important than identifying parentage. Their mother, most likely, was the field worker Johntong (No 226) and their sister, therefore, a girl called Hetty (b 1791).

The boys were just a few months old when their father, James Peaden (No 388), escaped from Nevis. A mulatto and a carpenter, he had been ill-treated by the manager. Their mother died between 1807 and 1816 and, after her death, between July 1817 and February 1822, James and Charles asserted their independence and 'absconded off the Island'. By January 1834 they had not returned.

603 Jemmy, also Jimmey, was black and born on Sunday, 28 July 1800. His mother, most likely, was the field labourer Pereen (No 407); his sisters, therefore, were Polly Herbert (b 1793) and Sally (b 1806) and probably also Phoebe (b 1802). His maternal grandmother may have been Polly Herbert (No 404), a woman purchased with Pereen and two other children in 1774.

Pereen died between 1817 and 1822 and Polly Herbert in the early 1830s, probably leaving two teenaged children. In November 1834 Phoebe got married. Just four months earlier, on 3 August 1834 had been Jemmy's wedding. He and his bride Penny Laurence had joined the many people who celebrated the abolition of slavery by getting baptised or married.

About twelve years his junior, Penny Laurence lived on neighbouring Belmont estate.[423] This property had changed hands several times and part, or all of it, was also known as Wansey's or Mount Ida.[424] Wansey's and Belmont had then been sold and for some years had belonged to Clarke's Estate until it went back into the possession of William Laurence. Penny's surname, therefore, was that of the then owner. The witnesses at their wedding were William Browne and George Vaughan who had recently witnessed the wedding of another Mountravers slave, Mary Anne Penny.[425] George Vaughan was the sexton at St Thomas Lowland church.[426]

It is possible that Jemmy's wife had a child with Ben, the 45-year-old shepherd on Wansey's,[427] and that, when registering the baptism in the Methodist Chapel, her married name was ignored and the owner's name was used: Penny Lawrence's and Benjamin Lawrence's son Henry, who was born in April 1839, was baptised in October the following year.[428] (It is possible, though, that Benjamin Lawrence had married a Penny from another estate.)

[421] DHC, D87/2 Pollard MSS, Letter from Nevis to AH Limmington, London, 26 March 1863
[422] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 25; also UKNA, T 71/368
[423] UKNA, T 71/366
[424] PP, Dom Box T3: 1815 Schedule B
[425] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
[426] UKNA, CO 187/5 Blue Book Nevis 1831
[427] UKNA, T 71/366
[428] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873

604 **Robbin** was black and born on Wednesday, 15 October 1800.

Aged 33, he was alive on 1 August 1834.

605 **William, later William Jones**, was born on Wednesday, 14 January 1801.[429] The child of the mulattoes Patty Fisher (No 491) and Billey Jones (No 382), he was also described as a 'mulatto'. In colonies where colour distinctions played a greater role he would have been known as a 'true mulatto'.[430]

William was the oldest child and had two younger brothers, Charles (b 1806) and Frederick (b 1808/9) and four younger sisters: Fanny (b 1803), Betsey (b 1811/2), Mary (b 1814/5) and Jeanett (b 1817/8). His sister Mary died as a young child. Together with his parents and siblings, their grandmothers, aunts and uncles, William belonged to the groups of people JPP reserved for himself.

Born on the plantation, William grew up in Charlestown where his family lived at first with one of his grandmothers, the African woman Black Polly (No 261). The other grandmother, the Creole Sarah Fisher (No 488), initially hired herself out and was then rented to Clarke's where the rest of her family worked. William joined them in 1811, originally for a two-year term but then he and also his sister Fanny were hired to Clarke's Estate for an indefinite period.[431] While working on Clarke's, until around 1830 Fanny remained living in Charlestown and William may have done so as well. He was employed as a cooper, following his father's line of business, and it is very likely that he learnt the trade from him. William had the strength required for the job; in his mid-teens his age was over-estimated by two years.

In early 1820 his father died, and also his aunt, his father's sister Fanny Coker in England. This aunt had been taken to England by the Pinneys and had then visited Nevis once, before any of the children were born, and from this unknown aunt William Jones and his siblings inherited £20 and a metal watch. Except for his uncle James, who worked on Mountravers, all his other aunts and uncles worked on Clarke's Estate: his uncles Tom and Josiah Fisher as coopers, his uncle Frank Fisher as a senior domestic, his aunt Mary Parris also as a domestic, and his aunt Domingo as a field hand. Nine of Williams's maternal cousins were also on Clarke's but one of them, Joseph Fisher, died in the late 1820s. By then William's sister Mary and his niece Ann Eliza had also died. This girl was the first of his sister Fanny's three children.

After his father died, William's mother and four of his younger brothers and sisters were sold to two free mixed-race spinsters. They freed his mother, Charles, and Frederick but not his sisters Betsey and Jeanett. In the early 1830s both his brothers died shortly one after the other, and in 1834 William Jones also lost his mother. In 1839 William Jones moved to Charlestown, rented land from Charles Pinney and built a house on it. Pinney wanted rent for the land but left it to his friend Peter Thomas Huggins 'to fix what he ought to be charged.'[432] Set up with somewhere to live, William Jones then got married. On 9 September 1840 his wedding took place. His wife was Maria Sprouse, a labourer. While he was literate and signed the register, she was not and made her mark.[433]

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[429] In 1817 William Jones's date of birth was given as 1798/9, in 1828 as 1801/2.
[430] Buchler, IR 'Caymanian Folk Racial Categories' in *Man* Vol 62 (December 1962) p185
[431] Originally William Jones was missed off the first slave register at Clarke's. He, and two others (Old Sue and Frank Saunders) were listed at the end, numbered 1-3, 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'.
[432] PP, LB 67: P & C to PT Huggins, Nevis, 15 June 1839
[433] NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842

About a month after the wedding, a theft took place in St Paul's parish: a silver watch worth N£9 was stolen from a man called Joseph Emmerson, and William Jones was accused of the crime. He appeared in Court the following January, was found guilty and sentenced to two months imprisonment.[434] He served his sentence in one of the eleven cells that then constituted the Nevis jail.[435] At least William Jones was spared additional punishment, such as solitary confinement or hard labour. The Court could also have imposed up to thirty lashes – corporal punishment that he would have known from his plantation days.[436]

Just over a year after he came out of prison, William Jones died suddenly, on 10 July 1842.[437] He was 41 years old. He left not only a wife but also a young daughter. She was called Frances, after his sister and his aunt in England.

Peter Thomas Huggins informed Charles Pinney of William Jones's death. It appears that Pinney had not known of the wife and child and he asked his friend to dispose of the property that had come back into his possession. He left it up to his friend 'to dispose of the house and land … as you may consider best for his interest.' [438] It is hoped that Huggins really did consider William Jones's interest and that of his wife's and daughter's.

He had died without having made a will, and on 31 August 1842 Maria Jones therefore applied to administer the estate of her late husband. As was usual in these cases, the applicant had to lodge a security, and Maria Jones split the cost, N£75, with William Roper,[439] a merchant [440] and Deputy Provost Marshal.[441] Roper had witnessed the will of Josiah Nicholson, a cousin of her husband's, and had some previous involvement with the family. Having made the application, Mrs Jones was directed to compile an inventory of her dead husband's effects but she did not comply.[442] Most likely this was because she found out that William Jones had left nothing but debts. It was preferable to forfeit the security rather than pay the money owed.

Two years after his death, on 22 August 1844 William and Maria Jones's daughter Frances was baptised.[443] It is not known what happened to his wife but it is likely that his daughter died young. Frances Jones from Charlestown died in August 1852. No age was recorded.[444]

606 **Charles** was born on Thursday, 5 March 1801. He was the last child of Peter's Flora (No 231), a field worker and an entailed woman. When Charles was born, Quakey, who almost certainly was his oldest brother, was already 23 years old. His other siblings were Flora's Peter (b 1784), John Frederick (b 1787), Phibba (b 1793) and Azariah (b 1798).

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[434] ECSCRN, Nevis Court Records 1836-1843 f374
[435] Josiah Webbe Maynard, the Commander of Police, stated that there were eleven cells for male and female prisoners (UKNA, CO 186/15: 17 March 1836). WL Sandiford's report on the 'Police Station and House of Correction' suggests that the jail was attached to the police station (CO 186/15: 18 June 1836). Michelle Terrell has located the seventeenth century jail to where the police station now stands, and it is likely that throughout its existence the jail was situated in the same vicinity. Certainly by the mid-eighteenth century it stood in the area of the Jewish Synagogue (ECSCRN, CR 1750-1752 ff371-73), not far from the Cedar Trees (Terrell, Michelle M *The Jewish Community of Early Colonial Nevis* p151 and p138).
[436] *Report from the Select Committee on Negro Apprenticeships* Vol 3
[437] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1837-1864 ff153-54
[438] PP, LB 62: Robert E Case to PT Huggins, 14 September 1842
[439] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1837-1864 ff152-54
[440] PP, WI Box 1829-1836: Accounts Stoney Grove Estate
[441] ECSCRN, Nevis Court Records 1836-1843 f98
[442] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1837-1864 ff153-54
[443] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1838-1875 No 369
[444] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 838

Charles's mother died in April 1803, possibly after him; Charles died some time between January 1802 and December 1806. He was five years old at the most.

607 **Patty** was born on Thursday, 2 April 1801. She was Frankey Vaughan's (No 425) third child. The girl had an elder brother, Guy (b 1798) and an elder sister, Ritta (b 1795).

At the age of four months, on 6 August 1801 Patty died of consumption.

608 **Felix** was black and born on Thursday, 9 April 1801. He was descended from an entailed woman. His mother was Cuba (No 248), a field hand. His sister Peggy (b 1797) may already have died by the time he was born. He had a younger sister, Lucy (b 1806).

His aunts Sue and Omah and his grandmother Lucy died between 1817 and 1822. His sister was baptised in 1828 and had a daughter, Bridget.

Aged 33, Felix was alive on 1 August 1834, as was his sister Lucy, their 75-year-old mother, their aunt Bridget, his niece Bridget, and his cousin Goliah – the son of his aunt Omah.

609 **Little Santee, later Santy, also Santee Huggins and Santy Pinney.** He was black and born on Wednesday, 2 September 1801.[445] He may have been the son or nephew of Santee (No 220). Santy may have been baptised on 28 July 1833[446] but this could well have been the man of the same name from Scarborough's who got married and then died shortly afterwards.[447]

On 15 November 1834 Santee Huggins's wedding to Violet Penny took place. He was then 33 years old; his wife was eight years younger. She was also black. With the apprentice system having replaced slavery, they were both recorded as apprentice labourers and not as enslaved people any more.[448] Interestingly, although they were from the same estate, they had different surnames, and although at their wedding in St Thomas's church his was recorded as 'Huggins', in the Methodist Chapel, when his children's baptisms were registered, he was called 'Pinney'. Thus 'Santy Pinney' was recorded as the father at the baptism of William in August 1835,[449] and then again, in January 1839, when the couple's daughter Hannah Hawkins was baptised.[450]

In the parish registers Santee's job was always given as 'carter' and although there were likely to have been other carters on the plantation, his job may identify him as the father of several other children. In his twenties he may have had a daughter called Molly who had been baptised on 8 May 1825. In the incomplete baptismal register her father was recorded as a 'cartman' with the surname Huggins, while the mother was a woman with the surname Laurence.[451] Given the mother's surname, the child probably was a black girl called Mary who was born in 1821/2 on Belmont Estate.[452] Santee may also have been the

[445] In 1817 Santy was listed as born on 2 September 1801 but he was not noted as an addition on the December 1801 list – Williams's oversight? Perhaps, at the time, the boy was hired out with his mother?
[446] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 978
[447] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965 and UKNA, T 71/369
[448] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
[449] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[450] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[451] NHCS Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 45
[452] UKNA, T 71/366

father of Joseph Stanley, a boy baptised at the age of age four weeks on 14 April 1839 – three months after his daughter's ceremony. Joseph Stanley's parents were registered as '– Penny (carter)' and Nancy Penny.[453] Santee was definitely identified as another child's father, that of Mary Pinney's daughter Frankey. At the age of eleven days, the girl was baptised on 15 December 1843. Mary Pinney, most likely, was a woman in her early thirties who had earlier worked on Clarke's Estate.[454]

In 1845 Santee Pinney had another child with his wife, a boy called Charles Kneal. Their son, like the couple's other children and those attributed to Santee, was baptised in the Methodist Chapel. Santee then earned his living as a labourer and he and his family lived in Lowland Parish.[455]

610 Dinny, later Dinney Pinney (also Denney), was born on Sunday, 25 October 1801. He was descended from an entailed woman.

His mother was Yanneky (No 436). He had a sister, Miah, two years older than him, and a brother, Billy (b 1806). When Dinny was already in his early twenties, his mother had two more children: Nancy (b 1820) and Eliza (b 1824). His brother Billy died in November 1829.

On 9 March 1828 Dinny was the first members of his family to undergo baptism - [456] a year before his young sisters and six before his mother – and on 25 August 1833 he married Sukky (also Sucky and Sukey), a woman from Scarborough's Estate. She had been baptised a month before, on 28 July 1833.[457] It was an unusual union. At 31 years of age, Dinny was not only 14 years younger, but he was also black while she was a mulatto.[458] They were married in St Thomas Lowland, with the consent of their owner, as was required.[459] They then had a daughter, but on 29 October 1834, when Fitzlarenee was baptised in the Methodist Chapel, the girl's baptism was recorded as 'Dinney Pinney's child with Sukey Scarborough' as if the couple were not married, or as if the mother had not taken on Dinny's 'family name'. Dinny was then a labourer on 'Pinney's'.[460]

Given her very unusual name, Dinny's daughter almost certainly was the Fitzlarene Ward who on 24 May 1862 was 'unlawfully and viciously' attacked by a man called John Dore. He 'beat and ill treated' her and inflicted 'some grivious bodily harm'. The jury, which included two Hugginses, Jeremiah and John Huggins junior, found John Dore guilty.[461]

611 Phoebe, also Little Phoebe, and Phoebe Pinney and probably Phoebe Clarke. She was black and born on Saturday, 24 April 1802. Her mother probably was Pereen (No 407), a field labourer, and her siblings therefore Polly Herbert (b 1793) and also Jemmy (b 1800) and Sally (b 1806). Pereen died between 1817 and 1822 and Polly Herbert, who probably had two children, Susanna and Samuel,

[453] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[454] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 No 175
[455] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 No 265
[456] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873 No 95
[457] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 972
[458] DALSS, 337 add 3/1/8/2
[459] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
[460] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 Unnumbered
Fitzlarenee was said to have been nine months old when she was baptised in October 1834. Her birth, however, was not recorded in the Scarborough slave register of January 1834 or added to the compensation claim (UKNA, T 71/369 and T 71/1038).
[461] ECSCRN, Nevis Court Records 1859-1874 f188

between 1831 and December 1833.[462] Just after slavery was abolished, Jemmy married a woman from neighbouring Belmont Estate, Penny Laurence, and a few months later, on 29 November 1834, Phoebe herself got married. Her husband, Abraham Davis (also Davies),[463] was a black Creole about her age. Also an apprentice labourer, he worked as a stillman and watchman on Clarke's Estate.[464]

Originally he had belonged to Oliver's Estate but rather than call himself 'Oliver' or 'Clarke', it is likely that he chose his surname as a mark of respect for Revd Daniel Gateward Davis. The rector of St Paul's and St Thomas, Revd Davis had campaigned for the right for enslaved people to get married in church. He left for St Kitts in 1825.[465] Having been married in an Anglican church, it appears that after the wedding Phoebe's husband was baptised in the Methodist Chapel, either on 25 December 1834,[466] or on 25 October 1835.[467]

Since his early twenties Abraham Davis had worked as a watchman. Most likely he was given lighter duties because he was ill already; he died four years into their marriage. Said to have been 35 years old, he was buried on 1 November 1838. He had last lived on Mountravers.[468]

Although aged only 44, it is very likely that Phoebe died young and that on 2 June 1846 she was buried as Phoebe Clarke. She had last lived on Clarke's Estate and was said to have been 50 years old.[469] This may have been another instance where the estate name rather the woman's married name was used (after all, her husband had been dead for more years than they had been married) and where the dead person's age was estimated.

612 John Pedero was probably born between 9 June 1802 and 6 November 1802, or in May 1803. He may have been the child of Affey (No 330), Friday (No 414), Yabba (No 474), or Nelly's Jibba (No 500).

His family name is very unusual and bears no relation to any in Nevis. It could, possibly, have been mis-heard for John Peter, mis-spelt for Don Pedro (a character in Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*), or for John Peroe. A child of that name was born in 1814. Either John Pedero had died by then, or in a document of December 1816 he may, possibly, have been listed among the boys as John Parris, next to James Parris. He certainly was not alive by July 1817.

613 Siah, later Josiah Nicholson. A mulatto born on Saturday, 10 July 1802, he was the second of Hetty's (No 453) sons with the white overseer William Nicholson. He had an older brother, Billey (b 1799), and three younger brothers - John (b 1806), Edward (b c 1807) and Joseph (b 1818/9) - and a younger sister, Sally (b 1813/4). The younger siblings were his mother's children with the domestic Frank Fisher.

When Mountravers was sold, their uncle, after whom he had been named, Josiah Nicholson, exchanged Siah and his brother Billey for two Creole girls. It is likely that Siah and Billey moved to Shaw's Estate in

[462] During that time Polly Herbert's namesake, the free woman Mary Herbert, also died. Most likely the daughter of Mingo Herbert, a free stonemason, Mary Herbert from Charlestown was buried on 11 November 1832 in St Paul's. She was 32 years old (NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 486).
[463] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
[464] UKNA, T 71/364 and 367; also T 71/365
[465] Walker, GPJ *The Life of Daniel Gatewood Davis* Chapter 2
[466] NHCS, Methodist Baptisms 1825-1835 Unnumbered
[467] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[468] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 205
[469] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1954

the parish of St James Windward, which their uncle Josiah jointly rented and where their father probably worked. Several years after they had been exchanged, on 28 February 1815 their father finally freed Siah and his brother. The manumission was witnessed by John Frederick Bertrand, the mulatto customs clerk who lived at the Cedar Trees. When William Nicholson freed Billey and Siah, he also freed three mulatto children who all had the surname Wilkinson: Joseph, William and Nancy. [470] They probably were William Nicholson's children as well – Billey's and Siah's half-brothers and -sister. The rest of their family was reserved by JPP and worked on Clarke's Estate, except for one of their grandmothers, Black Polly, and their uncle Billey Jones, who lived with his family in Charlestown.

Siah's brother Billey became a stonemason and bought and then freed their younger half-brother John Fisher, their mother's son with Frank Fisher. Siah's path is less straightforward. Because so many planter families named their offspring after brothers and sisters and also owned people who had the same names, it is easy to confuse the white family members with their freed people. However, apart from Siah's uncle Josiah Nicholson, who died in May 1820[471] and who was white, so far no record of another contemporary white Josiah Nicholson has come to light,[472] and one has to assume that all the references relate to this mulatto man. Josiah Nicholson did do extremely well, to the point where it is hard to believe that a mixed-race man would have achieved so much in Nevis during the 1820s and the 1830s. His ongoing connections with the white middle class in the island challenge all notions of a society divided by colour and of freed people being second class citizens. Josiah Nicholson was integrated into island life, and he took an active part in shaping it.

Cementing his status as a member of the establishment, Josiah got married. His wife was called Jane. The couple then lived in Charlestown where their son John Joseph was baptised on 7 August 1829.[473] Josiah Nicholson's youngest brother, Joseph Fisher, had been buried a few months earlier, and he may well have named his son in memory of him. The baptism is the only reference to both his wife and his son and it is likely that Josiah's wife and son died soon after – perhaps during the cholera pandemic which in the early 1830s caused a great number of deaths.

Josiah seemed to have been particularly close to Laurence Nicholson, a cousin of his. Josiah was a witness at his wedding (Laurence married Ann Christian Leacock, almost certainly a clergyman's daughter)[474] and he went into business with him. By 1832 they were trading together as Messrs L & J Nicholson. This was a side-line for Laurence; his main occupation was that of an Attorney at Law. In addition, he was appointed Deputy Provost Marshall and Registrar of Slaves,[475] thereby giving Josiah

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[470] ECSCRN, f1814-1817 ff151-53
[471] RHL, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b) Typed Manuscript
[472] There may well have been another mixed-race, enslaved man of the same name in Nevis but he can be discounted as he would not have conducted any business. Aged 34 in 1822, that man, Siah, belonged to a group who were the private property of the white planter Josiah Nicholson but who lived on Shaw's Estate. Subsequently Josiah Nicholson's widow Margaret registered them as hers (UKNA, T 71/365).
[473] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 438
There was also a Joseph Nicholson (son of Finlay) who died before 1828.
[474] Laurence Nicholson was described as a nephew in William Nicholson's 1844 will.

Laurence Nicholson's wife Ann Christian Leacock almost certainly was a daughter of the Revd Hamble Leacock. The other witness at Laurence's wedding, besides Josiah, had been Thomas Slater who also witnessed the marriage of Revd Hamble Leacock to the widow Mrs Beard and who acted as Revd Leacock's attorney (NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1826-1842 and ECSCRN, CR 1835-1838 f48).

Revd Leacock, whose claim for slave compensation was one of three originating from Long Point in St John Figtree, also had dealings with Laurence Nicholson over slaves. The other two Long Point claims were from Josiah Nicholson and Dr William Thomas Nicholson (UKNA, T 71/1038).
[475] It is likely that Laurence, baptised in June 1802 in St John Figtree, was the son of Finlay Nicholson and his wife Eliza. In 1826, he was appointed as Registrar of Slaves at a rate of N£208:3:0 a year. Two years later he was paid in rum (N£100) and cash (N£332:14:4). The payment included other services (UKNA, CO 186/13). He was Registrar in 1828 and 1831 (T 71/367-8).

good insights into the slave compensation administration process. As a member of the Assembly Laurence Nicholson stood out because he introduced petitions for poor relief on behalf of several destitute women: the widow Ann Brodie, the 70-year-old Badger (Badjah) Bennett, who died soon after he had presented her request, and Martha Morris and her two children.[476]

In May 1823 Josiah Nicholson purchased his first person. Very cheaply, for N£25 he bought a man called Ben at a Marshall's Sale[477] and then acquired more. By 1828 he owned three males and four females but in 1834 had only one left. He also signed the register for twelve people who belonged to Dr William Thomas Nicholson, another cousin of his, and for 25 people who belonged to Mrs Ann Stanley,[478] the 75-year-old illiterate widow of the former Searcher of Customs.[479] Mrs Stanley died very shortly after the slave registration took place[480] and several individuals claimed compensation for her people.[481] Josiah claimed for six, was to get compensation for one but was paid £67 for three and £40 for another two individuals. [482] The last payment related to a separate claim that he made in his capacity as executor for Richard Crosse of Charlestown. Described as a planter,[483] Richard Crosse was, more likely, a manager or an overseer, and Josiah Nicholson claimed the compensation for Crosse's three people to settle an outstanding debt.[484] But he only received payment for two and his other claim, originally for six people, was later challenged. The dispute appears to have involved Shaw's estate[485] and in a roundabout way may have been related to money that Mrs Ann Stanley and her husband had borrowed from Laurence's father, Finlay Nicholson, on land in St John Figtree.[486] As was so often the case, the money that came to Nevis from the slave compensation fund was used to settle debts, and often more than one party laid claim to it.

With its large free mixed-race population the parish of St Paul's was the most likely electoral ward to return a free mixed-race man to the Assembly, and on 21 January 1836 Josiah Nicholson entered the Assembly as a member for St Paul's, together with another freedman, James Stanley.[487] He also served as a Justice of the Peace and held the post of Captain in the infantry division of the Nevis militia. He was not the only free man officially allowed to bear arms; there was also John Fraser Arthurton, a Captain in the Cavalry.[488] Later he, too, was elected to the Assembly.

He became Deputy Provost Marshall on 31 December 1827, replacing William Keepe, who had died (CO 186/13 Council and Assembly Minutes). By about 1830 he was an Attorney at Law (ECSCRN, CR 1829-1830 Vol 2 f381).

[476] Adam Brodie, the 82-year-old husband of Ann Brodie, was buried in October 1830 (RHL, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b) Typed Manuscript). Badjah Bennett from Charlestown was buried in September 1833 (NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 534). See also UKNA, CO 186/14: 11 July 1833 and 11 March 1834 and CO 186/13: 15 August 1829.

[477] UKNA, T 71/1543 Bundle 7

[478] UKNA, T 71/369 f217

[479] ECSCRN, CR 1829-1830 Vol 2 f154 and ff159-60 and UKNA, CO 186/11: 8 October 1818

[480] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 85

[481] Claim No 272 was made by Elizabeth Chivers for three people and Claim No 273 by Catherine Stanley for five 'under the will of Ann Stanley dec'd' (UKNA, T 71/1039).

[482] UKNA, T 71/1038; PP, Dom Box R-6: Compensation file and LB 66: P & C to Barnard Dimsdale, Bankers, London, various dates 1835 and 27 January 1836, P & C to Josiah Nicholson, 1 March 1836; also AB 69 f162 Compensation a/c

[483] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835

[484] UKNA, T 71/1038 Claim No 182

[485] BCRL, Jefferies Collection, Vol 13 Papers concerning William Weare and Shaw's Estate

[486] ECSCRN, CR 1814-1817 ff344-52

[487] Nothing is known about the third elected member for St Paul's parish, John Joseph Esdaile (UKNA, CO 186/15).

Most likely James Stanley was the free mulatto who in March 1811 was baptised with the free mulatto Nancy Stanley (NHCS, St John Figtree Register 1729-1825). These may have been brother and sister, and their father probably was James Stanley, the Searcher of Customs and the husband of Mrs Ann Stanley. He, too, had been a member of the Assembly for St Paul's (CO 186/12: 12 April 1823) but he had died not long after being elected, in June 1824 (RHL, MSS W.Ind. S.24 (b) Typed Manuscript and St John Figtree Register 1729-1825). There was another connection with the white Stanleys when the free man James Stanley named his daughter Ann. The girl was baptised in July 1828. James and his wife Azarene Stanley lived in Charlestown (NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835).

[488] UKNA, CO 187/10 Blue Book Nevis 1836

A hurricane in 1835 had caused much destruction, taxes remained unpaid and within months of the elections the Treasury ran out of ready cash. Josiah Nicholson offered to advance S£400 to pay the island's expenses. For a mixed-race man to bail out the island was truly unheard of but his act was not quite as public-spirited as it appears. He would profit from his enterprise; repayment was to include a bonus of S£20.[489]

Probably about the same time as Laurence Nicholson was appointed as one of the Judges of the Queen's Bench and Common Pleas,[490] Josiah went into business with his cousin Dr William Thomas Nicholson. By trading as Josiah Nicholson & Co, he had become the leading partner. But the island was in a poor state and in the late 1830s their merchant business was badly affected by debts. They were forced to take several people to court. Their debtors were from all walks of life and owed varying sums: the mixed-race planter James Dore N£25,[491] the blacksmith Daniel Randle N£75, the Colonial Secretary Thomas Slater N£200, and Joseph Webbe Daniell and the spinster Caroline Lyons owed N£700 each.[492] Thomas Slater had been a witness at the wedding of Josiah's cousin Laurence.

Josiah Nicholson's health was not good and in July 1840 he made his will. The merchant William Roper and the barrister-at-law Sholto Thomas Pemberton witnessed his last wishes. It appears that, with so much money outstanding, he was actually left with little cash and few possessions. To Ann Christian Nicholson, presumably his cousin Laurence's wife (the former Miss Leacock), he bequeathed N£100, while his furniture, bedding and suchlike was intended to go to a mulatto woman called Catherine Murphy Stanley.[493] Freed by Ann Stanley,[494] she had inherited her former mistress's people and claimed compensation for them.[495] She may have been Josiah's common law wife.

He lived for another year and on 13 August 1841 attended his last meeting of the Assembly. Josiah Nicholson died at the age of 39 and was buried on 1 September 1841.[496]

614 Ritta Maillard, also Little Reeta, was black and born on Sunday, 17 October 1802. It is very likely that her mother was Phoebe (No 502), her sister Florah (b 1805) and her grandmother Ritta Maillard (No 338).

John Tongue, born in October 1819, may have been her daughter; she was baptised in 1834 as an orphan.

Ritta Maillard died between July 1817 and February 1822. She was at least 14 and at the most 19 years old.

615 Fanny Frederick was almost certainly born before November 1802.[497] Her mother was the black field worker Mary Path (No 412); her father may have been one of Sarah Fisher's sons. On different

[489] UKNA, CO 186/15: 26 November 1836
[490] UKNA, CO 186/15: 6 February 1838 (Meetings 1 and 18 May 1837)
[491] ECSCRN, Nevis Court Records 1836-1843 f170
[492] ECSCRN, Nevis Court Records 1836-1843 f209, f210, f211 and f308
[493] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1837-1864 ff113-14
[494] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1830-1837 f186 and UKNA, T 71/364 and T 71/368
[495] UKNA, T 71/1039 Claim No 272
[496] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 246
In the parish register Josiah Nicholson was said to have been 33 years old but his age may have been under-estimated by six years. It is, however, also possible that the entry was mis-read or mis-transcribed from 39 to 33.
[497] PP, LB 19 f2

occasions Fanny Frederick was described both as sambo and as black. Her older brother Richard (b 1800) was black but there is no record of the colour of her younger sister Violet (b 1805).

While her mother was sold to Huggins with Richard and Violet, Fanny Frederick was neither recorded as sold to Huggins nor as reserved by JPP. She seemed to have been overlooked. She remained with her family on Mountravers until the firm of Pinney & Tobin asked their attorney, Samuel Laurence, to take into his possession Fanny Frederick and another girl, Phibba. Unless Mr Huggins chose to hire them, they were to go with JPP's reserved people who had been hired by John Henry Clarke.[498] While Fanny Frederick was rented to Clarke,[499] Huggins made enquiries with JPP's attorney, Mr Claxton, about buying her. He wanted to purchase her outright rather than hire her.[500] JPP did not agree to this and to clarify the matter, in January 1811 he wrote of 'a negro girl called Fanny Frederick the daughter of Mary Path who belongs to me and I have given her name to Mr Clarke as one to be hired with the other people.'[501] Being hired to John Henry Clarke meant that she was separated from her family although it is also possible that her mother and her sister Violet had died by then. They certainly were dead by December 1816.

In 1810, when she was about eight years old, Fanny Frederick was valued at S£50. In 1783 several eight-year-old children as well as Fanny Frederick's then nine-year-old mother had been appraised at £50 Currency, which meant that, given the exchange rates at the time, the price of young children had almost doubled in the past three decades. Although her value was high, it appears that Fanny Frederick was small for her age. When she was about 15, she was said to have been ten years old. But she was strong. In her twenties she worked in the Number One Gang with some of the other people originally reserved by JPP. She was entitled to the usual adult allowance of six pints piled and three herrings as well as four yards each of bamboo and brown cloth.

In October 1824 her brother Richard died but Fanny Frederick was alive on 1 August 1834. She was in her early thirties.

Three other young females called Fanny lived on Clarke's Estate. While one tended to be known just as Fanny, another was Fanny Felto and the third was Fanny Jones, a mulatto. The following may therefore have applied to Fanny Frederick or to the other young women called Fanny:

- In 1823/4 Frances Clarke gave birth to a black boy called Alexander. He was baptised on 19 October 1834 in the Methodist Chapel (all other baptisms took place in St Thomas Lowland or St Paul's church). The father was 'Ale'[xander?].[502]
- In October 1829 Fanny Clarke gave birth to a black son called Joseph. He was baptised on 27 June 1830.[503]
- Two months later Fanny Clarke was baptised, on 15 August 1830.[504]
- Fanny Clarke married the 30-year-old William Douglas (No 616) on 30 March 1833.[505]

The slave registers of 1817 and 1828 suggest that Fanny Frederick was born in 1806/7, or in 1805/6 (UKNA, T 71/364 and T 71/367). Fanny Frederick, the 'daughter of Mary Path', was listed after Sarah Fisher's reserved children.

[498] PP, LB 45: P & T to Sam Laurence, Nevis, 7 February 1810
[499] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 28 April 1810
[500] PP, LB 23: JPP to Sam Laurence, Nevis, 13 October 1810
[501] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 10/11 January 1811
[502] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835
[503] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873 No 199
[504] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873 No 209
[505] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965

After this, the woman who married William Douglas should have been called Fanny or Frances Douglas but no references to a woman of that name or a man called William Douglas have been found, only the following:

- On 3 August 1834 Fanny Clarke's child Jesse was baptised.[506]
- On 16 January 1845 Fanny Clarke, a domestic, was baptised. While previously Fanny Clarke's residence had been given as Clarke's Estate, this woman's was given as St Thomas Lowland.[507]
- Frances Clarke from Cotton Ground was buried on 7 November 1865. Her recorded age, 70 years, appears estimated.[508]

There was also a woman called Frances Pinney who had lived in Barns Ghut. Aged 72, she was buried on 1 October 1875.[509]

616 William Douglas, later possibly William Penny and William Clarke Pinney. He was yellow cast and born on Saturday, 6 November 1802. His mother may have been Peggy (No 372), who died in late 1805 or in 1806, soon after giving birth to a boy called Job. The boys may also have had an older sibling who was born in the early to mid-1790s. Job died between 1817 and 1822, still in his teens.

Aged 30, on 30 March 1833 William Douglas married a woman called Fanny Clarke. At the time of the wedding he was said to have lived on 'Pinney's Estate' and his wife on Clarke's. His wife may have been Fanny Frederick (No 615) who was about the same age as William Douglas but there was also another woman called Fanny on Clarke's. She was black and about eight years younger than him. The witnesses at their weddings were Peter Thomas Huggins and James Herbert,[510] a free mixed-race man who acted as Parish Clerk.

It is possible that, following his marriage to a woman on Clarke's he moved to that estate and then to Cotton Ground. One man called William Penny was known to have leased land from the London bankers James Whatman Bosanquet and Charles Franks. In an indenture dated 1 July 1845 he made his mark by way of signature. William Penny paid $50 for leasing half an acre of land, measuring 180' by 120 ½'. He was one of several people who leased land called Guinea Corn Ground which had previously been part of the former Clifton Paynes and Moreton Bay estates in St Thomas Lowland. Parcelled up, it was sold off and formed the beginnings of Cotton Ground village.[511]

William Clarke Pinney was buried on 31 December 1869. Last resident in Cotton Ground, he was said to have been aged sixty.[512] The age appears estimated, and it is very likely that it was this man. He would have been 67 years old.

[506] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873 No 432
[507] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1838-1875 No 420
[508] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957
[509] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957
[510] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
[511] ECSCRN, CR 1847-1858 f63
[512] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 1034

617 Thomas, later Thomas Pinney and Penny, was black and born on Saturday, 18 December 1802.

A field worker, he was baptised on 13 January 1828 in St Thomas Lowland [513] and, aged 34, on 24 June 1837 married the apprentice labourer Anne Morgan in St Thomas Lowland church. The clerk William Browne again served as one of the witnesses. [514]

Although they had been married in the Anglican church, when his wife's son David Williams was baptised in St Paul's church on 25 January 1839, not only was her maiden name used but the child was also recorded as 'illegitimate'.[515] The marriage may have broken down by then: Anne Morgan was living on 'Penny's while Thomas had probably moved to Charlestown where he died a few months after Emancipation: Thomas Penny was buried on 21 May 1839. His age appears estimated; he was said to have been forty years old but was 36.[516]

618 Joanna or Johanna, later Hannah Pinney and Penny, and Hannah Parris. A field hand, she was black and born on Friday, 31 December 1802.

In April 1826 her daughter Nancy Jones was born. The father was Ned, or Edward Parris, a black man from Parris's estate about a couple of years younger than Hannah.[517] At the end of July 1833 she gave birth to another daughter, Sally, whose father was Jud Huggins, a field worker. Her daughters were not baptised together; Sally was baptised in November [518] and Nancy in April of the following year.[519]

On 10 January 1835 Hannah married Nancy's father, Edward Parris. [520] A year later the couple had a son, Constant, who was baptised as a three-months-old on 1 May 1836. He, too, underwent baptism in the Methodist Chapel, like Hannah's daughters Sally and Nancy. However, although her wedding had taken place in the Anglican church the year before, her married name was not recognised and she was registered as Hannah Pinney. When their son was baptised, Edward Parris was a driver on Parris's [521] but the couple may already have lived in Charlestown.

Hannah's husband died the following year. He was buried on 7 April 1837. Aged about 34, he was said to have been aged 'about 37' and last resident in Charlestown. Having been married at St Thomas Lowland, he was buried in St Paul's.[522] It is not known what happened to Hannah Parris and her children.

619 James was born in or around 1803 and the son of either Affey (No 330), Friday (No 414), or Nelly's Jibba (No 500).

If he was Affey's son, he lost his mother young. She died before December 1806.

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[513] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873 No 41
[514] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
[515] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1835-1873 No 160
[516] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1837-1840/1 No 94
[517] UKNA, T 71/364
[518] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 995
[519] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 1019
[520] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
[521] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[522] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 767

James died between August 1807 and December 1816. He was at least five and at the most 14 years old.

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The following three people were the last directly imported Africans acquired for Mountravers during the Pinneys' ownership. Although no record of their purchase exists, without doubt they had been bought from the slaver *Ann* which arrived at Nevis on 13 September 1803. Unfortunately it is not known where in Africa it had taken people on board but many details about the vessel and her crew have come to light.

The *Ann* was owned by William Brade, a wealthy Liverpool merchant.[523] A recently-built 227-ton vessel, Brade fitted her out and put in charge a Liverpudlian, Eglinton Richardson. Richardson was an experienced captain who had skippered several slaving voyages. On his latest he had taken the *Ann* to Angola and then unloaded the captives at Antigua and at Dominica, returning to Liverpool the previous October. A few months later, on 6 January 1803, Eglinton Richardson and 27 crew members signed up for another voyage to Africa. They departed from Liverpool towards the end of January.

The *Ann* probably lay off the African coast when the first two men died: the Mate James Kelsey on 9 May and then Captain Richardson himself five days later. On 20 June the Second Mate, the Liverpudlian James Murray, also died. This left the Third Mate, William Dockeray, in charge. The sequence of events suggests that the vessel landed in the West Indies on 7 August, the day when four sailors deserted the ship. Three days later seven men were impressed to serve on another vessel and one man, the ship's tailor Richard Hughes, was discharged. The next day, 11 August, two more men ran: William Jones and Nick Wetherman, a sailor from Guernsey. It is likely that the vessel then called at a second port where the Welshman William Owen was impressed. Four days later the ship lost two more Welshmen: Richard Evans was impressed and William Hughes died. With so many crew members gone, it was easy to get a job, and two days later, on 7 September a man called Charles Maies signed up.[524] Appointed master, Maies took the ship to Nevis. It arrived after six days' sailing.[525]

Charles Maies was none other than Captain Maies who for 16 years had worked for the House. A man in his mid-forties,[526] he was an experienced trans-Atlantic seafarer; before working for the House he had commanded vessels from Bristol that were engaged in traffic to South Carolina and to the Virgin Islands, St Thomas and Tortola.[527] After that Maies had been appointed master of the first Pinney ship, the *Nevis.* He had worked hard, sailing almost continuously, and sailing in all weathers. Although it is generally accepted that hurricanes can happen as early as July, according to the House the hurricane season lasted from the beginning of August to the end of December, [528] which may have been an attempt at delaying the fleet sufficiently late to be able to take on board the last of the crop. Maies was a faithful servant. On one journey he discovered, after a day's sailing, two stowaways from Indian Castle plantation 'who had secreted themselves in his ship' and, as he was on his way back to Bristol, he asked another

[523] William Brade bought some land between Garstang and Lancaster in 1801 and soon after was said to have had constructed Forton Lodge, possibly as a summer residence. Anthony Hewitson found it 'a pretty large, substantial building, with a somewhat peculiar roof centred by a massive chimney block', which stood at the head of an oblong, tree-flanked field (*Northward*, first published in 1900). In his will of February 1816, William Brade left the Lodge to his daughter Isabella, of Liverpool. After her death, a descendent called James Brade held Forton Lodge until he sold it in 1852 to Mr Preston Kelsall of Lancaster. He, in turn, sold the property to the trustees of Mr Robert Rawcliffe (http://www.lancshalls.co.uk/wyrehalls.htm).
[524] UKNA, BT 98/64, BT 98/63
[525] Eltis, David *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* Voyage No 80821
[526] Pers. comm., Howard J Mais, 25 June 1999
[527] SMV, Ships' Muster Rolls 1771-1783 Muster of the *Saville* and the *Phillip*
[528] PP, LB 37: P & T to Edward Huggins, 10 November 1788

ship to return them to Nevis.[529] Charles Maies had served the House well but then, the previous autumn, 'poor Maies' had been removed for mismanagement. A series of incidents had finished his career with the company: In early 1801 he had taken on board too much sugar for Protheroe & Claxton and not enough for the House,[530] later in the year he had accidentally gone ashore at Buff Point, had remained there for some hours but luckily had 'got off again without any apparent injury',[531] and in early 1802 he had forgotten to take with him 'all his papers and Day Book'. He had left these on Mountravers with the manager.[532] JPP could depend on Maies for news from the island and wanted to keep him, but the decision was made to sack the man. Maies would have lost his job sooner if JPP 'had not stood up for him as a friend'.[533]

A vessel the size of the *Ann* would have taken on board nearly 300 African captives, of whom, on average, about 240 would have survived the journey to the West Indies.[534] It is not known how many were landed at the other stopping points but when the *Ann* reached Nevis, the fittest people would have been sold already.

While the *Ann* was lying off Nevis, Maies signed up several new crew members. The first to join was a cook from the West Indies, Richard Haynes, who may well have been a black sailor, then the Mate CP Carrol from Liverpool and on the day of the sailing six more men entered service: James Watson, William Carrol, J Henman, James Phillips, William Clayton and Thomas Williams. On 25 November the *Ann* left Nevis under Maies's command and arrived back in Liverpool almost exactly a year after she had departed. On this voyage the ship's crew had been reduced by twenty men: five had died, six had run and nine had been impressed onto other ships. Of the 28 seamen who had left Liverpool on the *Ann*, eight came home on her.[535] They, and those who had been taken aboard in the West Indies, were discharged and paid off. As was customary, half of the wages owed to the deserters was paid into the funds of the seamen's hospital.

Three months after arriving back in Liverpool the vessel did one more voyage under Captain William Williams. After taking the African captives aboard, the *Ann* was seized by the French.[536]

By December 1803 JPP had heard that new people had been purchased and he wrote to Henry Williams that 'my son has desired ... nothing to do with the three negroes you have purchased and as he understands they were bought cheap, he hopes you will be able to sell them to advantage - remitting him

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[529] The two stowaways had been selling sweetmeats to the seamen when the *Nevis* was made ready to sail. This gave them the idea to hide aboard ship and leave for England – 'as it is better to be free, then (sic) to be slave'. The following day when they got hungry they came out of their hiding place. They thought that the vessel would not weigh anchor again but off Tortola it did. The runners belonged to a Mr Henry Dickson at Indian Castle. It was said that he underfed his people because he did not import provisions.

The incident with the stowaways is not only an example how the seafaring community dealt with runaways but also shows how social networks developed at sea. In March the following year, while lying at anchor in the Nevis Road, Captain Maies met up again with members of the crew whom he had asked for help with the stowaways. With one of the men he had a 'long conversation' abroad the *Nevis*, and one of Maies's crew, Mr Sidnel, in turn visited the other vessel. They exchanged news of people they knew from Bristol (*Aaron Thomas's Journal* p58, p257 and p294).

[530] PP, LB 42: TP & T to James Williams and JC Mills, 15 May 1801

[531] PP, LB 42: TP & T to John Taylor, Swanage, Dorset, 18 September 1801

[532] PP, LB 42: TP & T to James Williams, 8 March 1802

[533] PP, LB 17: JPP to James Williams, Nevis, 20 November 1802

[534] According to one source, 292 enslaved Africans embarked and 238 disembarked (David Eltis *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM*).

[535] UKNA, BT 98/64, BT 98/63

[536] Possibly the same *Ann,* or a different vessel of the same name, left Liverpool at the beginning of May 1807, captained by William Brown. One hundred enslaved people perished with the ship, probably in a storm (David Eltis *et al* (eds) *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM*).

the £96 for the bill drawn by Mr Mills in your favour to pay for them.'[537] To John Colhoun Mills he wrote on the same day, suggesting Mills might want them on his estate, and, if so, to 'settle price with Henry Williams.'[538] Mills, however, did not buy them, and they remained on Mountravers.

620, 621, and 622 When they arrived at Mountravers, **Pompey** was about 16,[539] **Caesar** about ten or eleven and **Augustus** about seven years old.

In late 1805, Pompey was employed as a domestic, covering for Ben Weekes, who was ill. He had 'not been able to do anything this three months', and the manager Joe Stanley was 'therefore … obliged to keep Pompey in the kitchen'.[540] Pompey was then still in his seasoning period but later, no doubt, these Africans were employed in the fields.

The youngest died first; Augustus was dead by December 1816. The others died in their late thirties, Pompey on 20 August 1826 and Caesar on 9 October 1829.

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These children were born during Joe Stanley's managership:

623 Juno, later Joney Pinney, Juno Clarke and Joanna Martin. She was black, born on Sunday, 30 October 1803, [541] and the field worker Frankey Vaughan's (No 425) fourth child. Juno's mother had been purchased in 1776.

Juno had two brothers, Guy (b 1798) and Fido (b 1807/8), and two surviving sisters, Ritta (b 1795) and Miah (b 1804/6). Miah died around the time Fido was born and another sibling died a couple of years later.

While her sister Ritta was at first reserved as JPP's own, she was later given up for sale and was owned by the Hugginses, but Juno and the rest of her family was rented to Clarke's Estate and for some months to Mr Mills's. Aged four and a half years, she was valued at £30, aged six and a half at £40 (in May 1810). During the following nine months her brother's values rose by £5 each while hers remained at £40. Juno was small for her age; in 1817, then aged 13, she was said to have been nine years old.

Juno's brother Fido died between 1822 and 1825 on Clarke's Estate, where she worked in the Number 1 Gang with her mother and her brother Guy. He was also a boiler. Juno was entitled to the usual adult allowance of six pints piled and three herrings, as well as five yards each of bamboo and brown cloth. Later her mother became lame and was given the job of minding mules. Juno lost another member of her family when her sister Ritta died between 1831 and 1833 on Mountravers.

Juno was baptised as Joney Pinney on 12 October 1828 [542] and as Juno Clarke married Daniel B Martin on 21 April 1832.[543] A black man in his early twenties, he was about eight years younger than her [544] and

[537] PP, LB 18: JPP to Henry Williams, Nevis, 15 December 1803
[538] PP, LB 18: JPP to JC Mills, Nevis, 15 December 1803
[539] In 1817 Pompey was about 25-30 years old but in 1807 he was already listed as a man and was, therefore, more likely to have been born about 1787.
[540] PP, Dom Box P: JW Stanley to JF Pinney, 27 December 1805
[541] Juno's birth was also recorded in the plantation diary (PP, DM 1173/4).
[542] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Record 1825-1835 No 371

one of around 25 enslaved people owned by the free black woman Ann Bennett. Daniel Martin's mistress was well-off. She owned seven people in 1817 (among them Daniel), leased land and bought ten more in 1823 and a further six in 1825.[545] She lost seven - five people had died and she sold two - but when slavery was abolished Ann Bennett was to get £365 worth of compensation for her remaining people.[546] She may have invested this in property; in the late 1830s she had three houses in Charlestown: one faced the market place, one fronted the beach and another one stood in Main Street.[547] Ann Bennett lived next to the free woman Ann Arthurton,[548] whose son had not long ago jointly inherited in trust the plantation of the former Mountravers manager Thomas Arthurton. Until the end of the apprenticeship period, Juno's husband remained in Charlestown where he worked as a boatman while she carried on working on Clarke's.

In August 1837 Juno gave birth to her first child. She named her daughter Frances, after her mother. The girl was baptised on 10 September 1837.[549] Daniel Martin then moved to Clarke's Estate and in 1845 the couple's second child was born. Named Daniel after his father, the boy was baptised at the age of three months on 11 May 1845.[550] In November 1846 their son George Powell was born; he was baptised on 21 March 1847.[551] Four months later Juno's brother Guy died. Until his death he had also lived on Clarke's Estate. In 1834 their mother had been alive but it is not known what happened to her.

The following year Daniel Martin was among the 'mechanics' and labourers who bought small plots of land from Pollard's Estate, part of the old Jesup's plantation that bordered Clarke's. He paid £10 for half an acre. An agent with a dubious reputation, Hastings Charles Huggins, handled the sale and a planter who appeared to have had no legal training, John Fraser Arthurton, drew up the leases. He was one of Thomas Arthurton's sons and joint inheritor with Samuel Sturge whose mother had been a neighbour in Charlestown of Daniel Martin's previous owner, Ann Bennett. John Fraser Arthurton's leases turned out to be faulty – the settlers had paid for more land than they had received and some leases neither matched their plots nor the money they paid and, as it turned out, Huggins did not hand over the money to the English owner of Pollard's Land. When they tried to talk to Huggins before he left Nevis, he refused to see them and the villagers got together, wrote to George Pollard in England and appealed to him for justice.[552] Daniel Martin was among the 38 signatories to the letter, which warned that, one way or another; they would resist any attempt to move them from their land.[553]

624 Fanny, later Fanny Jones and probably Frances Herbert. Although later described as a 'mulatto', she was the second child of parents who were both mulattoes, Patty Fisher (No 491) and Billey Jones (No 382). Fanny Jones was born on Tuesday, 22 November 1803, and had six siblings: William (b 1801), Charles (b 1806), Frederick (b 1808/9), Betsey (b 1811/2), Mary (b 1814/5) and Jeanett (b 1817/8). Almost certainly she was named after her father's sister who lived in England.

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[543] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
[544] UKNA, T 71/364
[545] ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 vol 2 f21, f105, and UKNA, T 71/366 and T 71/368; also NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 113 Among the individuals Ann Bennett bought in 1825 was a girl Eliza whom she acquired from Henrietta Clarke (UKNA, T 71/367). Henrietta Clarke, a free woman, may have been the link between Juno and her husband.
[546] HoCAaP 1837-1838 Vol xlviii: Chadwyk-Healey mf 41.389 pp107-08; also PP, Dom Box R-6: Compensation file
[547] ECSCRN, Book of Wills 1837-1864 f77
[548] ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 vol 2 f726
[549] The family name of Juno and her husband were transcribed as 'Marthu'. Their residence was given as Charlestown and Clarke's (NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered).
[550] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[551] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 No 378
[552] DHC, D87/2 Pollard MSS: Complaint to George Pollard, London, 23 February 1863
[553] DHC, D87/2 Pollard MSS: Letter from Nevis to AH Limmington, London, 26 March 1863

Fanny only spent some of her very early life on Mountravers; she grew up in Charlestown where her father worked as a cooper and her mother, most likely, as a seamstress. Living independently gave Fanny a good start in life, and she developed better and was bigger and stronger than most plantation-raised children of her age. When she was in her early teens, she was judged two years older than she was; her elder brother William's age was also over-estimated by two years.
Fanny was among the people reserved by JPP, together with her parents, her siblings, her grandmothers Sarah Fisher and Black Polly, and her aunts and uncles, but when the plantation was sold, her uncle James ended up with Huggins by mistake. He worked on Mountravers while the rest of the family were on Clarke's. However, in 1811 her brother William was also rented to Clarke's and three years later Fanny, too, went to work on that estate. Whilst working as a domestic on the plantation, she did, however, live in Charlestown and commuted. Although not resident, she was entitled to the usual adult plantation allowances of clothing and food.

In early 1820 Fanny's father died, and a year later Charles Pinney sold several members of her family to two free mixed-race women: her mother and her four surviving brothers and sisters, Charles, Frederick, Betsey and Jeanett. Her sister Mary had died by then. Fanny's aunt in England, her father's elder sister Fanny Coker, also died and left £20 and a watch to Fanny and her brothers and sisters.

Fanny Jones's first child, Ann Eliza, was born in October 1823[554] and baptised on 23 January 1824.[555] She died when she was three years old. She was buried on 30 May 1827.[556] Ann Eliza was said to have been black and, given that the child's maternal grandparents were mulattoes, it is very likely that her father was a black man. Fanny Jones's next two children, however, were recorded as mulattoes: Thomas James was born in 1828 and baptised on 3 July 1829,[557] and Sarah Ann on 17 January 1831 and baptised on 24 April 1831.[558] The children's father was a free man, Isaac Herbert, who was of the same age as Fanny and also lived in Charlestown. However, by the time her second daughter was baptised, Fanny and her children had moved from there to Clarke's Estate.

Fanny's mother and her brothers Charles and Frederick were freed but this joyous event was overshadowed by the deaths of four men close to Fanny: first her partner died - Isaac Herbert was buried on 17 April 1832; he was only 29 years old - [559] a month later her uncle Tom Fisher, and, within months of each other, her brothers Frederick and Charles. In 1834 Fanny also lost her mother. Her brother William then died in 1842 and her sister Betsey probably in 1865 but it is not known what happened to her other sister, Jeanett.

Although no record has yet been found, Fanny Jones may well have married the father of her children [560] and may, therefore, have been buried as Frances Herbert. On 5 December 1853 a woman of that name was buried in the local cemetery. She was said to have been 'about fifty years' old – her exact age.

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[554] On Clarke's, Fanny Jones's daughter Ann Eliza was registered as Anne. In fact two Annes were listed in 1825: one was aged one year, the other aged two. Both were, wrongly, described as black. The other infant Anne was the child of Mary Webbe, daughter of Sarah Fisher. Anne's date of birth is derived from her age at death.
[555] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 4
[556] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 182
[557] NHCS, St Paul's Baptisms 1824-1835 No 432
[558] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873
It is possible that a mistake was made with Fanny's daughter's birth date and that she was confused with a black girl called Sally, Bell's daughter. Frances Jones's daughter was on the 1831 Clarke's list recorded as Sarah Ann, with an exact date of birth, while Sally was said to have been born in 1828. Given that Frances Jones was in Charlestown and returned to Clarke's Estate in about 1831, it is more likely that - like her son Thomas Herbert – Frances Jones's daughter Sarah Ann's birth date should have been given as 1828, and that the exact birth date applied to Bell's daughter Sally.
[559] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1825-1837 No 460
[560] Fanny Jones and Isaac Herbert may have been married in the Methodist Chapel but for this period there are no Methodist marriage records in the NHCS archive.

Frances Herbert had last lived in Charlestown.[561] She may well have fallen victim to the cholera which immigrants from England had carried to Nevis.

It is possible that her daughter remained on Mountravers and that she got married to a man called Thomas Pemberton. A woman called Sarah Ann Pemberton who said to have been aged 60 died in March 1886 (the age appears estimated; she would have been five years younger)[562] and Thomas Pemberton from Pinney's died a year later, in October 1887. His age, too, appears estimated. He was said to have been 50 years old.[563]

625 Mary Scarborough, a mestize, was probably born in 1803, Sally Peaden's (No 422) daughter and the sister of George Scarborough (b 1792), Betsey Saunders (b 1798) and Alfred (b 1806).

Mary Scarborough died between August 1807 and December 1816. She was fourteen years old at the most. Sally Peaden and Alfred also died during that period.

626 Frances, later Frances Pinney, was black and born on Wednesday, 14 January 1804. Just before slavery was abolished, she was baptised on 13 July 1834,[564] one of four adults from Peter Thomas Huggins's estates who underwent the ceremony that day. At 55 Yanneky was the oldest; the others were younger: Flora was in her late twenties and Augustus from Clarke's Estate in his late teens.[565]

It is very likely that Frances remained on Mountravers until January 1850 when she bought land on John Taylor's old Tower Hill plantation. John Taylor had sold the estate to Walter Maynard Pemberton,[566] and his widow Anne Prentis Pemberton was in the process of selling it.[567] The widow Mrs Pemberton, who was Peter Thomas Huggins's sister, had however agreed to sell one acre and quarter of an acre to Frances Pinney. Then employed as a labourer, Frances Pinney was to pay $125 for the land; half was to go to Mrs Pemberton, the other half to the purchaser of the Tower Hill Estate, Thomas Daniel. [568]

She may well have been the Frances Pinney from 'Barn Gut' (Barnes Ghaut) who was buried on 1 October 1875. Aged 71, she was said to have been a year older.[569] However, this could also have been Fanny Frederick, who was at least two years younger than this Frances.

627 Greenwich, later Greenwich Huggins, Greenwich Penny and Greenwich Ward. He was black and born on Thursday, 19 January 1804.

It is possible that Greenwich was the father of Christianna, a girl born on neighbouring Scarborough's Estate on 10 November 1830.[570] An 'illegitimate' child, she was baptised on 29 September 1833 in St

[561] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 932
[562] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 1467
[563] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 1501
[564] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 Unnumbered
[565] UKNA, T 71/364 and T 71/367
[566] ECSCRN, CR 1823-1829 vol 2 ff651-56
[567] Peter Thomas Huggins's sister Ann Prentice had married Walter Maynard Pemberton in May 1818 (VL Oliver *Caribbeana* Vol 2 pp33-6).
[568] ECSCRN, CR 1847-1858 f201
[569] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957
[570] UKNA, T 71/368

Thomas Lowland church.[571] The girl's mother was Elsey, a black woman in her early twenties, [572] whom Greenwich Huggins married on 3 August 1834 - [573] just after the beginning of the apprenticeship period. By then he had also fathered Sally Penny's (No 635) son David; he was born about five months after Greenwich's wedding. David was baptised in the Methodist Chapel in August 1835,[574] where Greenwich's wife had also undergone baptism a few months earlier, on 17 May.[575]

Although they had been married in an Anglican church, when the couple's next two children were baptised in the Methodist Chapel, the parents were registered by the plantation names Pinney and Scarborough rather than their married name, Huggins. Their son William (b Jan/February 1836) was baptised on 1 May 1836 [576] and their son Alexander (b 3 February 1838) on 15 July 1838. By then Greenwich was a driver [577] but when their next child was baptised he was said to have been a labourer. And their surname changed once more. When their son Thomas (b 12 November 1843) was baptised on 24 March 1844, Greenwich's and his wife's surname was now recorded as Ward.[578] Ward's was the estate adjoining Scarborough's, and it is likely that the couple had moved there.

Given that the name was not very common, it is possible that Elsey's first child, Christianna, was later known as Christiana Huggins and that, as a young girl, she had an 'illegitimate' daughter, Rosanna, who was baptised in November 1844. Christiana Huggins was working as a labourer on Bailey's estate.[579] Aged 18, she may have died in hospital. Said to have been 'about 25 years', she was buried on 3 December 1848.[580]

It is likely that Greenwich, too, died in 'the asylum'. A man of that name was buried on 17 August 1856. He was said to have been 42; Greenwich was in fact 44 years old. [581]

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In May 1804[582] two girls were swapped for two young mulatto boys. They replaced Hetty's sons Billy and Siah and were exchanged by Josiah Nicholson, the uncle of the boys. Josiah Nicholson had a plantation in St James Windward and it is likely that the girls had grown up in that parish.

In 1808, when she was perhaps ten years old, Phibba was appraised at S£60, Glory at S£50. By 1811 their value had risen by S£10 each. Phibba's higher value reflects that she was older than Glory. By comparison, adult female field workers were then valued between S£90 and S£100.

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[571] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873
[572] In 1817, Elsey was listed as Elcy, aged 4 (UKNA, T 71/364). It is possible that Elsey was a first-generation Creole. Among the Scarborough slaves were two Africans in 1817: Alexander aged 40 and William aged 17. They may possibly have been her father and elder brother. There was also a 10-year-old Creole, Thomas. William died on 11 October 1826 and she may have named her sons after her dead older brother, her father and her younger brother.
[573] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
[574] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
Greenwich's name was mis-transcribed as 'Green.ly Penny'.
[575] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
Elsey's name was mis-transcribed as Belsey.
[576] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[577] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[578] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 No 16
[579] NHCS, Transcripts of Baptisms St Thomas Lowland 1831-1873 No 726
[580] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 653
[581] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 1034
[582] PP, LB 21: JW Stanley's list 31 December 1806; also LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 8 May 1812, and JPP to Samuel Laurence, 11 May 1812

Both girls were initially said to have been 'Creole negro girls'[583] but, according to JPP, Phibba actually was African.[584]

628 Phibba was black and probably born about 1798.

As there were two other Phibbas on Mountravers, this girl became the object of confusion and another wrangle between JPP and Edward Huggins. Originally handed over to Huggins when Mountravers was sold, in February 1810 the House asked Samuel Laurence to take her into his possession, as well as another girl called Fanny Frederick. Unless Mr Huggins chose to hire them, they were to be hired to John Henry Clarke with the other reserved people.[585] JPP believed that Huggins could have 'no pretence whatever to detain Phibba the property of Mr Pinney, so rented and put into the possession of Mr Clarke …'[586] After all, she and Glory replaced two boys who had been reserved by JPP and the girls, therefore, had become JPP's property. Huggins wanted ownership of Phibba but JPP insisted she was his: 'I cannot see the smallest claim he sets up for Phibba who is an African negro girl exchanged with Mr Nicholson for a mulatto child of Hetty'.[587] Glory, meanwhile, appears to have been rented to Mr Clarke. Her ownership was not in dispute.

Described as a 'good field negro', Phibba was valuable and worth the effort, and in January 1812 JPP wanted confirmation from Joe Stanley, his last manager, that everything had happened the way he had presented to Huggins. He asked Stanley 'whether you did not deliver to Mr Bennett when you gave up the trust of his estate the 1 August 1807 a negro woman called Old Phibba and a girl called Phibba belonging to the estate also a negrogirl, belonging to Mr Pinney senior called Phibba who - and Glory - were given in exchange for two sons of Hetty called Billy and Siah - and if either of the two belonging to the estate, died before you left'.[588]

Huggins held on to Phibba:

> Now there are two negroes called Phibba belonging to the Estate were accounted for to Mr Huggins and the present Phibba which Mr Huggins detains, is the identical negro girl given by Mr Josiah Nicholson in exchange of a mulatto son of Hetty. What pretence can there be set up for her detention?[589]

The dispute carried on and resulted in a further exchange of letters. At this point JPP brought into the debate James, Sarah Fisher's son. He, too, was the object of a mix-up and Edward Huggins also retained him. To settle the dispute, JPP was willing to do two things: give up Nancy Williams, Jenetta's daughter, and not quibble over another deal which he had struck with Huggins. [590] This involved a large consignment of people JPP had bought at auction. They had been sold to Edward Huggins who had actually received three more than the 64 he had paid for.[591]

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[583] PP, LB 46: JPP & JF Pinney to James Lawson, Nevis, 25 February 1808
[584] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 1 November 1811
[585] PP, LB 45: P & T to Samuel Laurence, Nevis, 7 February 1810
[586] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 28 April 1810
[587] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 4 November 1811
[588] PP, LB 50: P&A to JW Stanley, 3 January 1812
[589] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 8 May 1812; also LB 23: to Samuel Laurence, 11 May 1812
[590] PP, LB 47: Case Tobin v Pinney and ECSCRN, CR 1810-1814 ff539-47
[591] PP, LB 22: JPP to PT Huggins, 18 October 1812, and LB 23: JPP to Edward Huggins, 10 March 1813

John Henry Clarke, meanwhile, was losing patience and wanted James and Phibba returned to him. He threatened to give up all the people he had rented from JPP and immediately hand them over to JPP's attorney. This was thought unreasonable; Clarke should have given at least six months' notice. To force a settlement, JPP threatened Huggins with legal action over James' and Phibba's return. [592] A few months later JPP wrote that he was willing to rent Sarah Fisher's son James to Huggins at a moderate rent and 'As to the negro girl Phibba' he maintained that Huggins 'could never set up the smallest claim.'[593] It appears that Huggins had informed him of Phibba's death. She certainly was dead by 1817. She was not yet twenty years old.

629 **Glory** was a black Creole and probably born about 1801/2.[594]

John Henry Clarke did, as he had said he would: he handed over JPP's reserved people to JPP's attorney, John Colhoun Mills. He had threatened to do so on 7 March 1813 but he gave proper notice and surrendered them on 7 September 1813. For just over nine months all of JPP's reserved people then worked on Mr Mills's estate until they returned to Clarke's.

As a child Glory had been described as 'a good field negro' and on Clarke's Estate she worked in the Number 1 Field Gang. She was listed alongside some of the other people originally reserved by JPP, suggesting, perhaps, that she shared accommodation with them. She was entitled to the usual adult allowance of six pints piled and three herrings, as well as four yards each of bamboo and brown cloth.

Although she had belonged to JPP for most of her life, on 5 October 1828 she was baptised as Glory Clarke. She was baptised in the Methodist Chapel.[595]

Then probably in her early thirties, Glory was alive in August 1834.

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630 **Miah** was born some time after July 1804 and before December 1806.[596] Her mother was the field labourer Frankey Vaughan (No 425), whom JPP had purchased in 1776. Miah had an elder brother Guy (b 1798) and two elder sisters, Ritta (b 1795) and Juno (b 1803).

Miah died between September 1807 and April 1808; around the same time her brother Fido was born. At the most she was about four years old.

631 **Violet** was born on Saturday, 12 October 1805, and was the field worker Mary Path's second daughter. Her elder siblings were Richard (b 1800) and Fanny Frederick (b 1802).

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[592] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 8 March 1813
[593] PP, LB 24: JPP to Edward Huggins, 21 October 1813
[594] According to the Clarke's Estate slave registration list, Glory was nine years old in 1817 (i.e. born in 1807/8) but it appears that the date of birth and date of acquisition were mixed up. The mistake was carried over into the next list (UKNA, T 71/364 and T 71/367).
[595] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 355
[596] The girl Miah born 30 October 1798 could not have been Frankey Vaughan's daughter as Frankey definitely gave birth to Guy in June 1798.

It is likely that her mother was among the nine people who died within the first six months of Huggins taking over. Violet also died some time between August 1807 and December 1816. She was eleven years old at the most.

632 Flora (also Florah), later Flora Richards, Hobson and also Sheriffe? She was black and born on Saturday, 16 November 1805. Her mother was Phoebe (No 502) and her elder sister probably Ritta Maillard (b 1802), who died between 1817 and 1822. Flora's mother died between 1831 and 1833.

Shortly before the beginning of the apprenticeship period, on 13 July 1834, Flora was baptised in the Methodist Chapel,[597] and it is likely that, as Flora Richards, she got married the following year, on 27 November. Throughout the 1820s middle names and family names came increasingly into use, and it is possible that Flora had chosen a second name for herself – may be that of the schoolteacher Miss Richards who worked on nearby Clifton estate.[598] Flora's husband, Stephen Hobson, a man from Parris's Estate, also had a family name.[599] The black boy John Hobson, born in April 1826 on Mountravers, may have been his - and of course also Flora's - son.

Flora had been baptised in the Methodist Chapel and this was also the venue for the baptism on 10 July 1836 of a five-week-old girl called Penny. She was said to have been the daughter of Flora Sheriffe and Scipio Sheriffe who both lived on 'Penny's'. Scipio was a field labourer,[600] and it is very likely that he was a black Creole about Flora's age and originally from Scarborough's Estate.[601] The name Sheriffe is usually associated with the Gingerland area and it is possible that this was a different couple altogether but it is also possible that Flora's marriage had broken down and that she had a child with another man.[602]

While Flora disappeared from the records, it is known that in August 1840 Stephen Hobson witnessed two marriages in St Thomas Lowland church: first that of Aram Jones and Ann Scarborough[603] and then that of Adam Huggins and Anna Washington. The other witness was Thomas Newton, who had also witnessed Stephen Hobson's and many other marriages. Stephen Hobson made his mark by way of signature. [604]

633 Toby, also Tobin, was black and born on Monday, 16 December 1805. [605] His mother was the field hand Nelly's Juba (No 500). She had given birth about three years earlier before he was born; either the child had died young, or it may have been John Pedero (No 612) or James (No 613).

When Toby was four years old, his mother was among the women who suffered a severe public flogging by Huggins in the market place.

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[597] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 Unnumbered
[598] UKNA, CO 187/7 Blue Book Nevis 1833
[599] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
[600] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[601] UKNA, T 71/364
[602] Scipio from Scarborough's Estate, who was born about 1806 or 1807, may have been baptised in October 1830 as Scipio Terril, married Sarah Parris in August 1840 (as Scipio Tyrrel) and been buried simply as 'Scipio from Clarke's Estate' in November 1848. Although Scipio from Scarborough's would only have been in his early forties, this man was then said to have been fifty years old. The round figure, however, suggests that his age was estimated rather than known (NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965 No 221 and St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1954).
[603] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
[604] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
[605] PP, LB 21 f22 List dated 31 December 1806

John Pedero and James died young, and Toby died between 4 December 1816 and July 1817, aged 11.

634 Job, or Jobe, was 'yellow cast' and born on Friday, 27 December 1805. His mother, Peggy (No 372), died soon after he was born. He probably had an elder brother, William Douglas (b 1802) and another older sibling. It is not known who took care of the baby and the other children but Job's mother was the child of an entailed slave, and so it is very likely that there were relatives on Mountravers who would have adopted them.

Jobe died between July 1817 and February 1822. He was at least eleven, at the most sixteen years old.

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In 1806 eight children were born. Two of these, John Fisher and Charles Jones, were sons of reserved women. Their stories and those of their siblings, who were born after Mountravers was sold, have been included in their mothers' biographies, Hetty (No 453) and Patty Fisher (No 491).

The last plantation-born, Pinney-owned person was a boy called Bunda. He was born in April 1807.

635 Sally, later Sally Penny and Sarah Pinney. She was black and born on Friday, 11 April 1806. Her mother was the field worker Pereen (No 407) who had been purchased in 1774. Sally certainly had one elder sister, Polly Herbert (b 1793) but Phoebe (b 1802) probably was another sister of hers and Jemmy (b 1800) a brother. The girls' mother died between 1817 and 1822 and Polly Herbert between 1831 and 1833. Polly probably left two young children, Susanna and Samuel, and it is likely that Sally would have adopted her niece and nephew. Jemmy married in August 1834, Phoebe a few months later.

Sally Penny was pregnant when slavery was abolished: in January 1835 her son David with Greenwich Penny (No 627) was born. The boy was baptised on 6 August 1835.[606] But the child's father had just married a woman from neighbouring Scarborough's plantation.

In 1839 Sally Penny had another son, Thomas. He was baptised on 9 October 1842. Thomas's father was Andrew Pinney (No 577),[607] a man who already had two daughters with Lucy Pinney (No 637); the second had been baptised just a few weeks before Thomas.

With Andrew Pinney, a black field labourer, Sarah Pinney had another son, John Burns (b December 1846). The boy was baptised on 21 February 1847. Andrew Pinney was then working on Ward's Estate.[608] Sarah Pinney and her children were baptised in the Methodist Chapel and it is likely that she was buried in the Methodist cemetery in Charlestown.

636 Adam was black and born on Saturday, 17 July 1806. His grandmother was an entailed woman; his mother the field hand Barbai (No 344). His brother London (b 1785) was already 21 years old when Adam was born and he also had three older sisters: Flora (b 1787), Kate (b 1794) and Betsey (b 1797).

[606] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[607] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[608] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered

He lost several members of his family. His mother and his eldest sister, Flora, died before he had reached the age of 11. Perhaps his brother London, Barbai's oldest son, took care of the younger children. In the 1820s two more of Adam's siblings died; first London in 1823, then Betsey in 1829.

Aged 28, Adam was alive on 1 August 1834, as was his sister Kate.

637 Litte Lucy, later Lucy and Lucy Pinney. She was black and born on Sunday, 17 August 1806. Her mother, Cuba (No 248), was a field worker. Little Lucy had an older brother, Felix (b 1801).

On 1 June 1828 Lucy Pinney was baptised, on the same day as Andrew Pinney (No 577),[609] the father of their daughter Bridget. Born in March 1832, Bridget was baptised as a four-year old in June 1836.[610] Lucy, who carried the name of her maternal grandmother, the field hand Lucy (No 123), named her own daughter after one of her aunts, Bridget (No 434). That aunt was alive in 1834, but her aunts Sue and Omah (Numbers 274 and 275) and her grandmother had died between 1817 and 1822. Lucy's brother Felix and their 75-year-old mother were alive in August 1834, as well as their cousin Goliah (No 536).

Given that Lucy and Andrew Pinney were both baptised on the same day, they may already have had a relationship as early as 1828. The couple had another child; their daughter Catherine was born shortly after Emancipation, on 25 October 1838. Aged almost four years, the girl was baptised on 21 August 1842.[611] A year later Andrew Pinney had a child with Sarah Pinney (No 635); their son was baptised a few weeks after Catherine.[612]

Given that Lucy and Andrew Pinney and their children were all baptised in the Methodist Chapel, it is likely that they were buried in the Methodist cemetery in Charlestown.

638 Billy (also Billey and Billy Pallas) was black and born on Saturday, 20 September 1806. His mother was a child of an entailed woman, Yanneky (No 436). He had an older brother, Dinny (b 1801), and probably an older sister, Miah (b 1798). When Billy was a teenager, his mother had two more children, Nancy (b 1820) and Eliza (b1824). The girls were baptised together in April 1829. Their father was Peter Cooper, a field worker.

Billy died on 11 November 1829 at the age of 23.

On the list that recorded his death he was, for the first time, called Billy Pallas. That year two men, Pallas and Fame, had been bought for Clarke's Estate and Pallas may have been Billy's father. But Billy could have acquired the additional name as a nickname, or as a mark of respect for the man. Pallas's story certainly was turbulent and moving. It involved three men being shipwrecked, being seized by customs, one man dying in jail and the other two being the subject of a court case that was to decide whether or not they were free.

639 Talliho, later Tallyho Pinney. He was black and born on Wednesday, 29 October 1806. His mother, the field worker Yabba (No 474), had a child in 1802, possibly John Pedero (No 612).

[609] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1825-1835 No 198
[610] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[611] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[612] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered

In his twenties, Tallyho Pinney was baptised on 30 May 1830.[613] He died four years later. Aged 27, he was buried on 6 January 1834, described as 'Tallyo, a slave' on Pinney's Estate. He was the first person from Mountravers known to have been buried at St Thomas Lowland church. [614]

It is likely that he was the father of one of the girls who were baptised as orphans in 1834, either Elizabeth (b 1824), or Fanny Penny (b 1827).

640 Alfred was born on Saturday, 20 December 1806. His mother, the domestic Sally Peaden (No 422), probably had three surviving children: Betsey Saunders (b 1798), George Scarborough (b 1792) and Mary Scarborough (b 1803).

Aged ten at the most, Alfred died between August 1807 and December 1816. His mother and Mary Scarborough also died during the same period.

641 Bunda, also Banda and Bunder, was black and born on Thursday, 16 April 1807. His mother, the field labourer Fanny Coker (No 518) had another son, William Birrell, when Bunda was already 17 years old. This child was baptised in 1830 but Bunda himself was not christened for another six years. At the age of 29, he underwent baptism on 22 June 1836,[615] the same day as two other young men from Mountravers, friends perhaps: Stephen and Rodney. Both were also black; one was a shepherd, the other worked, like Bunda, as a field labourer.

The impetus for his baptism appears to have been his intention to get married because just a couple of months after he his baptism in the Methodist Chapel, Bunda got married. His wife was Mary, an apprentice labourer from Mountravers, who may possibly have been a black girl born on Mountravers in 1817 (No 682).

The couple's wedding on 3 September 1836 took place in St Thomas Lowland church. Their witnesses were the clerk William Browne and Thomas Newton. Browne signed; Newton made his mark.[616]

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On the list of people sold with the plantation, five individuals were recorded for the first time: one woman, three men and a boy. The men had already been mentioned in the records in 1798 and in 1800 but were not officially acquired until after 1803. Unfortunately there are no account books available for this period and no further details about their origins can be ascertained. These people may have been bought but, more likely, they were acquired by way of mortgages falling due. It is equally likely that some had belonged to the Williams brothers and were confiscated to off-set plantation money the managers were supposed to have squandered. Dorset, who was mentioned in 1798, may possibly have belonged to John Beer, the overseer from Dorset who returned to England in 1800.

[613] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Baptisms 1827-1873 No 193
[614] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Burials 1827-1957 No 79
[615] NHCS, Methodist Baptismal Records 1835-1873 Unnumbered
[616] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965

642 **Nasino** was listed among the women who were to be sold with the plantation.

In his lifetime James Williams was known to have acquired an African woman, Flora, and as well as buying three boys from the slaver *Ann* for the plantation, the Williams brothers may also have invested in their own purchase. This woman may in fact have been purchased in 1803 from the same ship as Pompey, Caesar and Augustus (Numbers 620-622).

Nasino died between August 1807 and December 1816.

643 **Dorset** (b c 1767), a 'yellow cast' Creole man, worked in the field in the late 1790s.

In 1817 his age was estimated at 'about 50'. Dorset died on 18 November 1824.

644 **Casteel, Castile, Castiele, later possibly Castile Huggins and Castel or Casteel Penny.** He was black and may well have been an African man. In 1817 he was judged to have been born in about 1792. He could have been a bit older because otherwise he would have been just eight years old when he first ran away and that would have been rather unusual: he escaped on 7 July 1800 and was 'brought home' three days later. This was, in fact, the first mention of Castile.[617] No reward was paid for his capture but when he absented himself again, at Christmas 1802, someone earned N9s for apprehending him.[618] His repeated running away suggests that he was of an independent mind and no doubt involved in other acts of resistance. In 1810 he was among those who were severely flogged in the public market place on the orders of Edward Huggins senior.[619]

The name Castile, meaning belonging to the castle, is most often used in Spanish cultures and was not very common in Nevis. Because the name appeared so infrequently, it is therefore likely that it was the same man who appeared in several documents. Apparently Castile was married twice, possibly even three times. He would have been in his forties when, as Castile Huggins, he entered into his second marriage. This man was said to have been a widower and an apprentice labourer on Mountravers Estate when, on 15 November 1834, he married the 25-year-old black Creole woman Nanny Laurence from neighbouring Belmont Estate. The wedding was held in the church of St Thomas Lowland.[620] In St Paul's church ten years later, on 5 December 1844, a man called Castel Pinney married a woman called Elizabeth Eden. She was from St Paul's parish but her name may be linked to the Eden Browne plantation in St James Windward.[621]

It is likely that on 17 August 1851 this man was buried in St Paul's cemetery as Casteel Penny. He was 68 years old.[622]

645 and 646 **John French and his son John.** John French, a Creole, was estimated to have been born about 1772. However, it is more likely that he was older because almost certainly he was the 'negro

[617] PP, DM 1173/4 Plantation Diary
Castile was not listed on the front cover but holes in the volume made some text illegible and it is therefore possible that Castile might have been listed with other 'boys'.
[618] PP, AB 57 Plantation a/c
[619] UKNA, CO 152/96 John Burke's evidence
[620] NHCS, St Thomas Lowland Marriages 1828-1965
[621] NHCS, St Paul's Marriages 1843-1962
[622] NHCS, St Paul's Burials 1844-1965 No 779

cooper' of the same name who, between 1788 and 1791, taught Billey Jones 'to be a cooper'.[623] Not long after that John French became a father and had a son with a woman who was not a Mountravers slave. Their son was also called John.

No hire charges were entered in the accounts for John French and as there is no record of him having been bought, he may have been put to work on Mountravers because he had been mortgaged. His previous owner could have been James French, a St Vincent businessman,[624] who was indebted to the House.[625] Other members of the family had lived in Nevis [626] but 'French' may also have indicated the person's origin which had then been combined with the common name John. It is just possible that he was, therefore, one of the people Thomas Pym Weekes brought back from Martinique. However, the name 'John French' occurred quite frequently in Nevis and this man cannot be placed securely.

In February 1798 two coopers were listed in the plantation diary - Billey Jones and Tom Fisher – but in April three coopers were said to have been engaged in making casks. The third man almost certainly was John French. Although he was not yet a Pinney-owned slave, a month later the plantation paid N£1:10:0 for 'John the Cooper' to see the doctor. On 13 May he had 'a visit and advice'.[627] This was during crop time. On Mountravers the coopers appear to have made and repaired casks throughout the year; at Rose Hall in Jamaica coopers and masons were at times employed in the field.[628]

John French kept goats but he lost one of these when Moses Levy 'wantonly shot' it. Levy, a local man, then worked on Mountravers as a temporary Assistant Overseer. Apparently he was sacked immediately after killing the animal and not employed again. To compensate him for the loss Levy later paid French the sum of N18s.[629]

When Mountravers was sold, for the first time John French and also his son appeared in a list of plantation people. They had become the property of JPP's son John Frederick and were to be sold to Huggins. However, from 1808 onwards John French's son was among 24 of the reserved people who were rented to the planter John Henry Clarke. It appears that young John had grown into a healthy teenager: valued at S£70 in April 1808 and S£100 in May 1810, in the two years between the appraisals his value had risen ahead of some the others. He seems to have been hired to Clarke's until at least May 1810 but in February 1811 John was no longer listed as rented to that estate. A note next to his name - '… no price run'd (?) out' - suggests that he may have been sold, or he may have been returned to Huggins. When Mountravers was handed over to Edward Huggins, there had been three boys called John on the plantation, and somehow this John and the other two appear to have been mixed up. A letter from JPP almost certainly concerned John French: 'I made a mistake in the name of John owing to that name being set down in one of the appraised lists but no sum... set against it - therefore I took it for granted there was a negro of that name my property.'[630]

By 1817 John was not on Mountravers anymore.

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[623] PP, AB 35 f3; AB 30: 1 March 1790; also AB 43 Cash a/c; also AB 39 Plantation a/c 1790
[624] PP, LB 11: JPP, Barbados, to James French, 3 May 1794, and LB 18: JPP to James French, St Vincent, 22 December 1803
[625] PP, LB 43: JPP to Evan Baillie, 7 September 1802
[626] Martin French gave power of attorney to George French (ECSCRN, CR 1757-1762); John French witnessed a signature on a document (CR 1785-1787 f401).
[627] PP, AB 47 Archbald and Williamson's (& Hope's) a/c
[628] Higman, BW *Slave population and economy in Jamaica* p196
[629] PP, AB 47 f114 Cash a/c; also AB 57 f138 Moses Levy's a/c
[630] PP, LB 23: JPP to JC Mills, 10 January 1811

His father, John French, who had also been sold to Huggins, died between 1817 and February 1822. He probably was between 50 and 55 years old.

To read other chapters, please copy this link and paste it into your search engine:
https://seis.bristol.ac.uk/~emceee/mountraversplantationcommunity.html

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